

**THE EXACT TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS IN
THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.E.**

**AN EXAMINATION OF THE CUNEIFORM EVIDENCE
FROM MESOPOTAMIA AND THE TORAH SCROLLS
FROM THE WESTERN SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA**

Russell Hobson

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Department of Hebrew, Biblical and Jewish Studies

University of Sydney

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ABSTRACT

Certain ancient Near Eastern texts develop over time towards a reasonably stable state of transmission. However, the development towards a single 'stabilised' transmitted form that marks the biblical manuscripts between the second century B.C.E. and second century C.E. is often considered to permit the Hebrew bible a unique position in the ancient Near Eastern textual corpus. The degree to which the wider body of ancient Near Eastern texts actually support or undermine this position is the topic of this dissertation. The study begins by formulating a methodology for comparing the accuracy with which ancient texts of varying genres and languages were transmitted. Exemplars from the first millennium B.C.E. cuneiform evidence are selected for analysis on the basis of genre. Texts that are preserved in more than one ancient copy are compared to determine how much variation occurs between manuscripts of the same text. The study begins with representative texts from the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian periods that range in date from the late eighth century B.C.E. to the third century B.C.E. The study then turns to the Torah scrolls from the Dead Sea area that range in date from the third century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. The accuracy with which the cuneiform texts were transmitted is then compared with the biblical evidence. The study finds that the most stable texts surveyed are those containing ritual instructions. The mechanisms that may have led to the exact transmission of the Torah in the late Second Temple period are discussed in the conclusion.

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List of Abbreviations

ACh	C. Virolleaud, L'Astrologie Chaldéene
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung (24 = H. Hunger, MUL.APIN)
AHw	W. Von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
AO	tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre
BGP	J. Black, A.R. George and N. Postgate, A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies (4 = A.T. Clay, Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia)
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BPO	Babylonian Planetary Omens (1 = E. Reiner and D. Pingree, The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduga)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
DT	tablets from G. Smith's 1873 expedition, now in the BM
HALOT	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament
HV	hermeneutic variant
K	tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum

KAO	A. Jeremias, H. Winckler and E.F. Weidner, Kampfe um dem alten Orient
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KTS 1	J. Lewy, Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kültepe bei Kaisarije
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Massoretic Text
OV	orthographic variant
OV(l)	orthographic variant (linguistic)
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
RLA	Reallexicon der Assyriologie
RawlCu	H. Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia
Rm	tablets in the collection of the British Museum from H. Rassam
Sm	tablets in the collection of the British Museum from G. Smith
Sp	tablets in the collections of the British Museum acquired from Spartali
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
STT	D.R. Gurney, J.J. Finkelstein and P. Hilun, The Sultantepe tablets
SU	semogenic unit
SV	stylistic variant
VAT	tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

The Hebrew Scriptures and other ancient Near Eastern Traditions

It has been said that the textual history of the Hebrew Bible represents a unique development in the ancient Near Eastern textual corpus.¹ No other ancient Near Eastern text appears to have undergone quite the same recensional activity.² Whether we view the background of biblical texts as conforming to the regional delineation of textual traditions,³ or as stemming from more diverse localised sources,⁴ we must still reckon with the problem that the biblical text seems to have undergone a degree of recensional activity that has not yet been recognised in other ancient Near Eastern textual traditions.⁵

¹ S. Talmon, "The Old Testament Text," *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (eds P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 161.

² See the comments in J.H. Tigay, "Introduction," *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J.H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 2-3.

³ See F.M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964), and "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975). More recently see F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995³) 188-94 and *From Epic to Canon* (Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998) 211 n. 12, and the references there. For a critical review of the theory that calls into question some of its primary data, see G. Howard, "Frank Cross and Recensional Criticism," *VT* 21, 4 (1971), 440-450.

⁴ See S. Talmon, "Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts," *Textus* 4 (1964) 97-98, and "The Old Testament Text," *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome* (eds P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans; Cambridge University Press, 1970; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 162.

⁵ See J.H. Tigay, "The Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives in the Light of the Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic," *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J.H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), where a comparative analysis with the evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic shows that any conjectural process that scholars might develop to recreate the early forms of the Epic based on later

How might we understand the development of the Hebrew scriptures in respect of other textual traditions in the ancient Near East? Is the reduction of several biblical textual traditions towards the 'standard text' that emerged by the second century C.E. a unique phenomenon in ancient Near Eastern textual history? Do any other ancient Near Eastern texts show tendencies toward a level of standardisation that is comparable with the almost letter-perfect editions of the Hebrew scriptures in all of our evidence from at least the second century C.E. onward? By what method can we make legitimate comparisons between the way the biblical text developed and the way other ancient Near Eastern texts developed?

Answers to such questions require the establishment of a method for analysing various ancient texts, in multiple copies, over a wide geographical and temporal distribution. Any method for analysing texts from various localities, periods, genres, and languages would need to be flexible and broad in its categorisation of variant readings, and unbiased in the way it delimited quanta within the different texts. Variant categories would need to be weighed for significance so that some idea could be obtained about what type of variations were common in a given tradition, and what kind were not.

In fact, several models exist for comparative analyses of ancient texts. A selection of those that pertain to texts written in Semitic languages will be considered here. Although the majority of these operate in a single linguistic setting, some synthesis of these systems is more than likely to be largely incorrect. Such an analysis cautions scholars who reconstruct earlier unattested forms of the biblical text based on source- and text-critical arguments.

tems will be attempted to frame an analysis that works across different languages, scripts and media.

Textual Criticism, Its Objectives and Presuppositions

A characteristic of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible has been the concern of scholars to reconstruct the ‘original’ form of each individual text. This is “the text or edition (or a number of consecutive editions) that contained the finished literary product and which stood at the beginning of the process of textual transmission.”⁶ Indeed, according to Tov it is this “final authoritative copy which it is the object of textual criticism to reconstruct, even if only in isolated details.”⁷ The text critic of the Hebrew Bible, then, aims to reconstruct one text that he or she believes to be historical.⁸

This approach must proceed from two obvious assumptions. The first is that a single text did in fact stand at the beginning of the transmission process, before it was corrupted by mechanical and recensional processes.⁹ This must necessarily be true, otherwise the objective of this approach to textual criticism must be redefined. The second assumption is that the end result of the process was the standardised form of the Hebrew scriptures that

⁶ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001²) 171.

⁷ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 177.

⁸ According to P.K. McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) 12, “The goal [of text criticism] is the determination of a primitive text to which the various surviving copies bear witness.”

⁹ See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, where this ‘original text’ is more specifically defined as “... a text which was considered authoritative (and hence also finished at the literary level), even if only by a limited group of people, and which at the same time stood at the beginning of a process of copying and textual transmission.”

in effect became the ‘copy-text’ of the Hebrew Bible as it is reflected in all of the medieval manuscript evidence.¹⁰ In the words of Eugene Ulrich “... the term ‘standard text’ implies or even denotes a single text which is not only fixed, but is *acknowledged* to be ‘the text,’ as opposed to other forms of the text.”¹¹

Some care is needed here, for it is not the view of the writer that either of these assumptions is necessarily incorrect, but it is important to highlight the position from which this approach to textual criticism advances, for it significantly affects the way the evidence is analysed.

There is, it may be said, a general preference when reconstructing ancient texts to present them in a standardised form, even though in history many of these texts existed in different forms. One need only look at Pritchard’s “Ancient Near Eastern Texts”, Charlesworth’s “Pseudepigrapha”, or Foster’s “Before the Muses” to see that varying

¹⁰ That all variant readings in medieval manuscripts are genetic, and result from the corruption of a single copy-text is illustrated clearly in M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Biblica* 48 (1967). See also S. Talmon, "Old Testament Text," 170-175. The term ‘copy-text’ usually refers to an authoritative manuscript that is to be set in type, however its use in this context seems justified, assuming, with the majority of scholars, that the faithful reproduction of this specific text was the intention of copyists by the first century C.E. See primarily R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939) 8, for the use of the term in reference to the textual criticism of the plays of Shakespeare. Its use was properly explored and defined in a lecture prepared for the British Institute by W.W. Greg that was actually delivered by J. M. Osbourne, in 1949 and published in 1950 (see W.W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 [1950] 19-36). Most recently see the discussion in R. Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition," *VT* 58, 3 (2008) 343-46.

¹¹ E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls - The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism," *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (eds T.H. Lim, L.W. Hurtado, A.G. Auld, and A. Jack; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 69 (italics in original).

copies of ancient texts are frequently presented in translation as single composite versions. The case is similar with the bulk of critical editions, as a cursory glance at the text of BHS will confirm. The copy-text, in this case the Leningrad Codex, is accompanied by a critical apparatus that is purposefully positioned to leave the text, to as great an extent as possible, free from distracting notation and comment. The elected text of the critic is the unmistakable focus, with other evidence from less authoritative manuscripts relegated to the apparatus.¹²

That is not to say that our translations and critical editions lack any significant information. The focus on a normative text obviously makes the texts themselves far more readily understood, and the critical apparatus, should we care to consult it, serves to inform us of variant readings. However, the presentation of an ancient text in a normative ‘standardised’ form often draws attention away from the fact that this standardised form is something imposed on the evidence by the text-critical method itself, and does not reflect a text that was extant at any time in antiquity.

¹² See the comments, including a thorough discussion of the development of the ‘score’ presentation of multiple textual editions, in J. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry: A Study of the Oldest Literature* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998) 33-38. A recent vision of this same text-critical goal is stated by R. Hendel, "Prologue," 329-330 with n. 15: “The practical goal for the OHB [Oxford Hebrew Bible] is to approximate in its critical text the textual ‘archetype,’ by which I mean the ‘earliest inferable textual state.’ In the case of multiple editions, the practical goal is to approximate the archetype of each edition and, where one edition is not plausibly the ancestor of the other(s), also the archetype of the multiple editions ... In this [latter] case, the archetypal readings will be included in the critical text and the variants from the subsequent editions will be included in the apparatus.”

The implications of thinking in terms of ‘original’ forms of the biblical texts, and ‘copy-texts’ of the scriptures, were the topic of a paper by Eugene Ulrich.¹³ Ulrich framed a question about the state of the Hebrew scriptures in the period between 200 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. which, after careful consideration, was phrased thus: “What were the texts of the Scriptures like near the end of the Second Temple period?”¹⁴ In phrasing this question, Ulrich decided to do away with such anachronistic and subjective terminology as ‘standard text’ and ‘Hebrew Bible.’ In doing so he asserted that the concern for a standard text is a modern one, and that there is no evidence to suggest that the standardisation of the text was a concern in the period in question.¹⁵

There has been general recognition by scholars that textual criticism does not necessarily require one text in particular to be judged as superior to all others. Certainly most modern text-critics will not insist that alternative readings in the MT must always be preferred over variant readings in other textual witnesses. Studies by scholars such as Clines, Cogan, Polak and Young emphasise the necessity to examine texts not in terms of ‘original’

¹³ E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 67-87.

¹⁴ E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 84.

¹⁵ This view does not take into account the arguments put forward in Young "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text In the Light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?" *DSD* 9, 3 (2002) 365 n. 6, concerning the interpretation of the evidence from Masada. Rather, Ulrich's comments pertain to the biblical texts from Qumran, and do not extend to the evidence at Masada and other (non-Qumran) sites in the Judean Desert. In "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Later Stages in the Composition of the Bible," *"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (eds M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 275 n. 26, Ulrich argued that "the Masada and Murabba'at manuscripts positively document a proto-Masoretic text tradition, but the assumption of an official, definitive rejection of other textual forms is an *argumentum e silentio*." In light of Young's argument, we might revise the period under consideration in Ulrich's paper to cover from 200 B.C.E. to *before* 70 CE, *i.e.* the first half of the first century C.E.

editions or 'standardised' copy-texts, but rather to approach the question of textual stabilisation from a more broadly comparative perspective.¹⁶ These studies call for the abandonment of the practice whereby the 'original' text is reconstructed by working backwards from the final 'copy-text.' Instead, each extant ancient manuscript is treated *a priori* as a potential 'pristine' text. In doing so, information concerning how the texts were treated in transmission is adduced, while the introduction of subjective presuppositions, so required by a hypothetical reconstruction of an 'original text,' are avoided.

Talmon argued this very point when he proposed that, in the absence of any evidence in the manuscripts from the second to first centuries B.C.E. that identified a single pristine text (or three pristine texts, as Cross's local text theory posits), all variant readings should be treated as alternative readings unless their genetic relationship to other texts could be demonstrated.¹⁷ Similarly, Goshen-Gottstein argued that no single recension can be

¹⁶ See the studies by D.J.A. Clines, "What Remains of the Hebrew Bible? Its Text and Language in a Post-modern Age," *Studia Theologica* 54 (2001) 76-95; M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues in the Hebrew Bible from an Assyriological Perspective," *Textus* 22 (2005) 1-20; F.H. Polak, "Statistics and Text Filiation: The Case of 4QSam^a/LXX," *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (eds G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 215-276; I. Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Masoretic Text: A Statistical Approach," *Feasts and Fasts: A Festschrift in Honour of Alan David Crown* (eds M. Dacy, J. Dowling, and S. Faigan; Sydney: Mandelbaum Publishing, 2005) 81-139, and "Textual Stability in Gilgamesh and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Gilgamesh and the World of Assyrian: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the Mandelbaum House, the University of Sydney, 21-23 July, 2004* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 21; Leuven: Peeters, 2007) 174-183.

¹⁷ S. Talmon, "Aspects of the Textual Transmission," 96. See also the comments on textual emendation according to external parallels in S. Talmon, "The 'Comparative Method' in Biblical Interpretation – Principles and Problems," Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977 (VTSup 29; ed. J.A. Emerton; Leiden: Brill, 1978) 343-47.

proved to exist before the first half of the second century C.E.,¹⁸ based on the variants in the early manuscript evidence.¹⁹ Rather, the non-linear nature of interaction between recensions made it no longer possible to say that “the ‘one-recension’ central current did not allow the occasional drop to trickle in from the side”.²⁰ As Talmon puts it, “... the very notion of a Biblical *textus receptus* had not yet taken root at Qumran ... [there is not] the slightest indication that even an incipit *textus receptus* did emerge [in the last decades before the destruction of the Second Temple].”²¹

This is not to say that there is no identifiable trend in the evidence from Qumran. In fact, scholars have found tendencies away from particular recensions, as well as towards others. For example, Cross shows evidence in the 4QSam manuscripts of a proto-Lucianic recension which, in his terms, is a revision away from the Egyptian textual family towards the Palestinian.²² Trebolle Barrera has suggested that at least some sacred texts at Qumran progress towards the proto-MT recension.²³ This is despite the view put forward

¹⁸ That is, at the end of his second period in the history of the biblical text (see M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 244-48). In light of the Masada evidence, as argued by Young, this date can be pushed back to *before* 70 C.E. See also the comments on Goshen-Gottstein's position in E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 38-39.

¹⁹ M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 284-85.

²⁰ M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 285.

²¹ S. Talmon, "Aspects of the Textual Transmission," 228-29.

²² F.M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966) 88-90.

²³ J. Trebolle Barrera, "Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-Standard and Parabiblical Texts," *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 91-92. It is the books most well known at Qumran, *i.e.* the Pentateuch, Isaiah, the XII Prophets and Psalms, that seem to approach proto-MT over time “with exceptions” (see J. Trebolle Barrera, 98-99). This is supported by the comments in G.J. Brooke, "E Pluribus Unum: Textual Variety and Definitive Interpretation in

by Cross that the bulk of the Qumran biblical scrolls that display full orthography and expansionistic tendencies, including the paleo-Hebrew manuscripts, are related to the Palestinian textual family, written in what he calls the “new-baroque style.”²⁴

Tools Available for Building a Methodology

The tools that biblical text criticism offers for the comparison of ancient texts divide basically into two groups: those that facilitate the aim of reconstructing an original text, and others that assist a comparative analysis of textual forms. We will label these approaches ‘reconstructive’ and ‘comparative’ respectively. To be sure, this is not a distinction that textual critics would necessarily make, but rather the two sets of tools work together to produce critical editions and comprehensive apparatuses. The distinction is important to make in this study, though, because it is the second set of tools, those that aid a ‘comparative’ approach, that are most important to us. Comparing the accuracy of the transmission process reflected in ancient texts, across media, genres, cultures, and centuries, requires a method that allows for the broad comparison of materials that make up textual traditions, and is not concerned as much with the reconstruction of one particular form of a given tradition. While some speculation as to what may be an original reading can be justified

the Qumran Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed. T.H. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 116.

²⁴ See F.M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries," 90, and F.M. Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory," 308. More recently, see F.M. Cross, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies," *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (eds L. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 6.

in determining the existence of errors, the classification of variants as genetic, and typically corruptions, has been avoided wherever possible.²⁵

Conceptual Frameworks for Viewing the Texts

Textual critics have used various terms and expressions, often not exclusively, to describe theories and phenomena in their field. The present study has neither the scope nor the space to review the whole range of terminologies that are available to us to describe ancient texts in transmission. We will, however, be aided by a broad outline of the various theories that impact on our study.

Texts are generally divided into two types: ‘substantive’ and ‘derived’ texts.²⁶ A substantive text has distinguishing features that show it cannot have derived from any other extant text, but must be a copy of an unknown manuscript. A derived text, on the other hand, contains variants that indicate it was derived from another known text. In this way, we can talk about derived texts containing specific ‘genetic’ readings, *i.e.* variants that are directly related to readings in other manuscripts, and substantive texts containing ‘alternative’ readings, *i.e.* variants that are not related to other manuscript evidence and are not clearly errors.²⁷ Substantive texts are not precluded from containing genetic variants, but derived texts by definition do not contain a significant number of alternative readings.

²⁵ See the discussion below on *Errors*.

²⁶ R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena for the Oxford Shakespeare: A Study in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939) 8.

²⁷ Unlike McKerrow, Tov asserts that genetic variants “developed – by change, omission, addition, or inversion – from another reading which may, *or may not*, be known today” (E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, italics added). McKerrow thought instead that derived manuscripts had to have a known predecessor to prove

In order to reconstruct the formative period of the scriptures, most scholars are required to hypothesise various stages of progress towards a fixed text. Talmon, for example, sees four phases in the development of the biblical texts from their inception to Origen's *Hexapla*. These range from an oral phase, through an oral to written transition period, to purely written transmission, and finally to a fixed form of the text selected by, among other things, historical accident and sectarian prejudice.²⁸ Importantly, Talmon asserts that the processes behind many of the variants that appear through transmission are similar throughout the entire period that the text is transmitted in an unfixed form. That is, during the first three phases of the development of the biblical text, scribes used the same combined methods of textual and stylistic variation and expansion to invert, reiterate, and draw parallels in the texts they transmitted.²⁹

their derivation (see R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena*, 8, esp. n. 1). This perceived dichotomy is perhaps due to the nature of the fields of inquiry concerned – Tov of course deals extensively with biblical evidence of a fragmentary nature, while McKerrow was commenting on a method to establish an authoritative Shakespeare.

²⁸ See S. Talmon, "Old Testament Text," 164-68. For a recent model that combines processes of oral and written textual transmission via the acquisition and reproduction of primarily memorised texts see D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 3-14, and the full discussion in this model in the Conclusion.

²⁹ S. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible - A New Outlook," *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975) 368. In support of this we can draw attention to the study of the annals of Ashurbanipal in M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," which identifies persistent processes of creative and editorial activity on the part of copyists, sometimes only months after a text's inception. Cogan's study will be the subject of further discussion below.

In line with Talmon's description of the biblical text in transmission, Tigay charts four stages in the development towards an authoritative text of the Gilgamesh Epic.³⁰ Like Talmon, Tigay's first two stages allow for widespread collation, conflation and re-editing of the source texts, eventually resulting in the formation of certain standardised (but not fixed) versions of the text, that stood at the beginning of the third stage. By this time, "though the editors ... made their own contributions to the epic ... they were clearly transmitting in revised form a text that was essentially the work of an earlier author."³¹ Tigay's final stage is broadly identifiable as the fixation of the text into a standardised form, where there is little reformulation of the text, and minimal lexical interchanges. Tigay describes the version of the Gilgamesh Epic that stood at the end of the four staged process as "nearly a *textus receptus* or 'authorised version' in wording or content, and different copies or editions differed from each other almost exclusively in matters of orthography, grammar, and format."³²

In contrast, Cross envisions a development of the biblical text according to a presupposition of local access to specific archetypes which in turn undergo defined stages of development. In his theory of local texts, Cross outlines the development of biblical texts into

³⁰ See J.H. Tigay, "Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives." A major difference should be underlined here between Tigay's and Talmon's theories. Tigay's earliest stage is represented by the Sumerian written evidence, rather than an unattested oral phase that is the first phase in the development of the biblical text according to Talmon.

³¹ J.H. Tigay, "Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives," 38-39.

³² J.H. Tigay, "Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives," 43. See esp. n. 91 where it is emphasised that the final form of Gilgamesh represents a text close to a 'received' text, but ultimately less stable in comparison to the final form of the biblical text.

three families, identified with the localities of Palestine, Egypt and Babylon.³³ The process of stabilisation developed only after a long period of recensional activity, which saw the three textual families further developed into various traditional forms. Likewise, the recensional activity that led to the production of the Versions only occurred after a significant period of non-recensional, ‘localising’ activity. That is, texts evidenced at Qumran show signs of updating towards various ‘localised’ versions,³⁴ but give no indication of recensional activity.³⁵ For Cross, different biblical texts broke away from particular family archetypes at different times, with the process starting as early as the 6th-5th centuries B.C.E., and continuing down to the third century B.C.E.³⁶ The resulting recensions of localised archetypes are represented by the confused collection of traditions at Qumran. Later, in the period between the Jewish Revolts, a consciously selective process was undertaken to select texts of particular recensional backgrounds to form the *textus receptus*, the copy-text of MT.³⁷

³³ See the collection of previously published papers in F.M. Cross and S. Talmon, *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975). Articles republished in that volume are cited in this study in their original place of publication.

³⁴ Cross gives as an example the Lucianic revision of an Egyptian-type text, revised in transmission towards a Palestinian text-type, the *Vorlage* of which is reflected in the Samuel manuscripts from Qumran cave 4. See F.M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries," 88.

³⁵ See F.M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text," 290, and esp. n. 30, where he acknowledges that the date of a document from Qumran "tells us nothing of its textual character," in stark contrast to the later texts from Masada, Murabba'at, Wadi Sdeir and Nahal Hever.

³⁶ See F.M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries," 86-88.

³⁷ For this outline of the developmental process see F.M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text," 291-92, and also the comments in P. Skehan, "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," *Volume du Congrès. Strasbourg* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 148.

Tov agrees that the emergence of a relatively fixed text was beginning to emerge by the middle of the Second Temple period in Palestine. Texts that were deposited in the temple became authoritative, though it is likely that there was a gradual change in the shape of that text over time.³⁸ For example, a text deposited in the temple that looked like an ancestor of the Vorlage to the LXX may have over time become a text that looked more like an ancestor of the MT.³⁹ Tov posits that perhaps by the third century B.C.E. a text significantly like the MT had come to be deposited in the temple archives.⁴⁰ This was not the only text-type that was in circulation in Jewish Palestine in the late centuries B.C.E. and early first century C.E., but rather was the text-type affiliated with the centre of the religious institution in Jerusalem. The temple affiliated texts are characterised by those which were uncovered at sites along the southwest coast of the Dead Sea in the first century C.E. (Masada) and the second century C.E. (Murabba‘at, Wadi Sdeir and Naḥal

³⁸ E. Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts," *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002) 156-57.

³⁹ That the text that was kept in the temple archives underwent some process of textual evolution is suggested by the report of the three differing scrolls found in the temple court in the Talmud. See E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues in Light of the Judean Desert Finds," *Meghillot* 1 (2003) 195-97 [Hebrew], and the detailed discussion in chapter 9 pages 290-94.

⁴⁰ E. Tov, private conversation. It should be noted that the use of the term ‘MT’ here indicates a text that is the theorised close ancestor to the medieval MT, and not a copy-text that was exactly like the medieval MT in every detail. Indeed, it is inevitable that some variations creep into the text through multiple cycles of transmission no matter what level of attempted exactitude accompanies the copying process. Here it is important to note the cautious tone that Tov employs when discussing the proto-MT and the MT in real terms: “Only from the early medieval period, when the apparatuses of vocalization, accentuation, and Masoretic notes were added to the consonants, can one speak of a real Masoretic Text. Nevertheless, the main constituent of [the MT], its consonantal framework, already existed many centuries beforehand, as it is attested in various texts from the Judean Desert, which date from the third pre-Christian century until the second century CE” (E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001²) 27).

Hever).⁴¹ These scrolls are identified not only by their particular textual character, but also by their large format, high number of lines per column, layout, and limited instances of scribal interventions.⁴² In other areas texts that diverged from the temple affiliated text predominated, though texts that were aligned with the temple text were not unknown. These diverse text-types are characterised by those uncovered at Qumran.⁴³

The main point of difference for Tov's conceptualisation of the formation of fixed textual traditions is that, for Tov, the difference between textual traditions is not connected with geographical or chronological distinctions, but rather stems from sociological distinctions. Texts like those uncovered at Masada had a social context that was aligned with the text affiliated with the temple in Jerusalem, whereas texts like those uncovered at Qumran had a different social context that was not as closely connected to the temple – though a small number of the Qumran scrolls certainly may be of that type. The point is that texts from Qumran do not necessarily reflect the temple social context but texts from Masada necessarily do.

⁴¹ See E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues," 190.

⁴² See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 91-92.

⁴³ See E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues," 191-92.

According to E. Ulrich, there is no evidence that suggests that there was a concern for the standardisation of the text in the middle of the Second Temple period.⁴⁴ Rather, the collection that is known as the (proto-) MT

“was a haphazard collection of disparate texts and text-types, gathered only near the close of the Second Temple period. It was not a unit or a unity but rather resulted from the presumably chance (as opposed to critically selected) collection of one text per book. The category of the (proto-) MT makes sense only from afterward – after the collection has been gathered and used exclusively, in contrast to other text forms, over a period of time.”⁴⁵

Ulrich views the variant forms of the Pentateuchal texts exemplified in the finds from the western shore of the Dead Sea in terms of different literary traditions, of which there were “at least two, and possibly three, editions ... circulating in general Judaism at the end of the Second Temple period.”⁴⁶ As can be seen from the collection of texts uncovered at Qumran, concepts such as ‘canon’ and ‘scripture’ were not defined in the period

⁴⁴ See E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls - The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism," *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (eds T.H. Lim, L.W. Hurtado, A.G. Auld, and A. Jack; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000) 67-73.

⁴⁵ See E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 72, and E. Ulrich, "The Absence of 'Sectarian Variants' in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran," *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002) 180.

⁴⁶ E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 76. In this way Ulrich adds to Talmon's tripartite system of inversion, reiteration and conflation by posing a fourth class of multiple literary editions of biblical texts. On this see E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Later Stages in the Composition of the Bible," *"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (eds M. Fishbane and E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 277.

that these texts represent.⁴⁷ Instead, competing literary editions, comprised of a literary unit, whether a book, story, narrative, pericope, *etc.*, were transmitted by authors or redactors, and which “a subsequent redactor or editor intentionally changed to a sufficient extent that the resultant form should be called a revised edition of that text.”⁴⁸ According to this view the scriptures in general did not become fixed in their final (proto-)MT form as a result of predictable internal or external processes, but rather were abruptly frozen due to the dual threats presented by the Roman conquest on the one hand, and the rise of gentile Christianity which undermined the Jewish character of the scriptures on the other.⁴⁹

The Categorisation of Variant Readings

Critical to this analysis is the ability to delineate between errors and genuine variants. Here, again, certain tools developed by biblical text critics should be reviewed and employed where appropriate. We will also survey the various text critical systems available for weighing variants once they have been classed as such.

Errors

All variant readings are, on the face of it, to be treated as ‘alternative’ readings. Essentially, we must do our best to ensure the equal standing of all attested text-types, without

⁴⁷ E. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran," *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds E. Ulrich and J.C. Vanderkam; Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 79-80.

⁴⁸ E. Ulrich, "The Canonical Process," 278.

⁴⁹ E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 87.

preference for one copy of a text over another. This is the only way that we can ensure our investigation begins free of the anachronisms and subjectivity described by Ulrich.⁵⁰

Many of the terms associated with describing genetic readings will not be prevalent in a strictly comparative analysis. Accordingly, we will make only relatively infrequent reference to phenomena such as dittography, haplography, parablepsis (homoio-teleuton and homoio-archton), and any other slips of the pen, in keeping with our intention to treat each variant as properly alternative unless error is certain. Such terms will only be used when noting the views of the scholarly authorities on how particular variants may have arisen, but will not colour the categorisation of the variants themselves. In this way we are mindful of Tov's observation that "at the level of content, that is, at the descriptive level, all readings are equal, and no one reading is from the outset superior to another one."⁵¹

In many cases it cannot be determined without conjecture which differences are truly genetic readings and which are alternative readings. It then becomes impossible to decide which variants should be considered genuine, and which should be considered corruptions. Clearly, each variant reading will need to be considered as ostensibly genuine to avoid discarding potentially significant data. This appears to have motivated McKerrow's view that the only certain errors are those that involve metathesis, or some combination of letters that make no sense – all other variants are only errors in the critic's judge-

⁵⁰ As well as E. Ulrich, "The Qumran Biblical Scrolls," see also E. Ulrich, "The Bible in the Making," 79-80.

⁵¹ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 234.

ment.⁵² While this approach is certainly careful, it may on occasion be overcautious. In the present analysis we will prefer the approach of P. Pulikottil: “unless a deviant reading does not fit in the grammatical or linguistic context of the passage, or disrupt the logical flow of the passage, it cannot be considered to be an error.”⁵³

Variants in Reconstructive Approaches

Even a brief survey of the literature will inform the scholar that there are a variety of models available for classifying variant readings in ancient Near Eastern texts. Those models termed ‘reconstructive’ typically divide variants into categories that reflect a judgement on the overall quality of the manuscript in which they are found. As such, these models only provide certain tools that can be applied in the present context. That said, it will be beneficial to permit a brief review of some of the theories proposed by those scholars, if only to form an appreciation of the scope of methodologies available to the text critic in this instance.

An example already referred to above is supplied by Tov, who groups variants into ‘genetic’ and ‘alternative’ readings, based on the relationship of a given reading to readings in different biblical manuscripts. Genetic readings, the majority of which are corruptions, are further divided into four subcategories that reflect the different effects of scribal transmission: minuses, pluses, changes in orthography, and differences in word se-

⁵² R.B. McKerrow, *Prolegomena*, 35.

⁵³ See P. Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran. The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa^a* (LSTS 34; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 24.

quences.⁵⁴ Alternative readings, on the other hand, are divided into five subcategories: linguistic-stylistic changes, lexical interchanges, harmonisations, exegetical changes, and additions (glosses, interlinear and marginal corrections, remarks, *etc.*)⁵⁵

Alternatively, Talmon employs a synthesis of textual and literary criticism to describe a process of transmission that allows for creativity on the part of authors and copyists alike.⁵⁶ Expansionistic or clarifying changes, such as conflation and lexical interchange, as well as complex literary devices, such as inversion, reiteration and parallelism, are used by writers and copyists regularly. Talmon maintains that “an undetermined percentage of the *variae lectiones* derive from the impact of ongoing literary processes of an intra-biblical nature.”⁵⁷

In her analysis of the differences between the synoptic passages of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, S. Japhet outlines the process whereby the text was updated from Biblical Hebrew to Late Biblical Hebrew, which in her analysis reflects a diachronic development. While it pertains only to verbal forms, Japhet’s analysis can still be informative for our present purposes. Common differences between the sources are described as: substitution of rare or poetic roots for more common forms; changes or deviation in the mean-

⁵⁴ See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 236-58.

⁵⁵ See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 258-85.

⁵⁶ See S. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible," 338-58.

⁵⁷ S. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible," 380.

ing of a root; roots and phrases common to the language of the scribe; interchanges of synonymous readings; changes in content and style; errors; and other changes.⁵⁸

These models provide an insight into how to weigh the significance of variant readings. Talmon shows us that variant readings in ancient copies cannot all be neatly classed into ‘genetic’ and ‘alternative’ readings, without the critic making a subjective judgement. This effectively levels the playing field for all of the readings in the early manuscripts. Japhet’s model indicates that differences in expression and language can be driven by shifts in the textual milieu, an observation that can apply regardless of whether the differences are explained as diachronic or synchronic developments. Tov’s model shows us that variants regarded as alternative readings are essentially expansionistic, updating, or revisionist. Expansionistic changes, such as harmonisations and additions, add to but do not change the sense of the text. Updating changes, such as lexical interchanges and linguistic-stylistic changes, also leave the sense of the text intact while bringing its use of lexical or grammatical expression into line with what the scribe felt was suitable. Revised exegetical changes, though, seem to be different in that they affect the meaning of the text according to a personalised view of what seems appropriate. Such changes can alter the meaning of the text, something that expansionistic and updating changes are not aimed towards.

⁵⁸ See primarily the description of variant types in S. Japhet, "Interchanges of Verbal Roots in Parallel Texts in Chronicles," *Hebrew Studies* 28 (1987) 10-48. ‘Errors’ are characterised as the corruption of letters, phonetic confusion, metathesis, and corruption leading to omission of superfluous material. ‘Other changes’ include the correction of awkward or problematic phrasing by changing word sequence, and the substitution of verbs as a means of avoiding confused phrasing.

Variants in Comparative Approaches to Biblical Texts

Both Clines and Young have conducted recent studies on the transmission of biblical texts in various periods.⁵⁹ Clines analyses texts that are transmitted in parallel in the received biblical text, in particular the doubly transmitted poem recorded in Psalm 18 and II Samuel 22. Clines differentiates between pluses, the interchange of synonyms, variant word or phrase order, changes in syntax, as well as grammatical and orthographic variants.⁶⁰

Young examines the biblical evidence from Qumran against the evidence from elsewhere in the Judean Desert, delineating between orthographic and non-orthographic variants.⁶¹ We could say that Young's category of content variants encapsulates all of those defined by Clines, with the exception of orthographic variants.

While there may be differences in the way variants are categorised, the similarities between the methodologies of Clines and Young lie in their straight forward statistical approach to the data. After collating the variant readings, both scholars represent their data in easily readable tables that indicate the frequency of variants by way of simple ratios.

⁵⁹ See the studies in D.J.A. Clines, "What Remains," 76-95, I. Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," 81-139, and I. Young, "Textual Stability," 1-12.

⁶⁰ For these categories applied to the texts of Psalm 18 and II Samuel 22, see D.J.A. Clines, "*What Remains of the Old Testament? Its Text and Language in a Post Modern Age: Appendix A: Textual Variants Between 2Samuel 22 and Psalm 18,*" from:

<http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/bibs/DJACcurrres/WhatRemainsA.pdf>, (2001) [accessed 3-10-2006].

⁶¹ See I. Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," 128-29, and Goshen-Gottstein's classification of 'real variants' (M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts," 247-48, and 274-75). This is taken up in I. Young, "Textual Stability," 2, n. 3, and 6, where the distinction is made between orthographic variants, linguistic variants, and content variants.

The advantages of this method are that the statistical evidence is easy for the scholar to represent and for the reader to interpret. Representing variance as a ratio against non-variance renders often confusing data readily understandable.

Polak published an important study in 1992 that employed adroit methods of differentiating between variants and statistically analysing the data.⁶² His method was to classify variants according to their quality, in terms of impact on the sense of the text, and in terms of their quantity. Polak made the distinction between variants that occupy single syntactic slots and variants that encompass whole clauses or sentences. He also recognised changes in word order as being distinct from other variants, whereas minor changes in sequence appear to be considered as genetic by Tov, and not intentionally created by scribes.⁶³

In Polak's system, variants are categorised as mechanical variants (*i.e.* genetic corruptions), exchange of synonyms, expansion or condensation of syntactic slots, omission or addition of syntactic slots or whole phrases, complicated redactional processes, and changes in word order.⁶⁴ His system agrees with the distinctions made by Tov, in that it identifies expansive, clarifying, and extraneous forms of variation.

⁶² See F.H. Polak, "Statistics and Textual Filiation," 215-76. The Chi-squared mathematical function that features heavily in Polak's treatment of the data is essentially used for determining genetic relationships between the sources, and so is not employed in the present study.

⁶³ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 258.

⁶⁴ F.H. Polak, "Statistics and Text Filiation," 217-18.

An important aspect of Polak's analysis is that he delineates between variants that are similar in nature but different in length. Two categories exist for the omission or addition of material: those that involve single syntactic slots, and those that involve whole phrases or sentences. This is an important delineation, and one that will be recalled when we formulate our own methodology.

Variants in Comparative Approaches to Non-Biblical Texts

Cogan's examination of the annals of Ashurbanipal identifies two separate figures behind ancient scribal activity: authors and copyists.⁶⁵ However, as no holographs are discernable amongst the evidence, the treatment of all sources as copies is demanded.⁶⁶ This is something akin to the argument that a level playing field must be established between all alternative readings. Further to this, variants are divided into orthographic level variants and word level variants. This is comparable to Young's designation of orthographic and non-orthographic variants.

Other aspects of Cogan's system are more finely tuned than many other models. He distinguishes between scribal errors,⁶⁷ variants that occur within copies of a single edition of the text, and variants that occur within parallel texts in different editions.⁶⁸ Variants from each of the latter two groups are then described as linguistic (changes in verb conjugation), expanding, condensing, and parallelisms (changes in sequence or rephrasing). An

⁶⁵ See M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues".

⁶⁶ M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," 3-4.

⁶⁷ Scribal errors are divided into five categories: dittography, omission, interchange of graphically similar symbols, spelling error, and difference in sequence. See M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," 6-7.

⁶⁸ M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," 19.

additional category representing lexical interchange is subdivided into interchanges of verbs, and other words (nouns, adjectives, adverbs and pronouns).⁶⁹ Perhaps most importantly for our present purposes, Cogan defines a category for changes in details. Though limited to a small number of examples,⁷⁰ he points to a need to define some variants as introducing conflicting or different information that does not agree with the parallel data. This could be likened to the category for revised exegetical readings defined by Tov.

Another study relevant to our investigation is the examination of copying practices among Northwest Semitic scribes by Dobrusin.⁷¹ She utilises inner-biblical parallel texts as well as Phoenician and Ugaritic material, and compares variants from each body of evidence. The texts that were examined by Dobrusin included parallel material in Isaiah and Kings, parallel material from the Phoenician inscriptions at Karatepe, and the hippiatric texts from Ugarit. She discriminated between three different types of variants in her analysis, namely ‘stylistic,’ ‘substantive’ and ‘error’ variants. Variants considered as ‘stylistic’ were found “to do little to change the content of the text but affect the presentation and form of the text ... [while] substantive variants represent a level of creativity that makes a significant impact on the text.”⁷² The important difference between these classifications is that, while one class of variant allows for reworking the text without impacting on its meaning, another class of variant allows for changes that do in fact alter the sense of the text. This distinction, while not elaborated beyond this in Dobrusin’s study,

⁶⁹ M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," 6-13.

⁷⁰ See the examples given in M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues," 10.

⁷¹ See D. Dobrusin, *The Nature of Ancient Northwest Semitic Copying Practices as Reflected Through Variants* (Columbia University Ph.D. Dissertation: New York, 1987).

⁷² D. Dobrusin, *The Nature of Ancient Northwest Semitic Copying Practices*, 24.

agrees with other features of systems we have already reviewed above, specifically the delineation between expansive or clarifying variants, and variants that bring a different meaning to the text.

One feature of Dobrusin's work that makes it unique among the models being assessed here is that it attempts to contrast different texts from varying localities and periods, by exposing all of the evidence to the same method of analysis. This is perhaps the reason that Dobrusin's system of categorisation is so much less complicated than, say, Cogan's or Polak's. To make the methodology flexible enough to be used in differing contexts, Dobrusin has kept her classification of variants broad and uncomplicated. This is something we will have to keep in mind when forming our own methodology, given that we will face the same challenge of making our method adaptable to as many text forms as possible.

In his critical edition of the Epic of Gilgamesh, George attempts to define the exact nature of recensional variations between the first millennium manuscripts, coming to the conclusion that "a methodology seeking to view variant readings as necessarily indicative of recensional differences is exposed as naïve."⁷³

George's system of categorising variant types delineates between words or phrases that are modified grammatically or completely replaced, words that are added or omitted, and phrases and lines that are reworked. More infrequently whole lines can be omitted en-

⁷³ A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 431.

tirely, or two or more lines are transposed or reordered.⁷⁴ In particular instances some regional variations can be grouped and analysed, such as in the sources recovered from royal complex at Kuyunjik in Nineveh. Here George lists differences in anaptyctic vowels, the transposition of nouns and adjectives according to stylistic or poetic conditioning, the intrusion of syntactic elements that affect poetic style, or the intrusion of Assyrian dialect forms.⁷⁵ There is also particular consideration given to the various nuances of orthography and underlying pronunciation among the texts from this site.⁷⁶

Also of particular interest for our present examination is George's in depth discussion of the provenience and physical properties of the sources he examines. The find-sites of the tablets are discussed in as much detail as excavation and museum records allow, and where available in-text indications, such as colophons, are also brought into the analysis.⁷⁷ Special attention is also given to the physical properties of the tablets so that commonalities or differences in format and production serve to further delineate types of manuscripts, aiding the process of textual affiliation and categorisation beyond the treatment of common or peculiar textual variants.

⁷⁴ See the summary in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429. Specifically George cites examples of 'substantive' differences as: expansion or contraction of the text; transposed lines, words or phrases; variant lines, words or phrases; omitted words or phrases; interchanges of words or phrases; differences in gender or number; differences in tense, stem or mood; the addition or omission of suffixes or enclitics; different genitive constructions; differences in dialect or pronunciation; and minor differences in words or expressions (see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 419-29).

⁷⁵ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 431-37.

⁷⁶ See the discussion of forms in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 437-42. The particular examples listed there will be discussed in the following chapters as they become relevant to the analyses of the cuneiform sources.

⁷⁷ See the thorough treatment of all known manuscripts for the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 379-417.

Tigay's proposed method for examining the transmission process behind the Gilgamesh Epic is also important to our present investigation.⁷⁸ He groups variants into those that reflect less extensive and more extensive differences in the text. Among the less extensive changes that occur between copies of the Gilgamesh Epic, Tigay lists corruptions, changes in grammatical forms, interchange of synonyms, addition or omission of words or phrases, expansions and contractions, altered formulaic constructions, and minor changes in word sequence. Listed as more extensive changes are the restructuring of whole sections, assimilation of similar passages, and changes in characterisation.⁷⁹

Finally, we turn to the examination of Tablet XI of the Gilgamesh Epic by Young.⁸⁰ In this study, Young classifies three types of variation between his sources: orthographic, linguistic and content variants. This marks a development from the earlier distinction between orthographic and non-orthographic variants in Young's examination of the Judean Desert texts.⁸¹ By including 'linguistic' variants as a separate category, Young distinguishes a difference between variants that affect, for example, the conjugation of verbs, and variants that significantly alter meaning in the text.⁸² This is an important distinction, and is reflected, for example, in the classification of 'grammatical' type variants in the

⁷⁸ J.H. Tigay, "Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives," 21-52.

⁷⁹ See J.H. Tigay, "Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives," 40-41.

⁸⁰ See I. Young, "Textual Stability," 174-183.

⁸¹ For example, see the method employed in I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 370-378, and I. Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," 81-83.

⁸² See in particular the methodology outlined in I. Young, "Textual Stability," 6-7.

methodologies of Tigay and Cogan. Young weighs linguistic variants as more significant than orthographic variants, but less significant than content variants.

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

Creating a Methodology

In formulating our own approach to the comparative analysis of ancient texts we will adopt those features shared in common from the systems surveyed above in chapter one, as well as some features specific to certain models that are deemed to suit our purposes. Most prominent in our system will be the treatment of all variant readings as, *prima facie*, alternative readings, unless they are shown to be obviously genetic. Hence we will refer not to *changes*, but *differences* between copies. We may also refer to *additions* or *omission* in a source, or may state that an element is *lacking* in one source, without this denoting a judgement as to which source preserves the more original reading.

Regarding the textual differences in the Dead Sea Torah scrolls relative to the MT, the discussion will frequently begin from the point of view of the MT as *Haupttext*, even though in reality it is fully realised that the relationship between textual variants is often complex and difficult to ascertain. In practice maintaining a neutral tone throughout the entire presentation and discussion of the variants in this regard results in unnecessary verbosity and clumsily egalitarian phraseology. It is the decision of the writer that it is better to concede at this early stage that any apparent bias in the language here employed is purely a means to facilitate ease and efficiency of expression.

Based on the methodologies reviewed above we can begin our present analysis by asserting a series of rules that will apply to each situation in which a difference between two or

more sources is considered. Every variant that is encountered in the following analysis will be analysed according to the following criteria.

Rule 1: *All variants are prima facie alternative readings.* This rule stipulates that every variant must be considered *a priori* as a possible alternative reading unless the reading fails to meet the criteria as discussed in chapter 1, namely those conditions outlined by Pulikottil.⁸³

Rule 2: *Reconstructed variants are not counted.* That is, all variants must be graphically present in the sources to be considered. No variations that are the result of scholarly restoration of the manuscripts based on considerations of space will be treated in the following analysis.

Rule 3: *Only one variant can be counted for each semogenic unit.* That is, if a single semogenic unit⁸⁴ contains two variants, such as an orthographic and a linguistic difference, only one of these differences may be counted in the analysis.⁸⁵ In such instances the variant that is counted is dependent upon Rule 4.

Rule 4: *The most conservative reading is preferred.* If a variant reading may be interpreted as either of two variant types, the variant type that has the least impact on the

⁸³ "... unless a deviant reading does not fit in the grammatical or linguistic context of the passage, or disrupt the logical flow of the passage, it cannot be considered to be an error," (P. Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran*, 24).

⁸⁴ For a use of the term 'semogenic unit' in this study see the discussion below, pages 38-45.

⁸⁵ This follows the methodology set out in I. Young, "Textual Stability," 6.

meaning of the text is taken as the default reading. In general this will mean that a choice between the reading of an orthographic or linguistic variant will result in an orthographic variant being read, while a choice between an expansive plus and a difference in hermeneutic will result in the reading of an expansive plus, and so on. This rule ensures that the least amount of conscious alteration to the meaning of the text is assumed on the part of the scribe in any instance of variation between the sources.⁸⁶

Another important element in our methodology is the delineation of different types of ‘content’ or ‘substantive’ variants into categories that reflect common observations in the systems surveyed above. That is, we will categorise variants with an emphasis on delineating between updating, expanding and extraneous differences. As was noted in relation to Dobrusin’s study, every effort should be made to keep categories of variation relatively uncomplicated, to allow for their adaptation to as many textual environments as necessary. In this way some of the mechanisms defined in the models surveyed above, for example the delineation between expansive verbs and other grammatical forms, will be abandoned in the interests of keeping the analysis as broad and adaptable as possible.

Variations are thus described as textual, stylistic or hermeneutic. Textual variants denote those that are manifested in the texts at a graphical level only, such as spelling or dialect differences. Such variations exist at the letter-level of the text, and typically represent updates towards what the scribe perceives as ‘correct’ forms. On a more substantial level we will define stylistic and hermeneutic variations in the sources. These variations exist

⁸⁶ See the rationale described in I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 372 n. 28.

at the word-level of the text and in Polak's language occupy whole or multiple syntactic slots. Stylistic variants "do little to change the content of the text but affect the presentation and form of the text," while hermeneutic variants "alter the text for the purpose of presenting a different characteristic, perspective or message."⁸⁷ A more detailed description of each category follows.

Textual Variants – Orthographic

Orthographic variations between the sources can be considered to be of relatively minor significance. Such variants rather narrowly relate to the graphical representation of individual phonemes and generally make no difference to the sense of the text. This seems to be the case for all texts examined here, whether the script is logographic, syllabic or alphabetical, and whether the language is East or West Semitic. As a result matters of spelling are frequently relegated to the most sundry category available as they have the least impact on the text's meaning. And, as orthography is that grammatical property most readily updated throughout a text's history of transmission, there is every reason for it to be treated similarly here.⁸⁸

These variations are therefore labelled Orthographic Variants, which is abbreviated to OV in the lists. In alphabetical texts this typically denotes a difference in the representa-

⁸⁷ See D. Dobrusin, *The Nature of Ancient Northwest Semitic Copying Practices as Reflected Through Variants* (Columbia University Ph.D. Dissertation: New York, 1987) 24. Dobrusin uses the term 'substantive' rather than 'hermeneutic,' but the sense is the same. For the terminology used in the present analysis I am indebted to Professor Avi Hurvitz, private conversation.

⁸⁸ This much was already noted in W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1940) 43-47.

tion of vowels, elision of stem markers in verbs (such as the representation of the digraph **𐤍**, or affixed **𐤍** of the *hiph 'il* stem. In cuneiform documents this denotes differences in the signs chosen by a scribe. This includes the exchange of two signs with one sign (such as CV-VC with CVC), the use of different signs with the same phonetic value, and the exchange of logographic forms with phonetically written forms. In addition, we include under Orthographic Variants differences in the use of phonetic complements, which generally provide information as to case or number in nouns.

Textual Variants – Orthographic (linguistic)

Also listed as orthographic variants are grammatical phenomena that may be more properly identified as linguistic. These variants are introduced either intentionally or unconsciously, and typically change the language towards a dialect or grammatical practice better known to the copyist, or perceived to be more ‘correct.’ These types of ‘language variation’ represent differences in the phonetic perspective of the copyist that may be related to dialect or pronunciation. As such, it is similar to orthographic variation in that it is almost explicitly concerned with the graphical representation of particular phones. The important difference, though, is that linguistic variations actually have an effect on morphology. These grammatical changes, although often appearing very much like variations in spelling, emerge in response to the actual use of the language in a living environment.

However, the lines between what one can fairly call an orthographic or a linguistic variation become somewhat blurred in certain circumstances. For example, we often find the spelling **𐤍𐤁** in a Qumran biblical text against **𐤍** in the parallel section of the MT. Now,

we are surely correct to see this as a minor orthographic variation that simply reflects the tendency of some scribes to represent the vowel ‘ō’ graphically, while others do not.⁸⁹

An ostensibly similar phenomenon occurs with the second person masculine suffix conjugation in Hebrew, written as ׀׀- in many Qumran texts, as opposed to the more familiar ׀- that occurs in the vast majority in the MT. However, it is likely that in the second instance the addition of the letter ׀ to the suffixed form of the verb marks a change in the linguistic profile of the copyist, reflecting a living dialectal difference, and not an orthographic convention.⁹⁰

The point of difference between the spelling of the word ׀׀ with or without *mater lectionis*, and masculine verbs ending in affirmative ׀׀- or ׀-, is between orthographic convention on one hand, and the representation of the spoken language on the other. The difficulty lies in determining whether the scribe is recording what a particular orthographic convention dictates, or graphically representing the audible form of the spoken language. In truth we can never be absolute in our determination one way or the other.

⁸⁹ According to E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1959) 20, the spelling ׀׀׀ did in fact represent a linguistic difference, serving as an indication to avoid the pronunciation of the negative particle as in Aramaic. For a variation on this theory see W.M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118, 2 (1999) 248.

⁹⁰ See note below.

Some of the orthographic phenomena we encounter stem from archaic forms which elsewhere have fallen out of use.⁹¹ It is certainly permissible, then, that linguistic differences underlie some variations in orthography. However, the issue is clouded by evidence that certain copyists used orthographic conventions to demarcate texts linguistically, as has been suggested for some of the Qumran Scrolls.⁹²

In the cuneiform documents we are presented with a different set of linguistic phenomena that raise essentially the same methodological issue. We have already mentioned the occurrences of phonetic complements that may be seen as more linguistic than orthographic phenomena. In general, case endings in the cuneiform sources are often irregularly employed, and in some instances vary when the sense of the text clearly remains the same.⁹³

⁹¹ E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 438, suggests that the long form of the third person masculine singular independent pronoun ִאִיִּי retained the Proto-Semitic ending, softened to ‘-ah.’ In contrast this ending has disappeared from Biblical Hebrew. Against this we find a mixture of long and short forms of this pronoun in different sectarian documents. The long form is used exclusively in 1QS (fifteen times), while the short form is used exclusively in 1QH (six times) and 11QT (36 times, although there is one instance of the long form in 11QT^b [11Q20] v 21). The few occurrences in 1QM are mixed (two instances of the short form against four of the long form).

⁹² See W.M. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew," 235-252; S. Weitzman, "Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, 1 (1999); and previously S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," *Vetus Testamentum* 38, 2 (1988). Schniedewind considers that a characteristic system of orthography operated as an ‘antilanguage,’ employed by the copyists to define themselves culturally through an artificially imposed diglossia. V. de Caën, "Hebrew Linguistics and Biblical Criticism: A Minimalist Programme," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 3 (2001) 10-25 rejects this interpretation, instead considering the phenomena reflective of diachronic development within the language.

⁹³ In MUL.APIN tablet I ii 9, BM86278 reads “MUŠEN aribu MUL ^dAdad,” while the parallel document BM32311 reads “MUŠEN aribi MUL ^dAdad.” In the next line “^dŠubulu” appears in the former text against “^dŠubula” in the latter. In both cases the taxonomic style of the text suggests no difference in declination is

In other instances we find possible Sumerian case endings preserved that are lacking in parallel copies.⁹⁴ Any of these types of variation could be due to either orthographic convention or linguistic representation. The fact is that in many instances we cannot know which phenomenon we are dealing with. In light of this it seems the best option before us is to relegate all of the potentially orthographic variations to the same category, even if dialectal influences may be at work in particular cases, to avoid introducing a high degree of subjectivity into our analysis. In the hope that variations that might point to possible linguistic differences are not entirely lost in our examination, those cases will be marked as Orthographic Variants (linguistic) abbreviated to OV(l). However, during the course of the analysis, OV and OV(l) will be dealt with largely as a unit.

Stylistic Variants

The category of stylistic variants covers the broadest range of differences between the source texts. While OV and OV(l) variants affect the text below the level of whole syntactic slots, stylistic variants represent those variations between the sources that affect the text at the level of whole or multiple syntactic slots.

We can define three different types of stylistic variation. The first relates to a difference between forms that retain the same meaning between the parallel sources. Shorter forms

intended by the difference. There are numerous other examples of the same phenomena in the other cuneiform texts examined. See, for example, the prologue to LH, or Gilgamesh XI *passim*.

⁹⁴ In tablet number 63 of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* (the so-called Venus Tablet of Ammizaduga) we find four copies in which the tenth omen includes the form KÙ.GI.GA.KAM, while in one text (BM36395) we find the form KÙ.GI.GA.KE₄. The genitive marker in Sumerian (-AK > -K) is either spelled differently in the latter document, or the latter document preserves an ergative post-position marker (-E). See the full discussion in the listed variants.

include: an extra conjunction, object marker, interrogative and locative ׀, or definite article; the exchange of prefixed prepositions; independent prepositions in the cases of לֹ / עַל; the use of resumptive particles such as לֹ and מִן in various clauses; differences in grammatical person, gender or number between the sources; and the exchange of lexemes that are contextually synonymous – a class of variation noted in almost all of the models examined above. Given that an exchange of synonyms, by definition, only affects the meaning of the text on a minor level (or the words would not be synonymous) this type of variant has been collated with conjunctions or other particles that are also of minor significance. Thus all of the variants in this first sub-category are listed as Stylistic Variants (Type 1), abbreviated to SV(1).

The second type of stylistic variation relates to forms that expand on the meaning of a parallel manuscript, usually for means of clarification. Such variants include any lexemes that can be considered as adding to the text without specifically contradicting any content in a parallel source.⁹⁵ This reflects the description of alternative readings that are ‘pluses,’ ‘expansionistic’ or ‘additional’ in the models of Clines, Cogan, Polak, George, Tigay and Tov, or those defined as ‘stylistic reiteration’ by Talmon. These variations do not alter the overall meaning of the text, but rather act to clarify or extend meaning typically by the insertion of explicating or expansive pluses. Variants in this sub-category are listed as Stylistic Variants (Type 2), abbreviated to SV(2).

⁹⁵ This includes readings where additional material of uncertain content exists in one source against other parallel sources. In this situation, where the nature of the additional material cannot be determined beyond the knowledge that it is extraneous to the parallel sources, the material is assumed to be expansionary rather than contradictory, and is counted as SV(2).

The final sub-category of stylistic variation relates to differences in the word order of parallel manuscripts. It reflects the category of changes in sequence, or changes in word order, represented in the models of Tov, Cogan, George and Tigay. It also reflects the category of 'stylistic metathesis and textual inversion' described by Talmon.⁹⁶ Variants in this final sub-category are listed as Stylistic Variants (*Type 3*), abbreviated to SV(3).

Hermeneutic Variants

The final category of variation relates to forms that alter the meaning of the parallel manuscript. These are the most significant differences between parallel texts. Shorter forms of this category are typically changes in definitive information, such as cardinal or ordinal numbers. In the biblical text hermeneutic variation generally involves exegetical changes, whereas in non-biblical texts this category can involve opposing and contradictory observational information such as weather or planetary movements, as well as changes to chronological information. Variations of this type are listed as Hermeneutic Variants, abbreviated to HV.

The Quantification of Texts

In order to render our texts adaptable to a statistical analysis, it is necessary to reduce each of our sources into data streams that can be counted and registered statistically. To this end we must decide on a system of quantifying our texts into units that can be easily defined and counted. These units should be adjustable to the characteristics of any of the

⁹⁶ See S. Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible - A New Outlook," *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975) 438.

languages we are likely to encounter in our examination, which means that the quanta we decide upon should be capable of defining individual units within texts that are composed in alphabetical, syllabic or logographic scripts. The unit of calculation that we employ in the following study should thus be capable of quantifying texts written in any of these scripts, without bias towards one system of writing or another. In defining such a versatile unit of quantification we will ultimately produce a more detailed and finely tuned analysis.

The studies reviewed above typically use a ‘word’ as their main unit of calculation. A word is generally counted as a group of letters or signs situated between word dividers, which are commonly represented by dots or spaces. It should be pointed out, though, that the tendency in Semitic languages is to package multiple semogenic units into singular groups of letters, without separating these letter-groups with word dividers.⁹⁷ Thus, a typical Hebrew form like לְסוּסִים may be counted in any one of the reviewed models as one word, given that it is a single series of uninterrupted letters, separated from other letter-groups by word dividers at either end of the series. However, if we consider the semogenic parts of this letter-group, we find that multiple morphemes are collated to construct semogenic units that each have an identifiable meaning. In the form לְסוּסִים an initial preposition indicates a beneficiary, and this is followed by a plural noun, “horses.” The final element in the series is a second person masculine possessive pronominal suffix. The whole package constitutes three definable semogenic units that are collated into one series of uninterrupted letters.

⁹⁷ M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Arnold, 2004³) 9, describes the term ‘semogenic’ as relating to the smallest textual unit that creates meaning.

Quantifying the texts that we are to examine into units that are defined as semogenic thus allows us to be more specific as to how much meaning is contained within a given passage of text. Units of calculation that are based on such a rationale could in turn serve to give a greater degree of accuracy when attempting to indicate exactly how much difference in meaning there is between two parallel documents that vary in relation to each other in small textual details.

An example can be constructed as follows. Let us assume that the form **בבוֹאֵי** exists in one manuscript, and is paralleled in another manuscript of the same text by the form **לְהַבִּיאֵם**.* If we count the forms in parallel attestation using a ‘word’ as our unit of calculation, we would have two word units (one in each manuscript) that showed one type of variation.⁹⁸ Alternatively, were we to quantify our texts using a system of semogenic delimitation, we would count six units (three in each manuscript) that showed three types of variation: a prepositional interchange between **ב** and **ל** that counts as SV(1), one OV(l) variation between *qal* and *hiph’il* conjugations of the verb **בִּוֵּאֵ**, and the variation of a 3ms and a 3mpl pronominal suffix that would be counted as SV(1). Such an understanding of this textual variant gives us a more nuanced perspective of exactly how much difference in meaning there is between these two hypothetical manuscripts.

It may be suggested that it would be preferable to quantify our texts by delineating units based on morphology, rather than to deal with terminology that includes abstract units of

⁹⁸ This would be in consideration of Rule 3 as set out above.

calculation based on semantic content. It is certainly true that a terminology which is based on semantic quantification does lend itself to subjective definitions and delineations. After all, quanta defined in linguistic terminology as ‘semes,’ ‘sememes,’ ‘archisemes’ and ‘semantic units’ are all units of qualification, rather than quantification.⁹⁹ These operate above the lexico-grammatical level of the text to bring about the signification of meaning. Thus, a terminology of semantics is generally employed to communicate something about a lexeme’s meaning on an abstract level, and as such multiple ‘semantic features,’ or ‘content figures,’¹⁰⁰ can be attributed to a lexeme while not actually finding graphical representation in the form of the lexeme itself.¹⁰¹ The ‘lexicogrammar,’ to borrow a term from Halliday,¹⁰² forms a continuum between morphology and lexical units (vocabulary) that is used to facilitate semogenesis, but semogenesis is not explicitly represented quantitatively in the lexicogrammar. Semogenesis is accomplished on a level

⁹⁹ See D. Geeraerts, "Componential Analysis," *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (ed. R.E. Asher; vol. 2; Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1994) 648-50, for a convenient definition and history of the first three terms. Regarding ‘semantic units’ T.C. Potts, *Structures and Categories for the Representation of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 251, has said that their “implicit criterion ... is that an expression A is a semantic unit in an expression B just in case a further expression C, being the same meaning as A, may be substituted for A ... *salva veritate*.” None of these terms defines a quantifiable unit that is always graphically expressed in the text. The term ‘sememe’ is a possible exception, the earliest usage for which was “einfach für die Lexikalische Bedeutung eines Morphems” according to W. Abraham, *Terminologie zur neueren Linguistik* (vol. 2; Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1988) 747. However, the subsequent development of this term towards a more narrow meaning negates its usefulness in the present study.

¹⁰⁰ The terminology employed here is as broad and inclusive as possible. Both of the terms ‘semantic features’ and ‘content figures’ are used by linguists to refer to a lexeme’s particular set of semantic values. See O. Durcot and T. Todorov, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Sciences of Language* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979) 265.

¹⁰¹ See S.A. Groom, *Linguistic Analysis of Biblical Hebrew* (Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 2003) 111. Semantic features are “not considered as signifieds themselves, since there is no signifier that corresponds to them” (O. Durcot and T. Todorov, *Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 265).

¹⁰² M.A.K. Halliday, *Functional Grammar*, 7.

that is abstracted from the lexicogrammar, by the interaction of the lexicogrammar and the interpreter.

So, given the implicit problems that occur when we employ semantic terminology, surely we would be better served by the use of the morpheme as our main unit of quantification. Such units would be much more adaptable to a statistical analysis, given that they are quantitatively represented in the lexicogrammar and do not require any subjective interpretation to delineate them in a text. Individual morphemes have a formal unity, in that each allomorph is represented consistently in the lexicogrammar. They possess functional unity, as each morpheme fulfills a definable function in the syntax of a language. Every morpheme also has its own semantic unity, possessing a fundamental meaning which exists in all occurrences.¹⁰³

However, a system of quantification based on morphological delimitation raises problems for our study due to the various writing systems we encounter. That is, not all of our texts permit themselves to a consistent morphological breakdown while maintaining an equal representation in the statistical analysis. For example, documents written in cuneiform script can represent entire words with either a single logogram, or through a more elongated string of syllabic signs. Now, suppose we were to encounter, as we do, a cuneiform text that is represented by multiple parallel copies. Suppose also that some copies of this text represent particular words with logograms, while the same words are represented in

¹⁰³ See D.G. Lockwood, "The Problem of Inflected Morphemes," *Readings in Stratificational Linguistics* (eds A. Makkai and D.G. Lockwood; Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1973) 190, for this description of the qualities of morphemes.

parallel copies using strings of syllabic signs. Were we to quantify this parallel text using morphological units, we would find that some copies (using syllabic forms) would produce greater statistical values than other copies (using logographic forms). This would present us with the problem that, while all copies essentially held the same amount of meaning and differed only in terms of their orthography, our statistical results would be skewed to represent the copies with more written morphemes (spelled out syllabically) as showing a higher ratio of calculated units to variants than the copies with less written morphemes (compressed within logograms).

Such a distorted statistical result might be permissible if the phenomenon just described only occurred in a small number of cases, however it would appear that certain texts regularly represent particular words with single logograms while parallel copies represent the same words with multiple morphemes fully expressed with syllabic signs.¹⁰⁴ It therefore seems obvious to us that a system of quantification needs to be devised that can treat a single logographic form as equal to a longer syllabic form, given that each form is iden-

¹⁰⁴ For example, in the parallel copies of MUL.APIN we find that BM 86378 iii 9 represents the plural verb *innammāru* with the compound logogram IGI.LÁ, while AO7540 ii 9 has IGI^{ME}, and K 6558 + Sm 1907 ii 6' has IGI. Each text clearly means to write a plural verb, as the multiple subjects to which the verb refers attest in each copy. If we are to base the quantification of our texts on morphology, we would count two morphemes for the first two forms, and one morpheme for the third form. In so doing we create the mistaken impression in our statistical analysis that there is less information being communicated in the third text, when in fact all texts communicate the same plural verb form and differ only in their orthography. Another example occurs in the parallel copies of the 63rd tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil*. BM 36395 regularly represents the lexeme *u''aram* with the logogram ZAL, whereas the parallel texts K2321+K3032 and W1924.802 consistently use the syllabic spelling *u''-a-ram*. Another parallel text, K160, uses a mixture of the two forms. There are, as would be expected in cuneiform writing, many other instances of the same phenomenon to be found in our texts.

tical, excepting their respective orthography. Such a system must necessarily quantify a text based on quantified semantic value, rather than morphological value, for, as we have just shown, morphology is not necessarily consistently represented between two parallel copies.

There is another alternative open to us that still allows for the use of morphemes as a quantifying unit of calculation. That method would be to reconstruct a cuneiform text's morphology based on what the logograms imply, thus equating logographic forms to syllabic forms in the statistical analysis. However, this solution creates a greater methodological problem than it resolves: it generates statistical evidence based on conjectural readings that find no graphical representation in the texts themselves. By employing such a methodology we would have to concede that some of the data included in our analysis would come from morphological material that was essentially invented by the process of examination itself. Such an analysis could not claim to accurately represent the texts under examination.

These considerations raise the question as to which morphemes should be ignored to avoid conjectural values leaking into the statistical results. Such cases as unwritten definite forms (definite articles assimilated to prepositions, or in construct chains), and so-called 'zero' morphemes (the 3ms suffix conjugation verb) should be ignored because they are not represented graphically. In addition to these non-graphic morphemes we should exclude morphemes that are semantically bound to other morphemes. We are thinking here in particular of plural markers and markers of gender, which are semanti-

cally ‘packaged’ with nouns to comprise one semogenic ‘packet.’ For example, the plural noun סוסיִם would be read as containing one semogenic part: ‘horses,’ rather than two semogenic parts: ‘horse’ + ‘plurality.’ Likewise, the feminine noun סוּסָה would be read as one semogenic unit comprising ‘horse’ + ‘feminine gender.’

We conclude, then, that using basic morphology to quantify our texts is inadequate. It would also seem from the previous discussion that semantic quantification is problematic. We will therefore try to seek some middle ground between morphological and semantic content in order to define our main unit of calculation in the present analysis. Our system will be based primarily on morphological quantification as these units are represented unambiguously in the written lexicogrammar. However, we will exclude the counting of some morphemes where statistical inconsistencies would result and where particular morphemes are considered to be semantically bound to others.

It remains only to decide upon some terminology that will sufficiently describe the unit of calculation that fits our requirements in the present context. In the absence of an appropriate extant term, at least as far as I can determine, we will use the term ‘semogenic unit,’ abbreviated to SU, when referring to the quanta.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ That an appropriate label is lacking from current scholarship is typified in B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 63, where grammatical units are given in ascending order as the phoneme, morpheme, word, clause and sentence. In this taxonomy semogenic units would stand between morphemes and words.

CHAPTER 3: INTRODUCTION TO THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS

Defining Parallel Texts

It can be considered a maxim of the present study that scribes in antiquity who copied texts without necessarily maintaining exact letter or word sequences did not transmit their texts in a precise way, and the texts thus reproduced will therefore not show themselves through statistical analysis to be stable in transmission. On the other hand, copyists who reproduced texts with the intention of representing as accurately as possible the sequence of letters or words that existed in the copyist's exemplar will by definition qualify as texts that are transmitted in a stable way.

The problem remains of how the text-critic is to determine which texts are to be analysed for signs of stability in transmission and which are to be left aside. For one, it is a surety that the textual corpus of the ancient near east is too extensive to be subjected in its entirety to a rigorous analysis in the space available here. It is unavoidable that some compromise must be made between the constraints of space in the present paper on one hand, and the sheer volume of texts in the ancient near eastern corpus on the other.

The Historical Setting

We have restricted this investigation to cuneiform tablets from the first millennium B.C.E. Texts will primarily be in Akkadian though some intermittent encounters with Sumerian will be inevitable. Texts written exclusively in Sumerian will not be considered.

The first millennium B.C.E. cuneiform evidence examined here is primarily available from the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian periods, although occasional Seleucid period copies do exist. This means that our potential data covers the period from the middle of the eighth century B.C.E. to at least the late fourth century B.C.E.

The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (669-627 B.C.E.) is attributed with instigating the large scale collection and reproduction of cuneiform documents.¹⁰⁶ The discovery of large

¹⁰⁶ The most well known evidence for attributing the collation of texts at Nineveh to Ashurbanipal are the tablets BM25676 and BM25678, published as CT XXII 1. These tablets are two copies of a letter in which “[a]n Assyrian king, who most probably is Ashurbanipal, gives ... a written order to his agents in Babylonia to search for tablets that might be useful for his royal library” (J.C. Fincke, "The Babylonian Texts of Nineveh: Report on the British Museum's Ashurbanipal Library Project," *AfO* 50 (2004) 122). While the sender is not so named, the letter is commonly attributed to Ashurbanipal. For example, see A.K. Grayson, "Assyrian Civilization," *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume III, Part 2: The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth Century to the Sixth Century* (eds J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996²) 227. However, note the objections in S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts: Towards an Understanding of Assurbanipal's Personal Tablet Collection," *Lingering Over Words: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Literature in Honor of William L. Moran* (eds T. Abusch, J. Heuhnergard, and P. Steinkeller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 310, against these tablets being genuine official correspondence: "It is, rather, a student's copy of a (practice) letter, or rather two students' copies of the same letter." This may be the case, but the reputation of Ashurbanipal as a collector and reader of diverse texts remains strong by way

amounts of tablets at Kuyunjik, the main mound at Nineveh, were made during excavations by A.H. Layard, H.C. Rawlinson and H. Rassam. The excavations were undertaken from the middle to the end of the 19th century, and the recovered artefacts included many literary texts. These probably came from libraries which were situated in the Southwest Palace, North Palace, and in the Ištar and Nabû temples.¹⁰⁷ The texts include what is referred to as Ashurbanipal's royal library, although it seems evident that more than one location was used to house texts at Nineveh.¹⁰⁸ Many of the *ca.* 5000 literary texts unearthed bear colophons that contain Ashurbanipal's name. Texts with colophons containing the names of other kings are likewise thought to have been collected by Ashurbanipal, though their original locations may have been in libraries in other cities.¹⁰⁹

A collection that ostensibly comes from the accumulated library of an Assyrian monarch presents a special opportunity for our analysis. The existence of multiple copies of literary texts contained within one area may allow us to identify copying practices that are

of the references in many of his inscriptions, colophons, and correspondence. See the primary references in J.C. Fincke, "Babylonian Texts of Nineveh," 120-122.

¹⁰⁷ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 389, has provisionally suggested that it is possible that the tablets written during Ashurbanipal's reign were stored in the North Palace, while those from an earlier period were kept in the Southwest Palace.

¹⁰⁸ See J. Reade, "Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives," *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (ed. K.R. Veenhof; Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1986) 217-22. Perhaps one is more correct to talk of Ashurbanipal's libraries in the plural, which is the language used by S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," *JNES* 42, 1 (1983). See also J. Reade, "Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives," 218 on the problems of separating which texts were in the textual collections from the North Palace and the Southwest Palace in antiquity.

¹⁰⁹ See O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500-300 B.C.* (Maryland: CDL Press, 1998) 158-65. Pedersén determines that the approximate number of 30,000 tablets or fragments of tablets can be reduced by about one third if joins are taken into account. S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," 6-8 notes that of the 30,000 tablets or fragments around 6,000 are non-literary texts.

based on solid statistical evidence. The potential for comparative material to be present in this collection is illustrated by the historical events that underlie its formation.

“During the first 20 years of Ashurbanipal’s reign, his brother Šamaš-šum-ukin was appointed king of Babylonia, but later revolted against his brother. In 648 BC, Ashurbanipal was victorious in the civil war and took over the kingship of Babylonia. The situation gave him direct access to all the Babylonian temple archives. When Ashurbanipal created his extensive royal library in the citadel of his Assyrian capital city Nineveh he incorporated Assyrian and Babylonian tablets into the collection. The tablets written in Babylonian characters may have been imported from Babylonian libraries, whereas others could have been written by Babylonian scribes in the service of the Assyrian king.”¹¹⁰

Ashurbanipal apparently engaged the services of Babylonian scribes to copy some of the texts that contributed to his library, most likely a practice established by his father Esarhaddon.¹¹¹ Also, library records recovered from excavations at Nineveh show that a large number of texts were acquired from Babylonia immediately following the fall of Babylon and the death of Šamaš-šum-ukin midway through the seventh century B.C.E.¹¹² These texts came not only from official collections but also from the private collections

¹¹⁰ J.C. Fincke, "Babylonian Texts of Nineveh," 112.

¹¹¹ See J.C. Fincke, "Babylonian Texts of Nineveh," 117-18.

¹¹² S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," 11 notes that preceding the fall of Babylon in 648 B.C.E. “the Assyrian government had no right to interfere with the internal affairs of Babylonia, least of all to lay claim to the private property of her citizens; here, however, we all of a sudden find large quantities of Babylonian literary tablets being channelled into Assyria a few months after the conquest of the country. It seems likely that the Assyrian monarch, well known for his literary interests, was utilizing the situation to add to the collections of his libraries.”

of professionals. Subsequently a number of the tablets recovered from Kuyunjik are written in Babylonian script.¹¹³ Thus during the reign of Ashurbanipal there appears to have been a tendency towards the centralisation of the literary corpus and a mixing of scribal cultures.¹¹⁴ These are conditions that provide a solid platform from which to launch an analysis of textual transmission. The texts from Kuyunjik will therefore be critical to our investigation, and other material will generally be incorporated to add contrast to the picture that emerges from this particular collection.¹¹⁵

In addition to the texts from Kuyunjik we can also include texts from other areas in Assyria and Babylonia. Libraries existed in official and private contexts in many other locations in Mesopotamia during the first millennium B.C.E., and tablets are included in the present study from Assur, Babylon, Borsippa, Nimrud, Sippar and Sultantepe. We also include many tablets whose origins are uncertain and can only be conjectured based on palaeography and museum catalogue numbers. Notes will be made on the issues sur-

¹¹³ This includes several copies that will be examined here, including copies of MUL.APIN (K3020; K3852; K8598; K13254; K15929), and copies of the Venus Tablet (K2321+3032; K3105). S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," 5-6, found that the number of texts imported from Babylonia, as reflected in the library records, was somewhere in the vicinity of 2,000 tablets. Considering the number of tablets uncovered at Nineveh this represents "a major acquisition to the library."

¹¹⁴ Assyrian scribes would presumably have copied texts that were also copied by Babylonian scribes, as the mixture of Assyrian script and Babylonian script among the copies would seem to suggest. That the scribal culture of Babylonia was essentially more developed and fruitful than its Assyrian counterpart has been suggested by A.K. Grayson, "Assyrian Civilization," 227, and this would explain why texts from the south were specifically sought out for inclusion in Ashurbanipal's library.

¹¹⁵ U. Jeyes, "Assurbanipal's *Bârûtu*," *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIX^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6-10 Juli, 1992* (eds H. Watzoldt and H. Hauptmann; Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 6; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1997) 62, has observed that the material reproduced in the libraries at Nineveh reflects a relatively accurate copying processes, especially when compared to the transmission of the same texts in the Late Babylonian period.

rounding the provenance of individual tablets as they are examined. Even with our rather incomplete knowledge about the origins of many tablets, we can at least reconstruct very basic chronological and geographical frameworks for describing the texts.

The History of the Collections

Texts from official libraries, such as those that are located in palaces or temples, make up the bulk of our information, though their exact provenience is frequently uncertain. Such was the state of the art in the middle to late nineteenth century that the actions of some excavators were at times indistinguishable from those of looters. In addition to excavated finds, many tablets were purchased by representatives of the European museums from entrepreneurial locals. These local businessmen had the foresight to keep the locations of large finds to themselves, selling off tablets in limited quantities while refusing to disclose their origins to protect their own commercial interests. Scholars still occasionally discover fakes among the tablets purchased at this time, as the author has had occasion to witness at the British Museum. Happily, we are not concerned here with the counterfeits that were sold to the nineteenth century European archaeologists as authentic antiquities. These are decidedly in the minority, and relatively easy to spot.¹¹⁶ Rather, our concern is for the accuracy of the records kept by those early archaeologists as to the find-spots of

¹¹⁶ Professor Marcel Sigrist has pointed out to me that in general the perpetrator of the hoax lacked sufficient knowledge of the cuneiform script even to ensure all signs were facing the right way. On top of this, fakes are often made of irregular clay types and can appear unusual in their coloration. As museums often purchased tablets by the basket-full from antiquities dealers in Baghdad during the middle and late nineteenth century, it was not always possible for the counterfeit tablets to be discovered before they were packaged and shipped.

authentic tablets, and information as to the conditions under which many of the unprovenanced tablets were acquired.

As controlled excavations with sufficient notation are so rare, it is usually possible to talk only in very general terms about the archaeological context of tablets from either Assyrian or Babylonian localities. The most reliable information is that contained in the texts themselves, typically in the colophons or date formulae. Where information in the text is lacking, we can get some indication of where a tablet was found based on the museum numbers that were assigned to them. On this evidence we can make some comments about tablets in the British Museum from the Kuyunjik collection (K), those from the Rassam collections (Rm 1, 2), and those from Smith's excavations (DT, Sm). Only very limited information is available for the BM collection. As for the other museums, the few tablets we will consider from the Vorderasiatische collection of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (VAT) can be elucidated by the detailed reconstruction of the libraries and archives of the city of Assur by O. Pedersén.¹¹⁷ For the tablets with Nimrud (ND), Sultantepe (SU), University Museum in Philadelphia (CBS), and Musée de Louvre (AO) museum numbers, we will rely principally on the notes in the primary publications or catalogue entries, with some recourse to the surrounding scholarly literature.

Selecting the Texts for Analysis

The process of selecting textual material must of necessity be both methodologically sound and expedient in its application, so as a manageable body of textual material can be

¹¹⁷ O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations* (Studia Semetica Uppsaliensia 6; 2 vols; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1985).

amassed that will give a reasonable indication of what one can expect to find in the broader corpus of Ancient Near Eastern literature. A precondition of our comparative analysis is that it can only be executed upon texts that have been preserved in more than one ancient copy. Obviously for the most reliable statistical results it is preferable to have texts that exist in as many ancient copies as possible, but essentially only two copies from antiquity need remain. Needless to say a preference will be given in the main analysis to texts with the highest number of exemplars.

Texts can to some extent be selected based on the nature of their content as the rigidity and endurance of a given textual edition can often depend on the subject matter which the text itself addresses. It is perhaps an anachronism perpetrated by those unfamiliar with the textual character of Assyrian royal annals to expect there to be any intention towards exact accuracy in transmission in the minds of those ancient scribes that copied such texts. Any familiarity with the textual style of the various copies of these texts must inform the modern reader that the Assyrian scribe felt free to change the order of certain events, to omit certain material considered superfluous, and to re-order or exchange with contextually synonymous equivalents various lexemes and phrases in the exemplar before him. Expediency of language could certainly be a reason for such changes, as too could matters of personal preference and style. What is important is that there is no textual evidence that tells us that a scribe copying a tablet from Ashurbanipal's royal annals, perhaps even less than a single generation removed from when the autograph was inscribed, felt it necessary to exactly preserve the text of his exemplar by creating a highly accurate

copy. Rather, a transmitted text of this type was something that owed some of its form to the style and preference of the scribe that copied it.¹¹⁸

Other texts, such as astronomical diaries and mathematical treatises, are by their nature unsuitable for the present analysis. These were more likely to be one-off works that, if reproduced at all, usually contributed to subsequent refined texts.¹¹⁹ The same is true for the official and private correspondence, as well as the enormous number of legal and trade related documents so common to most archives in antiquity. These kinds of texts lack the prerequisite quality for our present purpose, namely to reflect “textual stability and fixed tablet sequence within a series.”¹²⁰

Oppenheim made essentially this binary distinction between types of texts when he grouped the cuneiform literature into two broad categories. The first “can loosely be termed the corpus of literary texts maintained, controlled, and carefully kept alive by a

¹¹⁸ Much of the wording in the preceding summary stems from discussions with M. Cogan between February and June 2007.

¹¹⁹ W. Horowitz, private conversation.

¹²⁰ The phrase is appropriated from S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts," 305, who thus describes Rochberg-Halton's use of the word 'canonicity.' Still, the expression captures the nature of the texts that are ideal for consideration in the present context. Some series may not have entirely fixed tablet sequences. See, for example, the colophon of W1924.802 compared with that of K2321+3032. The former, excavated from Kish in 1924 and written during the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.), is labelled as tablet 62 in the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*. The latter, presumably excavated from the libraries at Nineveh, but originally of Babylonian origin, states that the tablet is the 63rd in the same series. Interestingly, both W1924.802 and K2321+3032 are apparently of Babylonian origin – the former based on the statement in the colophon “copy from Babylon, written according to its original and collated,” and the latter based on its palaeography. See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone* (Kevelaer: Butson & Bercker, 1968) 58, 132, nos. 150 and 469 respectively.

tradition served by successive generations of learned and well-trained scribes.”¹²¹ He referred to these texts as the ‘stream of tradition.’ The second and far more numerous body of documents was the “impressive bulk of cuneiform tablets that contain the records of the day-to-day activities of the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, from kings down to shepherds.”¹²² The former group of texts is much more likely to provide multiple copies in diverse areas and across larger time-spans than are texts of the second type.

As a result our access to multiple copies of texts is generally limited to what may be cautiously termed the ‘canonical’ cuneiform texts, or the ‘stream of tradition.’ In these texts a relatively fixed form of content and structure is achieved through the collection of “various different forms of a text, and reconciling their differences.”¹²³ The prime candidates, so to speak, in an analysis of textual transmission are those texts that have “attained a kind of literary stabilization in the sense that old material was no longer being incorporated.”¹²⁴ Such textual entities are certainly well developed by the end of the

¹²¹ A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) 13.

¹²² A.L. Oppenheim, *Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 23.

¹²³ D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology* (Cuneiform Monographs 18 Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000) 11, n. 30. Brown admits that the “precise definition of canonical in this context is elusive.”

¹²⁴ F. Rochberg-Halton, "Canonicity in Cuneiform Texts," *JCS* 36 (1984) 127, but note the reservations in S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts," 333-34. Specifically in relation to the vast array of omen literature, see the comments in D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 11-12. It is evident that applying a biblically loaded term like ‘canon’ to the cuneiform literature is misleading. Even so, its use in a context mediated by modern scholarly debate remains legitimate.

eighth century B.C.E.¹²⁵ The focus of the present analysis must therefore be on the texts that were authoritative in this sense.

Representative texts from five broad categories will be analysed: omens, phenomenological observations, laws, epics and rituals.¹²⁶ The texts that exist in sufficient copies from each of these categories are: tablet 63 of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*; the ritual for inducting the cult image known as *mīs pî*; the astronomical work MUL.APIN; the Laws of Hammurabi; and the Epic of Gilgamesh. This selection is intended to include as broad a range of ancient Near Eastern textual genres as possible to determine what kinds of texts, if any, were likely to be copied with particular care and exactitude. We can thus set some informed limits on the amount of material eligible for analysis.

For tablet 63 of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, also known as the Venus Tablet of Ammizaduga, all available first millennium sources will be analysed and the most recent joins taken into

¹²⁵ The primary evidence for this view is constituted in the fragments published by W.G. Lambert, "A Catalogue of Texts and Authors," *JCS* 16, 3 (1962) 59-77. These fragments provide a list of what were viewed as closed bodies of work compiled by ancient authors. An important discussion of this catalogue and its implications appears in K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007) 42-44, 207-21. According to W.G. Lambert, "Catalogue," 63, at least three copies of the catalogue are represented by the fragments from Nineveh.

¹²⁶ It has not been possible to analyse texts of a more rigorously scientific nature, such as astronomical diaries or mathematical documents. Likewise, historical texts such as campaign annals have not been analysed as these also cannot be properly categorised as parallel copies of one text. M. Cogan, "Some Text-Critical Issues in the Hebrew Bible from an Assyriological Perspective," *Textus* 22 (2005) has shown that the variations between copies of the campaign annals of Ashurbanipal indicate that the transmission of such texts was undertaken in the interests of communicating core information, with much less concern for the absolute reproduction of the exact sequence of signs than in the other genres considered here. It can be said that certain genres promote attempts by scribes for a relatively high level of exactitude, while in other genres scribes seem to take a more free approach when copying a text.

account. For the text known as MUL.APIN, ‘the plough star,’ all available sources will be considered, including copies from personal libraries in Assur during the reigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. This affords us the special opportunity to examine the copies of one text both at the royal library in Nineveh, and in contemporary personal libraries in Assur, to see how the official copies and the personal copies from the same period compare. This could provide a valuable tool for comparison with the biblical material found in various locations in the Judean Desert. For the Laws of Hammurabi all available texts will be examined, with the exception of two minor texts.¹²⁷ Due to the length of the Epic of Gilgamesh only tablet XI of the twelve tablet series will be analysed here. The text called *mīs pī*, ‘washing of the mouth,’ is attested by copies from both Assyria and Babylonia, but only the Assyrian copies will be treated below. This is because the variation between the northern and southern editions is such that it is not possible to consider their particular exemplars as truly parallel texts.

It has been possible to consult a critical edition of the text presented in a score arrangement in most cases.¹²⁸ The critical editions provide each text with its sources in parallel,

¹²⁷ The following texts have been omitted from the analysis on account of the availability of cuneiform copies: a text from Sippar (Nr. 3/2166) excavated in 1986 which contains part of the prologue, and K6516 which contains part of the epilogue.

¹²⁸ The texts are: E. Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens: Part One, The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamia 2; Malibu: Undena Publications, 1975); H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (Archiv für Orientforschung 24; Horn: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellschaft, 1989); A.R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts* (2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); C. Walker and M.B. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian Mīs Pī Ritual: Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001). The present writer has undertaken to compose a score edition of the first millennium sources for the Laws of Hammurabi. In this single case

and so are especially convenient for the present purposes. In addition previous publications of the tablets have been used to augment the scores in the critical editions, especially where difficult readings are concerned. Drawings, photographs and, where possible, the original cuneiform tablets have been consulted, with notes included on difficult or damaged signs and the physical qualities of the tablets.

the analysis proceeds from a score composed from copies of the cuneiform fragments compiled by the author rather than from a pre-existing critical edition.

CHAPTER 4 – ENŪMA ANU ENLIL TABLET 63

The Text

The 63rd tablet of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* is also known as the ‘Venus Tablet of Ammizaduga’ because of the reference in the text to the “year of the golden throne,” a known eponym for the eighth year of the Old Babylonian ruler Ammizaduga. Ammizaduga was the fourth ruler after Hammurabi, and as such the origins of this text should probably be dated to around the mid-seventeenth century B.C.E. Nevertheless, the largest number of copies exist from the first millennium B.C.E. In relation to the rest of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the 63rd tablet is unique in its specificity when referring to the conjunctions of Venus, in contrast to the tablets concerning other astral phenomena.¹²⁹

Reiner divides the text of the Venus Tablet into four sections, I-IV.¹³⁰ The first section treats observations of the conjunctions between Venus and the sun in a chronological progression for the 21 year reign of Ammizaduga with the exception of his eighteenth year. In the second section 12 omens, apparently unconnected with Ammizaduga, are arranged in the order of the months. The very regular movements of Venus described in section II are obviously not based on real observations, but are more likely given as approximate dates to facilitate actual observations. Section III contains four omens that are also probably not related to those made during Ammizaduga’s reign. Section IV repeats most of the omens from the first and third sections reorganised in the order of the months in which the heliacal setting of Venus was observed.¹³¹

¹²⁹ See A. Aaboe, "Babylonian Mathematics, Astrology and Astronomy," *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume III, Part 2: The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth Century to the Sixth Century* (eds J. Boardman, I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996²) 279-80.

¹³⁰ The text divisions, sigla and apparatus in E. Reiner, *BPO I*, has been utilised throughout the present study.

¹³¹ See E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 7-25.

While the first three sections are represented in all of the exemplars remaining to us, the fourth section is less regularly represented. This prompted Reiner to identify two manuscript traditions for this text.¹³² These differ in terms of the layout of the four sections, the inclusion of an additional final omen in some sources, and the varying placement of certain subscripts. The first manuscript tradition has only sections I-III on one tablet with a second tablet possibly containing the fourth section. The second manuscript tradition has sections I-IV on the same tablet. Not surprisingly it is the material from the first three sections that is best represented by our sources, and this will be the focus of the present analysis.

The Tablets

While an examination of the previous publications does afford some insight into certain peculiarities of the texts not necessarily reflected in Reiner's transliteration, the edition by Reiner was found to serve the purposes of this analysis more than sufficiently and so only passing references will be made below to the cuneiform editions of some of the tablets.¹³³ Occasionally some inspection of the tablets themselves has been possible, and remarks will be made where appropriate.¹³⁴

Several joins have been proposed for the fragments that are given individual sigla in Reiner's apparatus. Reiner herself has suggested joins between A and M, and between F and H. She also suggested joining L with some other fragments of section IV, K7072 and Sm 174.¹³⁵ More recently Walker has suggested that J can be added to F and H along

¹³² E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 8.

¹³³ Previous publications that have been consulted are: H.C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia – Volume 3* (5 vols.; London: R.E. Bowler, 1870), henceforth *RawlCu*; S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga: A Solution of Babylonian Chronology by Means of the Venus Observations of the First Dynasty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928); T.G. Pinches and J.N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Brown University Studies 18; Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1955), henceforth *LBAT*.

¹³⁴ The author has been able to inspect the following tablets: A, C, D, L and M. For the other tablets the drawings in the previous publications have been consulted.

¹³⁵ E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 11.

with some other fragments of section IV, BM37121+37432. Walker proposes that L and the other associated fragments can be joined to K7090.¹³⁶ The following table therefore gives the sigla used in Reiner's edition, while the fragments presented in the discussion of the sources reflects Reiner's sigla with the later joins taken into account.

Table - EAE 63: Tablets Under Examination

Siglum Museum Number

A	K2321+3032
B	W1924.802
C	K160
D	K7225
F	BM37010
H	BM36758+37496
J	BM36395
L	K12344+12758
M	K3105
N	BM41688

Description of the Sources

A, K2321+3032; M, K3105

The museum catalogue prefix 'K' suggests this tablet was probably from Nineveh, and as such it will be considered here as originally housed in the royal collections. The original unbroken tablet seems to have contained all of the sections I-IV. The colophon states that

¹³⁶ See C.B.F. Walker, "Notes on the Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa," *JCS* 36, 1 (1984) 64-66.

this is the sixty-third tablet in the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*, and also contains the personal name Nergal-uballit.¹³⁷

The script is Neo-Babylonian, as is indicated by Reiner, in agreement with Langdon & Fotheringham and also Weir.¹³⁸ The cuneiform is carefully written, and the layout follows the convention for this type of text, with fixed left and right margins, and ruled sections that generally separate each omen.¹³⁹ Smoothed areas of clay which have been overwritten indicate corrections were made in line 5 on the obverse, and similarly in line 17 of the reverse.

The size of the tablet appears to have been roughly identical to C, the most complete tablet examined here, being *ca.* 10 cm wide and 20 cm high. The preserved portions allow the observation that the original tablet was about 2 centimetres thick at the edges, widening to approximately 3-4 cm thick at the centre. There is noticeable vertical convection on the reverse while the obverse is relatively flat. These seem to be the standard dimensions for a tablet of this text-type and quality.

The clay appears to be of reasonable quality with no noticeable impurities, such as stones or other foreign material, visible in the cross section. The coloration is pale grey-brown, with some small sections of burnt orange in the middle-left part of A, and at the lower

¹³⁷ See H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone* (Kevelaer: Butson & Bercker, 1968) 132, no. 469. Hunger lists this tablet among those that are “unbekannter Herkunft,” that is, of unknown origin. The colophon appears on the reverse at line 28 with the incipit of the following tablet in the series, after which is written “DUB 1 UŠ 3 KAM DIŠ UD An ^dEn-lil.”

¹³⁸ See E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 11, and previously S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 1, and J.D. Weir, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1972) 24-25. The signs are typically 2-3 mm high, with some extending to around 4 mm.

¹³⁹ Exceptions for K2321+3032 are: on the obverse, the single ruled section that contains lines 1-3, and the single lines followed by rulings in lines 20 and 21. On the reverse, ruled sections that contain only one line occur in lines 14, 15, 18 and 29. The left margin is straight on both sides of the tablet, and the right margin is only exceeded in ruled sections that contain a single line (an exception is line 23 on the obverse). On the other hand, K3105 has some lines that exceed the right edge, *e.g.* lines 3, 4, 7 and 8 of the obverse, and lines 2, 3 and 9 of the reverse.

edge of M. This suggests an uneven heating process, in which more heat was applied to the upper right part of the tablet.¹⁴⁰ It is possible therefore that this tablet was unfired in antiquity, and was subsequently burnt in a fire, possibly in the conflagration at Nineveh in 612 B.C.E. However, the difference in coloration could also be the result of a controlled firing process in which heat was accidentally applied unevenly.

B, W1924.802

In all probability the most ancient of any of the examined Venus tablets, this document was excavated at Kish in 1924 by Langdon, and now forms part of the Herbert Weld Collection in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University. It is dated by its colophon to the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.).¹⁴¹ The script is Neo-Babylonian, and the reference to both Babylon and Sargon in the colophon suggests that it was written after the Assyrian king regained control of Babylon from Merodach-baladan II in 710 B.C.E. This would demand the view that this tablet was written between 710-705 B.C.E. From the preserved text B appears to have contained sections I-III.

C, K160

This tablet is the most fully preserved copy of the Venus tablet examined here and, in the sections that concern this study, contains more than five times as much text as the next

¹⁴⁰ According to W.G. Lambert (private conversation) the coloration of fired clay changes depending on the temperature applied, ranging from terracotta, through red, pale brown and grey-white. A pale green colour immediately precedes vitrification, at which point the clay becomes blackened and can exhibit bubbling in areas of extreme heat. To some degree the coloration of fired clay depends on the presence of iron oxides in the raw material, however the changes in colour between various tablets is typically a sign of the firing temperature. To add confusion to the issue, it is also true that some unbaked tablets were fired by the excavators in the 19th century to prevent them from further damage during shipping.

¹⁴¹ The colophon is found on the reverse in lines 15-19. Following the incipit for the next tablet in line 15, lines 16-19 read: “DUB 1 UŠ 2 ÀM.KAM.MA [DIŠ UD An] ^dEn-líl 37 ÀM MU.B[I.IM] (17) [G]ABA.RI Ba-bi-i-li^{ki} [G]IM la-bi-ri-šú ša-tir-ma [È] (18) [Š]U ^dUGUR-DU-uš DUMU LÚ.DUMU.DÙ AN [x] (19) [x] Eki MU.AN.NA [x] KAM LÚGAL.GI.NA LUGAL [*remaining broken*]”. E. Reiner, *BPO 1*, 61, translates: “Tablet 62 of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, it has 37 lines, copy from Babylon, written according to its original and collated. Written by Nergal-ēpuš, son of a ‘free man’ ... at Babylon, [x]th year of Sargon, king [of Assyria].” See also H. Hunger, *Kolophone*, 58, no. 150, and J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 24.

most preserved copy. The British Museum catalogue number suggests that this tablet was part of the library that stood in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh, and was probably excavated by Layard between 1849-51.¹⁴² Line 33 of the reverse of this tablet carries a subscript that reads “*12 kišru tāmurātu ša Ninsianna gabarī Bābili.*” Hence its textual heritage can be traced to a copy from Babylon.¹⁴³

The script is clearly Neo-Assyrian, and the signs are the same size or slightly smaller than A. The layout of the text follows the standard convention of using ruled lines to separate each omen.¹⁴⁴ The margins of the tablet are carefully observed: the writing on both the obverse and reverse does not exceed the left and right margins of the faces. There is no writing on the bottom edge of the obverse, such as might continue over to the reverse, and although the top edge is damaged the little of it that remains is also uninscribed. The final line of the reverse contains the colophon.¹⁴⁵ The tablet is of standard size, *ca.* 10 cm wide and 20 cm high.

The clay appears to be quite free of small stones or other impurities that are occasionally visible in the cross sections of broken tablets. Its colour is terracotta throughout with only

¹⁴² D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18, informs that the British Museum catalogue numbers K1-278 almost certainly come from Layard’s excavations in the Southwest Palace.

¹⁴³ See E. Reiner, *BPO 1*, 47. An inspection of the tablet reveals that line r33 of K160 does indeed contain the words “*gabarī Bābili,*” even though the drawing made by Langdon does not represent these last six signs. The reasons for this omission are not immediately clear, as the transcription in the same volume clearly sees the text intact. Compare S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 13 with the drawing in Plate II.

¹⁴⁴ There are two exceptions: lines 7 and 8 on the obverse together make up omen 10, but are separated by a ruling. This part of the text is unusual in other copies as well. For example, A has the same separation of individual lines in the same section of the text on line 20 and 21 of the obverse (see note above). Line 33 on the reverse is sectioned off with individual rulings, but this line actually contains a superscript rather than an omen.

¹⁴⁵ The signs on line 46 of the reverse read: “*ki-i PI₄ LIBIR.RA-šu,*” translated: “Nach dem Worlaut seines Originals” [according to the wording of its original] in H. Hunger, *Kolophone*, 144, no. 554.

some areas showing a more red hue that suggests slightly uneven firing temperatures.¹⁴⁶ Firing holes have been pressed into most blank spaces on the writing surfaces to a depth of about 1 cm. This tablet would seem to have been written in Nineveh by an Assyrian scribe, and was carefully baked in antiquity. Its discovery in the Southwest Palace encourages the view that this tablet was once part of the royal libraries at Nineveh.

D, K7225

This is a fragment of a tablet that is likely to have come from Nineveh, based on the museum catalogue number. Reiner assigns no date to the script.¹⁴⁷ Bezold's catalogue describes this as a small fragment from the middle of the tablet, 3.5 cm wide and 4.1 cm high, but no thickness is recorded.¹⁴⁸ This document will be treated as an Assyrian copy coming from the libraries at Nineveh, with some reservations due to our incomplete knowledge of its qualities.

F, BM37010; H, BM 36758; J, BM36395

It has been suggested by C.B.F. Walker that these fragments, plus the joined fragments BM37121+BM37432, were from one original tablet of Late Babylonian origin that was written around the sixth century B.C.E.¹⁴⁹ Reiner classifies the tablet as Neo-Babylonian. In accord with J. E. Reade, we will consider these tablets to have been part of Rassam's collection, either excavated in Babylonia or purchased from antiquities dealers in that area between 1879-83.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ For example, see the left edge of the obverse at lines 34-37. The coloration could alternatively be due to pigmentation from iron oxides – see note .

¹⁴⁷ A transliteration of this tablet was published for the first time in E. Reiner, *BPO 1*.

¹⁴⁸ See C. Bezold, L.W. King, and E.A.W. Budge, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (6 vols.; London: British Museum, 1899) 2.838, no. 2024b.

¹⁴⁹ C.B.F. Walker, "Notes on the Venus Tablet," 64-65.

¹⁵⁰ J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection: The Excavations and the Archives," *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Volume VI: Tablets From Sippar 1* (ed. E. Leichty; London: British Museum, 1986) xxviii.

One fragment, J, preserves a colophon, but unfortunately this is broken and provides rather inconclusive evidence. Importantly, though, it preserves a statement that the tablet was incomplete.¹⁵¹ The tablet series name and tablet number are not preserved in the colophon, so it is in fact impossible to ascertain whether or not this was a copy of the entire Venus tablet or an excerpted section. It will be considered here as a sixth century copy from central Babylonia, with reservations.

G, Rm 2, 531; L, K12344+12758

According to C.B.F. Walker these fragments should be joined to K7072, K7090 and Sm 174 to form a Late Assyrian text.¹⁵² The tablet is written in Neo-Assyrian script, usually in evenly sized and spaced cuneiform, but with some exceptions.¹⁵³ The layout of the text follows the convention of one omen per ruled section.

It seems reasonable to assume that these fragments were originally uncovered in Nineveh, though it is difficult to be any more specific.¹⁵⁴ Fragments K12344+12758, K7072 and K7090 show vitrification that suggests that the unbaked tablet was burnt in a fire. The absence of firing holes in any of the fragments lends weight to this hypothesis. To become vitrified the tablet must have been exposed to very high temperatures (*ca.* 1000°

¹⁵¹ Line 13 of the reverse ends with the Sumerian “NU AL.TIL” – “not complete.” The following lines have only broken parts of the incipit of the omens relating to the New Year (*akītu*) festival, not the omens concerning Jupiter as is the case with the colophons of fragments A and B. The broken colophon in fragment J also preserves an incomplete personal name.

¹⁵² C.B.F. Walker, "Notes on the Venus Tablet," 64.

¹⁵³ For example, some of the signs are crowded and difficult to read in line 5 of K7090, and in lines 5 and 7 of K7072.

¹⁵⁴ This is based on the catalogue numbers. K, as noted above, typically refers to tablets found at Kuyunjik in general, while the Rm, 2 and Sm collections are mostly from the North and Southwest Palaces at Nineveh respectively. On this see D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18-19. The tablet was either broken in antiquity and its parts distributed to both locations, or the apparent trends in the catalogue numbers do not hold for these entries. In support of the latter, the vitrification of the fragments appears to have occurred towards what would have been the centre of the complete tablet – a very unlikely coincidence if the fragments were separated before vitrification occurred.

C), such as would obtain in a fierce conflagration. It is possible to imagine, then, that this tablet was broken and burnt during the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.E.

N, BM41688

Very little can be said about this small fragment. The museum catalogue number suggests that it was purchased or extracted from unrecorded excavations in central Babylonia.¹⁵⁵ The script, labelled Neo-Babylonian by Reiner and Late Babylonian by Walker, would fit this assumption.¹⁵⁶ We will therefore consider this as a fragment from a tablet that was copied in the sixth century in central Babylonia.

Table - Number of SU preserved in the Sources for EAE 63¹⁵⁷

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
A+M	462
B	282
C	1206.5
D	54.5
F+H+J	309
G+L	163
N	45

¹⁵⁵ J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxviii-xxxi has indicated that tablets with ascension numbers in the range BM33328 – BM77218 are from Rassam's excavations in Babylonia between 1879-83. Further, items in number ranges BM40462-BM41389 and BM42259-45607 are reportedly from Babylon, Borsippa and Sippar, with the latter range also including material from Kutha. We must therefore assume that BM41688 was most likely from the same central Babylonian region.

¹⁵⁶ See E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 11; C.B.F. Walker, "Notes on the Venus Tablet," 66.

¹⁵⁷ The tablet represents the number of SU preserved in the fragments with the joins proposed by E. Reiner and C.B.F. Walker taken into account.

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each set of two parallel tablets preserving at least 20 SU in common. Following this table is an exhaustive list of all variant readings between any two sources for EAE 63 that overlap in content, regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved. Although every variant is given in the list, the discussion of the variants will refer in the main only to those texts preserving approximately 50 SU in parallel listed in the table. Variants in less well preserved texts will be periodically referred to, but will not be made to carry any weight in the statistical analysis.

Table - Variants in the Parallel Sources for EAE 63

<i>Comparison: Text vs Text</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orthographic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orthographic (linguistic) Vari- ants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Hermeneutic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Her. Variant</i>
A vs. B	359	3	59.8	1	179.5	1	359			5	47.9
C vs. M	346	9	19.8							3	57.7
C vs. H	291.5	5	29.2			1	583			4	29.2
C vs. G	196.5	1	196.5			2	39.3	1	39.3	7	16.4
A vs. C	167	4	23.9			1	55.7			1	83.5
C vs. L	154	2	38.5					1	30.8		
C vs. J	148	6	13.5	1	74					4	19.7
A vs. J	141.5	6	12.3	1	94.3					2	35.4
B vs. J	109	7	8.1	1	72.7	1	109			1	54.5
C vs. D	89	2	22.3			1	14.8			1	44.5
C vs. N	83.5					2	11.1			2	20.9
C vs. F	73.5	1	36.8					1	14.7		
A vs. D	61	2	17.4								
B vs. D	57	3	10.4								
B vs. C	48	2	16.0							1	4.8
D vs. J	48	3	8.0	1	24					1	24
H vs. L	25										
B vs. M	22.5									1	3.8
M vs. N	22	2	6.3								

List of Variants Between the Parallel Sources for EAE 63

<i>No.</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
V1	A:4	UD.8.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁵⁸
	B:4	UD.7.KAM	
V2	A:7	NAM.KÚR.MEŠ	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹⁵⁹
	B:7	SAL.KÚR.MEŠ	
V3	A:10	UD.15.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁶⁰
	B:10	UD.18.KAM	

¹⁵⁸ A has the period of superior conjunction as two months and eight days, recorded as two months and seven days in B. The cuneiform system for writing numerals is such that discrepancies of one or ten occur particularly frequently. Hence variation in numbers is common between the sources. In addition to poorly written signs, the susceptibility of clay tablets to effacement means that numbers are often transmitted incorrectly due to damaged texts. On this see J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 27-28, as well as S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 7 n. 6. Regarding the astronomical terms used and the concepts discussed here see R.R. Newton, "Introduction to Some Basic Astronomical Concepts," *The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World* (ed. F.R. Hodson; London: Oxford University Press, 1974). On Babylonian astronomy A. Sachs, "Babylonian Observational Astronomy," *The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World* (ed. F.R. Hodson; London: Oxford University Press, 1974) can be consulted for a general introduction, and see O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969²) 122-32 for a complete description of the astronomical phenomena at issue here.

¹⁵⁹ A has the rare spelling of *nukurtu* with the Sumerian abstract prefix NAM plus KÚR.MEŠ, *nakāru*. B has the more common "SAL.KÚR.MEŠ," *nukurtu*.

¹⁶⁰ A has the period of inferior conjunction as 15 days, recorded as 18 days in B.

V4	A:10	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A and B have syllabic spelling, against the logogram in J. ¹⁶¹
	B:10	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	J:9	ZAL-ma	
V5	A:11	GÁL.ME	OV - A has the plural marker ME, against MEŠ in B and J.
	B:11	GÁL.MEŠ	
	J:10	JEŠ	
V6	A:12	UD.12.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁶²
	B:12	UD.25.KAM	
V7	A:13	UD.16.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁶³
	B:13	UD.29.KAM	
	J:11	UD.28.KAM	

¹⁶¹ This variant could be counted as a lexical interchange. This would treat the logogram ZAL as having the value *nasahu*, ‘to take away, remove’. However, given the close semantic relationship between *ḫarāmum* and *nasahu* it is difficult to suppose that any change in the text was intended at this point by the copyist of J. In the light of Rule 4 it will be assumed that the logogram in J in place of the full spelling in A and B represents an orthographic variant.

¹⁶² A records the eastern setting of Venus (Σ) on the 12th day of Kislimi, while B has the 25th day.

¹⁶³ There is a 13 day discrepancy between the western rising of Venus (Ξ) in A and B, probably a result of the previous variant. J does not have the first date preserved, but the date for Ξ varies from B by one day, so J may be a misreading of a text like B.

V8	A:14	UD.20 ḫi-pi eš-šú	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁶⁴
	B:14	UD.18.KAM	
V9	A:14	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A and B syllabic spelling, against the
	B:14	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	logogram in J.
	J:13	ZAL[
V10	A:15	IN.NU	OV – A and B have composite logogram =
	B:15	IN.NU	<i>tibni</i> , “straw, chaff.” D has [composite
	D:1	]ŠU	gram] + ŠU. The meaning of D is uncertain. ¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ A has the western setting of Venus (Ω) occurring on 20th day of *Araḫsamna*, B has the 18th day. E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 32, reads A as “20 [+8]”, and therefore sees the reading “18” in B as an error for the correct number “28.” S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 15, n. 2 prefers the reading “20” in A without restoring an extra number. Reiner’s reading, being the most recent review of the tablets, is preferred throughout this study. S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 15, n. 2 interprets “ḫi-pi eš-šú” as “‘a recent defacement of the text’. The units of this figure were lost on the original from which Ašurbanipal’s scribe made his copy”. R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004) 387, notes “ḫe-pu-ú, sind angebrochen. Auch + eš-šú, neu, rezent.” *CAD H* 196 defines the term as meaning “new break.” The form is therefore not counted as a textual variant.

¹⁶⁵ In understanding ŠU as a pronominal suffix, the reading in D would constitute a stylistic variant. However, as this is uncertain, Rule 4 requires reading D as an orthographic variant which has the same meaning as both A and B. In an Old Babylonian text from Nippur we find “in-nu-uš” as a variant spelling of “IN.NU” in *The Instructions of Šuruppak*, line 27 (see R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon*, 411). The form in D could therefore be “in-nu-u-šu”, or something similar, but this is unlikely. Alternatively, the text could be restored to read IN.NU.UŠ, *maštakal*, which is a type of plant. This form would then have to be counted as a lexical interchange. However, as it is impossible to determine what may have preceded the sign ŠU in this context, the most conservative variant category must be assumed in the light of Rule 4.

V11	A:15	GÁL ub-bu-tu	SV(2) – B has an expansive plus. ¹⁶⁶
	B:15	GÁL KI.MIN ub-bu-tu	
	J:14	GÁL ub-bu-tu	
V12	A:16	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A-D have syllabic spelling, against the
	B:16	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	logogram in J.
	C:2	]ram-ma	
	D:2	uḫ-ḫa-ram[
	J:15	ZAL-ma	

¹⁶⁶ The addition in B of the signs KI.MIN are taken as an expansion on the apodosis of A and J. KI.MIN signifies *Wiederholungszeichen*, a repetition of previous text. S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 15, n. 4, and E. Reiner, *BPO 1*, 32, suggest that KI.MIN “probably refers to line 13, *ebur māti iššir*.” It can therefore be categorised as an expansive plus to the apodosis that predicts “a shortage of grain and straw in the land, the harvest of the land will prosper, famine will occur.” At this point B predicts a shortage of grain and straw at the same time as it claims that the harvest will be successful. The nature of the plus in B is therefore uncertain, and, according to Rule 4, is classed conservatively as a stylistic rather than a hermeneutic variation.

V13	B:17	ŠÈG.MEŠ	OV – D has the plural marker ME, against MEŠ in B and C. ¹⁶⁷
	C:3	ŠÈG.MEŠ	
	D:3	ŠÈG.ME	
V14	A:17	GAR.MEŠ	OV – A and J have the plural marker MEŠ, against ME in B and C. D has a phonetic complement ‘an’ for <i>iššakkān</i> .
	B:17	GAR.ME	
	C:3	GAR.ME	
	D:3	GAR-an	
	J:16	GAR.MEŠ	
V15	A:18	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A-D have syllabic spelling, against the logogram in J.
	B:18	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	C:5	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	D:4	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	J:17	ZAL-ma	
V16	C:6	IGI.DU ₈ ŠÈG.MEŠ	SV(2) – D has an abbreviated apodosis.
	D:5	IGI.DU ₈ KI.MIN	

¹⁶⁷ It is worth noting that in the copy made by Langdon C appears to have abbreviated ŠÈG.MEŠ to A.MEŠ (ŠÈG being made up of the signs A+AN). While this is an attested abbreviation, B appears to have the full writing of ŠÈG. Additionally, C actually reads “ŠÈG.MEŠ [abbreviated to A.MEŠ] ina KUR.MEŠ,” against the reading in B, “ŠÈG.MEŠ ina KUR GÁL.MEŠ,” even though Reiner reads C as exactly the same as B. Alternatively the sign A can be read as *mû*, “water,” which represents a lexical exchange with *zanu*, “rain.” However, an orthographic variant is most likely the safest option here. Unfortunately there is no readily available cuneiform copy of D to compare.

V17	A:19	GÁL.ME	OV – A has the plural marker ME, against MEŠ in B and C. ¹⁶⁸
	B:19	GÁL.MEŠ	
	C:6	GÁL.MEŠ	
V18	A:21	[K]Ù.GI.GA.KAM	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form, or possible difference in pronunciation. ¹⁶⁹
	B:21	G]A.KAM	
	C:8	KÙ.GI.GA.KAM	
	D:6	KÙ.GI.GA.KAM	
	J:19	KÙ.GI.GA.KE ₄	

¹⁶⁸ Compare the opposite situation at V14 where A preserves the plural marker MEŠ, against MEŠ in B and C in the word GAR.ME(Š).

¹⁶⁹ KE₄ is read as the genitive case marker “-k” plus the ergative post-position “-e,” and is a commonly occurring writing of this grammatical form (see J.L. Hayes, *A Manual of Sumerian Grammar and Texts* [ARTANES 5; Malibu: Undena Publications, 2000²] 42-43). An alternative reading is to read the last sign KAM as KA₁₃, as is indicated in M. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to Its History and Grammatical Structure* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1984²) 90. This way the last sign in this word could be read as the Sumerian genitive case marker, where the suffix “-ak” > “-k” (M. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 94). The final /a/ in the other sources might be read as a nominalising particle, though its grammatical function in this context is unclear. In fact, the entire construction is rather unusual grammatically, as was noted already when this line was first interpreted (see F.X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und sterndeinst in Babel: assyriologische, astronomische und astralmythologische Untersuchungen* [2 vols.; Münster in Westfalen: Aschedorffsche Verlagsbuchh, 1910] 2.257-311). On the unusual spelling of ‘gold’ here, see J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 28. The ability of first millennium scribes to transmit this obscure Sumerian phrase accurately is perhaps doubtful given the difference in forms this variant reflects.

V19	C:9	UD.4.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁷⁰
	D:7	UD.4.KAM	
	J:20	]5.KAM
V20	A:22	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A, B and C have syllabic spelling, against the logogram in J.
	B:22	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	C:9	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	J:20	ZAL-ma	
V21	A:23	UD.15.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁷¹
	C:10	UD.15.KAM	
	J:20	UD.16.KAM	

¹⁷⁰ C and D record the period of invisibility during inferior conjunction as nine months and four days, while J records [*break*] five days. See J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 28, for a discussion of the problems with the period of invisibility recorded in C and D. An acceptable period of invisibility for Venus during inferior conjunction at this time, year nine of Ammizaduga, would be around four days. According to Weir the error could have arisen in one of the texts when a copyist “misread the previous month of rising as the setting month; and thus wrote the wrong month down” (S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 7; see also K. Oberhuber, *Innsbruck Sumerisches Lexikon* [1; Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1990] 418, n. 5, and the references there). It is possible that C and D share a genetic variation as this error appears in both texts. A break in the text of J preceding the number of days precludes any comparative information from this source, although it seems clear that the number of days recorded in J is not the same as C and D.

¹⁷¹ A and C record the eastern rising of Venus (Γ) as occurring on the 15th day of *Addari*, while J has the 16th day of *Addari*.

V22	A:23	(UD.15.KAM) ^d Nin-si ₄ -an- na ina	SV(2) – A has an expansive plus. ¹⁷²
	C:10	(UD.15.KAM) ina	
V23	A:23	LÚ.NE	HV – A, D and J have LÚ.NE, <i>šalta</i> , while C preserves the variant SILIM.MA, <i>salīma</i> . ¹⁷³
	C:10	SILIM.MA	
	D:8	LÚ.NE	
	J:21	LÚ.NE	
V24	C:11	UD.6.KAM	Not Counted – The variant apparently visible in F is damaged, so ultimately uncertain.
	D:9	ˁUD.6.ˁ KAM	
	F:1	ˁUD.16.KAMˁ	
V25	A:24	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	OV – A has syllabic spelling, against the logogram in C.
	C:11	ZAL-ma	

¹⁷² A preserves the proper noun ^d*Ninsianna*, lacking in C.

¹⁷³ The difference in meaning here is significant: *šarri šalta išappar*, “the king will send messengers of war,” versus *šarri salīma išappar*, “the king will send messengers of peace.” Also, the composite logogram LÚ.NE, which has no phonetic complement, stands in contrast to the logogram SILIM plus either the emphatic particle or a phonetic complement. For SILIM as denoting “heil sein, wohlbehalten sein” without the emphatic particle attached, see *BGP* 237.

V26	A:26	]ḥa-ram-ma	OV – A has syllabic spelling, against the logogram in C and F.
	C:13	ZAL-ma	
	F:2	ZAL-ma	
V27	C:14	IGI.DU ₈	OV – J has an abbreviated form of the full composite logogram preserved in C.
	J:23	IGI	
V28	A:28	r]am-ma	Not Counted – Although Reiner restores two signs in C based on the length of the lacuna, the text is damaged so ultimately uncertain.
	C:15	[ZAL-ma]	
V29	C:16	IGI.DU ₈	OV – J has an abbreviated form of the full composite logogram preserved in C.
	J:24	IGI	
V30	C:17	7 UD-mi	<i>SV(3)</i> – C breaks from the standard formula for expressing the number of days, preserved in F and G. ¹⁷⁴
	F:4	UD.7.KAM	
	G:1	UD.7.KAM	
V31	C:18	IGI.DU ₈	OV – The compound logogram in C is abbreviated in J.
	J:25	IGI	

¹⁷⁴ This occurs here and in line 7 of the reverse of C. For lines 17-19 of C I have relied on C.B.F. Walker, "Notes on the Venus Tablet," 64-65, as well as my own inspection of the tablet. Reiner's transliteration of these lines is not accurate.

V32	C:18-19	UD.20.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁷⁵
	G:3	UD.21.KAM	
	J:26	2]1.KAM	
V33	C:18-19	ina ^d UTU.È [] ¹⁹ ina ^d UTU.È it-bal	Not Counted – This is clearly a case of scribal error, where C has acquired a dit- tography not present in J. ¹⁷⁶
	J:26	ina ^d UTU.È it-bal	
V34	C:19	UD.ʽ21ʼ.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁷⁷
	G:4	UD.11.KAM	
V35	C:22	UD.20.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁷⁸
	G:7	UD.21.KAM	

¹⁷⁵ C records Σ on the 20th day of *Tebēti*, while G and J have the 21st day.

¹⁷⁶ E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 36, reads the last signs on C 18 as “^dNin-si₄[]”, rather than “ina ^dUTU.È []” which appears in both Rawlinson’s and Langdon’s drawings. C.B.F. Walker, “Notes on the Venus Tablet,” 65, reads in agreement with the latter, and after an inspection of the tablet that is also the reading adopted in this study. Although this understanding of the signs creates a break in the formulaic style of the protases, which is retained by Reiner’s reading, we can point to a similar departure from the expected format in line 8 of G. Following the methodology stated in Rule 1, the departure here from logical sequence discounts this variation from the statistical analysis.

¹⁷⁷ C records Ξ on the 21st day of *Šabāti*, while G has the 11th day. The period of invisibility during superior conjunction in this omen is given as 15 days, which is impossibly brief. A period of more than two months is usually to be expected. It should also be noted that the rulings on C that normally delineate individual omens here enclose two omens, the second beginning half way through line 18. This anomaly may have some connection with the possible corruption of the astronomical data at this point. J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 29, suggests that the month in which Venus again became visible was incorrectly copied, perhaps due to a damaged exemplar, with the signs $\check{A}\check{S}$ and $\check{B}\check{A}\check{R}$ being confused.

¹⁷⁸ C records Σ on the 20th day of *Abi*, recorded as the 21st day in G.

V36	C:23	ITI.´APIN´	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁷⁹
	G:8	ITI.GAN	
V37	C:23	^d Nin-si ₄ -an-na ina ^d UTU.ŠÚ.A	SV(2) – C has an expansive plus. ¹⁸⁰
	G:8	ina ^d UTU.ŠÚ[
V38	C:24	ITI.´NE´	HV – C records Ω as occurring in the month of <i>Abi</i> , while G has <i>Arahsamnu</i> . ¹⁸¹
	G:10	ITI.APIN	
V39	C:25	ITI.´NE´	HV – C records Γ as occurring in the month of <i>Abi</i> , while G has <i>Du'ūzi</i> .
	G:11	ITI.ŠU	
V40	C:25	ina UTU.ŠU.A	OV – C lacks the divine determinative for <i>šīt šamši</i> , present in G.
	G:11	ina ^d UTU.È	

¹⁷⁹ C has the period of superior conjunction as two months 15 days, while G seems to necessitate 3 months and 14 days.

¹⁸⁰ C has the pronoun denoting the subject, which is only implied in G.

¹⁸¹ According to E. Reiner, *BPO I*, 21-23 the confusion of month names began at an early stage in the text when both months and days were recorded as simple numerals. In such a text the figures representing months could suffer the same corruption as has been noticed in the present documents (see note). Here a misreading between five and eight would have occurred, which is not difficult to imagine if the source text was damaged or poorly written. The next variant requires a misreading between four and five, which is similarly imaginable. Another type of textual corruption for month names written as logograms has been noted above (see note).

V41	C:25	ina UTU.ŠU.A	HV – C gives a date for Ξ instead of Γ . G has the expected text. ¹⁸²
	G:11	ina ^d UTU.È	
V42	C:25	ŠEG.ME ina AN-e A.KAL.ME ina IDIM	SV(2) – C has an expansive plus. ¹⁸³
	G:11	ŠEG.ME u A.KAL[
V43	C:25	A.KAL.ME	OV – C has the plural marker ME, against MEŠ in H.
	H:3	A.KAL.MEŠ	
V44	C:26	3 ITI UD.9.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁸⁴
	H:4	2 ITI UD.7.KAM	

¹⁸² The apparent error in C is corrected towards G by almost all scholars, but for an alternative interpretation that is no less entertaining than it is wildly speculative see L.E. Rose, “Babylonian Observations of Venus,” *Velikovsky Reconsidered* (ed S.L. Talbott; New York: Doubleday, 1976) 73-86.

¹⁸³ C has the full text: “rains in the sky, floods in the subterranean water;” G has abbreviated: “rains and flood[s].”

¹⁸⁴ C has the period of superior conjunction as three months and nine days, against H which has two months and seven days. This two-fold error is understandable. In the case of the months a single vertical line has been lost and in the case of the days the lower three strokes of 𒄀 have been confused for the lower stroke of 𒄁 .

V45	C:29	EBUR KI.A SI.Á	SV(2) – H has an expansive plus. ¹⁸⁵
	H:7	KI]N-ár E[BUR	
V46	C:35	UD.6.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁸⁶
	H:11	UD.7.KAM	
V47	C:42	IGI.DU ₈	OV – J and H have an abbreviated form of the full compound logogram preserved in C.
	H:15	IGI	
	L:1	IGI	
V48	C:43	UD.9.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁸⁷
	H:15	UD.8.KAM	
V49	C:43	TÙM-ma	OV – L has syllabic spelling, against the logogram in C.
	L:2	i-tab-bal[-ma]	
V50	C:44	UD.18.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁸⁸
	H:16	U]D.17.KAM	

¹⁸⁵ H appears to have the word *išappar^{ar}* before EBUR (*ebūr*) in the apodosis. C lacks any such reference to sending messengers at this point.

¹⁸⁶ C records that the final day of the western visibility of Venus was the 6th day of *Tebēti*, while H has the 7th day.

¹⁸⁷ C records the period of western visibility as eight months and nine days, while H records [*break*] eight days.

¹⁸⁸ C records Γ on the 18th of *Addari*, while H has the 17th of *Addari*

V51	C:r1	GÁL.MEŠ	OV – H has the plural marker ME, against
	H:17	GÁL.ME	MEŠ in C.
V52	C:r1	GÁL	OV – C lacks the phonetic complement.
	H:17	GÁL-ši	
V53	C:r7	7 UD-mi	<i>SV(3)</i> – C breaks from the standard formula
	L:8	UD.7.KAM	for expressing the number of days.
V54	C:r7	SAL.KÚR.MEŠ	OV – M has the plural marker ME, against
	M:3	SAL.KÚR.ME	MEŠ in C.
V55	C:r7	GÁL.MEŠ	OV – M has the plural marker ME, against
	M:3	GÁL.ME	MEŠ in C.
V56	C:r9	GÁL.ME	OV – C has the plural marker ME, against
	H:21	GÁL.MEŠ	MEŠ in H.
V57	C:r10	DU-az	OV – M lacks the phonetic complement.
	L:11	] -az	
	M:4	DU	

V58	C:r24	KUR-ma	OV – The signs used in both texts symbolise the same word, <i>napāḫum</i> . ¹⁸⁹
	M:r2	SAR-ma	
V59	C:r26	DU-az	OV – M lacks the phonetic complement.
	M:r3	DU	
V60	C:r26	UD.17.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁹⁰
	M:r3	UD.16.KAM	
V61	C:r30	DU-az	OV – M lacks the phonetic complement.
	M:r5	DU	
V62	C:r35	UD.15.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁹¹
	M:r9	]16.KAM	

¹⁸⁹ See *CAD* N 1 263, where both KUR and SAR are listed as logograms representing *napāḫum*. Both signs for *napāḫum* are additionally cited in R. Labat, *Manuel d'Épigraphie Akkadienne* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1988⁶) 105, as well as E. Reiner, *BPO* I, 13 and 169.

¹⁹⁰ C records Σ on the 17th of *Tašrīti*, M has the 18th of *Tašrīti*.

¹⁹¹ C records the period of inferior conjunction as 15 days, while M has 16 days.

V63	B:r2	ḫa-ram-ma	OV – B and M have syllabic spelling,
	C:r35	ZAL-ma	against the logogram in C and N.
	M:r9	uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma	
	N:4	ZAL-ma	
V64	C:r35	UD.17.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁹²
	M:r9	UD ḫi-pi eš-šú	
	N:4	UD.14.KAM	
V65	B:r3	ḪÁN.ZI ‘SI.SÁ’	HV – C, M and N preserve a different apo-
	C:r36	IGI MU SAL ina KUR SUD-ti GÁL ina É.GÁL GU[	dosis to B. ¹⁹³
	M:r10	SUḪD-ti GÁL ina É.GAL GU.LA	
	N:5	Ḫina KUR SUD- ‘ti’	

¹⁹² C records Γ on the 17th of *Ulūli arkī*, while N has the 14th of *Ulūli arkī*. The source text for M was apparently damaged at this point, see note above.

¹⁹³ B, C, M and N presumably all retained the end of the protasis IGI, but the apodosis that follows appears to be different in B than the other sources. C has “MU SAL *ina māti rūqti ibašši u ina É.GAL GU ‘LA’*,” which may translate to “*MU SAL* will be in a distant land, and in the great palace.” The reading “MU SAL” in E. Reiner, *BPO 1*, 13, is unclear. It is interesting to note that S. Langdon, J.K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *Venus Tablets*, 13, n.2, reads “MU-ši” but also decline to suggest a meaning. In the drawing the reading IGI instead of SAL seems clear, but the tablet itself is more ambiguous. M and N would appear to follow C, though the text of each is damaged. B reads: *mērešu iššir*, “the cultivated land will prosper” – see J.D. Weir, *Venus Tablets*, 27. Clearly the apodoses vary, with C focusing on events in a distant land, and B implying that the arable land will be productive. Given these differences the classification of this variation as HV seems justified.

V66	C:r38	UD.6.KAM	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹⁹⁴
	M:r11	UD.16.KAM	
V67	B:r4	uḥ-ḥa[	OV – B and M have syllabic spelling,
	C:r38	ZAL-ma	against the logogram in C and N.
	M:r11	uḥ-ḥa-ram-ma	
	N:7	ZA]L-ma	
V68	C:r38	UD.24.KAM	HV – Difference in ordinal number. ¹⁹⁵
	N:7	UD.14.KAM	
V69	C:r38	^d Nin-si ₄ -an-na	SV(2) – N appears to supply alternative
	N:7	UD[]KAM ‘UD’	dates for Ξ , lacking in C.
V70	C:r40	UD.27.KAM ^d Nin-si ₄ -an-na	SV(2) – N appears to supply alternative
	N:8	‘UD’.27.KAM UD.28.KA[M	dates for Ω , lacking in C.

¹⁹⁴ C records the period of superior conjunction as two months and six days, M has two months and 16 days.

¹⁹⁵ C records Ξ on the 24th day of *Ulūli*, N has the 14th day.

V71 C:r42 GÁL.ME
M:r14 JMEŠ

OV – C has the plural marker ME, against
MEŠ in M.

Discussion of the Variants

Orthographic Variants

There are some common orthographic phenomena that persist across the different sources, and also a few nuances that appear to be more narrowly represented. Common variations include the use of logographic forms that are spelled syllabically in parallel documents, and variation between signs used to represent commonly occurring morphemes such as plural markers. We may also mention the presence or absence of phonetic complements. While some variations appear to cluster in sources of a given provenience, other variants occur relatively frequently in any two parallel sources, indeed even within the one document. This might be said to be a natural result of the flexibility inherent in the cuneiform writing system. A brief survey of the orthographic variants will illustrate this point.

A common term appearing in two forms is the word *harāmu*, literally meaning “to cover up,” which in the present context describes the heliacal setting and subsequent disappearance of a planet that has entered either inferior or superior conjunction with the sun. The term is written syllabically as “uḫ-ḫa-ram” but it also appears often as the logogram “ZAL.”¹⁹⁶ It is written syllabically 50 times and logographically 18 times.

A preference for one form or the other in different sources is identifiable, but some sources use both terms. A+M always writes this word syllabically, 15 times in the sections of text examined here. The source F+H+J shows almost completely the opposite practice with five out of six occurrences of this term employing the logogram ZAL.

¹⁹⁶ In every instance the emphatic particle is added to the syllabic form and the logographic form, so that in the text the term appears as “uḫ-ḫa-ram-ma” and “ZAL-ma” respectively.

Source C has a mixture of forms, using syllabic spelling 13 times against five occurrences of the logogram ZAL.

The mixed spelling for this particular word seems to some degree to be distributed according to textual provenience. That is, the later Neo-Babylonian texts from southern Mesopotamia have a proclivity to use the logographic spelling more often than the syllabic spelling. The two sources that have been identified as Neo-Babylonian documents from Babylonia, F+H+J and N, show an almost exclusive use of the logogram ZAL. Further, in all cases where either of these sources preserve the logographic spelling, a parallel source of northern provenance preserves the syllabic spelling. The tendency in the tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period seems to be towards the longer syllabic form, as is predominantly the case in the Nineveh and Kish texts.¹⁹⁷ Similarly the composite logogram IGI.DU₈, read as *innamir*, “is seen,” appears in F+H+J frequently abbreviated to IGI.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Tablet B, copied at Kish during the reign of Sargon II, preserves the syllabic spelling in all eight occurrences. This is always in disagreement with the Neo-Babylonian sources F+H+J and N. Of the Nineveh texts written in Neo-Assyrian script, C has 13 syllabic spellings against five logographic spellings, and D has syllabic spellings in both preserved instances. L does not preserve any instance of this word. The variation in C between long and short spellings does not seem to reflect issues of writing space on the tablet. In fact the short spelling appears in places where the longer syllabic spelling would have certainly been acceptable, such as line 17 of the obverse. The opposite is also true in line 9 of the obverse, where the short form would have been better suited to the available writing space, but the long form is used instead and runs well over the right margin. Note the use of the short form in the same context two lines below.

¹⁹⁸ A+M has the spelling IGI.DU₈ on the obverse, but has IGI-ir consistently on the reverse. The scribe who wrote tablet C seems to have tired of writing the full composite logogram half way through his work, managing only two full spellings on the reverse of the tablet against nine abbreviated spellings. The mixed evidence in these more fully preserved tablets shows quite clearly that a text’s orthography can change from line to line. This is also evident in the use of the plural marker, which differs significantly across the sources. For example, A+M and B differ in two out of five parallel occurrences of the plural marker, even though they are consistent in other areas. Both of these sources show their own internal inconsistencies. A+M marks the plural with MEŠ ten times and seven times with ME, while B has ME four times against nine instances of MEŠ. Care should therefore be taken not to overstate the significance of the orthographic peculiarities in the sources.

Other orthographic variants are less common. It is possible that D preserves a variant spelling of *tibnu* in the first line. This is far from certain, but even so, reading an orthographic variant here seems to be the most conservative way to deal with the problem.

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

Two variants in the sources may perhaps be considered linguistic variants, although in both cases simple orthographic variation is also a possible explanation of the forms. V2 reflects the possible use of the Sumerian abstract prefix. V18 reflects a possible addition of a post-position genitive marker.¹⁹⁹ In the latter case we would expect eponymous material to resist variation above the orthographic level.

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

All of the instances of this variant type in the sources are expansive. In two cases a resumptive pronoun is present in one source and absent in another (V22 and V37). In a further two cases a source features *Wiederholungszeichen* where the full text is given in a parallel source (V11 and V16).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ See also M210 and P20.

²⁰⁰ For the term and references to the literature for this type of variation see note above. At V11 B has KI.MIN, lacking in A and J. At V16 D has KI.MIN standing for the repetition of the complete apodosis in the line above, written out fully in C. In the second instance the text abbreviated by *Wiederholungszeichen* is clear but this is not so for the first instance. According to Langdon, the *Wiederholungszeichen* refer to part of the apodosis of the preceding omen on line 13 of B. If this is correct, then the apodosis in B would read *hušahhi še`i u tibni ina māti ibašši, ebūr māti iššir, ubbuta iššakkan*, “there will be a shortage of grain and straw in the land, the harvest of the land will prosper, famine will be present.” If indeed KI.MIN in B was intended to stand for the phrase *ebūr māti iššir*, such an addition would appear to contradict the primary sense of the apodosis, which seems to be to forecast a lack of food throughout the region. By adding a phrase that speaks of the prosperity of the harvest, B undermines the prediction of calamity in the parallel sources A and J. Such a variation may arguably be categorised as a hermeneutic variant, in that it ostensibly changes the meaning of the text. However, given that the apodosis in B continues with the same words as the parallel sources after this variant, *ubbuta iššakkan*, it should be considered to be an expansion on the text rather than a change in meaning. This consideration is also in keeping with the opinion of Langdon, apparent in his treatment of the text.

Two more variants of this type involve possible extra dates given in N for the period of western visibility of Venus (V 69 and V70). The recorded dates in N 7-8 for Ξ and Ω each have two occurrences of the sign UTU, meaning *ūmu*, “day.” In N 8 two numbers are recorded, showing that the dual dates offered in N were for successive days, perhaps reflecting some uncertainty on the part of the copyist as to which number was contained in his exemplar. This is possibly connected with the phenomenon observed where dates between the sources differ by one day. It is conceivable that the scribe who copied N supplied two dates for the one astronomical event because he was confronted with a similar discrepancy in his sources, or possibly possessed a damaged source that left some uncertainty as to the exact figure recorded.





Another example of expansion is found at V42. In C we read *zunnū ina šamē mīlū ina nagbī ibaššū*, while the text of G is more compact: *zunnū u mīl[ū ibbaššū]*. This variation alters the style of the text but has no impact on meaning. It is significant that two copies of this text stored in the royal libraries at Nineveh display stylistically divergent versions of this apodosis.

One further example of varying apodoses is found at V45. The apodosis in C consists of the compound statement “EBUR KI.A SI.SÁ ŠÀ KUR it-ṭab,” *ebūr rutibti iššir libbi māti itāb*, “the harvest of the wet-land will succeed, the heart of the land will be well.” In contrast H retains the signs “KI]N-ár E[BUR.” The last sign preserved in H seems to be the first sign of the apodosis in C, but the first partial sign and the fully preserved phonetic complement that attaches to it seems to require that in H we find the word *išappar^{am}* before the expected apodosis. Judging by other apodoses that also feature this term, we can assume that the apodosis in H originally had a reference to a messenger sent by a king before the statement concerning the harvest of the irrigated land.

Hermeneutic Variants

There is a high number of hermeneutic variants in our sources. The majority of these relate to differences in numerals which may be explained as mechanical errors in transmis-

sion or accidents of preservation.²⁰¹ In three of these cases the variation between sources affects the month name in which a given phenomena is said to have occurred (V36, V38 and V39). These are most likely variants that emerged at a stage of textual development in which the month and day information were recorded as lists of figures, and thus these variants should be identified with the misreading of cuneiform numerals discussed above.²⁰² The only possible exception is the confusion between the signs BĀR and ĀŠ, concerning which see note above.

Seven instances of hermeneutic variation do not reflect a change in number. In V23 the apodosis in A, D and J reads: “LUGAL ana LUGAL LÚ.NE KIN-ár,” *šarru ana šarri šalta išappar^{ar}*. The corresponding apodosis in C reads: “LUGAL ana LUGAL SILIM.MA KIN-ár,” *šarru ana šarri šulma išappar^{ar}*. The variation between the signs   in A, D and J, compared with   in C hardly suggest misreading by the copyist. The opposing semantic ranges of the words *šalta* and *šulma* might suggest that this variation is intentional and not the result of scribal error. Perhaps the apodosis was altered in C to reflect some historical situation, the truth of which the copyist was directly aware. Otherwise this variant could reflect the presence of two traditions of interpreting the astral phenomenon in question. A third possibility is to suppose a copyist’s error through homoioteleuton, given that the variant apodosis that appears in C is found in a later omen in other sources. However this last is unlikely given the placement of the text in the two formats discussed above.²⁰³

²⁰¹ See the comments in note above.

²⁰² See note above.

²⁰³ Tablet A preserves the apodosis *šarru ana šarri salīma išappar ruṭibtu iššir libbi māti iṭab* in omen 59, which appears at the very end of section IV. In the text-type that C represents, this omen would have appeared on a different tablet to the one where the supposed haplography is thought to have occurred. Alternatively, if C was copied from a source that included sections I-IV on the same tablet, then omen 59 would have appeared on the reverse side of the tablet at the lower edge, while omen 11 would have been on the obverse towards the middle of the tablet. The placement of the two apodoses that would need to have been confused in C, if this explanation is true, would have required an impossible situation from the copyist, who, midway through copying omen 11 on his tablet, would had to have turned over his source tablet, or

Another example of this type of variation is found at V65. Here we see that B varies from all of the other parallel sources in its apodosis, apparently giving a prediction that concerns matters unrelated to those mentioned in tablets C, M and N. The text of B is damaged, and it is difficult to tell from Langdon's copy whether enough remains to confirm the reading by Reiner of *mērešu iššir*. However, it seems clear from what is visible in the copy made by Langdon that a reading of B that follows C, M and N is impossible. C, M and N all seem to agree, although the exact meaning of the apodosis is uncertain, and M and N are badly damaged.²⁰⁴ What seems clear is that the focus of the apodosis in B, being the arable land, is significantly different to the focus in C, M and N. The latter refer instead to events in a far away land.

B is our oldest source, dating to the late eighth century B.C.E. It was presumably kept in the Babylonian city of Kish, where it was uncovered during Langdon's excavations in 1924. The other variant sources date from the late seventh to middle of the sixth century B.C.E., and come from Babylonia as well as Nineveh. The congruence of the later sources here indicates that B, although the oldest text, is not necessarily the most accurate text in terms of quality of scribal transmission. It may be that B preserves a more original apodosis, but the agreement of the other sources suggests that B is perhaps at variance here with the popular text. Regardless of which source preserves the more 'correct' apodosis, this variant does show that the earlier source does not automatically possess the most integrity.

replaced it with the tablet containing section IV, before copying only the first part of the incorrect apodosis from omen 59. Such a situation seems, at best, unlikely.

²⁰⁴ See note above.

CHAPTER 5 – MUL.APIN

The Text

The following analysis relies primarily on the critical edition of the sources published by Hunger and Pingree.²⁰⁵ The composition known as MUL.APIN is a compendium of 60 stars or constellations and their heliacal rising and setting times. Added to this are another 11 astronomical objects, namely five planets and six circumpolar stars, considered to be later interpolations to the original list of 60 bodies.²⁰⁶ Based on the recorded observations that comprise the text, MUL.APIN has been dated to approximately the end of the 12th century B.C.E.²⁰⁷ The text is contained in a series of two tablets of four columns each, the first tablet of which will be examined here.

²⁰⁵ H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (Archiv für Orientforschung 24; Horn: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Gesellschaft, 1989).

²⁰⁶ See *AfO* 24, 137.

²⁰⁷ See *AfO* 24, 10-12. More recently B.E. Shaefer has suggested that the original observations recorded in MUL.APIN date to 1370 B.C.E. ± 100 , and were made at a latitude commensurate with ancient Nineveh or Ashur. Shaefer presented the evidence for this dating at the 210th Meeting of the American Astronomical Society in Honolulu, Hawaii, on 28th May 2007. See B.E. Schaefer, "The Latitude and Epoch for the Origin of the Astronomical Lore in MUL.APIN," *Bulletin of the American Astronomical Society* 39, 1 (2007).

The Tablets

All of the preserved tablets date to the first millennium B.C.E. and appear to be from both Babylonian and Assyrian sources.²⁰⁸ The same sigla given to the tablets by Hunger and Pingree has been used in the following list.

Table - MUL.APIN: Tablets Under Examination

Siglum *Museum Number*

A	BM86278
B	K13254
C	BM34814+35708
E	AO7540
F	K3852
G	K15929
H	BM76505
J	Rm319
K	BM32311
L	BM45922
M	N1463
N	BM33779
O	K3020
Q	Rm322
R	BM35207
T	BM41218
V	BM33791
W	BM33728
X	BM32626

²⁰⁸ The following tablets have been inspected: C, H, J, L, R, W and GG. For all of the other tablets the photographs and drawings in the publications have been consulted where possible, or, failing that, the transliteration in the score edition in *AfO 24* has been utilised.

Siglum Museum Number

Y	K8598
AA	VAT9429
BB	VAT9435
CC	K11251
DD	ND4405/30
EE	ND5497/22
FF	Rm2,174+313
GG	K6558+Sm1907
JJ	VAT9527

*Description of the Sources*²⁰⁹

A, BM86278

The script is Neo-Babylonian. The colophon states that this is “DUB.1.KAM MUL.APIN [... *kīma*] *labīrišu šatirma bari*, “tablet one of MUL.APIN [... according to] its original, written and checked.”²¹⁰ The museum registration number suggests that this tablet was excavated from Babylonia in uncontrolled excavations late in the second half of the 19th century. A drawing of the tablet was published in 1912 by L.W. King.²¹¹ Weidner considered this tablet to have been produced in around the third century B.C.E.²¹² Little else can be said regarding the provenience of this tablet.

²⁰⁹ For a full description of the sources for MUL.APIN, with information on the various editions and selected bibliography, see *AfO 24*, 4-8. The following description of the sources supplements that in *AfO 24* with information on script and the possible provenience of the tablets. Where possible a description of the physical properties of the tablets has been supplied.

²¹⁰ The colophon is found on the second tablet, col. iv 40-41.

²¹¹ See the drawing by L.W. King, *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum: Part XXXIII* (CT 33; London: The British Museum, 1912) pl. 1-8.

²¹² See note below.

B, K13254

This tablet was originally described as a Babylonian fragment of a religious text,²¹³ however the drawing in *AfO* 24, 165, indicates that the script is Neo-Assyrian. The museum catalogue number suggests that this fragment was excavated at Kuyunjik, though its exact location at that site remains uncertain.

C, BM34814+35708

These two fragments are from a four column tablet, which presumably contained the text of the first tablet of the series. The script is Neo-Babylonian. The writing is crowded and of varying size, with signs ranging from 3mm to 6mm in height. There are no rulings on the tablet, and many of the lines of text do not maintain a consistent horizontal direction. The tablet itself is quite thick, approaching 4cms at its centre. The clay is light red, and terracotta in places, with some signs of impurities. The fragment numbered BM35708 is of a slightly lighter colour than BM34814, which may be an indication that the tablet was fired by Rassam's team before being shipped from Iraq, or it was otherwise broken in antiquity and each piece burned separately. Against the latter conclusion one may note the relatively even colouring of the individual fragments which is not typical of fragments baked by conflagration.²¹⁴ The museum catalogue number indicates that this tablet was

²¹³ See the entry in C. Bezold, L.W. King, and E.A.W. Budge, *Catalogue*, 3.1298.

²¹⁴ According to S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts," 330, most of the tablets from the archives and libraries at Kuyunjik were unbaked in antiquity other than those that were effectively fired in the conflagration of 612 B.C.E. This does not take into account, however, tablets that have firing holes pressed into their surface so as to avoid cracking during firing (see, for example, the copies of the Venus Tablet K160 and K2321+3032, and a copy of the second tablet of MUL.APIN not examined here,

excavated in what is now southern Iraq by H. Rassam.²¹⁵ This tablet was published by T.G. Pinches.²¹⁶

E, AO7540+

This tablet, now at the Louvre, originally contained six columns and probably held the entire text of MUL.APIN on the same tablet. Weidner considered this tablet to have been written in the third century B.C.E., judging it to be of a similar period to BM86378 (tablet A).²¹⁷ The script is Neo-Babylonian and quite similar to tablet A in appearance. Another fragment that was originally published in connection with AO7540 (W3376) is now lost.²¹⁸

BM36851). Such impressions, though rare, can only have been made when the clay of the tablet was still malleable, and so obviously attest to those tablets being fired, or at least prepared for firing, in antiquity.

²¹⁵ Rassam's expeditions between 1879 and 1882 were primarily focused in southern Iraq. A significant number of tablets that were acquired by the British Museum at this time came from uncontrolled excavations via local antiquities dealers, for which see J.E. Reade, "Hormuzd Rassam and His Excavations," *Iraq* 55 (1993) 51, and J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xv. According to J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxvii, British Museum catalogue numbers BM30001-84999 were catalogued before November 1894, and, more specifically, the majority of tablets catalogued as BM33328-77218 are from Rassam's excavations in Babylonia between 1879 and 1882.

²¹⁶ See T.G. Pinches and J.N. Strassmaier, *Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts* (Brown University Studies 18; Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1955) 232, nos. 1496 and 1497.

²¹⁷ See E.F. Weidner, "Ein Babylonisches Kompendium Der Himmelskunde," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 40, 3 (1924) 188.

²¹⁸ See the description in *AfO* 24, 4-5. A photograph of the obverse of W3376 appears in *AfO* 24, pl. XV, but most of the script is illegible due to salt incrustations.

F, K3852

This fragment was originally described as a Babylonian astronomical forecast.²¹⁹ The tablet is more properly considered Neo-Assyrian based on its palaeography. The writing is regular and linear, and some horizontal rulings are visible on the reverse. The museum catalogue designation 'K' allows some confidence in assigning the tablet to the excavations at Nineveh, though exactly where at this site it was discovered is not known. The tablet probably contained four columns originally, being a copy of the first tablet in the series.

G, K15929

The tablet is part of the Kuyunjik collection, although the high accession number does suggest that this tablet may not have been uncovered during Rassam's excavations.²²⁰ The script is Neo-Babylonian, as can be seen from the writing of LUGAL in line 3, so if the tablet was discovered at Kuyunjik it may well have been authored by a Babylonian scribe.²²¹

²¹⁹ The description is from C. Bezold, L.W. King, and E.A.W. Budge, *Catalogue*, 2.571.

²²⁰ As noted in D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18, collections were often mixed during the complex process of shipping and cataloguing the tablets in the late 19th and early 20th century, "so that even a 'K' number does not guarantee a Kuyunjik origin."

²²¹ Tablets in Neo-Babylonian script at Nineveh may have been the product of Babylonian scribes in the employ of the royal library at Nineveh, or alternatively were acquisitioned by Ashurbanipal from Babylonia in the interests of expanding his collection, taken either consensually or by force (see S. Parpola, "Assyrian Library Records," *JNES* 42, 1 [1983] 4-9).

H, BM76505

The tablet originally contained four columns, most likely holding the text of the first tablet of MUL.APIN. The script is Neo-Babylonian, and is written in a small but neat style with signs ranging from 2.5mm to 3.5mm in height. The lines of text are roughly linear, but the horizontal direction of the text tends upwards to the right of the tablet.²²² A horizontal ruling closes the section of the tablet that list the stars of Ea. Other horizontal rulings, only visible in otherwise blank spaces on the tablet, were perhaps guide lines for writing. The bottom edge of the obverse has a ruled margin, and there appears to be at least one ruled line separating the columns on the obverse and on the reverse. The tablet is relatively flat on the obverse and slightly convex on the reverse side. It is of standard thickness, approximately 1.7cm to 2cm thick at the left edge, and approaching 3cm thick at the centre. The clay shows some impurities in the form of dark stones, and there are some fractures in the cross section. The clay appears to have been fired in antiquity, and is typically terracotta tending towards bone coloured throughout, with some greenish tinges in certain areas indicating higher firing temperatures.²²³ The tablet was acquired by the British Museum before 1894, as can be judged by its catalogue number, though any other information on its provenience is unknown.

²²² The same tendency is noted for K6558+Sm1907 (tablet GG) and K160 (tablet C of the sources for EAE 63). See also the comments in note below.

²²³ Tablets that display greenish-white colouration were probably baked in antiquity as these colours indicate very hot temperatures. See the comments in (*EAE63 note 13*).

J, Rm319

The division of the text seems to be different in this tablet. The tablet is probably of Kuyunjik origin but this is ultimately uncertain.²²⁴ The text is separated into sections by single horizontal ruled lines, and columns are separated by a single vertical line on the reverse and by a double vertical line in the obverse. The tablet is flat on the obverse and slightly convex on the reverse, approximately 2cm thick at the edge tending towards 4cm thick at the centre. The clay is quite free of impurities in the cross-section and the colour is light terracotta throughout, so the tablet was possibly unfired in antiquity.

K, BM32311

The script is Neo-Babylonian. This tablet probably contained four columns, most likely consisting of the first tablet of MUL.APIN. The left edge has a colophon that proves its Late Babylonian origin where, after the name and patronymic of the scribe, the text states “^dse-lu-ku šâr,” “Seleucus (is) king.”

L, BM45922

The tablet is written in Neo-Babylonian script, and probably comes from Rassam’s excavations in southern Iraq between 1879 and 1882. The signs are approximately 3mm to 4mm in height but the sizing is quite irregular. The tablet originally contained four col-

²²⁴ Most of the signs on the tablet appear to be Neo-Assyrian, though some signs could be Neo-Babylonian in style (e.g. KU₆, obv. ii 5; ŠA, *passim*, appears in both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian forms). While the Rm collection is mostly Assyrian material, there are occasional pieces of Babylonian origin that were purchased in Baghdad (J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxviii-xxix). The bulk of the Rm material is thought to have been extracted from the North and the Southwest Palaces at Nineveh during Rassam’s excavations between January and May 1878, for which see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 387.

umns, most likely consisting of the first tablet of MUL.APIN. The preserved fragment is a flake of five lines with part of the top edge preserved. There are no rulings, vertical or horizontal, apparent on the tablet. There may be some impurities in the clay (a hole in the bottom edge may have been created when a stone was displaced). The clay is a light bone colour throughout, so that tablet may have been fired in antiquity.

M, N1463

The museum catalogue number designates this tablet came from excavations at Nimrud. The unusual layout and spacing of the text, and the fact that it is a single column text from a displaced section of MUL.APIN suggests that this could be a school text. The reverse contains a text that is not part of the series.

N, BM33779

The script is Neo-Babylonian. This tablet originally contained four columns, most likely comprising the first tablet of MUL.APIN. The catalogue number suggests that it was excavated at Babylon.²²⁵

O, K3020

The tablet was originally catalogued as a Babylonian fragment of astronomical forecasts.²²⁶ The script is more properly described as Neo-Assyrian (*cf.* the form of MUL

²²⁵ Tablets with catalogue numbers BM33447 to 33904 arrived at the British Museum on 24th December 1879, having been shipped from Baghdad on 15th October that same year. The only site being excavated at that time was Babylon (see J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxix).

²²⁶ See C. Bezold, L.W. King, and E.A.W. Budge, *Catalogue*, 2.497.

passim, and GU on obv. ii 11). The tablet is likely to have contained parts of both tablets of MUL.APIN in its four columns.²²⁷ The catalogue designation ‘K’ indicates that this fragment was excavated from Kuyunjik, though its exact location at that site is unknown.

Q, Rm322

The script is Neo-Babylonian (*cf.* the form of KA and ITI on obv. iii 11). The catalogue designation Rm indicates that the tablet was part of Rassam’s excavations and acquisitions in 1877-78. While most of the material in the Rm collection is Assyrian in origin there is some material from Babylonia.²²⁸

R, BM35207

The script of this tablet is Neo-Babylonian, and the signs are regularly between 4mm to 5mm in height. There is some crowding of the signs between lines 5 and 7. No rulings are visible on the tablet, but the horizontal direction of the text is even. No edges are preserved so nothing can be said regarding margins. Only the obverse of the tablet remains and this indicates that the tablet was over 2.5cm thick at its centre. The clay has only minor impurities and there is some cracking in the surface. The colour is a light terracotta so this tablet appears to have been baked after excavation to enable safe shipping.

T, BM41218

The tablet originally contained four columns of the first tablet of MUL.APIN written in Neo-Babylonian script. Some horizontal rulings separating sections are visible on the ob-

²²⁷ See the comments in *AfO* 24, 6.

²²⁸ See note above.

verse and reverse. From the catalogue number it may be assumed that this tablet was excavated from Babylon or Borsippa in late 1880 or early 1881.²²⁹ If the former, the tablet may have been uncovered at the Ninmah Temple near Babylon's Ishtar gate. If the latter, the tablet may have come from the Nabu Temple at Borsippa where excavations were conducted in late 1880.²³⁰

V, BM33791

This fragment from the obverse of a four column tablet is written in Neo-Babylonian script. Like tablet N above, this tablet was is probably from Babylon as this was the only site being worked at the time the tablet was acquired.

W, BM33728

This was most likely originally a four column tablet. The flake from the right edge of the obverse is written in Neo-Babylonian script, as is indicated by the signs DUḪ (line 6), GU₄ and NA (line 12). The signs are typically 4mm to 6mm in height and not always neatly written. There are no ruled margins or horizontal lines visible, and in some places the writing appears to extend beyond the right margin (see line 12 and possibly line 14). The tablet is approximately 1.5cm to 1.8cm thick at its right edge. The clay that remains is quite free of impurities and is a light terracotta colour throughout. From the museum

²²⁹ Catalogue numbers BM40462 to 41389 were received at the British Museum on the 28th April 1881, and the time that it generally took a shipment to reach the museum after leaving Baghdad was around two months (see J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxv-xxvi).

²³⁰ See J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxi-xxii.

catalogue number it may be assumed that this tablet is from Babylon, for the same reasons as have been stated above in relation to tablet N and tablet V.

X, BM32626

The script appears to be Neo-Babylonian, and in its original state the tablet probably contained four columns of the first tablet of MUL.APIN. Little else can be said regarding the provenience of this fragment. It was presumably acquired by the British Museum before 1894.

Y, K8598

This tablet originally contained only two columns of text. The script appears to be Neo-Babylonian (*cf.* the form of ITI on obv. 15), and the demarcation ‘K’ suggests that this tablet was excavated at Nineveh (but see note above).

AA, VAT9429

This tablet, now at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, is written in Neo-Assyrian script.²³¹ *AfO* 24 does not provide a photograph or drawing of the tablet but some parts were quoted by Weidner.²³² The tablet was discovered in Ashur and was originally part of a

²³¹ See the comments in *AfO* 24, 126.

²³² E.F. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronome: erster Band - der babylonische Fixsternhimmel* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915) 141-42, and E.F. Weidner, *Alter und Bedeutung der babylonischen Astronomie und Astrallehre, nebst Studien über Fixsternhimmel und Kalendar* (Im Kampf um den Alten Orient 4; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1914) 24-25.

private library that belonged to a family of scribes. The tablet dates to the seventh century B.C.E.²³³

BB, VAT9435

Like tablet AA, this tablet is written in Neo-Assyrian script. Some parts of this tablet were previously published by Weidner.²³⁴ Little can be said in regard to its provenience.

CC, K11251

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and the catalogue number indicates this tablet was excavated at Nineveh. The reverse of the tablet, following the name of the scribe, reads: *gabarī*^{uru} TIN.[TIR^{ki}], “original from Babylon.”²³⁵ This is quite possibly a copy made for Ashurbanipal’s library by an Assyrian scribe who copied an original tablet from the city of Babylon.

²³³ According to O. Pedersén, *Archive and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500-300 B.C.* (Maryland: CDL Press, 1998) 134, the library was kept in a private house situated close to the main zikkurat in Ashur. Most of the texts from the library date from the seventh century B.C.E. The location of the house in the north-east of the city, close to the Temple of Ashur, makes some connection with the temple library possible according to O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in Assur*, 2.30-31, or alternatively with another library connected with the prince’s palace built by Sennacherib for Ashur-muballissu (O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in Assur*, 2.81).

²³⁴ E.F. Weidner, *Handbuch*, 141-42, and *KAO* 4, 24-25.

²³⁵ The colophon is not given in *AfO* 24. See the drawing in L.W. King, *Cuneiform Texts From Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum: Part XXVI* (CT 26; London: The British Museum, 1909) pl. 47.

DD, ND4405/30

The fragment is from Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu) and is written in Neo-Assyrian script.²³⁶

The tablet originally had four columns containing the first tablet of MUL.APIN. This tablet and tablet EE, also from Nimrud, were probably written between the end of the ninth century B.C.E. and the end of the seventh century B.C.E.²³⁷

EE, ND5497/22

This fragment is from Nimrud and is written in Neo-Assyrian script. It is possible that this was a copy of the first tablet in the series which perhaps also included abbreviated portions of the second tablet.²³⁸ Like tablet DD it probably pertains to the Temple of Nabû at ancient Kalḫu, being written between the end of the ninth and the late seventh century B.C.E. (see note).

²³⁶ The tablet was published in D.J. Wiseman and J. Black, *Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud IV: Literary Texts From the Temple of Nabû* (CTN IV; London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1996) pl. 20.

²³⁷ The two tablets from Nimrud, DD and EE, were discovered in a storeroom located across the main courtyard of the Temple of Nabû, E-zida, and so were probably part of a collection related to that temple. The majority of texts from this excavation are written in Assyrian script, and presumably stem from the period of the temple library's continuous use between 800 B.C.E. and 616 B.C.E. Some movement of texts between Kalḫu and Nineveh is probable (see *CTN IV*, 4-5, and D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 21). For the colophons of these texts see *CTN IV*, 6 n. 73, and H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone* (Kevelaer: Butson & Bercker, 1968) 293-311.

²³⁸ *Afo* 24, 7. For the publication of the text see *CTN IV*, pl. 21.

FF, Rm2,174+313

The tablet is presumably of Assyrian origin as the museum catalogue designation ‘Rm2’ indicates.²³⁹ There is a strong possibility that this tablet was discovered in the North Palace at Nineveh, and so was probably written at around the middle of the seventh century B.C.E.²⁴⁰ The fragment Rm2,174 was published by Virolleaud.²⁴¹

GG K6558+Sm1907

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and although the signs are somewhat crowded along each line there are clear delineations between successive lines of text. The tablet is from Nineveh and was most likely excavated from the Southwestern Palace.²⁴² In its original form the tablet contained six columns that comprised a substantial amount, if not all, of both tablets in the series. Each line tends upward to the right in its horizontal trajectory, so that the beginning of a line is at roughly the same height as the end of the line that follows

²³⁹ The tablets marked ‘Rm2’ were shipped to the British Museum between 1879 and 1883. The tablets are mostly “Assyrian, apart from strays” (J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxix). The tablets in this collection were mostly excavated during Rassam's second expedition to Nineveh in 1878 (see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 387).

²⁴⁰ D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18-19, notes that around 90% of the tablets in the Rm2 collection were excavated from the North Palace. The construction of the palace was completed in 645 B.C.E., which may serve as an approximate guide for when the tablet was written. There is, of course, no firm evidence for the suggestion that the completion of the palace should inform us as to when a tablet housed there was written. The date does, however, allow for a general approximation of when the tablet was in circulation.

²⁴¹ See C. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne: Le Livre intitulé 'enuma (Anu) ilu Bel.' Second Supplément: Texte Cuniforme (2^{me} Partie)* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1912) 94-95, no. LXVII.

²⁴² According to D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18, the Smith collection in the British Museum, designated ‘Sm’ in the catalogue, is almost entirely from the Southwestern palace at Nineveh. George Smith excavated tablets from this collection during his second expedition to Nineveh in 1874 (see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 386-87).

it.²⁴³ No inter-columnar rulings are preserved but there are parts of a top ruled margin and lower right ruled margin. The clay has visible impurities in the cross section and, from the brittle and crumbling nature of the tablet, appears to be unbaked.²⁴⁴

JJ, VAT9527

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and the tablet was apparently found in a private house in Ashur. The tablet probably dates to the seventh century B.C.E. and was part of the private collection of a family of scribes. This family may have had some connected with the Ashur temple or the palace at Ashur.²⁴⁵ The tablet originally held six columns and comprised the entire text of MUL.APIN.

Table - Number of SU Preserved in the MUL.APIN Tablets

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
A	1617
B	14
C	73.5
E	249
F	49.5
G	21
H	341
J	229.5
K	156
L	30.5
M	117.5
N	135.5
O	190.5

²⁴³ This is certainly not a sign of imperfection in scribal execution. The same effect can be seen in such skilfully executed texts as the Taylor prism.

²⁴⁴ I owe this observation to M. Sigrist, private conversation.

²⁴⁵ H. Hunger, "Zwei Tafeln des Astronomischen Textes *MUL.APIN* im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin," *Forschungen und Berichte* 22 (1982) 127, connects this tablet with the same find-site as discussed for tablet AA (see note above).

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
Q	58.5
R	33
T	133.5
V	38
W	27
X	69.5
Y	80
AA	356
BB	141.5
CC	10.5
DD	102.5
EE	83
FF	117
GG	89
JJ	7

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each set of two parallel tablets preserving at least 50 SU in common. Following this table is an exhaustive list of all variant readings between any two known sources for the first tablet in the series MUL.APIN that overlap in content, regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved. Although every variant is given in the list, the discussion of the variants will refer in the main only to those texts preserving at least 50 SU in parallel listed in the table. This is done so that only those texts that are preserved in sufficient proportions to be statistically reliable are brought into the main discussion. Variant readings in the parallel sources that are less fully preserved may be referred to periodically, but will not be made to bear any of the statistical argument put forward regarding types and frequencies of variants.

Table - Variants in the Parallel Sources for MUL.APIN

Text vs Text	TOTAL PLL	Orth. Variant	Proportion: SU per Orth. Variant	Orth. (linguistic) Variant	Proportion: SU per Orth. (l) Variant	Stylistic (Type 1) Variants	Proportion: SU per St. (1) Variant	Stylistic (Type 2) Variants	Proportion: SU per St. (2) Variant	Stylistic (Type 3) Variants	Proportion: SU per St. (3) Variant	Herme- neutic Variants	Proportion: SU per Her. Variant
A:AA	489.5	15	24.5	2	4	6	10	2	5.5			1	2
A:BB	226.5	8	15	2	3	11	11	1	1				
AA:BB	199	11	22	3	5.5	19	19	2	2				
A:FF	191.5	3	5.5			2	1.5						
AA:DD	165	6	10.5	2	3.5	3	2.5						
A:EE	162	4	7	2	4	1	1	1	2				
A:K	155	29	56.5	3	4.5	7	6.5						
A:T	145.5	3	6	1	2	3	4	2	5			1	3.5
A:H	139	18	33.5	2	4	2	2						
A:C	138	1	2	2	3.5								
A:Y	133					1	1						
A:DD	116.5	6	11.5	3	5.5	4	4.5						
T:EE	112	5	9	1	1.5	4	5	1	3				
BB:DD	105.5	5	10				3	2.5					
C:AA	101	2	4	2	3.5	1	1						
A:X	98	6	9.5	1	2		3	5		1	4		
A:J	82	19	38	3	6		8	8				1	2
A:N	79	29	57	1	2	1	1						
X:AA	73	1	2				1	1					
Y:AA	69						2	3					
J:K	65	5	8.5		3	1	0.5						
A:F	59		2				2	2					
A:GG	57	2	4				5	5					
C:X	56												
A:M	55			1	1.5	1	1					3	6
M:N	54	1	2										

List of Variants Between the Parallel Sources for MUL.APIN

<i>No.</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
M1	AA i 1 CC 1	DIŠ ^{mul} APIN mul [	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ, preceding clauses or proper nouns, is lacking in CC. ²⁴⁶
M2	B 1 AA i 1 DD 1	mu ^l giš APIN mul APIN m ^l ul APIN	OV – The preposition determinative GIŠ, preceding wooden objects, is lacking in AA and DD.
M3	A i 1 B 1 AA i 1 BB 1 DD 1	pa-ni IGI IGI IGI IGI	OV – The phonetic spelling in A appears as a logogram in the parallel sources.
M4	AA i 2 BB 2 CC 2	DIŠ ^{mul} UR.BAR.RA mul UR.BAR.RA mul UR.BAR[	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M5	A i 2 B 2 AA i 2 BB 2	giš NINDA giš NINDA giš NINDA NINDA	OV – The preposition determinative GIŠ is lacking in BB.
M6	A i 2 AA i 2 BB 2	ša ^{mul} APIN ša ^{mul} APIN mul APIN	SV(1) – The relative pronoun ša is lacking in BB.
M7	AA i 3 BB 3 CC 3 DD 3	DIŠ ^{mul} ŠU.IGI mul ŠU.IGI mul ŠU[DIŠ ^{mul} ŠU.IGI	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M8	AA i 3	GÀM	Not Counted – The sign is uncertain

²⁴⁶ The general rule followed in this study is that if a determinative is lacking in one document and present in another it is counted as an orthographic variant. See, for example, the spelling with or without the preposition determinative DINGIR at V40 *et passim*. There the parallel sources refer to the same noun, so the difference is clearly orthographic. In the present case, though, whether or not a scribe wrote the sign DIŠ at the beginning of consecutive lines on the tablet is rather a matter of stylistic convention.

	BB 4 CC 4 DD 3	^ṛ giš [?] GÀM G[ÀM GÀM	in BB. ²⁴⁷
M9	A i 4 AA i 3 BB 4	^d GAM.LUM GAM.LUM]Ga [	OV – The proper name <i>Gamlum</i> is written differently in BB.
M10	AA i 5 BB 7 CC 6	DIŠ ^{mul} ^{mul} ^{mul}	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M11	A i 5 B 5 AA i 4 BB 5 DD 4	MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL]BA.GAL.GAL.LA MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL.LA	OV – A, AA and BB have the short spelling for <i>Tū'amū rabūtu</i> , “the Great Twins,” against the longer spelling in B and DD. ²⁴⁸
M12	A i 5 B 5 BB 6 DD 4	^d Lugal-gìr-ra u ^d Mes-lam-ta-è- a ^d Lugal-gìr-ra ù ^d [^d Lugal[] ù ^d Mes-lam-ta- rè`[^d Lugal-gìr-ra ù ^d[	OV – A has the conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Lugalgirra</i> and <i>Meslamtaea</i> written with U, against Û in B, BB and DD.
M13	A i 5 B 5 AA i 4 BB 6 DD 4	^d Lugal-gìr-ra u ^d Mes-lam-ta-è- a ^d Lugal-gìr-ra ù ^d [^d Lugal-gìr-ra ^d Mes-lam-ta-è-a ^d Lugal[] ù ^d Mes-lam-ta- rè`[^d Lugal-gìr-ra ù ^d[	SV(1) – The conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Lugalgirra</i> and <i>Meslamtaea</i> is lacking in AA.
M14	AA i 5 BB 7 CC 6	DIŠ ^{mul} ^{mul} ^{mul}	SV(1) – AA has the preposition determinative DIŠ, lacking in BB and CC.

²⁴⁷ *AfO* 24 19 has “^ṛgiš[?] GÀM.”

²⁴⁸ The form GAL.GAL.LA is a variant spelling of GAL.GAL, *rabūtu*, “great,” see *CAD* R 16. The variant form “MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL.LA” appears in a Neo-Babylonian list of divine and astronomical names from Birs Nimroud (Borsippa) published in *RawlCu* 5 46 I 4a.

M15	A i 6 AA i 5 BB 7 DD 5	^d LĀL ^d MŪŠ.LĀL ^d LĀL ^d L[ĀL]	OV – The spelling of the star name <i>Alummuš</i> varies in AA compared to the other sources. ²⁴⁹
M16	A i 6 B 6 BB 8 DD 5	u ù ù ù	OV – A spells the conjunction with the sign U, whereas this is written with the sign Û in B, BB and DD.
M17	A i 6 AA i 5 BB 8	^d Nin EZENxGU ₄ ^d Nin MAĤ (?) ^d Nin (?)	Not Counted – The text appears to vary between the three preserved sources, but is only certain in A. ²⁵⁰
M18	AA i 6 BB 9 CC 7	DIŠ ^{mul} mul mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M19	AA i 7 BB 10 CC 8 DD 6	DIŠ ^{mul} mul m[ul] mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB, CC and DD.
M20	A i 8 AA i 7 BB 10	^d La-ta-ra-ak ^d La-ta-rak ^d La-ta-r[ak]	OV – AA and BB have the spelling CVC, against CV-VC in A.
M21	AA i 8 BB 11 CC 9	DIŠ MUL MUL MUL	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M22	AA i 8 BB 11	šá ša	OV – The relative pronoun <i>ša</i> is written with the sign ŠÁ in AA, against ŠA in BB.

²⁴⁹ The rare spelling for the divine name *Alummuš* in AA, “^dMŪŠ.LĀL,” is also found in *RawlCu* 5 46 I 6b, and H. Zimmern, *Beitraege zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion: Die Beschwoerungstafeln Šurpu, Ritualtafeln fuer der Wahrsager, Beschwoerer und Saenger* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901), VIII 25.

²⁵⁰ See *Afo* 24 125. *RawlCu* 5 46 I 6 has the same spelling as A.

M23	A i 9 C i 2 AA i 8 BB 12 DD 7	^{mul} LUGAL ^{múl} LUGAL ^{mul} LUGAL ^{mul} LUGAL m[ul]	OV – The preposition determinative for <i>kakkabu</i> , “star,” is written with the sign MÚL in C, against MUL in the other sources.
M24	AA i 9 BB 13 CC 10	DIŠ MUL MUL M[UL]	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB and CC.
M25	AA i 9 BB 13	MUL MUL ^{meš}	OV – AA has an unmarked plural, <i>kakkabū</i> , “star,” marked as plural with MEŠ in BB. ²⁵¹
M26	A i 10 AA i 9 BB 13 DD 8	l]u-tum um-mu-lu-tum um-mu-lu-tu m]u-lu-tú	OV – A and AA preserve mimation, lacking in BB and DD. ²⁵²
M27	E i 1 AA i 9 BB 14 DD 8	GUB-zu GUB-zu GUB ^{meš} GUB-zu	OV – BB marks the plural verb <i>izzazzū</i> with the sign MEŠ, lacking in the other sources. ²⁵³

²⁵¹ AA has the plural adjective “um-mu-lu-tum,” “faint, dusky” attached to the noun MUL so there can be little doubt that the noun is also plural. The singular noun would require the singular adjective *ummulum* – see J. Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005²) 24.

²⁵² BB and DD also differ from each other in the spelling of the final syllable. On the loss of mimation see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 258-59, and 596.

²⁵³ The verb is marked as plural in BB and with a phonetic complement in the other sources. The phonetic complement “-zu” in E, AA, and DD evidently marks the long final vowel of the plural verb *izzazzū* because, at least in AA and DD, the adjective describing the subject is clearly plural (see also M63 and compare M66). The form “GUB-zu” is singular in A i 35 (M68), but compare the singular forms “GUB” in BB (M68) and “GUB-iz” in EE (M72). A also has a phonetic complement for the plural form “GUB ^{meš}-zu” in A i 33 (M66) and A ii 25 (M109). E and DD preserve the verb but not the adjective, and both are in agreement with AA. On the reading of the root as *zwz, “to stand,” see J. Huehnergard, *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen* (ed. A. Abusch; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 162.

M28	AA i 9- 10 BB 14	GUB-zu ⁽¹⁰⁾ sis-sin-nu GUB ^{meš si-si-nu} sis-si-nu	SV(2) – BB has a gloss following the proper noun <i>Sissinu</i> . ²⁵⁴
M29	A i 11 C i 3 AA i 10 BB 15	^d E ₄ -ru ₆ ^d E ₄ -ru ₆ ^d E ₄ -ru ₆ ^d E ₄ -ru ₆ e-ru	SV(2) – BB has a gloss following the proper noun <i>Eru</i> . ²⁵⁵
M30	AA i 11 BB 16	DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M31	A i 12 AA i 11 BB 16 DD 9	[l]íl ^d En-líl ^d BE ^d En-líl	OV – A, AA and DD preserve the usual spelling for <i>Enlil</i> , while BB has the abbreviated form. ²⁵⁶
M32	A i 12 C i 5 E i 3 AA i 11 BB 16	i-šim-mu i-š[im]-me]šim-me i-šim-ma i-šim-mu	OV(1) – Different inflected verbal ending. ²⁵⁷
M33	AA i 12 BB 17	DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) - The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M34	AA i 12 BB 17 DD 10	IGI-šú IGI-šu IGI-šú	OV – The pronominal object suffix is written with the sign ŠÚ in AA and DD.

²⁵⁴ According to *CAD* S 325-26 the proper noun *Sissinu*, the constellation Coma Berenices, is frequently accompanied by the gloss *sisinu* meaning “date frond, spadix.” Only BB supplies glosses for this name and for the name of the city deity *Eru* (see M29).

²⁵⁵ The close association of both names that are glossed in BB is indicated by the astronomical text published in *LBAT* 1510 11, which reads “E₄-ru₆... sis-sin-nu ina qāt,” “Eru ... date frond in hand.”

²⁵⁶ See R. Labat, *Manuel*, 67, and also R. Borger, *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004) 67-68.

²⁵⁷ A and BB share the same spelling of the present future verb *išemme*, “to fix, decree.” AA has a spelling with final /a/, unattested in the parallel sources, while C and E reflect the expected ‘i’ theme vowel. For the verbal root *siāmu*, “to fix, decree,” see *CAD* Š 1 362.

M35	A i 13 C i 6 E i 4 AA i 12 BB 17 DD 10	^{mul} Hé-gal-a-a ^{mul} Hé-gal-a-a-a []-a ^{mul} Hé-gal-a-a-ú]-gal-a-a ^{mul} Hé-gal-a-a[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ²⁵⁸
M36	AA i 13 BB 19	DIŠ ^{mul} _{mul}	SV(1) - The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M37	AA i 13 BB 19	šá ša	OV – The relative pronoun <i>ša</i> is written with the sign ŠÁ in AA against ŠA in BB.
M38	AA i 13 BB 19 DD 11	šá EGIR-šú ša ina [] EGIR-šú	SV(1) – BB has an extra preposition <i>ina</i> which is lacking in AA. DD is broken and so uncertain.
M39	AA i 14 BB 21	DIŠ ^{mul} _{mul}	SV(1) - The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M40	A i 15 BB 22	DIŠ ^{mul} _{mul}	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M41	A i 16 AA i 15 DD 13	z]a-ri-i za-ri-i za-ri-e	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ²⁵⁹
M42	A i 16 AA i 15 DD 13	MAR.GÍD.DA ^{mul} MAR.GÍD.DA ^{mul} [M]A[R].GÍD.DA	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is lacking in A.
M43	C i 9 AA i 16 BB 23	^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} _{mul}	SV(1) - The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in C and BB.

²⁵⁸ AA has a different spelling for the final vowel of the proper noun *Hégala*, “the Abundant One.” A, C, E and BB all have final /a/ while DD is uncertain. The final /a/ vowel in A, C, E, and BB could represent a difference in case however the only meaningful reading of the text is to treat the proper noun as nominative.

²⁵⁹ A and AA have *zarî*, “cart pole,” with final /i/ against the spelling with final /e/ in DD.

M44	A i 18 C i 11 AA i 17	^d A-a A-a ^d A-a	OV – The preposition determinative DINGIR is lacking in C.
M45	A i 19 AA i 18 DD 15	^d A-num ^d A-nu-um ^d A-num	OV – AA has a longer spelling for the proper noun <i>Anum</i> .
M46	A i 19 AA i 18	GAL-ú GAL-u	OV – The phonetic complement for <i>rabû</i> , “great,” is written differently in A and AA.
M47	A i 20 F 2 AA i 19 BB 26	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M48	A i 21 F 3 AA i 20 BB 27	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M49	A i 21 AA i 20 BB 28 DD 17	^{mul} IBILA.É.MAḤ ^{mul} IBILA. ṚMAḤ.É [?] (?) [^m]ul IBILA[IBILA[	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is lacking in DD. ²⁶⁰
M50	A i 22 F 4 AA i 21	DUMU reš-tu-ú DUMU reš-tu-ú [] MUL [] reš-tu-ú	SV(2) – AA has the preposition determinative MUL, lacking in A and F. ²⁶¹
M51	A i 22 AA i 21	^d A-nu-um ^d A-nim	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
M52	A i 23 F 5 BB 30	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.

²⁶⁰ The apparent metathesis of the signs MAḤ and É in DD is broken and therefore uncertain. The signs are reads as follows: IBILA (=DUMU), *aplu*, “heir, (eldest) son;” É, *bītu*, “house, temple;” and MAḤ, *širu*, “eminent, sublime” (see *CAD* § 210) thus rendering the name “Heir of the Sublime Temple.”

²⁶¹ This is read as a gloss that defines the phrase *māru reštu* as a proper noun referring to an astronomical body. For examples of similar glosses lacking in the parallel sources see M132 and M299.

M53	A i 23 F 6 AA 22 BB 31	mul. DIŠ ^{mul} — mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in A, AA and BB. This is probably because only F begins a new line at this point.
M54	A i 23 F 6 AA i 22 BB 31	mul DINGIR.TUŠ.A ^{meš} DIŠ ^{mul} DINGIR.TUŠ.A ^{meš} DINGIR.TUŠ.A mul DINGIR.TU[Š	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is lacking in AA.
M55	A i 23 F 6 AA i 22 DD 18	mul DINGIR.TUŠ.A ^{meš} DIŠ ^{mul} DINGIR.TUŠ.A ^{meš} DINGIR.TUŠ.A TUJŠ.A ^{meš}	SV(1) – Difference in number. ²⁶²
M56	A i 24 F 7 BB 32	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M57	A i 24 AA i 23	^d Gu-la ^d Nin-kar-ra-ak	SV(1) – A and AA have different names for the same deity. ²⁶³
M58	A i 25 F 8 BB 33	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M59	A i 26 F 9 BB 34	DIŠ ^{mul} DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.

²⁶² AA has the singular *dingirtušu*, “the sitting god,” written as a plural in the other sources. A difference in number here is suggested by the fact that AA has the title *dingirgubbû*, “the standing gods,” spelled with the plural marker MEŠ in the same line.

²⁶³ According to J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons, and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003) 101, *Ninkarrak* and *Gula* are both to be identified with the cognomen *Ninisina*, “The Lady of Isin.” See also G. Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* (London: Routledge, 1997) 132-33. Another appellation, *Bau*, appears alongside the name *Gula* in *RawlCu* 5 46 I 17. Different divine names may reflect different understandings as to which deity was associated with a given astral body. We may presume here that the body being referred to remains the same although the associated deity may vary. For an analogous terrestrial situation concerning the relationship between *Bau* and *Ningirsu* see W. Heimpel, “The Lady of Girsu,” *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen* (ed. A. Abusch; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 158-60.

M60	A i 26 AA i 25 BB 34	né-bu-ú né-bu-u né-bu-ú	OV – AA has the sign U for the final vowel, written as Ū in A and BB.
M61	A i 27 F 10 BB 36	DIŠ 2 DIŠ 2 2	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M62	A i 27 AA i 26 BB 36	šá šá šá	OV – The relative particle ša is written with the sign ŠA in BB, against ŠÁ in A and AA.
M63	A i 27 AA i 26 EE i 3	GUB ^{meš} -zu GUB-z[u GU]B-zu	OV – The plural marker in AA and EE is lacking although the beginning of the line clearly requires a plural noun in all sources. ²⁶⁴
M64	A i 32 BB 44	DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M65	A i 32 T i 6 BB 44 EE i 10	um-mu-lu-tu ₄ m]u-lu-tu ₄ um-mu-lu-t[u]]mu-lu-tu	OV – A and T spell the final syllable with the sign TU ₄ , written as TU in EE. BB is broken and therefore uncertain.
M66	A i 33 T i 6 BB 45	GUB ^{meš} -zu GUB-zu GUB ^{meš}	SV(1) – A and BB have the plural marker MEŠ for <i>izzazzū</i> , “they are positioned,” referring to multiple jects, while T lacks the plural marker. The context seems to require that T refers to the constellation in the singular. ²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Most of the line is preserved in A, F, and BB, which read: “(DIŠ) 2 MUL^(meš) šá EGIR-šú GUB^(meš)-zu ...,” 2 *kakkabū ša arkišu izzazzū* ..., “Two stars that are positioned after it ...” The reading of the form “GUB-zu” as the plural verb *izzazzū* is therefore certain. On the function of the phonetic complement “-zu” to mark the plural verb *izzazzū* see note above.

²⁶⁵ T may refer to multiple subjects with a defective plural as was read in M27. However, the broken context of T makes it impossible to determine if there are in reality several subjects mentioned in this source. The possibility remains that T refers to the constellation *Manzât*, “the Rainbow,” in the singular even though it is likely that the reference is to the three stars Andromedae 18, 32 and δ (31).

M67	A i 33 BB 45	GUB ^{meš} -zu GUB ^{meš}	OV – A has the phonetic complement “-zu,” lacking in BB. ²⁶⁶
	A i 34 BB 46	DIŠ ^{mul} mul	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in BB.
M68	A i 35 T i 8 BB 47 EE i 13	GUB-zu GUB-zu GUB z]u	OV – A, T and EE have the phonetic complement “-zu” for <i>izzazzu</i> , lacking in BB.
M69	A i 36 T i 9 EE i 14	MUL ^{meš} šu-ut ^d En-líl me]š šu-ut ^d En-líl MUL ^{meš} šu-ut 50	SV(2) – A and T have an expansive plus. ²⁶⁷
M70	A i 36 T i 9 EE i 14	ug-dam-mi-ru-ni ug-dam-mi-ru[ug-da-me-ru-ni	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
M71	A i 37 EE i 15	MUL GAL UD.DA-su MU]L GAL ú UD.DA-su	SV(1) – The conjunction between the words <i>kakkabu rabû</i> , “a great star,” and <i>šēssu</i> , “its light,” is lacking in A.
M72	A i 37 T i 10 EE i 16 FF i 1	GUB-zu GUB-ma GUB-iz GU]B-m[a	OV – A, T and EE use different signs to write the phonetic complement, while FF lacks the phonetic complement entirely.
M73	A i 37 T i 10 EE i 16 FF i 1	GUB-zu GUB-ma GUB-iz GU]B-m[a	SV(1) – T and FF preserve the emphatic particle “-ma,” lacking in A and EE.
M74	A i 37 EE i 17	né-bi-ri ^d né-be-ru	OV – A lacks the preposition determinative DINGIR in the divine title for the star of Marduk, <i>Nēberu</i> , “the Ford.”

²⁶⁶ In light of Rule 3 this variant is only counted between A and BB. A minor stylistic variation, SV(1), is counted for the same semogenic unit between T and BB (M66).

²⁶⁷ A and T have “the stars of Enlil,” where EE has “the fifty stars.” Each source records fifty stars up to this point, so the reference to “stars of Enlil” is taken as a plus. This description is essentially arbitrary, and it remains equally possible that the reading in A and T may be original.

M75	A i 37 EE i 17	né-bi-ri ^d né-be-ru	OV(1) – A and EE have different spellings for the title <i>Nēberu</i> . ²⁶⁸
M76	A i 38 T i 11 EE i 18	KÚR.KÚR-ir KÚR.KÚR-ma KÚR.KÚR-ir	OV – T lacks the phonetic complement “-ir” present in A and EE.
M77	A i 38 T i 11 EE i 18	KÚR.KÚR-ir KÚR.KÚR-ma KÚR.KÚR-ir	SV(1) – T has the emphatic particle “-ma,” lacking in A and EE.
M78	A i 40 T i 13 EE i 22	IGI IGI pa-an	OV – The logogram in A and T is written fully in EE.
M79	A i 40 T i 13 EE i 22	MUL ^{meš} MUL MUL ^{meš}	SV(1) – Difference in number. ²⁶⁹
M80	A i 43 T i 16 FF i 7	^{lú} HUN.GÁ HUN.GÁ ^{lú} HUN.GÁ	OV – The preposition determinative LÚ, denoting a professional office, is lacking in T.
M81	A ii 1 FF i 9	^d is l[e] is le-e	OV – The title <i>is lē</i> appears without the preposition determinative

²⁶⁸ The difference in final vowels could represent a grammatical variation, although the more likely explanation is that this is a simple orthographic variant. The full title in A is “MUL^d AMAR.UD^(d) né-bi-ri/u,” *kakkab Marduk Nēberi*, “the star Marduk of the Ford.” EE has the preposition determinative DINGIR preceding the second noun, probably indicating a separate title that is not bound to the first noun *Marduk*. Thus in EE the two titles are both independent and nominative. Indeed, the name *Nēberu* appears independently as “^{mul} ne-bi-rū” in two other astronomical lists, CT 26 41 v 1, and CT 26 44 ii 12. For a similar variation in the case vowel on a proper noun see M91 below.

²⁶⁹ The plural marker MEŠ is lacking in T, denoting a singular noun, while A and EE have the plural noun marked with MEŠ. The plural noun in A and EE refers to the *kakkabī šūt Anu*, “the stars of Anu.” The reading of the singular in T is similar to the singular noun that refers to multiple stars in the constellation *Manzāt* (see V66 and note).

			DINGIR in FF. ²⁷⁰
M82	G 1 FF i 10	[^d A-nim] u ^d I[NNIN] ^d A-nim INNIN	SV(1) – The conjunction “u” is lacking between the divine names <i>Anu</i> and <i>Ištar</i> in FF.
M83	G 1 FF i 10	^d I[NNIN] INNIN	OV – The preposition determinative DINGIR is lacking before the divine name <i>Ištar</i> in FF.
M84	A ii 4 FF i 11	GUB ^{meš} -zu GUB-zu	OV – A has the plural marker MEŠ following the logogram GUB, <i>zazzū</i> . This is written without the plural marker MEŠ in FF. ²⁷¹
M85	A ii 4 FF i 12	^d LÚ.LÀL u ^d L[a] ^d LÚ.LÀL ^d La-ta-rak	SV(1) – A has a conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Lulal</i> and <i>Latarak</i> , lacking in FF.
M86	G 2 FF i 12	^d La-ta-ra-ak ^d La-ta-rak	OV – The proper noun <i>Latarak</i> is written differently in G and FF.
M87	G 3 FF i 13	^d DAR.LUGAL ^{mul} DAR.LUGAL	SV(1) – The preposition attached to the proper noun <i>Tarlugalla</i> is MUL in FF against DINGIR in G. ²⁷²
M88	G 4	^d MAŠ	OV – The proper noun <i>Ninurta</i> ap-

²⁷⁰ According to *CAD* I/J 188 the name “^d is le-e” refers to the constellation Haydes, the “Jaw of the Bull” (the “Bull” being the constellation Taurus). Other possible readings are “^{giš} LI,” *burāšu*, meaning “juniper;” and ^{giš} *lē’u*, “writing board,” which appears as “^{giš} le₉-e” in E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953) 113 r.3 (*cf.* *CAD* L 156). However it is most likely that the lack of the preposition determinative DINGIR is simply an orthographic variation.

²⁷¹ The spelling in FF is probably a defective plural, but this is problematic given that the subject is unclear. The subject in A is “*Lulal u Latarak*,” clearly two proper nouns requiring a plural in the predicate. FF has *Lulal Latarak* without the conjunction, leaving the number of subjects ambiguous. However, the occurrence of the preposition determinative DINGIR preceding each of the proper nouns in FF suggests that two individual names are intended, and so the agreement of FF with A seems most probable.

²⁷² See also M132 for the interchange of the determinatives DINGIR and MUL preceding proper nouns. It is otherwise possible that the proper noun in G had both the determinatives MUL and DINGIR attached (*cf.* M150 and M167) but based on the space immediately preceding the sign DINGIR in G the former possibility seems more likely.

	H i 1 FF i 14	u]rta ^d Nin-urta	pears as a logogram in G.
M89	A ii 7 K ii 1 FF i 15	^d Iš-tar NIM.MA-tu ₄]el-la-ma-tú ^d Iš-tar NIM.MA-tu ₄	OV – The divine title <i>Ištar Elamatu</i> is written syllabically in K.
M90	A ii 8 G 6 H i 3 K ii 2 FF i 16	EN er-še-tu ₄ EN KI-ti]tu ₄ EN KI[EN KI-ti	OV – The divine title <i>bēl eršeti</i> , appears as a logogram in G, K and FF.
M91	A ii 9 K ii 3	a-ri-bu MUL ^d Adad a-ri-bi MUL ^d Adad	OV(1) – The title <i>Aribu kakkab Adad</i> appears as <i>Aribi kakkab Adad</i> in K. ²⁷³
M92	A ii 10 K ii 4	^d Ša-la šu-bu-ul-tu ₄ ^d Ša-la ^d Šu-bu-lá	OV – The preposition determinative DINGIR is lacking in A.
M93	A ii 10 G 8 J i 1 K ii 4	šu-bu-ul-tu ₄]šu-bu-lu-tu ₄]tu ₄ ^d Šu-bu-lá	OV(1) – The proper noun <i>Šala šubultu</i> appears with the accusative case ending in K, <i>Šala Šubula</i> . ²⁷⁴
M94	A ii 12 K ii 5	^{mul} TI ₈ ^{mušen} ^{múl} TI ₈ ^{mušen}	OV – The preposition determinative MUL appears as MÚL in K.
M95	A ii 13 K ii 6	KÚR. KÚR-ir KÚR. KÚR-ir-ma	SV(1) – The emphatic particle “ma” is lacking in A.
M96	A ii 14 J i 5 K ii 7	KÚR. KÚR-ir]ir-ma KÚR. KÚR-ir-ma	SV(1) – The emphatic particle “ma” is lacking in A.
M97	A ii 15	KÚR. KÚR-ir	SV(1) – The emphatic particle “ma”

²⁷³ Of the five sources for this line only A and K preserve the *nomen regens*. According to H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AfO* 24, 127, it is possible that this form is a gloss to ^{mul} UGA ^{mušen}.

²⁷⁴ *Šubultu* is a cognomen for *Šala*, meaning “the ear of corn.” The deity *Šala* is associated with the constellation Virgo. According to *RLA* 3 77 in the Seleucid period Virgo was, under Greek influence, depicted as a young woman holding an ear of corn. It might be suggested that the feminine appellation *šubultu* in A may have some relation to this, even though that tablet is from the Neo-Babylonian period. K, which bears a colophon attributing it to the Seleucid period, has the variant form *Šubula* that apparently lacks the feminine reference.

	J i 6 K ii 8	Jir-ma KÚR. KÚR-ir-ma	is lacking in A.
M98	A ii 16 K ii 9	MU.NI MU-šú	OV – A writes the possessive pronominal suffix as the logogram NI, written phonetically with the sign ŠÚ in K.
M99	A ii 16 J i 7 K ii 9	lu lu lu-ú	OV – A and J have the short spelling for the precative particle <i>lū</i> , while K has the full spelling.
M100	A ii 16 J i 7 K ii 9	^d UTU.È ^d UTU.È ^d UTU.È.A	OV – The full composite logogram for <i>šūt Šamši</i> , “east,” is apocopated in A and J.
M101	A ii 17 K ii 9	lu lu-ú	OV – A has the short spelling for the precative particle <i>lū</i> , while K has the full spelling.
M102	A ii 17 J i 8 K ii 9	IGI.LÁ-ma m]a IGI.LÁ	SV(1) – The emphatic particle “-ma” is lacking in K.
M103	A ii 19 J i 10 K ii 11	MUL ^{meš} J ^{meš} M]JUL	OV – The plural <i>kakkabū</i> is written without the plural marker MEŠ in K. ²⁷⁵
M104	A ii 19 J i 10 K ii 11 AA ii 4	^d É-a ^d BE ^d É-a ^d É-a	OV – A, K and AA have the syllabic spelling for the proper noun <i>Ea</i> . ²⁷⁶
M105	A ii 20 X ii 3 AA ii 5	MUL DIŠ MUL [MU]L	SV(1) – The preposition DIŠ is lacking in A and AA.
M106	A ii 23	^d A.É	OV – The preposition determinative

²⁷⁵ It is possible that the form in K is singular and therefore represents a difference in grammatical number. However, the more likely reading is that K has a defective plural form. This reading understands the form *šūt* that follows in each source as a masculine plural demonstrative pronoun “... Ea, who goes before *those stars*,” rather than as a singular masculine pronoun “... Ea, who goes before *his star*.” In the context the second reading is difficult, and subsequently the reading of an orthographic variant is preferred.

²⁷⁶ J has the syllabic spelling for *Ea* in the next line.

	AA ii 8	DUMU[	DINGIR is lacking from the proper noun <i>Mār-biti</i> in AA.
M107	A ii 24 K ii 14 AA ii 9	lib-bi-šú lib-šu lib-šu	OV – The full spelling in A is shortened in K and AA.
M108	A ii 25 C ii 6 X ii 7 Y 6 AA ii 10	DIŠ 2 MUL DIŠ 2 MUL DIŠ 2 MUL 2 MUL DIŠ 2 MUL	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in Y.
M109	A ii 25 X ii 7 AA ii 10	GUB ^{me} -zu GUB-zu GUB-zu	OV – The plural verb <i>izzazzū</i> is written without the plural marker MEŠ in X and AA. ²⁷⁷
M110	A ii 25 J i 16 AA ii 10	^d Šullat u ^d Ḥaniš ^d Šullat u ^d Ḥaniš ^d Šullat ^d Ḥaniš	SV(1) – AA lacks the conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Šullat</i> and <i>Ḥaniš</i> .
M111	A ii 27 J i 17 AA ii 12	ŠÚ ^{meš} ŠÚ-ú ŠÚ-bi	OV(1) – A has the sign MEŠ added to the logogram ŠÚ, <i>irabbi</i> , “it sets.” This is lacking in J and AA which vary in their final vowel. ²⁷⁸
M112	A ii 31 H ii 1 AA ii 16	GUB ^{meš} -zu GU]B ^{meš} GUB-zu	OV – The verb <i>izzazzū</i> is written without the plural marker MEŠ in AA. ²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ It is clear that the subject “DIŠ 2 MUL,” “two stars,” is plural in all of the sources, and so the verb *izzazzū*, “to stand,” should be read as a defective plural in X. See also note above.

²⁷⁸ H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AfO 24*, 127, reads the variation in A as a scribal error. Hunger also points to the alternative possibility that A could preserve a durative Gtn verbal form where “ŠÚ^{meš}” is read as *irtanabbi*, “it repeatedly sets.” One can also read the same grammatical form as ingressive “it will come to set.” AA might agree with this reading as indicated by the phonetic complement “-bi,” but J seems to require a final “u” vowel instead. Despite the difficulties in determining the correct form of the verb the evidence suggests there is a grammatical difference between the sources.

²⁷⁹ The verb “GUB-zu” in AA clearly refers to a plural subject even though it lacks the plural marker MEŠ: “2 *kakkabū* (DIŠ 2 MUL) *ša ina ziqit Zuqaqīpi izzazzū* (GUB-zu),” “two stars that are positioned in the tail of the Scorpion.”

M113	A ii 32 Y 12 AA ii 17	MUL MUL MUL ^{meš}	SV(1) – Difference in number. ²⁸⁰
M114	A ii 33 AA ii 17	EGIR-šu-nu EGIR ^{meš(?)} -šu-nu	Not Counted – The sign MEŠ is uncertain in AA. ²⁸¹
M115	A ii 34 AA ii 18	^{mul} MÁ.GUR ₈ u ^{mul} SUḪUR.MÁŠ ^{ku6} ^{mul} MÁ.GUR ₈ ^{mul} SUḪUR.MÁŠ ^{ku6}	SV(1) – The conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Makurru</i> and <i>Suḫurmāšu</i> is lacking in AA.
M116	A ii 40 H ii 9 GG ii 2	u ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL u ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL[	SV(1) – The conjunction is lacking between the proper nouns <i>Šidallu</i> and <i>Tū'amū rabūtu</i> in GG. ²⁸²
M117	A ii 41 H ii 10 GG ii 3	^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.TUR.TUR u ^{mul} AL.LUL ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.TUR.TUR u ^{mul} AL.LUL ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.TUR.TUR ^{mul} AL[	SV(1) – The conjunction between the proper names <i>Tū'amū seḫrūtu</i> and <i>Alluttu</i> is lacking in GG.
M118	A ii 42 H ii 11 M 2 GG ii 4	MUŠ u ^{mul} MUŠ u ^{mul}]u ^{mul} M]UŠ ^{m[ul}	Not Counted – The apparently lacking conjunction in GG is possibly obscured by damage. ²⁸³

²⁸⁰ AA refers to *Pabilsag* (the constellation Sagittarius) in the plural against the singular form in A. In addition to the subject “MUL^{meš},” *kakkabū*, the adjective describing the subject is probably also plural in AA against the singular in A (see note below). The spelling of the plural verb without MEŠ in AA is already attested in M109, and see also note above.

²⁸¹ The plural marker in AA “... šá EGIR^{meš}-šu-nu,” *ša arkišunu*, “which *are* after them,” fits well with the reading of the subject as plural in this line (see note above). Against this A reflects the singular subject: “šá EGIR-šu-nu,” *ša arkišunu*, “which *is* after them.” However, the sign MEŠ in AA is recorded as uncertain in H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AFO 24*, 39, so is not counted here.

²⁸² On the presence or absence of a conjunction between the listed names in A ii 36-iii 12 and the parallel sources see note below.

²⁸³ Upon inspection the tablet reveals some traces of what could be the conjunction just before the break in GG ii 4, or this could be the final *Winkelhaken* of the sign MUŠ. The damaged sign is visible in the photograph in H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AFO 24*, pl. XXI.

M119	A ii 43 H ii 12	u ₄ -me u ₄ -mi	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ²⁸⁴
M120	A ii 44 M 4 N ii 3	UD.5.KAM UD.15.KAM UD.15.KAM	HV – A has the “Bow and the King” becoming visible on the 5 th day of <i>Abu</i> , recorded as the 15 th day in M and N.
M121	A ii 44 H ii 13	IGI ^{me} IGI ^{meš} []	OV – The plural marker appears as the sign ME in A.
M122	A ii 45 H ii 14	IGI ^{me} IGI ^{m[ēš]}	OV - The plural marker appears as the sign ME in A.
M123	A ii 47 E ii 1 H ii 16 N ii 7	UD.25 UD.25.KAM UD.25.KAM UD.25.KAM	SV(1) – The postposition determinative for ordinal numbers KAM is lacking in A.
M124	E ii 2 H ii 17 M 9 N ii 8	UD.15.KAM UD.5.KAM UD.15[UD.15.KAM	HV – H has the 5 th day of <i>Tašrīti</i> , recorded as the 15 th day in E, M and N.
M125	E ii 3 H ii 18 M 10 N ii 9	u ^{mul} UR.KU ù ^{mul} UR.KU u ^{mul} UR.KU u ^{mul} UR.KU	OV – H spells the conjunction with the sign Û.
M126	E ii 3 H ii 18 M 10 N ii 9	IGI ^{me} -ma IGI ^{meš} -m[a] IGI ^{me} -ma IGI.LÁ-ma	OV – E and M have the plural marker written with the sign ME, against MEŠ in H. N has the full composite logogram IGI.LÁ, <i>√amaru</i> , here probably <i>innammarū</i> , “they are

²⁸⁴ See also M145 and M234, and also G48 and G64 for the same variation in the spelling of the genitive case vowel. This represents a possible dialect variation where [i] > [e] in analogous forms in Assyrian texts. In particular see the notes to G48.

			seen” ²⁸⁵ .
M127	E ii 3	3 MA.NA	Not Counted – E.NA in N is taken as a misreading for MA.NA. ²⁸⁶
	H ii 19	3 MA.NA	
	M 10	3 MA.NA	
	N ii 9	3 E.NA	
M128	E ii 3	u ₄ -mi	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ²⁸⁷
	H ii 19	u ₄ -mi	
	N ii 9	u ₄ -m[u	
	V 2	m]u	
M129	E ii 4	UD.5.KAM	HV – E, H and GG record the first visibility of <i>Zuqaqīpu</i> , Scorpius, on the 5 th day of <i>Araḥsamnu</i> , recorded as the 15 th day in M and N.
	H ii 20	UD.5.KAM	
	M 11	UD.15.KAM	
	N ii 10	UD.15.KAM	
	GG ii 2'	UD.5.KAM	

²⁸⁵ The form IGI.LÁ-ma, *innammarūma*, “they can be seen,” in N is treated as an unmarked plural, on account of the fact that the verb refers to a list of four constellations. The scribe of N seems to have avoided the use of the plural marker where the parallel sources all attest it. Other examples of this phenomenon in N are the term *ūmū*, “days,” on four occasions spelled without MEŠ (see N iii 5-8), and *inappaḥūnimma*, “they will arise,” of which only one occurrence remains (see N iii 4 and note below). The tendency for the scribe of N to write multiple plural forms without the relevant determinative sign encourages the view that N has an orthographic variant here.

²⁸⁶ According to Hunger’s transliteration (see H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AfO 24*, 43) N has E.NA against MA.NA (*mina*, a unit of measurement) in the parallel sources. For the text of N Hunger relies on the copy made by F.X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und sterndeinst in Babel: assyriologische, astronomische und astomythologische Untersuchungen* (2 vols.; Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchh, 1910) 230 and pl. 23 (see H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AfO 24*, 5-6). However, Kugler’s reading “E.MA” was revised by O. Neugebauer, “Studies in Ancient Astronomy VIII: The Water Clock in Babylonian Astronomy,” *Isis* 37, 1/2 (1947) 41, “Kugler ... gives e-na, which is certainly a misreading of ma-na.” The text of N is therefore treated as in agreement with the other sources.

²⁸⁷ E and H have genitive *ūmi*, “day,” against nominative *ūmu* in N and V. The genitive noun is required by the context: *maššarti umī*, “a daytime watch.” See J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 597-98 on the diminishing function of case vowels in Akkadian.

M130	A iii 4 E ii 5 H ii 21 L iii 1 M 12 GG ii 3'	UD.15.KAM UD.15.KAM UD.15.KAM UD.25.KAM UD.15.KAM UD.15.KAM	HV – L records the first visibility of <i>Enzu</i> , “the She-Goat,” on the 25 th day of <i>Arahsammu</i> , recorded as the 15 th day in the other sources.
M131	A iii 4 E ii 5 H ii 21 M 12 V 4 GG ii 3'	^{mul} ÛZ u ^{mul} [^{mul} ÛZ u ^{mul} GABA.GÍR.TAB ^{mul} ÛZ u ^{mul} GABA.GÍR.TAB ^{mul} ÛZ u ^{mul} [Û]Z u ^{mul} GABA.GÍR.T[AB ^{mul} ÛZ ^{mul} GA[BA.GÍ]R.TAB	SV(1) – The conjunction is lacking between the proper nouns in GG.
M132	A iii 5 E ii 6 H ii 22 L iii 2 M 13 GG ii 4'	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^d UD.K[A ^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A	SV(1) – L has the preposition minative DINGIR preceding the constellation name <i>Nimru</i> , “the Panther.” The other sources use the preposition determinative MUL, <i>kakkabu</i> . ²⁸⁸
M133	A iii 6 E ii 7 H ii 22 M 14 GG ii 4'	u ^{mul} Pabilsag u ^{mul} Pabilsag u ^{mul} Pabilsag u ^{mul} Pabilsag ^{mul} Pabilsag	SV(1) – The conjunction preceding the proper noun is lacking in GG.
M134	A iii 6 E ii 7	IGI ^{meš} IGI ^{me}	OV – The plural marker is written with MEŠ in A, against ME in E.
M135	A iii 7 E ii 8 H ii 23	^{mul} SIM.MAḪ ^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄ ^{mul} SIM.MAḪ ^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄ ^{mul} SIM.MAḪ ^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄	SV(1) – V has a conjunction between the proper nouns, lacking in the other sources. ²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ The variant represents a stylistic variation rather than a hermeneutic one. Although the determinatives DINGIR and MUL (*ilu*, “god,” and *kakkabu*, “star” respectively) have distinctly different referents, the meaning in L is essentially the same as in the other sources, in that they each clearly refer to the constellation *Nimru*. Indeed, the sign MUL is composed of three DINGIR signs, and the sign DINGIR originally represented a star (see R. Labat, *Manuel*, 48-49). This variant is therefore treated as a lexical interchange and counted as SV(1).

²⁸⁹ This variant occurs in what appears to be a list of three names, SIM.MAḪ, *Šinūnūtu*, and IM.ŠEŠ. These names probably all refer to the same constellation. *Šinūnūtu*, “the swallow,” is most likely a gloss for SIM.MAḪ. The verb at the end of this clause is marked as plural in some sources, but unmarked in others (see note below). This may indicate some confusion in antiquity as to whether this list of three names re-

	M 15	^{mul} SIM.MAḤ ^{mu} [¹	
	V 6]SIM.MAḤ u ^{mú} ši[
M136	A iii 7	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is written as MÚL in V.
	E ii 8	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄	
	H ii 23	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄	
	M 15	^{mu} [¹	
	V 6	^{mú} ši[
	GG ii 5'	^{mul} ši-nu-nu[
M137	A iii 7	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄ ^{mul} IM.ŠEŠ	SV(1) – H has a conjunction between the proper nouns, lacking in A and E. M is damaged. ²⁹⁰
	E ii 8	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄ ^{mul} IM.ŠEŠ	
	H ii 23	^{mul} ši-nu-nu-tu ₄ u ^{mul} IM[
	M 15	^m [^{ul}] ^{mul} IM.Š[EŠ]	
M138	A iii 8	IGI.LÁ	SV(1) – E has a plural form of the verb, against the singular form in the other sources. ²⁹¹
	E ii 9	IGI ^{me}	
	H ii 24	IGI.LÁ	
	O ii 1	IGI.L[Á	

ferred to three individual stars, or were three names for the same star or constellation. Such confusion might also explain the extra conjugation in H between the last two names in the list (see note below). On this see H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *AfO* 24, 128.

²⁹⁰ The extra conjunction in H is possibly due to the confusion surrounding this list of names (see the previous note). The scribe of H may, however, have been aware that the second term, *šinūnūtu*, was a gloss for the first term, SIM.MAḤ.

²⁹¹ E lacks the conjunction between the listed items and so one might expect that this source assumes the three listed names all refer to the same star or constellation. However, the plural form *innammarū*, “they are seen,” in this sources indicates that E treats the listed items as referring to three individual stars. Further, it seems that even H and V, which each have a conjunction separating two of the three listed names, use a singular verb to describe them. In this way H and V always agree with A in the use of singular and plural forms of the verb, even where they disagree on the use of conjunctions. A, it should be said, always has the singular IGI.LÁ, *innammar*, when describing a single proper noun or a list of proper nouns that are not separated by a conjunction (see A ii 36-39, 46, 47; iii 8, 9, 11). A always has the plural form of the verb, IGI(LÁ) ^{me/meš}, when referring to lists of multiple proper nouns that are separated by a conjunction (see A ii 40, 41, 43, 44, 45; iii 6, 10, 12). E, on the other hand, agrees with A in all occurrences of the verb except for here and later in the same line (see below, M143). So, although there are some differences in the use of conjunctions in the listed names (see M131, M133, M135, M137 and M148), it appears as though only E exhibits any real confusion as to which lists referred to singular entities and which referred to multiple entities.

M139	A iii 8 E ii 9 H ii 24 L iii 4 M 17	u ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ u ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ú ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ u ^{múl} KAK.SI.SÁ u ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	OV – The conjunction appears as Ú in H, against U in the other sources.
M140	A iii 8 E ii 9 H ii 24 L iii 4 M 17	^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{múl} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is written as MÚL in L.
M141	A iii 8 E ii 9 H ii 24 L iii 4 GG ii 6'	li-la-a-ti li-lá-a-ti li-la-a-ti li-la-a[li-[l]a[t]i	OV – E has a different spelling for <i>līlāti</i> , “evening.”
M142	A iii 8 E ii 9 H ii 24 M 17 GG ii 6'	li-la-a-ti li-lá-a-ti li-la-a-ti l[i]tú li-[l]a[t]i	OV(1) – M has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ²⁹²
M143	A iii 9 E ii 9 GG ii 6'	IGI.LÁ-ma IGI ^{me} -ma IGI-ma	SV(1) – The verb IGI, <i>innammaru</i> , in E is marked as plural, against the singular verb in A and GG. ²⁹³
M144	A iii 9 GG ii 6'	IGI.LÁ-ma IGI-ma	OV – A has the full composite logogram for <i>innammaru</i> , against the short form in GG. ²⁹⁴
M145	A iii 9 E ii 10	u ₄ -me u ₄ -mi	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ²⁹⁵

²⁹² M has nominative *līlātu*, against genitive *līlāti* in the parallel sources. The full phrase reads: *u Šukūdu ina līlāti innammarmā*, “and *Šukūdu* is seen in the evening,” so the genitive form is grammatically correct. The case vowel in M is therefore written incorrectly, most likely a result of the diminished function of case vowels in this period.

²⁹³ A and GG refer to the constellation *Šukūdu* in the singular while E uses a plural verb. The subject itself is written in the singular in all sources. On the unusual use of plural forms in E see note above.

²⁹⁴ The orthographic variant between A and E is not counted in accordance with Rule 3. Only the variant in spelling *innammar* between A and GG is counted in this instance.

²⁹⁵ See the comments in note above.

	H ii 25	u ₄ -mi	
M146	A iii 10 E ii 11 H ii 25 M 20 O ii 3 GG ii 7'	UD.5.KAM UD.5.KAM UD.5.KAM UD.15.KAM]5.KAM UD.5.KAM	HV – M records the first visibility of <i>Ikû</i> , “the Field,” and <i>Lulîmu</i> , “the Stag,” on the 15 th day of <i>Šabaṭu</i> , recorded as the 5 th day in the other sources.
M147	A iii 10 E ii 11 H ii 26 M 20 O ii 3 V 9 GG ii 7'	^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} AŠ.IKU ^{mul} I]u-lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} I[u ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} I[u ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim	HV – M lacks the proper noun GU.LA, “the Great One,” in the list of stars that become visible in <i>Šabaṭu</i> .
M148	A iii 10 E ii 11 H ii 26 M 20 O ii 3 V 9 GG ii 7'	^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim ^{mul} AŠ.IKU ^{mul} I]u-lim ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} I[u ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} I[u ^{mul} GU.LA ^{mul} AŠ.IKU u ^{mul} lu- lim	SV(1) – M lacks the conjunction between the proper nouns ^{mul} AŠ.IKU, <i>Ikû</i> , “the Field,” and ^{mul} lu-lim, <i>Lulîm</i> , “the Stag.”
M149	A iii 10 E ii 11 H ii 26 GG ii 7'	IGI ^{meš} IGI ^{me} IGI ^{meš} IGI ^{me}	OV - The plural marker is written with MEŠ in A and H, against ME in E and GG.
M150	A iii 11 E ii 12 H ii 27 M 21 O ii 4 V 10 GG ii 8'	^{mul} A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} I] A-nu[^{mul} ^d A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} ^d A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} A-nu-[n]i-tu ₄	OV – The preposition determinative DINGIR precedes the proper noun, <i>Anunītu</i> , in O and V.

M151	A iii 12	u	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign Û in O, against U in the other sources.
	E ii 13	u	
	H ii 28	u	
	O ii 5	ù	
	V 11	u	
M152	A iii 12	IGI.LÁ ^{me}	OV – A and GG spell <i>innammarū</i> , “it is seen,” with the full composite logogram, against the short form in E and H. ²⁹⁶
	E ii 13	IGI ^{me}	
	H ii 28	IGI ^{meš}	
	GG ii 9'	IGI.LÁ ^{m[e}	
M153	A iii 12	IGI.LÁ ^{me}	SV(1) – O has the singular verb form, <i>innammaru</i> , against the plural form, <i>innammarū</i> , in the other sources. ²⁹⁷
	E ii 13	IGI ^{me}	
	H ii 28	IGI ^{meš}	
	O ii 5	IGI.LÁ	
	GG ii 9'	IGI.LÁ ^{m[e}	
M154	A iii 13	KUR-ma	OV – V has a phonetic complement attached to the verb <i>inappa</i> ”, “they (the stars) will rise,” lacking in the other sources. ²⁹⁸
	E ii 14	KUR-ma	
	H iii 1	KUR-ma	
	O ii 6	KUR-ma	
	V 12	KUJR-ḥa-ma	

²⁹⁶ Because the plural marker is treated as part of the same semogenic unit as the form to which it is attached the difference in the spelling of the plural marker between the sources here is not counted.

²⁹⁷ It is possible that O could preserve an unmarked plural form. The subject of the verb is almost certainly plural; the full clause reads: *ina Addari UD 15 Nūnu u Šību innammarū*, “on the 15th day of Addari, *Nūnu* and *Šību* are seen.” *Nūnu*, the constellation Piscis Austrinus, forms part of the astronomical path of Ea, while *Šību*, the constellation Perseus, forms part of the astronomical path of Anu. This means that the two constellations are distinct entities, existing as they do on two distinct and separate astronomical paths. Thus the verb form in O might reasonably be considered an unmarked form of the plural verb, *innammarū*, made necessary by the certain plurality of the subjects to which it refers. It remains, though, that the plain sense of the text as we have it is that O has the singular verb, *innammar*. And, given the irregular representation of listed proper nouns and their coordinating verbs already discussed above (see note), it seems most prudent to take the text at face value here.

²⁹⁸ The verb in the parallel sources is *inappaḥma*. It is therefore difficult to explain “-ḥa” in V as a phonetic complement. It may be a ventive suffix, but one might more reasonably expect the form *inappaḥamma* rather than *inappaḥama*, as it appears in V. As well as the orthographic problem with the ventive we find the forms “KUR-ḥa” for *napāḥi* and “KUR-ḥa-nim-ma” for *inappaḥūnimma* in J and N (see below M190 *et passim*, and note). Thus the ending “-ḥa” is an obvious phonetic complement in J and N and it would be reasonable to understand it similarly in V. Cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 350 and 438, where some mixing of CV and VC signs is noted in Assyrian orthographies.

M155	A iii 13 E ii 14 H iii 1 O ii 6 V 12	^{mul} GÍR.TAB ^{mul} GÍR.TAB ^{mul} GÍR.TAB ^{mul} GÍR.TAB ^{mul} [GÍ]R.TAB	OV – The preposition determinative MUL is written as MÚL in V.
M156	A iii 14 E ii 15 H iii 2 O ii 7 V 13	KUR-ma KUR-ma KUR-ma KUR-ma "]a-ma	OV – V has a phonetic complement attached to the verb <i>inappa</i> ”, lacking in the other sources.
M157	A iii 14 E ii 15 H iii 2 O ii 7 V 13	MUL.MUL MUL.MUL MUL.MUL MUL.MUL MÚL.MÚ[L	OV – V spells <i>kakkabū</i> , “stars (Pleiades),” with the sign MÚL, against MUL in the other sources.
M158	A iii 17 E ii 18 H iii 5 O ii 10	^{mul d} MUŠ ^{mul} MUŠ ^{mul} MUŠ ^{mul} MUŠ	OV – The proper noun <i>Nira</i> ”, “the Snake,” is written with the preposition determinative DINGIR in A, lacking in the other sources.
M159	A iii 17 E ii 18	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written with the sign ME in A, against MEŠ in E.
M160	A iii 17 E ii 18 O ii 10	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR-nim ^{me} -ma	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form. ²⁹⁹
M161	A iii 18 E ii 19 H iii 6 O ii 11	^{mul} GU.LA u ^{mul} TI ₈ ^{mušen} G]U.LA u ^{mul} TI ₈ ^{mušen} ^{mul} GU.LA u[^{mul} GU.LA ù ^{mul} TI ₈[	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign Û in O, against U in the other sources.
M162	A iii 19 E ii 20 H iii 7	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written with the sign ME in A, against MEŠ in E and H.

²⁹⁹ O has a ventive suffix attached to the verb *inappahūnimma*, lacking in A and E. The verb KUR ^{me}-ma, *inappahūma*, “they will rise,” is a present future masculine plural verb in the G stem with the emphatic particle “-ma” suffixed. In O the verb has an apparent ventive affixed as well, which in translation might be rendered as simply “arise,” or some equivalent with motion implied. See also M163 and M165 below.

M163	A iii 19 E ii 20 H iii 7 O ii 12	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR-nim ^{me} -ma	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form.
M164	A iii 20 E ii 21 H iii 8	KUR ^{me} -ma [KU]R ^{meš} -m[a] KUR ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written with the sign ME in A, against MEŠ in E and H.
M165	A iii 20 E ii 21 H iii 8 O ii 13	KUR ^{me} -ma [KU]R ^{meš} -m[a] KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR-nim ^{me} -ma	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form.
M166	A iii 21 H iii 9 O ii 14	KUR-ma KUR-ḥa-ma KUR-ma	OV – H has a phonetic complement attached to the verb, <i>inappahma</i> , lacking in A and O.
M167	A iii 22 H iii 10 O ii 15	^{mul} A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} A-nu-ni-tu ₄ ^{mul} d A-nu-ni-tu ₄	OV – The proper noun <i>Anunītu</i> is written with the preposition determinative DINGIR in O, lacking in A and H.
M168	A iii 24 H iii 12	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written as ME in A, against MEŠ in H.
M169	A iii 25 H iii 12	KUR ^{me} -ma KUR ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written as ME in A, against MEŠ in H.
M170	A iii 27 H iii 14 DD r.1	u DINGINR.GUB.BA ^{meš} u ^{mul} DINGINR.GUB.BA ^{meš} DINGINR[	SV(1) – The conjunction is lacking before the proper noun <i>Dingirgubbū</i> in DD.
M171	A iii 27 H iii 14 DD r.1	u DINGINR.GUB.BA ^{meš} u ^{mul} DINGINR.GUB.BA ^{meš} DINGINR[	OV – The preposition determinative MUL precedes the proper name <i>Dingirgubbū</i> in H, lacking in A and DD.
M172	A iii 29 J ii 1 N iii 1 DD r.2	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A m ^u l UD.KA.DUḪ.A m ^u l[	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M173	A iii 29 H iii 16	u ^{mul} TI ₈ mušen u ^{mul} TI ₈ mušen	OV – DD has the conjunction written as Û, against U in the other

	N iii 1 DD r.2	u ^{mul} [r ^u mu ^{[l}] ^{mušen}	sources. ³⁰⁰
M174	A iii 29 H iii 16 N iii 1 DD r.2	mul TI ₈ mušen mul TI ₈ mušen mul [] ^{mušen} mu ^{[l}] ^{mušen}	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M175	A iii 30 H iii 17 J ii 2	mul MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL [B]A.GAL.GAL.LA mul MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL[	OV – A has a shorter form of the compound logogram for <i>Tū'āmū</i> , “the Great Twins.”
M176	A iii 31 J ii 3 N iii 2 DD r.3	mul AŠ.IKU mul AŠ.IKU mul AŠ.IKU m ^u [] ^{ul}	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M177	A iii 31 J ii 3 N iii 2	mul GU.LA mul GU.LA mul GU.LA	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in A and J.
M178	A iii 31 H iii 18 J ii 3 N iii 2 DD r.3	mul GU.LA u ^{mul} lu-lim L]A u ^{mul} lu-lim mul GU.LA u [] mul GU.LA u ^{mul} lu-l[im]GU.LA ^{mul} lu-lim	SV(1) – The conjunction is lacking between the proper names <i>GU.LA</i> , “the Great One,” and <i>Lulīmu</i> , “the Stag” in DD.
M179	A iii 31 H iii 18 N iii 2 DD r.3	mul lu-lim mul lu-lim mul lu-l[im mul lu-lim	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M180	A iii 32 H iii 19 J ii 4 N iii 3	mul ^d MUŠ m ^u [] ^{ul} MUŠ m ^u [] ^{ul} mul ^d MUŠ	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M181	A iii 32 H iii 19 N iii 3	mul ^d MUŠ m ^u [] ^{ul} MUŠ mul ^d MUŠ	OV – The preposition determinative DINGIR is lacking from the proper noun <i>Nira</i> in H.
M182	A iii 32	mul ^d MUŠ u ^{mul}	SV(1) – The conjunction between the

³⁰⁰ Although the sign is broken in DD it is clearly not U. Only the vertical stroke of Û is visible in D.J.

Wiseman and J. Black, *CTN IV* pl. XX.

	H iii 19 N iii 3	EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM ^{mul d} MUŠ u ^{mul} EN[^{mul d} MUŠ ^{mul} EN.TE.EN.NA.BAR.Ĥ[UM	proper nouns <i>Nira</i> " and <i>Ĥabašīrānu</i> is lacking in N.
M183	A iii 32 H iii 19 N iii 3	^{mul} EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM ^{mul} EN[^{múl} EN.TE.EN.NA.BAR.Ĥ[UM	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in A and H.
M184	A iii 32 N iii 3	^{mul} EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM ^{múl} EN.TE.EN.NA.BAR.Ĥ[UM	OV – N has an extra sign in the proper noun <i>Ĥabašīrānu</i> . ³⁰¹
M185	A iii 33 J ii 5 N iii 4 DD r.5	^{mul} KU ₆ ^{mul} KU ₆ ^{múl} KU ₆ ^{mul} [	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M186	A iii 33 J ii 5 N iii 4	^{mul} KU ₆ u ^{mul} ŠU.GI ^{mul} KU ₆ u ^{mul} ŠU.GI ^{múl} KU ₆ ^{múl} ŠU.GI	SV(1) – The conjunction between the proper nouns <i>Nūnu</i> and <i>Šību</i> is lack- ing in N.
M187	A iii 33 J ii 5 N iii 4	^{mul} ŠU.GI ^{mul} ŠU.GI ^{múl} ŠU.GI	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M188	J ii 5 DD r.5	KUR ^{me} -n[im KUR ^{meš} -nim[	OV – The plural marker is written as ME in J against MEŠ in DD.

³⁰¹ The composite logogram denoting this constellation is usually ^{mul} EN.TE.NA.BAR.ĤUM (see *CAD* Ĥ 8). The extra sign in N could denote a more significant variant, even a different name. The word EN.TE.EN.NA, *kušsu*, “cold, winter,” can also be written EN.TE.NA. See line 3 of BM106218, published in T. Gomi and S. Sato, *Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum* (Abiko: Research Institute Chuo-Gakuin, 1990) 321. This is, however, an Ur III period administrative text from Umma.

M189	A iii 33 H iii 20 J ii 5 N iii 4 DD r.5	KUR ^{meš} -ma KUR ^{me-š} -ma KUR ^{me} -n[im KUR-ḫa-nim[KUR ^{meš} -nim[	OV(l) – A and H lack the ventive suffix present in the other sources. ³⁰²
M190	J ii 5 N iii 4 DD r.5	KUR ^{me} -n[im KUR-ḫa-nim[KUR ^{meš} -nim[	OV – The verb <i>inappaḫūnimma</i> is written without the plural marker in N.
M191	A iii 33 H iii 20 N iii 4	^{mul} AB.SÍN ^{mul} [l ^{mul} [	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M192	A iii 34 J ii 6 N iii 5	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR-ḫa	OV – A lacks the phonetic complement.
M193	A iii 34 J ii 6 N iii 5 DD r.6	^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ ^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M194	A iii 34 H iii 21 N iii 5	UD ^{meš} UD ^{meš} UD-mu	OV – N has the phonetic complement “-mu” for <i>ūmū</i> , “days,” written with the plural marker MEŠ in A and H. ³⁰³
M195	A iii 35 J ii 7 N iii 6	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR-ḫa	OV – A lacks the phonetic complement.
M196	A iii 35	^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	OV – The preposition determinative

³⁰² N is written without the plural marker but, as has been mentioned above (see note), this form is taken as being marked with a phonetic complement. The verb “KUR-ḫa-nim-ma” might therefore be read as *inappaḫūnimma*, where the phonetic complement in N does not directly reflect the vowel. In fact, N always writes the verb *inappaḫ* with the phonetic complement attached – see N iii 5-8. J always has the singular form of the verb with the phonetic complement. However in J the only plural form of the verb preserved has no phonetic complement and the sign ME to mark the plural. It is thus difficult to decide if N represents a difference in number or if the difference is merely orthographic. Given that N never writes the plural marker on verbs or nouns, even when plurality is quite certain (see note above), this variant should be treated as orthographic. This orthographic variant is only counted for those sources that agree with the ventive in N, namely J and DD, for which see the following variant.

³⁰³ Plural forms are always written without the sign MEŠ in N. See notes and above.

	J ii 7	^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	is written as MÚL in N, against MUL
	N iii 6	^{mul} KAK.SI.SÁ	in A and J.
M197	A iii 35	UD ^{meš}	OV – N has the phonetic complement
	H iii 22	UD ^{meš}	“-mu” for <i>ūmū</i> , “days,” written with
	N iii 6	UD-mu	the plural marker MEŠ in A and H.
M198	A iii 36	KUR	OV – A lacks the phonetic comple-
	J ii 8	KUR-ḫa	ment.
	N iii 7	KUR-ḫa	
M199	A iii 36	^{mul} ŠU.PA	OV – The preposition determinative
	J ii 8	^{mul} ŠU.PA	is written as MÚL in N, against MUL
	N iii 7	^{mul} ŠU.PA	in A and J.
M200	A iii 36	UD ^{meš}	OV – N has the phonetic complement
	N iii 7	UD-mu	“-mu” for <i>ūmū</i> , “days,” written with
			the plural marker MEŠ in A.
M201	A iii 37	KUR	OV – A lacks the phonetic comple-
	J ii 9	KUR-ḫa	ment.
	N iii 8	KUR-ḫa	
M202	A iii 37	^{mul} AB.SÍN	OV – The preposition determinative
	J ii 9	^{mul} AB.SÍN	is written as MÚL in N, against MUL
	N iii 8	^{mul} AB.SÍN	in the other sources.
M203	A iii 37	UD ^{meš}	OV – N has the phonetic complement
	N iii 8	UD-mu	“-mu” for <i>ūmū</i> , “days,” written with
			the plural marker MEŠ in A.
M204	A iii 37	^{mul} zi-ba-ni-tu ₄	OV – A has the final syllable of the
	W 4	z[i-ba-ni-tú	proper noun <i>Zibānītu</i> written with the
			sign TU ₄ against TÚ in W.
M205	A iii 38	KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic
	J ii 10	KUR-ḫa	complement.
	FF ii 2	KUR	
M206	A iii 38	^{mul} zi-ba-ni-tu ₄	OV – The preposition determinative
	J ii 10	^{m[ul]} z[i-b]a-ni-tu ₄	is written as MÚL in N, against MUL
	N iii 9	^{mul} zi-ba-ni-tu ₄	in A and J.
M207	A iii 38	^{mul} ÛZ	OV – The preposition determinative
	W 5	^{mul} ÛZ	is written as MÚL in W, against
			MUL in A.

M208	A iii 39 J ii 11 FF ii 3	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M209	A iii 39 J ii 11 N iii 10 FF ii 3	^{mul} ÛZ ^{mul} ÛZ ^m ú ^l ÛZ ^{mul} [	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in N, against MUL in the other sources.
M210	A iii 39 W 6	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A]UD.KA.DUḪ	OV(l) – The proper noun <i>Nimri</i> , “the Panther,” is written without the final sign in W. ³⁰⁴
M211	A iii 40 J ii 12 FF ii 4	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M212	A iii 41 J ii 13 FF ii 5	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M213	A iii 41 J ii 13	20 UD ^{meš} 10 U[D	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ³⁰⁵
M214	A iii 41 W 8	^{mul} AŠ.IKU ^{mú} l AŠ.IKU	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in W, against MUL in A.
M215	A iii 42 J ii 14 FF ii 6	KUR KUR-ḫa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M216	A iii 42 W 9	^{mul} KU ₆ ^{mú} l KU ₆	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in W against MUL in A.

³⁰⁴ The form in W lacks the Sumerian genitive marker or nominalising particle on the proper noun *Nimri*. The noun follows a preposition plus infinitive: 30 *ūmū ana napāḫi ša Nimri*, “30 days to the rising of the Panther.” See also variant M277 and note below.

³⁰⁵ The cardinal number 20 in A is written as 10 in J. See note on the variation of numeral signs in cuneiform sources.

M217	A iii 43 J ii 15 FF ii 7	KUR KUR-ḥa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M218	A iii 43 W 10	^{mul} GÀM ^{múl} GÀM	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in W, against MUL in A.
M219	A iii 44 J ii 16 FF ii 8	KUR KUR-ḥa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M220	A iii 44 K iii 1 W 11	MUL.MUL M[ÚL MÚL.MÚL	OV – The plural is written as MÚL.MÚL in K and W, against MUL.MUL in A.
M221	A iii 45 J ii 17 FF ii 9	KUR KUR-ḥa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M222	A iii 45 K iii 2 W 12	^{mul} [^{múl} GU ₄ .A[N.N]A ^{múl} GU ₄ .AN.NA	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K and W, against MUL in A.
M223	A iii 46 J ii 18 FF ii 10	KUR KUR-ḥa KUR	OV – A and FF lack the phonetic complement.
M224	A iii 46 K iii 3 FF ii 10	UD ^{meš} m]u UD ^{meš}	OV – K has a phonetic complement for <i>ūmū</i> , written with the plural marker MEŠ in A and FF. ³⁰⁶
M225	A iii 46 K iii 3 W 13	^m [ul ^{múl} SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ^{múl} SIPA	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K and W, against MUL in A.
M226	K iii 3 W 13	^{múl} SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ^{múl} SIPA	SV(2) – K has an expansive plus. ³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ See the comments in note above relating to the writing of *ūmū* without the plural marker, and notes and on the general proclivity in N to not write the plural marker on plural forms. K here seems to reflect the same practice as N.

³⁰⁷ The brief name ^{múl}SIPA, *Šidalli* or *Šitaddaru*, “the Shepherd,” is written in full form in K, ^{múl}-SIPA.ZI.AN.NA, “the True Shepherd of Anu.”

M227	A iii 47 J ii 19	KUR KUR-ḥa	OV – A lacks the phonetic complement.
M228	A iii 47 K iii 4 FF ii 11	UD ^{meš} m]u UD ^{meš}	OV – K has a phonetic complement for <i>ūmū</i> , written with the plural marker MEŠ in A and FF.
M229	A iii 48 J ii 20	KUR KUR-ḥa	OV – A lacks the phonetic complement.
M230	A iii 48 K iii 5 FF ii 12	UD ^{meš} m]u UD ^{meš}	OV – K has a phonetic complement for <i>ūmū</i> , written with the plural marker MEŠ in A and FF.
M231	K iii 5 JJ ii 1	^{mú} BAN ^{mu-]l} BAN	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in JJ.
M232	A iii 49 K iii 6	šèr-t[i š]èr-tú	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation or grammatical form. ³⁰⁸
M233	A iii 50 K iii 7	li-la-a-t[i li-la-a-tú	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ The form of the noun *šertu*, “dawn,” is genitive in A, nominative in K. The text describes the annual motion of the earth around the sun, whereby the earth’s changing position relative to the sun brings about a changing in the backdrop of stars visible in the night sky as the year progresses. The effect is that an observer who takes regular sightings of the night sky at a fixed time and place will see the stars appear to advance across the sky from east to west along the plain of the ecliptic. The description in the text is: *ūmu 1 UŠ.TA.ÀM kakkabū ina šerti ana mūši irrubūni; ūmu 1 UŠ.TA.ÀM kakkabū ina līlāti ana ūmi uššūni*, “Daily, in the morning, the stars enter towards the night 1 UŠ; daily, at evening, the stars exit towards the daytime 1 UŠ.” In this context “š]er-tú” might reflect an understanding of the phrase *kakkabū ina šerti* as the subject proper, according to which the scribe has marked the whole phrase as nominative. Even though this would technically be grammatically incorrect, as the genitive case should mark a noun following a preposition and should also mark the *nomens rectum* in a construct chain, this variant could indicate that the scribe of K understood the clause to state that “(by) 1 UŠ daily the *stars of the morning* enter towards the night.” Of course, a much simpler and likely explanation is that K has a variant case vowel that reflects no change in the meaning of the text, but rather relates to the diminished use of case vowels and a different preference for their representation on the part of the scribe.

³⁰⁹ The same considerations apply to this variant as to the variant immediately preceding this one. See the previous note for a discussion of the issues surrounding the categorisation OV(l) here.

M234	K iii 7 JJ iii 3	u ₄ -me m]i	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
M235	A iv 1 J iii 3	MUL DIŠ MUL	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in A.
M236	A iv 1 J iii 3	DIŠ MUL ^{meš} šá ziq-pi DIŠ MUL ^{meš} ziq-pi	SV(1) – The relative pronoun is lacking in J.
M237	A iv 2 J iii 4 Q iii 1	šá šá š[a (?)	Not Counted – Though clearly not ŠÁ, the sign in Q is broken and therefore ultimately uncertain.
M238	A iv 2 K iii 8 JJ ii 5	GUB ^{meš} -ma]az-ma a]z-ma	SV(1) – Difference in number. ³¹⁰
M239	J iii 4 K iii 8	ŠÚ-bi ŠÚ	OV – K lacks the phonetic complement.

³¹⁰ K and JJ have a singular verb *izzazzuma*, “it is positioned,” against the plural verb *izzazzūma* in A. K, and possibly JJ, could have a singular verb with a phonetic complement but the situation is far from certain. Much depends on the reading of the context, which is only fully preserved in A: *kakkabū ziqpi ša ina ḥarrān šūt Enlil ina qabal šamē ina meḥret irti ša našir šamē izzazzūma mūša napāḥa u rabā ša kakkabī ina libbišunu immaru*, “The *ziqpu* stars, which are in the path of Enlil in the middle of the sky, are positioned opposite the breast of the observer of the sky; nightly the risings and settings of the stars in their midst he (the observer) sees.” The verb *izzazzūma*, written with the plural marker in A but without it in K and JJ, appears to refer to the subject *kakkabū ziqpi*, “the *ziqpu* stars.” The question is whether or not K and JJ treat the subject as singular or plural. While the beginning of the clause, including the noun that refers to the subject, is missing in K and JJ, the noun plus masculine plural possessive pronominal suffix *libbišunu*, “their midst,” is preserved. If one considers this pronominal suffix to refer to the subject, *kakkabū ziqpi*, then it seems clear that K refers to a plural noun. Such a reading would require that the variant in K and JJ “GUB-az-ma” is read as an unmarked form of the plural verb *izzazzūma*. However, if the noun plus possessive pronominal suffix *libbišunu* refers to something other than the *ziqpu* stars (such as *šamē*, “the heavens”) then the reading of a singular verb in K and JJ is quite feasible.

M240	A iv 3 J iii 5 K iii 9 Q iii 2	MUL ^{meš} MUL ^{meš} MUL MUL ^{meš}	SV(1) – Difference in number. ³¹¹
M241	A iv 3 K iii 9 JJ ii 6	im-ma-r[u] IGI-mar m]a-ru	OV – A and J write the verb <i>immaru</i> , “he sees,” syllabically against the logographic form plus phonetic complement in K.
M242	A iv 4 J iii 6	^{mul} ŠU.PA DIŠ ^{mul} ŠU.PA	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in A.
M243	A iv 4 K iii 10	^{mul} DINGIR.GUB.BA ^{meš} ^{múl} DINGIR.GUB.BA ^{meš}	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A.
M244	A iv 4 K iii 10	^{mul} UR.KU ^{múl} UR.KU	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A.
M245	A iv 4 K iii 10 Q iii 3	^{mul} UR.KU ^{múl} UR.KU-u U]R.KU	OV – A and Q lack the phonetic complement.
M246	A iv 5 J iii 7 K iii 10 L iv 1 Q iii 4	^{mul} ÛZ ^{mul} ÛZ ^{múl} ÛZ ^{mul} ÛZ ^{mul} ÛZ	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K against MUL in the other sources.
M247	A iv 5 K iii 11 X iii 1	^{mul} Lu-lim ^{múl} Lu-lim ^{múl} [l	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K and X, against MUL in A.
M248	A iv 5 K iii 11 Q iii 5	^{mul} ŠU.GI ^{múl} ŠU.GI ^{mul} ŠU.GI	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A and Q.

³¹¹ K has the singular noun *kakkabu*, written as the plural *kakkabū* in the other sources. The singular form in K seems to reflect its general preference in this section for referring to subjects in the singular – see the previous note.

M249	A iv 5 K iii 11 Q iii 5	^{mul} GĀM ^{múl} GĀM ^{mꞵul}	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A and Q.
M250	A iv 6 J iii 8 K iii 11	^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL ^{múl} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A and J.
M251	A iv 6 K iii 12 Q iii 7 X iii 2	^{mul} E ₄ -ru ₆ ^{múl} E ₄ -ru ₆ ^{mul} E ₄ -ru ₆ ^{múl} [	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K and X, against MUL in A and Q.
M252	A iv 6 K iii 11	u ^{mul} HÉ-gál-a-a ^{múl} HÉ-gál-la-a-a	SV(1) – The conjunction between the last two list items is lacking in K.
M253	A iv 6 K iii 11	^{mul} HÉ-gál-a-a ^{múl} HÉ-gál-la-a-a	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in K, against MUL in A.
M254	A iv 6 K iii 11	^{mul} HÉ-gál-a-a ^{múl} HÉ-gál-la-a-a	OV – A has the proper noun <i>Hegalayu</i> , “the Abundant One,” written without the sign LA against the spelling in K. ³¹²
M255	A iv 7 J iii 9	PAP an-nu-tu PAP DIŠ an-nu-tu ₄	SV(1) – The preposition determinative DIŠ is lacking in A.
M256	A iv 7 J iii 9	an-nu-tu an-nu-tu ₄	OV – The final syllable of <i>annûtu</i> , “those,” is written with the sign TU in A, against TU ₄ in J.
M257	A iv 7 J iii 9 Q iii 8 X iii 3	MUL ^{meš} ša ziq-pi MUL ^{meš} ziq-pi MUL ^{meš} ša ziq-pi MUL ziq-pi	SV(1) – The noun <i>kakkabū</i> is written as singular in X, against the plural in the other sources. ³¹³

³¹² The spelling in A agrees with the earlier occurrence of the same proper noun at A i 13.

³¹³ As in the earlier occurrences of this type of variation (see note above) it is difficult to determine whether X has a singular noun *kakkabu* or an unmarked plural *kakkabū*. In the light of Rule 1, though, the text must stand as it is. With no contextual evidence to the contrary the form in X must be read as a singular noun and counted as a difference in number.

M258	A iv 7 J iii 9 Q iii 8 X iii 3	MUL ^{meš} ša ziq-pi MUL ^{meš} ziq-pi MUL ^{meš} ša ziq-pi MUL ziq-pi	SV(1) – The relative particle is lacking in J and X.
M259	A iv 8 J iii 10 Q iii 9	ina IGI-it ina IGI-it IGI-it	SV(1) – The preposition <i>ina</i> is lacking in Q.
M260	A iv 8 J iii 10 Q iii 9 X iii 4	ina IGI-it GABA-ka GUB ^{me} - zu-ma ina IGI-it GABA-ka GUB ^{meš} - m[a IGI-it GABA-ka iz-za-zu[t]i šá EN.NUN AN-e GU[B	SV(2) – X has a clarifying plus, lacking in the other sources. ³¹⁴
M261	A iv 8 J iii 10	GUB ^{me} -zu-ma GUB ^{meš} -ma	OV – The plural marker is written as ME in A against MEŠ in J. ³¹⁵
M262	A iv 8 J iii 10 Q iii 9	GUB ^{me} -zu-ma GUB ^{meš} -ma iz-za-zu[	OV – The verb <i>izzazzū</i> is written logographically in A and J against the syllabic spelling in Q.
M263	A iv 8-9 J iii 11 Q iii 10	GI ₆ SAR ^{meš} u ŠÚ ^{meš} šá MUL ^{meš} me] šá MUL]u GI ₆	SV(3) – The sequence in Q varies from the sequence in A and J. ³¹⁶
M264	A iv 9 J iii 11	MUL ^{meš} MUL ^{me}	OV – The plural marker is written with the sign MEŠ in A against ME in J.

³¹⁴ A, J and Q all read *ina meḫret irtika izzazzūma*, “they are positioned opposite your breast,” against the reading in X *meḫret ša našir šamê izzazzū*, “they are positioned opposite the observer of the sky.” X has the third person here but agrees with the other sources in using the second person pronoun in X iii 6 (see note below).

³¹⁵ In the light of Rule 3 the phonetic complement, lacking in J, is not counted as it forms part of the same semogenic unit as the previous orthographic variant.

³¹⁶ Although the text of Q is broken it seems clear that the logogram GI₆, *mūša*, “night,” stands at the end of the clause. This is against the other sources which have this word at the beginning of the clause. A, the only fully preserved copy, reads: *mūša nipḫāti u rībī ša kakkabī ...*, “the nightly rising and setting of the stars.”

M265	A iv 10 J iii 12 X iii 6	zi-iq-pa ziq-pi ziq-pi	OV(l) – J and X have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ³¹⁷
M266	A iv 10 J iii 12 Q iii 11 X iii 6	a-ma-ri-ka IGI-k[a a-ma-ri-ka IGI-ka	OV – The verb plus pronominal suffix <i>amarika</i> , literally “your seeing,” is written syllabically in A and Q against the logographic spelling in J and X.
M267	A iv 11 Q iii 13 X iii 8	ni-iš ni-iš ÍL	OV – The verb <i>našû</i> , “lift up (one’s face)” is written syllabically in A and Q against the logographic spelling in X.
M268	A iv 12 Q iii 13 X iii 8	IGI-ka pa-ni-k[a IGI-ka	OV – The noun <i>panu</i> , “face,” is written logographically in A and X against the syllabic spelling in Q.
M269	A iv 14 R 3 T iv 2	^{mul} GÀM ^{mul} G[À]M ^{mul} GÀM	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A and T.
M270	A iv 16 R 4 T iv 4	IGI-it GABA-ka ina IGI-it [IGI-it GABA-ka	SV(1) – The preposition <i>ina</i> is lacking in A and T. ³¹⁸
M271	A iv 16 R 4	MUL.MUL M]ÚL.MÚL	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A.

³¹⁷ The reading in the accusative case seems correct in the context: *šumma ziqpa ana amārka*, “If you are to observe the *ziqpu*.” Reading this difference as a linguistic variation presumes the noun *ziqpu* is singular in all the sources. On the other hand, the noun “ziq-pi” in J and X could be read as an oblique plural, and so still be considered grammatically correct. Such a reading would suppose a difference in number between A on the one hand and J and X on the other which, considering there is no plural marker attached to this noun in any source, seems to be asking too much of the text. The variation is instead read as OV(l) in the light of Rule 4.

³¹⁸ The full clause reads: *ina Ayyari UD 1 irtu ša Nimri ina qabal šamê (ina) meḥret irtika izzazma*, “on the first day of Ajjaru the Breast of the Panther is positioned in the middle of the sky (towards the) opposite (of) your breast.”

M272	A iv 17 R 6 T iv 5	ki-in-ṣu kin-ša kin-ši	OV(l) – R and T have incorrect case vowels for the nominative singular. ³¹⁹
M273	A iv 17 R 6 T iv 5	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{múl} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA[	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A.
M274	A iv 18 R 7 T iv 6	GUB-ma GUB-zu-ma GUB-ma	OV – A and T lack the phonetic complement. ³²⁰
M275	A iv 18 R 7 T iv 6	^{mul} is ^{múl} is ^{mul} i[s	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A and T.
M276	A iv 19 R 8 T iv 7	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{múl} UD.KA.DUḪ.A ^{mul} UD.KA.D[UḪ	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A and T.
M277	A iv 19 O iii 3 R 8	^{mul} UD.KA.DUḪ.A]KA.DUḪ ^{múl} UD.KA.DUḪ.A	OV(l) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ³²¹
M278	A iv 20 R 9 T iv 8	^{mul} SIPA.ZI.AN.NA ^{múl} SIPA.Z[I ^{mul} SI[PA	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in A and T.

³¹⁹ The noun belongs to the phrase *kinṣu ša Nimri*, “the Knee of the Panther.” Thus the nominative form is technically correct while the forms in R and T do not make grammatical sense. In the light of Rule 3 the variation in syllabic spelling between A and the other two sources is not counted here as it belongs to the same semogenic unit as the linguistic variant.

³²⁰ In contrast to M261, where the phonetic complement added to the plural form has a function that is more accurate, R has a phonetic complement that does not in fact reflect the actual pronunciation of the word. The complement “-zu” doesn’t seem to fit the singular verb form *izzazma*. It is possible that the phonetic complement served as a signal to the scribe as to which lexeme the logogram GUB denoted rather than as an accurate reflection of the pronunciation of the verb form itself.

³²¹ The final sign ‘A’ is a possible Sumerian genitive ending. The noun is part of the construction “a-si-du šá ^{mul}UD.KA.DUḪ(A),” *asīdu ša Nimri*, “the Heel of the Panther,” so the genitive ending fits the context. See also variant M210 above.

M279	A iv 21 R 10 T iv 9 AA iii 3	MUL né-bu-ú u]m-mu-lu-tú m]eš um-mu-lu-tú MUL né-b[u	HV – A and AA record <i>kakkabu nebû</i> , “the bright star,” as visible on the 15 th of <i>Du’uzu</i> , against T and R which record <i>kakkabû ummulûtu</i> , “the faint stars,” as visible on that date. ³²²
M280	A iv 21 O iii 5 R 10 T iv 9	mul ŠU.GI m]ul ŠU.GI mul[mul[	OV – The preposition determinative is written as MÚL in R, against MUL in the other sources.
M281	A iv 21 O iii 6 T iv 10 AA iii 4	MIN GA]BA-k[a GA]BA-ka GUB-ma IGI-it GABA-k[a	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in the other sources. ³²³
M282	A iv 22 O iii 7 AA iii 5	UD.15.KAM UD.15[UD.5.KAM	HV – AA has the date for sighting <i>kakkabû ummulûtu</i> , “the faint stars,” as the 5 th of <i>Abu</i> , recorded as the 15 th of <i>Abu</i> in A and O.
M283	A iv 22 AA iii 5	MUL meš um-mu-lu-tu ₄ MUL um-mu[	SV(1) – A has a plural noun, <i>kakkabû ummulûtu</i> , “the faint stars,” against a singular noun in AA. ³²⁴

³²² A and AA read: *ina Du’ûzi UD 15 kakkabu nebû ša Šîbi ina qabal šamê ... ina Abi UD 15 kakkabû ummulûtu ša Šîbi ina qabal šamê*, “on the 15th day of the month *Du’uzu* the bright star of the Old Man (α Persei) is positioned in the middle of the sky ... on the 15th day of the month *Abu* the faint stars of the Old Man are positioned in the middle of the sky” (A iv 21-22; AA iii 3-5). This is in contrast to R and T which, though now quite damaged, can be restored to read: *ina Du’ûzi UD 15 kakkabû ummulûtu ša Šîbi ina qabal šamê ... ina Abi UD 15 kakkabu nebû ša Šîbi ina qabal šamê*, “on the 15th day of the month *Du’uzu* the faint stars of the Old Man are positioned in the middle of the sky ... on the 15th day of the month *Abu* the bright star of the Old Man is positioned in the middle of the sky” (R 10; T iv 9-11). The interchange of *ziqpu* stars for the fourth and fifth months is quite possibly an error (see note), but its effect on the text is considered as a hermeneutic variation given that alternative stars are referred to. See also M284 below.

³²³ The sign “MIN” in A iv 21 indicates a repetition of the text from the line above: *mehret irtika izzazma*, “it is positioned opposite your breast.” See the discussion above on the marking of *Wiederholungszeichen* in cuneiform in note .

³²⁴ AA seems to refer to only one “faint star” in the constellation Perseus while A makes reference to multiple “faint stars.” This could in truth be an unmarked plural but as the text stands it should be read as a singular noun. Further, the scribe of AA marks the plural correctly as “MUL meš” in AA ii 17.

M284	A iv 22 O iii 7 T iv 11 AA iii 5	MUL ^{meš} um-mu-lu-tu ₄]ti n]é-bu-ú MUL um-mu[	HV – A, O and AA record <i>kakkabū ummulūtu</i> , “the faint stars,” as visible on the 5 th or 15 th of <i>Abu</i> against T which records <i>kakkabu nebū</i> , “the bright star,” as visible on that date. ³²⁵
M285	A iv 23 O iii 7	MIN ina MURUB ₄ AN-e	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O. ³²⁶
M286	A iv 23 O 8 T iv 12 AA iii 6	MIN i]t GABA-ka G[UB G]UB-ma KI.MIN	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O. ³²⁷
M287	A iv 23 AA iii 6	MIN KI.MIN	OV – A writes the sign MIN to signify <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against KI.MIN in AA.
M288	A iv 24 O iii 9 T iv 13	^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL ^{mul} MAŠ.TAB.BA.GAL.GAL]TAB.BA.GAL.GAL.LA	OV – A and O have the short spelling for <i>Tū’amū rabūtu</i> , “the Great Twins,” against the longer spelling in T. ³²⁸
M289	A iv 24 O iii 9	MIN ina MURUB ₄ AN-e	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O. ³²⁹
M290	A iv 24 O iii 10	MIN i]t GABA-ka GUB-ma	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O.
M291	A iv 24 O iii 10 AA iii 8	^{mul} ŠU.PA u ^{mul} NUN ^{ki} ^{mul} ŠU.PA u ^{mul} NUN ^{ki} Š]U.PA ^{mul} NUN ^{ki}	SV(1) – AA lacks the conjunction between the proper nouns ŠU.PA and <i>Eridu</i> .
M292	A iv 24 O iii 10 T iv 14	KUR ^{meš} -ni KUR ^{me} -ni MUR ^{me}[	OV – The plural marker is written with the sign ME in O and T against MEŠ in A.

³²⁵ See the comments above, note .

³²⁶ O has *ina qabal šamē*, “in the middle of the sky.”

³²⁷ O and T have *mehret irtika izzazzūma*, “they are positioned opposite your breast.” More accurately, the verb in T is *izzazzuma*, “it is positioned,” in reference to the singular subject it conveys here (see note above).

³²⁸ A retains the same orthography used in M11.

³²⁹ O has *ina qabal šamē*, “in the middle of the sky.”

M293	A iv 25 O iii 11	MIN ina MURUB ₄ AN-e	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O.
M294	A iv 25 O iii 12	MIN GA]BA-ka GUB-ma	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O.
M295	A iv 26 O iii 13 T iv 17	MIN ina MURUB ₄ [	SV(2) – A and T write <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O.
M296	A iv 26 O iii 14 T iv 17	MIN [] GUB-ma MIN	SV(2) – A and T write <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in O.
M297	A iv 29 E iii 4	MIN IGI-it GABA [	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in E.
M298	A iv 30 E iii 6	MIN IGI-it[	SV(2) – A writes <i>Wiederholungszeichen</i> against the full clause in E.
M299	E iii 7 F r.3	DINGIR meš MUL m[eš	SV(1) – E has <i>ilāni</i> , “the gods,” against <i>kakkabū</i> , “the stars,” in F. ³³⁰
M300	A iv 31 E iii 7	i-na ina	OV – A has the preposition <i>ina</i> , “in,” written syllabically against the logographic form in E.
M301	E iii 14 F r.11	an-nu-tu ₄ an-nu-t[u	OV – The final syllable of <i>annûtu</i> , “those,” is written with the sign TU in F against TU ₄ in E. ³³¹

³³⁰ There is no apparent difference in meaning here as both sources refer to objects that *ina ḥarrān Sin iz-zazzūma*, “are positioned in the path of Sin.” That is, both sources refer to objects in the cosmos that stand in the orbital path of the moon and so are indicative of the same phenomena. The variant here is therefore treated as a lexical interchange.

³³¹ Compare the same variation in M256.

Discussion of Variants

Orthographic Variants

The most common type of variation involves orthography. In general the most common types of orthographic variation involve logographic spellings against syllabic spellings. Also relatively common are interchanges of CVC signs for CV-VC signs, the elision of phonetic complements, the writing of different signs with like value, and the use of apocopated logograms in place of full composite logograms. Occasionally some nouns lack determinative signs, which is regularly counted as a difference in orthography where the style of the document is not affected.³³² In all there are 198 orthographic variants between all of the sources.

The tablets that contain the most amount of parallel material, A, AA and BB, also contain the highest number of variations in orthography. Some texts, such as J and N, consistently spell particular logograms with phonetic complements in contrast to other sources. However, these texts do not share a particular orthographic affinity, as they can be shown to vary with each other in other spelling practices. Rather, the rule seems to be that where some sources agree in a particular aspect of their orthography they will disagree elsewhere.

Most texts that preserve at least 50 SU in parallel display some level of orthographic differentiation. Exceptions to this trend are A:Y, C:X, and Y:AA. In most of these cases

³³² See note above, and the reference there.

other variants occur between the parallel texts, but in C:X there are no variants at all between the sources. The discussion will return to these texts after surveying the other variant categories. It will suffice presently to indicate that the situation where more than one pairing of texts agrees is minimal. That is, where sources such as A:X and X:AA show a close orthographic affinity, there is no such affinity between A:AA.

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

There are few linguistic variants between the sources, and those that do occur typically involve case endings which, by the first millennium, had become largely defunct. For example, M272 shows that across three sources three different case endings are used for the same noun. This example demonstrates that the use of case endings was not uniform between the sources. Other linguistic variations, namely the omission or addition of ventive affixes to nouns, may be more aptly described as grammatical variations.

Also included in this category are two possible variations in Sumerian grammatical forms, M210 and M277. The extent to which these variants should be considered as grammatical rather than orthographic is debatable, as it is unclear how familiar a typical first millennium Akkadian scribe would have been with Sumerian grammatical forms.³³³

Unlike the sources for Gilgamesh XI or the prologue to the Laws of Hammurabi, there are few pronunciation or dialectal variants in the sources for MUL.APIN. Like EAE 63, this may be due to the relatively formulaic nature of the documents. Alternatively, this

³³³ This was pointed out to me by W. Horowitz, personal communication.

may instead be a characteristic of the scribes' approach to copying astronomical texts. Against the latter view we could point to the various differences in case vowels, indicated above, which might ostensibly be put down to the personal preference of the individual scribes. If this is the case, then the individual's preference for a particular case vowel in a particular context may in fact be coloured by an aspect of pronunciation. However, attempts to delineate between the choice of case vowels by any extraneous conditioning elements, such as individual copyist or geographical region, appear on the surface to be fruitless.

Stylistic Variants (Type 1)

The majority of minor stylistic variations involve the addition or omission of determinatives, conjunctions, prepositions, relative pronouns or enclitic particles. Of these the omission or addition of the determinative that begins a new section, DIŠ, is the most common form of variation.

Somewhat less frequent are changes in grammatical number to subjects or objects in the text. In one instance, M55, the constellation comprised of ϵ , π , ρ , and θ Herculis are described in the plural in most sources, but in the singular in source AA. The treatment of this constellation as a collective singular in AA is in contrast to the same source's treatment of the adjacent constellation, ζ and η Herculis, as plural.

Other similar differences in grammatical number pertain to the description of a given constellation with either the singular noun or determinative "star" or plural "stars," for

which see M66, M113, M240, M257 and M283. In four places the same variation is indicated by the form of the verbal predicate, singular or plural, for which see M138, M143, M153 and M238.

There are four variants that are considered lexical interchanges. M57 shows a difference in the title given to a particular constellation. The determinative used to describe a star differs in two instances, M87 and M132, where some sources have the determinative for “star,” MUL, while others have the determinative for “deity,” DINGIR. In M299 the common nouns that these determinatives represent, *kakkabū*, “stars,” and *ilāni*, “gods,” are exchanged.

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

The abbreviation of repeated phrases with *Wiederholungszeichen* (written MIN or KI.MIN in the sources) is the most common form of the second category of stylistic variants. There are 10 instances of this type of abbreviation, which occur mostly in tablet A, and occasionally in T and AA. Sources like O and E frequently write the entire repetitive phrase rather than abbreviating the text.

There is one instance of a possible gloss at M50, where tablet AA appears to clarify that the object referred to as the “first son” is in fact an astronomical body. There is also a single instance of an explicating plus at M69, where the phrase “these stars of Enlil” is written instead as “these 50 stars,” in reference to the preceding taxonomy of astral bod-

ies. One expansive plus is found at M226, where the title “the Shepherd” in tablet W, referring to the constellation Orion, is written as “the True Shepherd of Anu” in tablet K.

Stylistic Variants (Type 3)

There is a single instance where a different arrangement of words is detected between the sources. Tablet Q has a different word order to tablets A and J at M263, where the adverbial form GI₆, *mūša*, “nightly,” appears phrase-finally as opposed to phrase-initially. Due to the broken context of Q at this point it is impossible to tell if the rest of the phrase was the same as in the other sources or if a more significant variant underlies this change in sequence.

Hermeneutic Variants

Most of the hermeneutic variants recorded between the sources involve a difference in cardinal numbers. The difference is regularly by a factor of 10, the reason for which can be understood in terms of damage or haplography of the single wedge sign that represents the number 10 in the cuneiform writing system.³³⁴

At M147 tablet M fails to account for the visibility of Aquarius, termed ^{mul}GU.LA, “the Great One,” during the month of *Šabaṭu*. Given the precise nature of the taxonomy this omission is read as a difference in content rather than a change in sequence or a stylistic expansion.

³³⁴ See the comments in note 157.

Similarly M279 and M284 show that different sources could indicate that different constellations became visible at certain times. Tablets T and R stipulate that the constellation known as “the faint stars” rise in the middle of the month of *Du’uzu* while “the bright star” becomes visible in the month of *Abu*. According to tablets A, O and AA “the bright star” is instead visible from the month of *Du’uzu* and “the faint stars” are visible in *Abu*. As was established immediately above, the difference in the taxonomy is treated as a difference in content.

CHAPTER 6 – THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI

The Text

The following tablets represent copies made of a series of laws bookended by a poetic prologue and epilogue that stem from the Old Babylonian period, specifically to the rule of Hammurabi of Babylon. The composition is generally dated to the first half of the 18th century B.C.E. The prologue, epilogue and intervening laws were inscribed on a piece of diorite that stands approximately 225 centimetres tall, the upper portion of which is taken up by a depiction of the king standing before a seated deity, presumed to be Šamaš. The text descends in horizontal bands down the front side and then the back side of the stele, increasing in length as the stele increases in girth towards its base. As can be determined from the ancient fragments these Laws existed in more than one copy from an early point.³³⁵ The use of the Louvre stele (LH) as the *Haupttext* in the present study is due primarily to its relatively complete preservation, especially when compared to the other sources. Only seven columns of the lower portion of the front side of the stele have been effaced.

³³⁵ The primary exemplar of the Laws, used here as the *Haupttext*, is the black basalt stele discovered by Scheil at Susa in 1901-2, now kept at the Louvre in Paris. In addition to this monument there exist fragments, also inscribed on black basalt, that are presumed to have belonged to another stele that bore the same inscription, for which see the description in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 29-30. Based on this and other fragments J. Nougayrol, "Les Fragments en Pierre du Code Hammourabien (II)," *Journal Asiatique* 246, 2 (1958) 150, concluded that there were in fact three copies of the stele at Susa.

The Tablets

The first millennium copies of the Laws of Hammurabi examined here are both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian in origin. None of the tablets preserve the law code in its entirety. Rather, certain tablets appear to be parts of a series that, when complete, may have contained all of the text of the stele.³³⁶ The sigla employed below are based on those used by Borger, though some adjustments have been made to reflect joins that have since been suggested by other scholars.³³⁷

³³⁶ This much is evident from colophons that remain on some of the sources. An Old Babylonian copy, now in Istanbul, Ni2553+2565, has a colophon that labels it as the second tablet in the series.

³³⁷ For the original assignment of sigla to the fragments see R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke: Heft II - Die Texte in Umschrift* (Rome: Pontificia Institutum Biblicum, 1963) 2-4. Subscript numerals have been added to some of the sigla to indicate which fragments of a rejoined tablet are being discussed in the list of variants. This practice follows that established in the apparatus by A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*. It will be noted that, in the other 'score' editions utilised in this study, joins are usually indicated by a sign '+' between the fragments, and all joined fragments are referred to by the same sigla. In the case of the Law of Hammurabi, though, the absence of a pre-existing publication that contained a 'score' edition of the text allowed the present writer the opportunity to create his own 'score,' in which the method of assigning individual siglum to each fragment, so recently utilised by A.R. George, was also employed.

Table - Laws of Hammurabi: Tablets Under Examination

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>
B	BM34914
C	BE35271 ³³⁸
D	K10778
J ₁	K4223
J ₂	Sm1008a
L	K10483
N	K8905
P ₁	K8321
P ₂	Rm277
P ₃	DT81
P ₄	Rm2,388
T	K10485
W	VAT991
Z	VAT1036
b	Sm1642
c	Sm26
e ₁	Bu. 91-5-9, 221
e ₂	K11571

*Description of the Sources*³³⁹

B, BM34914

The script is Neo-Babylonian and the tablet is probably from Babylonia given the museum catalogue number.³⁴⁰ It is designated as Neo-Babylonian or Late Babylonian by

³³⁸ There seems to be some confusion in the editions about which tablet is identified by the siglum C. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2, has this as BE35271, published in E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi: Textus Primigenius* (Rome: PIB, 1953³) pl. 52. G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 2, on the other hand, have Bergmann's pl. 52 as containing BE35751, and mention that the tablet BE35271 is known but unpublished, a claim seconded in D.J. Wiseman, "The Laws of Hammurabi Again," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 7 (1962) 162 n. 6. The designation of C as BE35271 in the present study relies on the tablet number given in E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, where it is clearly marked in favour of Borger.

³³⁹ The proveniences of Late Babylonian, Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian that are assigned to the tablets follow the appraisals given in R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 2-4. The reader is directed towards Borger's list for the appropriate publications for each tablet.

Wiseman, who also considered that the tablet may have been copied from a *Vorlage* different to the Louvre stele.³⁴¹

C, BE35271

The tablet is written in Late Babylonian script. It forms part of the collection from the University of Pennsylvania expedition to Babylonia in the late 19th century. The tablet was published by Bergmann and Falkenstein in 1953.³⁴²

D, K10778

This is a Neo-Assyrian fragment from Kuyunjik, first published by Lassøe in 1950 from an earlier drawing made by F. Geers.³⁴³

J₁, K4223; J₂, Sm1008a

These fragments belong to a Neo-Assyrian tablet from Kuyunjik first published by Meissner in 1908.³⁴⁴ From the catalogue designation ‘Sm’ it can be assumed that these fragments were discovered in the Southwest Palace.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Tablets in the British Museum numbered between BM33328 and BM77218 were largely excavated by Rassam during his expeditions in Babylonia between 1879 and 1882. See the references in note .

³⁴¹ See D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 161. This tablet contains only the prologue of the Laws, and so many of the variants therein may be considered from the perspective of literary stylistic choices rather than variation in legal tradition. On the literary status of the Law of Hammurabi in the first millennium see W.G. Lambert, "The Laws of Hammurabi in the First Millennium," *Reflets de deux fleuves: volume de mélanges offerts à André Finet* (eds M. Lebeau and P. Talon; Akkadica Supplementum VI; Leuven: Peeters, 1989) 95-98.

³⁴² E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, pl. 52, but see note above.

³⁴³ See the drawing in J. Laessøe, "On the Fragments of the Hammurabi Code," *JCS* 4, 3 (1950) 182.

³⁴⁴ B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," *BASS* III (1908) 505, 511.

L, K10483

This is a Neo-Assyrian fragment from Kuyunjik first published by Meissner.³⁴⁶

N, K8905

This Neo-Assyrian fragment from Kuyunjik was also published by Meissner in 1908.³⁴⁷

Borger has suggested that this fragment may be part of the same tablet as tablet L,

K10483.³⁴⁸

P₁, K8321; P₂, Rm277; P₃, DT81; P₄, Rm2,388

The script is Neo-Assyrian. Lassøe first suggested that these fragments were from the same tablet. From the catalogue designation DT it can be assumed that this tablet was from the North Palace at Nineveh.³⁴⁹ It would seem that fragment P₃ was excavated during Smith's first expedition to Kuyunjik in 1873, while the fragments P₂ and P₃ were uncovered during Rassam's later expedition in 1878.

³⁴⁵ George Smith's 1874 expedition to Kuyunjik principally extracted tablets from the Southwest Palace, for which see J.E. Reade, "Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives," 214.

³⁴⁶ B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," 507.

³⁴⁷ B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," 507.

³⁴⁸ See R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 3.

³⁴⁹ According to J.E. Reade, "Archaeology and the Kuyunjik Archives," 214, tablets catalogued as DT were excavated from the North Palace by George Smith in 1873.

T, K10485

This is a Neo-Assyrian fragment from Kuyunjik. It was published by Meissner in 1908.³⁵⁰

W, VAT991

This tablet, now at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, is written in Late Babylonian script. According to the colophon this tablet is DUB.7.KAM [i]-nu AN ši-ru-um, “the seventh tablet in (the series) ‘When the exalted Anum.’”³⁵¹

Z, VAT1036

The script is Late Babylonian. Unlike tablet W there is no colophon preserved. See note above for the publication details for this fragment.

b, Sm1642

The script is Neo-Assyrian. The designation ‘Sm’ indicates that this tablet is from the Southwest Palace at Kuyunjik.³⁵²

³⁵⁰ B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," 507, and see the drawing in E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, pl. 47.

³⁵¹ See the colophon in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 114. This tablet and tablet Z were first published in A. Ungnad, *Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurapis: Autographie der Stele sowie der altbabylonischen, assyrischen und neubabylonischen Fragmente* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909) 42. The drawing used in the present study for tablets W and Z is from E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, pl. 51.

³⁵² See the reference in note above. Tablet b and tablet c were both published in B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," 509-10.

c, Sm26

This is a fragment from a Neo-Assyrian tablet. Like tablet b, this fragment was excavated at the Southwest Palace at Kuyunjik.

e₁, Bu. 91-5-9, 221; e₂, K11571

The script is Neo-Assyrian. These fragments were published separately, however the catalogue designation ‘K’ suggests the tablet was originally from Kuyunjik, and the registration number Bu. 91-5-9 indicates that the tablet was from the Southwest Palace there, specifically from room LIV.³⁵³

Table - Number of SU Preserved in the First Millennium Hammurabi Tablets

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
B	431.5
C	83
D	20
J ₁₋₂	128
L	22
N	34
P ₁₋₄	205
T	21
W	80
Z	21
b	17
c	33
e ₁₋₂	164

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each set of two parallel tablets preserving at least 20 SU in common. Following this table

³⁵³ The tablets registered as 91-5-9 come from E.A.W. Budge’s fourth trip to Mesopotamia, which led to excavations between 1889 and 1891 that uncovered tablets from room LIV of the Southwest Palace (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 386). Room LIV is a large chamber on the south-western facing side of the structure.

is an exhaustive list of all variant readings between any two first millennium sources for the Laws of Hammurabi that overlap in content, regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved. Although every variant is given in the list, the discussion of the variants will refer in the main only to those texts preserving at least 50 SU in parallel listed in the table. Variant readings in the parallel sources that are less fully preserved may be referred to periodically, but will not be made to bear any of the statistical argument put forward regarding types and frequencies of variants.

Table - Variants in the Parallel Sources for the Laws of Hammurabi

<i>Comparison: Text vs Text</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Ortho- graphic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. Vari- ant</i>	<i>Orthographic (linguistic) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herme- neutic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Her. Variant</i>
LH:B	878	53	10	57	8.4	11	48.8	4	30.3			2	146.3
LH:P	403	9	27	10	26.9	4	67.2	1	403				
LH:e	323	14	16	20	10.8	7	32.3	6	53.8			1	14
LH:J	267	17	9	9	16.7	8	33.4	2	133.5				
LH:W	160	2	40										
LH:C	158	3	53	5	15.8	2	52.7						
B:C	145	11	10	6	14.5	1	72.5						
LH:c	66	9	4	4	8.3	2	33	2	33				
LH:N	62	2	31										
LH:L	44	2	15			1	44	1	44				
LH:Z	42												
LH:T	42	1	21	1	21								
LH:D	40			3	10	2	10						
B:D	39	3	8	3	7.8	1	19.5						
LH:b	34			1	34								
P:T	20												

List of Variants Between the Parallel Sources for the Laws of Hammurabi

<i>No.</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
H1	LH ia 6-15	ša-i-im ši-ma-at KALAM a-na DINGIR AMAR.UD DUMU re-eš-ti-im ša ^d EN.KI ^d EN.LÍL-ut KIŠ ni-ši i-ši-mu-šum in I-gi ₄ -gi ₄ ú-šar-bí-ù-šu	SV(2) – Different phraseology between the sources. ³⁵⁴
	B i 2-11	[]ni-ši 'x'[] [r]a-pí [m]u-ba-'li-iṭ' []ú-um[] []-it qá-[t]i-šu-un[] []ú-tim mi-ša-ri-um []ši-rik-ti iš-ru-ku-šu []-ša-at-li-mu-šu []aṭ-ṭi-im ù a-gi-i 'ši'-ma-at ša-ru-tim	

³⁵⁴ The opening lines of the stele are phrased differently in B, though only lines 3-15 are sufficiently preserved in parallel to allow meaningful comment. According to M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws: Text, Translation, and Glossary* (New York: T&T Clark, 2004) 17, B can be restored: ... *nišī* ... *Hammurabi mārim rēštīm ša Sinmubaliṭ lipit qātišun rē'ūtīm mšarium ana širikti išrukūšu ušatlimūšu ḥaṭṭim u agī sī-māt šarrūtīm*, "... people ... Hammurabi, the first son of Sinmuballit; by the touch of their hands they endowed him with the gift of the pastorship of justice; they presented him with the sword and the crown as signs of kingship." This stands in contrast to the stele itself, which reads: ... *šā'im šīmāt mātīm ana Marduk mārim rēštīm ša Ea ellilūt kiššat nišī išīmūšum in Igiḡi ušarbiūšu*, "... (Enlil) who determines the fate of the nation allotted to Marduk, first born son of Ea, governance of all the peoples of the world. They exalted him among the Igiḡi." Certainly the proper noun Hammurabi does not appear on the stele until later in the prologue (line ia 50), and the plural noun *nišī* is also out of place by several lines. In the light of the two other variants that B preserves in the prologue (see H2 and H132) it seems that this Late Babylonian manuscript held a different tradition for the opening section of the text. The parallel text to lines ia 6-15 of the stele seems to be significantly abbreviated in B based on the available space contained in the reconstructed tablet. At the same time B appears to have additional material describing the instruments that symbolise kingship, and a reference to Hammurabi that is not paralleled in the stele. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 7, notes that B "hat jedoch statt Stele I 1-15, einen völlig abweichenden Abschnitt" [has a completely different section in place of Stele I 1-15]. D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 161, suggests that B most likely preserves a copy of the prologue that "followed a primary source, perhaps that of which the stele itself was one version."

H2	LH ia 16 B i 12	KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI DUR.AN.KI	HV – Different proper nouns given in the sources. ³⁵⁵
H3	LH ia 19 B i 14	ù-ša-te-ru-šu ʾúʾ-š[a-t]i-ru-šu	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁵⁶
H4	LH ia 20 B i	i-na in	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁵⁷
H5	LH ia 21 B i 15	šar-ru-tam ʾšarʾ[]tim	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ³⁵⁸
H6	LH ia 21 B i 15	da-rí-tam da-rí-ti	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
H7	LH ia 23 B i 17	ù u	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in B.

³⁵⁵ The stele reads: *Bābilam šumšu šīram ibbiū*, “they gave Babylon its excellent name,” but the city mentioned in B is Nippur. This variant, when taken into account with variant H132, might suggest that B was a copy of a textual tradition that was centred in Nippur, as has already been observed by M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi’s Laws*, 17. It should also be mentioned that the list of city names beginning at line 50 of the stele has Nippur preceding Eridu and Babylon. According to R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 7, this may be an indication that B represents a tradition of the text that stems from a period in which Nippur was considered to be the centre of the empire – a situation that is known to have developed after Hammuabi’s 20th year.

³⁵⁶ The difference between the sources is the writing of the medial vowel in the 3mpl perfect III/1 of *√ataru*, “make increase, surpass.” On the apparent free variation of /i/ and /e/ see M. Luukko, *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian* (SAAS 16 Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2004) 86-87, and the discussion in notes and . Given the non-uniform distribution of the spellings with /i/ and /e/ it is likely that the various spellings reflect the actual pronunciation, or at least the orthographic preference, of the individual scribe.

³⁵⁷ The stele has the archaic and poetical form of the preposition *in*, found in Old Akkadian, Old Babylonian royal inscriptions and Old Babylonian and Standard Babylonian literary texts (see *CAD* I 141b, and the comments in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 116). See also H268.

³⁵⁸ The spelling of the case vowel in B may reflect a similar phenomenon to that described in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439, “-i or -e for nominative or accusative singular.”

H8	LH ia 24 B i 18	iš-da-ša iš-da-šu	SV(1) – Difference in the gender of the possessive pronominal suffix. ³⁵⁹
H9	LH ia 26 B i 19	ú-ki-in-nu-šum ú-ki-in-nu-šu	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H10	LH ia 27-28 B i 20-21	i-nu-mi-šu ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi	SV(1) – The preposition <i>inūmišu</i> , “at that time,” is lacking in B.
H11	LH ia 28 B i 20-21	ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi ḫa-am-mu-ra-pi ša-ra mi-ša- ra-am	SV(2) – B has an expanded epithet. ³⁶⁰
H12	LH ia 29 B i 22	ru-ba-am ru-ba-a-am	OV – The long vowel (diphthong) in $\sqrt{rubû}$, “prince,” is written in B.
H13	LH ia 30 B i 23	na-ʾ-dam na-ʾ-da	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H14	LH ia 31 B i 25	ia-ti ia-a-ti	OV – The long initial vowel (diphthong) of the independent pronoun <i>iāti</i> is written in B.
H15	LH ia 32 B i 25	mi-ša-ra-am mi-ša-ri-am	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁶¹
H16	LH ia 33 B i 26	ma-tim ma-a-ti	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.

³⁵⁹ The form *išdašalu*, is translated “its foundation.” The possessive pronominal suffix refers to *šarrutam daritam*, “everlasting kingship.” Nouns marked with the abstract affix “-ut” are grammatically feminine (cf. J. Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005²] 124), so the reading in the stele is considered to be correct.

³⁶⁰ The epithet in B reads: *Hammurabi šarra mišaram*. The expected grammatical form would be: *Hammurabi šar mišarim* “Hammurabi the king of justice” (see M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws*, 28 n. 12).

³⁶¹ See also the spelling in B of the final vowel preceding the nominative case vowel in the form *mišarium* in H2 above. The diphthongal spelling of the ultimate vowel may reflect the pronunciation of this lexeme for the scribe, possibly influenced by $\sqrt{ešēru}$, “to be straight,” on which the noun is based, but see also H18 below. In other instances the scribe seems to preserve diphthongal endings in final weak verbs (see note and the references there).

H17	LH ia 35 B i 28	še-nam [š]e- ^ˀ na ^ˀ -am	OV – B has CV-VC against CVC in LH.
H18	LH ia 36 B i 29	ḫu-ul-lu-qí-im [q]í-am	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ³⁶²
H19	LH ia 37 B i 30	da-nu-um []- ^ˀ am ^ˀ ?	Not Counted – The sign in B is clearly not UM as contained in LH. ³⁶³
H20	LH ia 42 B ii 2	wa-še-e-em-ma [š]e-em	OV – LH writes the long vowel in $\sqrt{a\dot{s}û}$, “to come out, raise.”
H21	LH ia 42 B ii 2	wa-še-e-em-ma [š]e-em	SV(1) – The enclitic particle “-ma” is lacking in B
H22	LH ia 44 B ii 2	nu-wu-ri-im nu-um-mu-ri	OV(l) – B lacks the archaic forms in LH. ³⁶⁴
H23	LH ia 45 B ii 3	AN []-num	OV – The proper noun <i>Anum</i> is written syllabically in B.
H24	LH ia 46 B ii 3 C i 1	ù ^d EN.LÍL u ^d EN.LÍL ^ˀ u ^d [EN]. ^ˀ LÍL ^ˀ	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in B and C.
H25	LH ia 47 B ii 4 C i 2	ni-ši ni-ši ni-ši-im	OV(l) – C preserves mimation, lacking in LH and B.
H26	LH ia 49 B ii 5 C i 3	šu-mi šu-mi-am šu-mi	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁶⁵

³⁶² The form of the infinitive *ḫulluqu*, “to make disappear,” should take the genitive case vowel. See also the spelling of the final vowel that precedes the case vowel as described in note above.

³⁶³ Although damaged, the sign in B reflects a variant of some kind from the form in the stele. However, as this variant is not noted in R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 7 or D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 168-72, it is considered too uncertain to be counted here.

³⁶⁴ B reflects the phonological shift of word medial /w/ > /m/ in the lexeme $\sqrt{namāru}$, “to illuminate” (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 259 and 597), and also lacks mimation. These differences are only counted as one linguistic variation in light of Rule 3.

³⁶⁵ The ending “-am” in B may reflect the accusative singular case vowel (see also H15 and H18 above).

H27	LH ia 49 B ii 5 C i 3	ib-bu-ú ib-bi-ù ib-bi-ù	OV(l) – B and C preserve the diphthong in final weak $\sqrt{ nabû }$, “to invoke.”
H28	LH ia 51 B ii 7 C i 4	re-yu-um [r]e-yu-ú-um re-yu-um	OV – The long vowel in medial weak $\sqrt{ re'û }$, “shepherd,” is written in B.
H29	LH ia 52 B ii 8 C i 5	ni-bi-it ni-bí-it ni-bi-it	OV – Different spelling of the noun $\sqrt{ nibîtu }$, “chosen, (one) called,” in B.
H30	LH ia 54 B ii 9 C i 6	mu-kam-me-er mu-kam- ^ˀ mi ^ˀ -i[r] mu-kam-mi-ir	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁶⁶
H31	LH iia 3 B ii 20	ki-ib-ra-at ki-ib-ra-tim	OV(l) – B has the archaic ending, lacking in LH. ³⁶⁷
H32	LH iia 5 B ii 21	mu-šar-bí mu-šar-bí-u	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁶⁸
H33	LH iia 8 B ii 22	li-bi-i lib-bi	OV – B has CVC against CV-VC in LH.
H34	LH iia 10 B ii 23	u ₄ -mi-šu u ₄ -mi-ša-am	SV(1) – Difference in gender of the possessive pronominal suffix. ³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ The spelling in LH reflects [e] as an allophone of /i/ when occurring before /r/ (see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 592). This spelling is not reflected in B and C, which perhaps show a later orthographic development where the phones [i] and [e] are in free variation as allophones of /i/, or where the phonemes /i/ and /e/ are in free variation (see the references to note above).

³⁶⁷ The full phrase is *tīb kibrāt erbettim*, “onslaught on the four regions (of the world).” The full genitive ending with mimation in B is an archaism, cf. the archaic form of the idiom in the *Hymn to Istar* (RA 22 91), and in an inscription from the reign of Hammurabi (CT 21 41 iib 7-8).

³⁶⁸ B has a possible case vowel appended to the III/1 participle form of final weak $\sqrt{ rabû }$, “to be large, great.” B reads: *mušarbiu zikru Bābli*, “(who) magnifies the name of Babylon,” against the bound form in the stele: *mušarbi zikru Bābli*, “magnifier of the name of Babylon” (cf. the table in J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 62). An alternative reading is that both sources have the same form of the participle, where B has a Neo-Assyrian form with uncontracted post-tonic /i/, cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar* (SAAS XIII Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000) 36. For other examples of final weak verbs written with diphthongal endings see H27, H62, H125 and H207 (but contra H122 and H127).

H35	LH iia 11 B ii 24	iz-za-zu iz-za-az-zu	OV – The final radical of $\sqrt{\text{uzzūzu}}$, “to stand,” is doubled in B. ³⁷⁰
H36	LH iia 18 B ii 29 D i 7	wa-aš-ru-um wa-aš-ri-im []-um	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular. ³⁷¹
H37	LH iia 19 B ii 29 D i 8	mu-uš-te-mi-qum mu-uš-te-mi-qù []-qì	OV(l) – D has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular.
H38	LH iia 19 B ii 29	mu-uš-te-mi-qum mu-uš-te-mi-qù	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H39	LH iia 23 B ii 33	še-mu še-mu-ú	OV – The ultimate vowel of the I/1 participle of final weak $\sqrt{\text{šemû}}$, “to hear,” is written as long in B.
H40	LH iia 23 B ii 33	da-núm DI.KUD	OV – The medial weak $\sqrt{\text{dânu}}$, “to judge,” is written logographically in B.
H41	LH iia 30 B ii 38	É-babbar É-babbar ₂ [?]	OV – Different spelling for the proper noun Ebabbar in B. ³⁷²

³⁶⁹ The pronoun in B probably refers to Hammurabi which makes the apparent gender difficult.

³⁷⁰ The root is given as *’zz in the dictionaries, but the underlying root may instead be read as *zwz, according to J. Huehnergard, “izzuzzum and itûlum,” *Riches Hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen* (ed. A. Abusch; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002) 162.

³⁷¹ LH and D both agree with the fragment from the Old Babylonian duplicate of LH, AO10237, so B does not seem to reflect an ancient variant. In H36 and H37 both B and D have /i/ for the nominative singular case vowel in one part of the construction *wašrum mušteiqum*, “humble supplicant,” so both sources display late orthography for the nominative singular (see the references in note above).

³⁷² The signs in B are quite damaged. D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 168-172, seems to read the signs in B with the stele, as no variant is noted in the apparatus. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 8, reads the signs following É as bar₆-bar₆, while M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws*, 32 n. 26, reads bar₆-ra. Judging from Wiseman’s drawing (see D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 164) it looks like reading “babbar₂” (also read “bar₁₁-bar₁₁,” written 𒂗 𒂗) is acceptable, and so an orthographic variant is counted here.

H42	LH iia 37 B	mu-ba-lí-iṭ mu-b[a-l]i-iṭ	OV – Different spellings of the II/1 participle <i>muballit</i> , “one who brings life (to).” ³⁷³
H43	LH iia 39 B iii 8	me-e m]e	OV – The ultimate vowel in $\sqrt{mē}$, “water,” is written as long in LH.
H44	LH iia 40 B iii 8	nu-úḫ-ši-im nu-úḫ-im	Not Counted – Possible error in B. ³⁷⁴
H45	LH iia 42 B iii 10	mu-ul-li mu-ul-la	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁷⁵
H46	LH iia 44 B iii 11	mu-kam-me-er mu-kam-mi-ir	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁷⁶
H47	LH iia 46 B iii 13	AN-nim ^d A-nim	OV – The proper noun Anum is written with the divine determinative in B.
H48	LH iia 47 B iii 13	ù u	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in B.
H49	LH iia 48 B iii 14	AN.DÙL ṣu-lu-ul	OV – The noun $\sqrt{sulūlu}$, “shade,” is written syllabically in B.

³⁷³ B agrees with the fragment of the Old Babylonian duplicate of LH, AO10237.

³⁷⁴ The explanation given by D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 170, is that this is most likely an erroneous writing of the noun $\sqrt{nuḫṣu}$, “abundance, plenty,” through the omission of the sign ŠI. Otherwise the form in B could be read as *nuḫḫu*, from $\sqrt{nāḫu}$, “pacify, give rest,” but the meaning is unclear. The full phrase in LH is *šākin mē nuḫṣim ana nišṣu*, “provider of abundant waters for his people.” In B we would therefore read *šākin mē nūḫim ana nišṣu*, “provider of relenting/abating waters for his people.” The sense of the phrase in B might perhaps be understood in light of the passage in Gilgamesh XI 131 (according to the line numbering in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 710), where we read: *inūḫ tāmtu* (A.AB.BA), “the Deluge ended.” But in the present context the reference to abating flood waters would be quite awkward. “Provider of abating (flood) waters to his people” certainly interrupts the logical sequence of the phrase, so in the light of Rule 1 the reading of an error in B is preferred.

³⁷⁵ The stele has the expected bound form of $\sqrt{elū}$, “to raise up.” The spelling in B may reflect the influence of Neo-Assyrian pronunciation, where III weak /i/ > /a/ (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 602).

³⁷⁶ The writing of [e] as an allophone of /i/ could reflect a difference in pronunciation, perhaps under the influence of the following /r/. The stem vowel of $\sqrt{kamāru}$, “to heap up,” is a/u, but i/i in Neo-Assyrian (BGP 144). On the allophones of /i/ in Neo-Assyrian see note above and the references there.

H50	LH iia 48 B iii 14	ma-tim ma-a-[]	OV – The long vowel in $\sqrt{mātu}$, “land,” is written in B.
H51	LH iia 54 B iii 20 C ii 5	É-É.GAL.MAḪ É.GAL.MAḪ É-É.GAL.MAḪ	OV – The proper noun <i>Egalmaḫ</i> is written without the first logogram in B. ³⁷⁷
H52	LH iia 55 B iii 20 C ii 6	šàr-rí šà[r] šàr-šàr [?] -ru ₉ [?]	SV(1) – Possible added gloss in C. ³⁷⁸
H53	LH iia 59 B iii 23 C ii 9	uru kiš ^{ki} kiš ^{ki} uru kiš ^{k[i]}	OV – The proper noun <i>Kiš</i> is written without the city name determinative in B.
H54	LH iia 61 B iii 25 C ii 11	me-le-em-mi me-lam-mu me-le-em-m[i]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁷⁹
H55	LH iia 63 B iii 26 C ii 13	mu-uš-te-eš-bi mu-uš-te-ši-ir mu-uš-te-eš-bi	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ³⁸⁰
H56	LH iia 66 B iii 28	bi-tim É	OV – The noun $\sqrt{bītu}$, “house,” is written logographically in B.
H57	LH iia 68 B iii 29	na-ki-ri na-ki-ri ₆	OV – Different spellings of the noun <i>nakru</i> , “enemy.” ³⁸¹

³⁷⁷ D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 170, notes this as a possible error.

³⁷⁸ The second sign in C has the more common palaeography for the sign ŠÀR against the defective palaeography of the first writing of this sign. The final sign in C (ru₉) is a phonetic complement and the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular.

³⁷⁹ B has the unbound form of the noun $\sqrt{melammu}$, “radiance,” within the genitive construction *melemmi Emeteursag*, “the radiance of Emeteursag.”

³⁸⁰ It is likely that B exchanges a difficult term with a more familiar term. LH and C have $\sqrt{šutešbū}$, “to execute (something) according to a plan,” (see *CAD* § 227a), while B has $\sqrt{šutešuru}$, “to put into good order” (see *CAD* E 359a and D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 171 n. 1). On the term *muštešbi* in LH, see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 130.

³⁸¹ D.J. Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," 171 n. 2, and R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 8, and M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws*, 32 n. 39, read B as “na-ki-du,” but reading the final sign as RI₆ is also plausible based on Wiseman’s drawing.

H58	LH iia 69 B iii 30	Èr-ra ^d Èr-ra-ra	OV – The proper noun Erra is written with the divine determinative in B. ³⁸²
H59	LH iia 70 B iii 31	ú-ša-ak-ši-du ú-ša-ak-ši-du-š[u]	SV(2) – B has a redundant object suffix. ³⁸³
H60	LH iia 1 B iii 32	ni-iz-ma-sú ni-iz-ma-šu	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁸⁴
H61	LH iia 4 B iii 35	mu-ra-ap-pí-iš mu-ra-pi-iš	OV – B has CV-CV against CV-VC-CV in LH.
H62	LH iia 16 B iv 2	i-lu i-lí	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular. ³⁸⁵

³⁸² The repetition of the sign RA in B is perhaps a dittography, perhaps a phonetic complement. The variation is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

³⁸³ The verb in LH appears without the cataphoric pronominal object suffix, which is redundant in the phrase *ušaakšidu nizamassu*, “he (Erra) allowed him to achieve his ambition.” See M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi's Laws*, 33 for this translation. Following G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, another acceptable translation of the verb and its object in B is “he (Erra) has satisfied it, (namely) his desire.”

³⁸⁴ The apparent variation here concerns the shift [tš] > [ss] in the noun *nizmatu*, “wish, desire,” with the 3ms pronominal suffix (J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 87). However in Neo-Assyrian “<š> and <s> have changed their places in the phoneme-field” (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 9) which means that the writing of <š> in B could in fact stand for the phoneme /s/ if the scribe was using a Neo-Assyrian dialect. In light of this there may in fact have been no difference in pronunciation between the sources. However, judging by the script and the museum number, one should consider B to be of Babylonian origin, and this is certainly the opinion stated in D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 161 n. 1.

³⁸⁵ It is likely that the text of B preserves a stylistic variation here against the nominative phrase in LH *ilu šarrī*, “the god of kings.” M.T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997²) 78 and 140 n. 1, restores the phrase as *Ezida <šubat> ilu šarrī*, “Ezida, <dwelling place of> the god of kings,” for which we would read B as containing the oblique plural <šubat> *ilī šarrī*, “dwelling place of the gods of kings.” However, as this manuscript preserves only the variant case vowel, the noun *ili* is read not as a plural but as a nominative singular written with the wrong case vowel (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439, “-i or -e for nominative or accusative singular”). The available parallel manuscripts, namely the fragments of the Old Babylonian duplicate stele AO10237 and the Middle Assyrian fragment VAT10079, also preserve the variant case vowel and so perhaps strengthen the case for reading

H63	LH iiiia 29 B iv 13	^d Ma-ma ^d Má-[]	OV – Different spelling of the proper noun <i>Mama</i> in B.
H64	LH iiiia 35 B iv 19 D ii 2	d Nin-tu d be-let i-lí DINGIR.MAḪ	SV(1) – Different appellations for the same deity between the sources. ³⁸⁶
H65	LH iiiia 38 B iv 21 D ii 4	ša-i-im ʾša-[] ša-ki-in	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ³⁸⁷
H66	LH iiiia 39 B iv 21 D ii 4	mi-ri-tim me-ri-tim me[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁸⁸
H67	LH iiiia 42 B iv 24 D ii 7	GÍR.SU ^{ki} GÌR.SU[] GÍR.SU[]	OV – The proper noun <i>Girsu</i> is written with the sign GÍR in B.
H68	LH iiiia 44 B iv 25 D ii 9	ni-in-da-bé-e nin-da-b[é] ni-in-da-bé-ʾeʾ	OV – B has CVC against CV-VC in LH and D for the noun $\sqrt{nindabû}$, “offering, provision.”
H69	LH iiiia 45 B iv 26 D ii 10	ra-bu-tim ra-bi-ù-ti ra-bu-tim	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁸⁹

an oblique plural here in B. However, there is a marked tendency in this Neo-Babylonian manuscript to frequently write grammatically incorrect case vowels.

³⁸⁶ B and D refer to the same deity, probably the goddess *Mama* mentioned previously, where D has a compound logogram for the epithet *Bēlet Ilī* but lacks the feminine marker. The goddess *Nintu*, named in the stele, is also associated with the goddess *Mama*. On this see G. Leick, *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology* (London: Routledge, 1997) 119-21 and 135.

³⁸⁷ The stele has $\sqrt{šāmu}$, “procure, allot,” against $\sqrt{šakānu}$, “provide,” in D. The lexeme in D is also found in the Old Babylonian duplicate of LH, AO10237 (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 134, *CAD* Š 1 153 and 360a). B is too damaged to allow a certain reading.

³⁸⁸ This is another example of the possible free variation of the phonemes /i/ and /e/. See note above, and also notes and below.

³⁸⁹ The final weak form in B has the diphthongal ending preserved in the orthography. See note above and the references there.

H70	LH iiiia 47 B iv 27 D ii 11	mu-tam-me-eḫ mu-ta-mi-iḫ mu-tam-mi-iḫ	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹⁰
H71	B iv 27 D ii 11	mu-ta-mi-iḫ mu-tam-mi-iḫ	OV – B has defective orthography for the II/1 participle of $\sqrt{tamāḫu}$, “to seize.”
H72	LH iiiia 48 B iv 28	mi-gi ₄ -ir mi-gi-ir	OV – Different spelling of the noun \sqrt{migru} , “favourite (person),” in B.
H73	LH iiiia 54 B iv 32	išg-tár ^d []	OV – The proper noun Ištar is written with the divine determinative in B.
H74	LH iiiia 59 B v 4 C iv 5	li-ib-bi līb-bi l[i	OV – B has CVC against CV-VC in LH and probably C.
H75	LH iiiia 63 B v 7	sí-ma-tim sí-ma-a[]	OV – The long vowel in the plural noun $\sqrt{simātu}$, “ornaments,” is written in B.
H76	LH iiiia 68 B v 12	a-še-er a-ši-ir	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹¹
H77	LH iv 2 B v 15	na-ap-ša-tam ^r na ^r -ap-ša-tim	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ³⁹²
H78	LH iva 4 B v 17	mu-še-eš-qí mu-še-eš-še-qí	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹³

³⁹⁰ The orthography reflected in the stele for the II/1 participle of $\sqrt{tamāḫu}$, “to seize,” is expected, given that /i/ is thought to have been pronounced [e] when occurring before /ḫ/ or /r/ (see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 45). The spelling in the later manuscripts B and D may reflect an underlying difference in pronunciation, or perhaps a simplified orthographic convention.

³⁹¹ See the comments in note above concerning the writing of /i/ before /ḫ/ or /r/.

³⁹² The noun is clearly the object of the verb *iqāšu* ($\sqrt{qāšu}$, “to bestow”) and so must be accusative. B apparently has /i/ for the accusative singular case vowel (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439).

³⁹³ B apparently has an anaptyctic vowel preceding the case vowel that is lacking in the stele. See M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 102, and cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 432.

H79	LH iva 6 B v 18	mes-lam Ē-mes-lam	OV – The sign É, <i>bītu</i> , appears before the proper noun Meslam in B. ³⁹⁴
H80	LH iva 7 B v 19	em-qum e-em-qum	OV – Different spelling of the adjective <i>emqu</i> , “wise, skilled.”
H81	LH iva 8 B v 19	mu-tab-bi-lum mu-ut-ta-ab-bi-lam	OV(l) – B has the wrong vowel for the nominative singular.
H82	LH iva 9 B v 20	šu šá	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ³⁹⁵
H83	LH iva 11 B v 22	mu-uš-pa-az-zi-ir mu-uš-pa-aš-ši-ir	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹⁶
H84	LH iva 12 B v 23	MÀ.AL.NAG.A ^{ki} MA.AL.NAG.A ^{ki}	OV – Different spelling of the proper noun Malgûm.
H85	LH iva 13 B v 24	ka-ra-ši-im ka-ra-a-ši-im	OV – The long vowel in $\sqrt{\text{karāšu}}$, “annihilation,” is written in B.
H86	LH iva 15 B v 25	šu-ba-ti-ši-in šu-ba-ti-ši-na	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ The name of the temple in Cuthah has the logogram for *bītu*, “house,” preceding the proper noun in B. D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 171, lists this as a “true variant,” but the variant is treated here as purely orthographic.

³⁹⁵ The stele has *šu ikšudu*, “he (who) has attained,” in contrast to B *ša ikšudu*, “who attained.” B agrees with the Old Babylonian duplicate of the stele, AO10237.

³⁹⁶ The difference between the sources could be lexical, as suggested in D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 171 n. 5, where the stele has the III/3 form of $\sqrt{\text{pazāru}}$, “give shelter, refuge,” against $\sqrt{\text{pašāru}}$ in B. The proposed meaning of the second lexeme in Wiseman’s solution is unclear. Perhaps a better alternative is to read a variation in the pronunciation of sibilants. Admittedly, though, the assimilation of the voiced sibilant [z] to the emphatic sibilant [ṣ], or otherwise to the “ejective” [s’], is not well attested (see J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 15). Even so, invoking a rare phonological change to read a difference in pronunciation is more preferable than reading an otherwise unattested lexeme whose meaning is unknown.

³⁹⁷ The feminine plural possessive pronominal suffix is “-šina” in B, apocopated to “-šin” in the stele. The shortened form in the stele is perhaps a poetic device intended to rhyme with the next line: *in nuḥšin* (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 139). It is unclear why R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 9, reads B as “nu-úḥ-ši-i[m],” when the reading “nu-úḥ-ši-i[n]” is equally as plausible. D.J.

H87	LH iva 17 B v 27	^d EN.KI ^d É-a	OV – Different spelling of the proper noun Enki/Ea. ³⁹⁸
H88	LH iva 18 B v 27	ù u	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in B.
H89	LH iva 18 B v 27	^d dam-gal-nun-na ^d dam-ki-en-na	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ³⁹⁹
H90	LH iva 21 B v 29	i-ši-mu ia-ši-im	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁰⁰
H91	LH iva 22 B v 30	zi-bi zi-i-bi	OV – The long vowel in \sqrt{zibu} , “offering (of food),” is written in B.
H92	LH iva 23 B v 30	a-ša-re-ed a-šá [?] -red	OV – B has CVC against CV-VC in LH. ⁴⁰¹
H93	LH iva 25 B v 31	da-ad-mi da-ád-me	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁰²

Wiseman, "Hammurabi Again," does not note a variant in this line so may be presumed to read “nu-ùḫ-ši-i[n].”

³⁹⁸ The proper noun ^d EN.KI in Sumerian is identified with the proper noun Ea in Semitic (see *RLA* 2 347-49), and so this variant may in fact reflect two divergent spellings of the same name.

³⁹⁹ The Sumerian goddess ^d DAM.GAL.NUN(NA), “great wife (of) the exalted,” appears as *Damkina*, “the rightful wife,” in B and also in the Old Babylonian duplicate of the stele AO10237. In both sources it is clear that the wife of Ea whose cult was centred at Malgûm is indicated, and so the difference in signs used to indicate this goddess is read as a variation in the pronunciation of the same name. See G. Leick, *Dictionary*, 29-30, and G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 139.

⁴⁰⁰ The diphthong at the beginning of the word in B is difficult. Reading a 1cs form does not fit the context (“I instituted” is an unusual form in an epithet), and the dative pronoun *iaši(m)* likewise makes no sense. The lack of the final vowel in B also marks the form as peculiar, indicating that a different form of the epithet may lie behind this source.

⁴⁰¹ The sign read as ŠA in B by Wiseman is most likely ŠÁ, so noted in R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 9.

⁴⁰² The final oblique plural case vowel of the bound form of *dadmû*, “settlements, inhabited world,” is written as /i/ in the stele against /e/ in B. The later manuscript may reflect the phonemes /i/ and /e/ in free variation. See note above and the references there.

H94	LH iva 26 B v 32	ÌD.UD.KIB.NUN.NA ÌD.UD.KIB.NUN.KI	OV – The name of the river phrates is written differently between the sources. ⁴⁰³
H95	LH iva 27 B v 33	ì-tum ^d da-gan ^d ÍD u ^d da-gan	SV(2) – Exchange of lexemes in B, perhaps for the purpose of clarification. ⁴⁰⁴
H96	LH iva 29 B v 34	šu šá	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁰⁵
H97	LH iva 30 B v 34	me-ra ^{ki} me-ri ^{ki}	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁰⁶
H98	LH iva 31 B v 35	tu-tu-ul ^{ki} tu-ul-tu-ul	OV(l) – Different pronunciation of proper noun. ⁴⁰⁷
H99	LH iva 32 B v 36	ru-bu-um []-ú	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H100	LH iva 35 B vi 1	pa-ni pa-an	OV(l) – B lacks the ultimate vowel on the bound form of $\sqrt{panû}$, “face.”
H101	LH iva 35 B vi 1	^d SUḪ ^d INANNA	Not Counted – The reading in LH is uncertain. ⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰³ See G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 140, on the various spellings of the Sumerian BURA.NUN, “the great river,” Euphrates. B has the more common form here, also found in the Old Babylonian duplicate stele AO10237.

⁴⁰⁴ The phrase *ittum*^d *Dagan*, “oracular sign of the god Dagan,” is written as ^d *Idu u*^d *Dagan*, “the god Naru and the god Dagan,” in B (where ÍD = I₇ = ^dNaru). It is possible that the scribe of B misunderstood the term *ittu* in the stele as the proper noun *Id* plus a conjunction. The scribe then re-wrote the misread lexemes appropriately.

⁴⁰⁵ The variant in B is read as the exchange of an emphatic pronoun for a relative particle. See also H82 above.

⁴⁰⁶ The ancient city name Mari is spelled variously as *Ma-uru*, *Ma-e-ri*, *Ma-a-ri* and *Ma-ri*. See G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 141, and the references there.

⁴⁰⁷ The spelling in B is identified from Assyrian sources with the city *Ít* (^{uru} I-it). The Old Babylonian duplicate stele AO10237 has “TU.TU,” and both B and AO10237 lack the place post-determinative KI.

⁴⁰⁸ The sign now read as SUḪ (𒍪) was originally read as NÍN (𒍪) by A. Ungnad, *Keilschrifttexte der Gesetze Hammurapis*. The reading SUḪ, signifying the god Tišpak, was suggested following the re-

H102	LH iva 36 B vi 2	ša-ki-in t]a [?] -ki-in	OV(l) – Possible difference in grammatical forms. ⁴⁰⁹
H103	LH iva 36 B vi 2	el-lu-tim e-el-lu-tú	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the oblique plural. ⁴¹⁰
H104	LH iva 40 B vi 6	mu-ki-in-nu mu-ki-in	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹¹
H105	LH iva 41 B vi 6	iš-di-ši-in SUḪUŠ-ši-na	OV – The initial weak $\sqrt{išdu}$, “foundation,” is written logographically in B.
H106	LH iva 41 B vi 6	iš-di-ši-in SUḪUŠ-ši-na	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹²

examination of the stele in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 141. The scribe of manuscript B would appear to have also erroneously read the sign as NÍN, signifying the goddess Inanna, however the sign recorded on the stele is ultimately uncertain and so is not counted.

⁴⁰⁹ B follows AO10237 in restoring *muštakin*, which is read as a III/2 participle in B against I/1 participle in the stele. The difference in grammatical forms should perhaps be read as a lexical interchange (*cf.* G72), but in light of Rule 4 the damage to B only allows the classification OV(l).

⁴¹⁰ The oblique plural ending on the adjective should match the governing noun *mākalī*, “feasts.” B has an erroneous nominative plural ending and lacks mimation.

⁴¹¹ The short anaptyctic vowel in LH is rare and considered archaic (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 142). The vowel has been dropped in B.

⁴¹² The stele has an apocopated form of the 3fpl possessive pronominal suffix. See H86 above, and the comments in note .

H107	LH iva 42 B vi 6 C v 1	qer-bu-um qé-re-eb qer-bu	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹³
H108	LH iva 43 B vi 7 C v 1	KÁ.DINGIR.RA ki KÁ.DINGIR.RA KÁ.DINGIR.RA ki	OV – B lacks the post-position determinative KI.
H109	LH iva 45 B vi 8 C v 3	ni-ši ni-ši ni-ši	OV – Different spelling of the noun $\sqrt{nišū}$, “people.”
H110	LH iva 47 B vi 9 C v 4	išg-tár ^d INANNA []-tár	OV – The proper noun Ištar is written logographically in B.
H111	LH iva 48 B vi 10	mu-ki-in-ni mu-ki-in	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹⁴
H112	LH iva 48 B vi 10 C v 5	išg-tár ^d INANNA []-tár	OV – The proper noun Ištar is written logographically in B.
H113	LH iva 50 B vi 11	qer-bu-um qé-er-bu-um	OV – B has CV-VC against CVC in LH.

⁴¹³ B lacks the case ending in the bound form of \sqrt{qerbu} , “midst, middle” (see also H100 and H104 above, plus H111 and H212 below), displaying the expected later grammatical form *qereb* (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 59, where “nouns of the type *pVrs* ... have the shape *pVrVs*, in which a copy of the vowel that appears between R_1 and R_2 is also inserted between R_2 and R_3 ”). C lacks mimation, and has the ‘-u’ vowel appended to the bound form of the noun \sqrt{qerbu} . This is probably an archaism reflecting the retention of the case ending ‘-um’ on the *nomen regens* that the stele preserves. In C, though, the lack of mimation indicates that the vowel ‘-u’ is grammatically extraneous, where according to J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 57-62, we would expect *qereb* or perhaps *qerbi*, but not *qerbu*. See also H113 below for the archaic form with the full case ending in B, and H117 where LH has the expected short vowel /i/ appended to the bound form of $\sqrt{šapû}$, “to silence, subdue.”

⁴¹⁴ B lacks the short ultimate vowel that appears in the stele appended to the noun in the construct state (cf. note above). The short vowel /i/ appears “sporadically beside the vowelless form of the construct state” according to G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 142.

H114	LH iva 53 B vi 12 C v 8	mu-še-pí mu- ^ʿ šar ^ʿ -bi mu-[ša]r-bi	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴¹⁵
H115	LH iva 53 B vi 12 C v 8	ki-na-tim ki-n[a-ti]m ki-n[a]-a-t[im]	OV – The long medial vowel in $\sqrt{kīnātu}$, “truth,” is written in C.
H116	LH iva 57 B vi 14 C v 11	da-mi-iq-tim da-mi-iq-ti []mi-iq-t[im]	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H117	LH iva 59 B vi 16 C v 13	mu-še-ep-pí mu-še-ep []ep[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹⁶
H118	LH iva 59 B vi 16	na-bi-ḫi n[a-b]i- ^ʿ i	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹⁷
H119	LH iva 60 B vi 17 C v 14	ša šá ša	OV – The relative particle is written with the sign ŠÁ in B.
H120	LH iva 60 B vi 17 C v 14	i-na ina ^ʿ i ^ʿ -[n]a	OV – The preposition <i>ina</i> is written logographically in B.

⁴¹⁵ B and C exchange a difficult term with a more familiar one. LH has the relatively rare lexeme $\sqrt{wapû}$, “make appear, manifest,” exchanged with the more common $\sqrt{rabû}$, “to make great,” in the later manuscripts. The Old Babylonian duplicate stele AO10237 agrees with LH.

⁴¹⁶ B lacks the short vowel /i/ appended to the bound form of the II/1 participle of $\sqrt{šapû}$, “to silence, subdue” in LH. Cf. H107 where the irregular short vowel /u/ is appended to the bound form in manuscript C, which is unfortunately too damaged to allow a certain reading here. See also the references in note above.

⁴¹⁷ The form *nābiḫī* in the stele is read as a plural oblique noun from $\sqrt{nābiḫu}$ (*nābi^ʿu*), “rebel, insurgent” (see *CAD* N 1 25a). B could be read as a singular noun *nābiḫ*, or as a plural form of the same noun written with a glottal stop in place of the final velar fricative of the stele. The sign in B (𐎠𐎶) can be read as CV, namely /^ʿi/, or as VCV, namely /aḫa/, according to R. Labat, *Manuel*, 183. Thus the variant is read as a difference in pronunciation rather than a difference in number.

H121	LH iva 60 B vi 17	ni-nu-a ^{ki} ni-i[n]-a ^{ki}	OV – B has CV-V[C-CV] ⁷ against CV-CV in LH. ⁴¹⁸
H122	LH iva 62 B vi 19 C v 16	ú-šu-pí-ù ú-še-pu-ù ú-ši-pu-ù	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴¹⁹
H123	LH iva 63 B vi 19 C v 16	me-e me-e-su me-e[]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴²⁰
H124	LH iva 65 B vi 20	mu-uš-te-mi-qum mu-ušte-mi-iq	OV(l) – B lacks the nominative singular case vowel for the III/2 participle of \sqrt{emqu} , “to pray, supplicate.”
H125	LH iva 66 B vi 21 C v 19	DINGIR.GAL.GAL ì-lí ra-bi-ù-tim DING[IR.GA]L.G[AL]	OV – The phrase <i>ilī rabūtīm</i> , “(the) great gods,” is written syllabically in B.
H126	LH iva 68 B vi 23	šu-ma-la-il šu-la-il	Not Counted – The proper noun <i>Šumu-la-el</i> is misspelled in B. ⁴²¹
H127	LH va 1 B vi 25	da-rí-um da-ru-ú	OV(l) – B lacks mimation. ⁴²²
H128	LH va 8	šu-me-rí-im	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.

⁴¹⁸ R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 9, notes “Schreibung des Statnamens Ninive in B unklar,” however an orthographic variant seems certain.

⁴¹⁹ The Old Akkadian form in LH, where medial /e/ > /u/ for vowel harmony (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 144), is dropped in B and C. B reflects the shift [i] > [e] in primae *aleph* roots, and might be considered a Neo-Assyrian form of III/1 $\sqrt{apû}$, “to proclaim, decree.”

⁴²⁰ B has $\sqrt{mēsū}$, “cultic rituals,” in place of $\sqrt{mû}$, “cultic rites” in LH (see *CAD* M 2 35 and 156). The term *mēsū* was perhaps more familiar to the later scribe. The possibility that B preserves a pronominal suffix lacking in the stele is discounted on account of the fact that the shift /š/ > /s/ is unwarranted given the lack of a preceding dental or alveolar plosive /t/, and that the gender of the pronominal suffix would be incorrect in context. C is too damaged to allow a certain reading.

⁴²¹ D.J. Wiseman, “Hammurabi Again,” 170, and R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 9, mark this variant as a scribal error in B, where the sign MA has been elided. Scribal error is also assumed in the present study in the light of Rule 1.

⁴²² LH also preserves the diphthong of final weak $\sqrt{darû}$, “everlasting,” lacking in the orthography of B. Cf. note above.

	B vi 28	šu-me-ri	
H129	LH va 9 B vi 28	ak-ka-di-im ak-ka-di-i	OV(l) – B lacks mimation.
H130	LH va 11 B vi 30	ki-ib-ra-at r]a-ti	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴²³
H131	LH va 12 B vi 30	ar-ba-im ar-ba-’i	OV(l) – B lacks mimation. ⁴²⁴
H132	LH va 15 B vi 32	^d AMAR.UTU ^d EN.LÍL	HV – Different proper nouns given in the sources. ⁴²⁵
H133	LH va 18 B vi 34	šu-ḥu-zi-im []-ḥu-zu	OV(l) – B has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁴²⁶
H134	LH ixa 65 J ₁ i 22	in-na-ad-di ’in’-na-di	OV – J has defective orthography.
H135	LH ixa 66 J ₁ i 23	lu omits	SV(1) – J omits the conjunction <i>lū</i> , “or.”
H136	LH ixa 67	ù lu	SV(1) – Lexical interchange or

⁴²³ B preserves the short vowel /i/ appended to the bound form of the noun *√kibrātu*, “regions.” See note above and the references there.

⁴²⁴ This variant also reflects a possible difference in pronunciation, where the glottal stop is lacking in the orthography of the stele. In light of Rule 3 only the lack of mimation is counted.

⁴²⁵ The reference in the stele to Marduk, patron deity of Babylon, is in contrast to the reference in B to Enlil, patron deity of Nippur. This could point to B being from a manuscript tradition that finds its origins in Nippur, as against the Babylon centred tradition of the stele. See notes and above.

⁴²⁶ The phrase in context is *ana šutešur ... ūšim šuḥuzim*, literally “to teach ... behaving well.” There seems to be no requirement to read the form in LH as an oblique plural against an incorrectly marked singular indirect object in B.

	J ₁ i 23	lu	omission of conjunction. ⁴²⁷
H137	LH xa 5 J ₁ i 28	pu-úḫ-šu pu-uḫ-šu	OV – Different spelling of the noun $\sqrt{pūḫu}$, “substitute, replacement” in J.
H138	LH xa 31 J ₁ i 31	ù-lu lu	SV(1) – Lexical interchange or omission of conjunction. ⁴²⁸
H139	LH xa 10 J ₁ i 33	mu-na-ag-gi-ir-šu mu-na-gi-ir-š[u]	OV – J has CV-CV-VC against CV-VC-CV-VC in LH.
H140	LH xa 11 J ₁ i 34	É-sú É-su	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign SU in J.
H141	LH xa 13 J ₁ i 35	lu omits	SV(1) – J omits the conjunction <i>lū</i> .
H142	LH xa 14 J ₁ i 35	ù lu-ú lu	SV(1) – Lexical interchange or omission of conjunction. ⁴²⁹
H143	LH xa 15 J ₁ i 36	dan-na-at da-na-at	OV – J has defective orthography for the bound form of the noun $\sqrt{dannatu}$, “fortress.”
H144	LH xa 18 J ₂ i 2	wa-ar-[k]i-šu a-ar-[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Several options are available for describing this variation. J can be read as (i) omitting the first conjunction in a fixed pair of coordinating conjunctions: (*u*) *lū*, “(and) either;” (ii) a lexical interchange where a compound conjunction is exchanged with a single conjunction: *u+lū* > *lū*; (iii) an elision of the first vowel of a lexeme *ulū*, “or.” The latter (iii) is unlikely in light of the fact that the scribe of J apparently knew both the forms *u lū* (J₁ i 27 and ii 17) and *lū* (here and J₁ i 31 and 35) and treated them as homonyms. In this instance it is conceivable that, with the elision of the first particle *lū* (see H135), the scribe dropped the conjunction before the next particle *lū* as superfluous: *šumma rēdūm lū bā'irum*, “if a runner or a fisher.” Against this see J₁ i 30-31 where the particle *lū* is used redundantly before each element in the protasis without the conjunction preceding the second instance: *lū rēdūm lū bā'irum*, “either the runner or the fisher.” See *CAD* L 226-27, esp. 227b, for the use of the paired coordinating conjunctions “either ... or,” with and without the compounded conjunction *u*. See also H138, H142 and H168 below.

⁴²⁸ See note above.

⁴²⁹ See note above.

⁴³⁰ The stele has the archaic form of $\sqrt{(w)arka}$, “afterward”, retaining the initial /w/.

H145	LH xa 66 J ₁ ii 2	É-sú É-su	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign SU in J.
H146	LH xa 68 J ₁ ii 3	in-na-ad-di-iš-šum in-na-ad-di-in-šum	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴³¹
H147	LH xia 1 J ₁ ii 4	iš-ša-ab-tu-ma iš-ša-ab-tu-šu	SV(2) – Additional pronominal suffix in J. ⁴³²
H148	LH xia 1 J ₁ ii 4	iš-ša-ab-tu-ma iš-ša-ab-tu-šu	SV(1) – J lacks the enclitic particle “-ma.”
H149	LH xia 3 J ₁ ii 6	it-ta-al-ku it-ta-al-ka	OV(l) – J has the wrong vowel for the inflected verbal ending. ⁴³³
H150	LH xia 4 J ₁ ii 7	i-il-la-ak i-la-ak	OV – J has defective orthography for the I/1 present future form of <i>√alāku</i> , “to go.”
H151	LH xia 6 J ₁ ii 9	iš-ti-a-at-ma iš-te-a-at-at	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴³⁴
H152	LH xia 6 J ₁ ii 9	iš-ti-a-at-ma iš-te-a-at-at	SV(1) – J lacks the enclitic particle “-ma.” ⁴³⁵
H153	LH xia 9	ù	OV – The conjunction is written

⁴³¹ The stele reflects the phonological change /n/+C > CC, not reflected in the Neo-Assyrian manuscript J. According to J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 20, “n is rarely assimilated to a pronominal suffix.”

⁴³² The sign in J may be a poorly executed MA (𐎠) rather than ŠU (𐎶), but in light of Rule 1 the form in J should be read as an anaphoric pronominal suffix referring to *eqelu*, “field,” *kīrû*, “orchard,” or *bītu*, “house.” The variant is thus read as expanding or clarifying the text of the stele.

⁴³³ Cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441. This may be a case of vowel harmony in J on analogy with /u/ > /a/ when a stressed long penultimate vowel /ā/ assimilates the short ultimate vowel /u/ (see M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 90).

⁴³⁴ J reflects the shift [i] > [e] in I weak roots. See the references in note above.

⁴³⁵ The form in J is difficult, and perhaps the last sign AT (𐎠𐎶) is best taken as an erroneous writing of the sign MA (𐎠).

	J ₁ ii 12	u	with the sign U in J.
H154	LH xia 9 J ₁ ii 12	É-sú É-su	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign SU in J.
H155	LH xia 10 J ₁ ii 13	in-na-ad-di-iš-šum-ma [i]n-na-ad-di-in-šum-ma	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴³⁶
H156	LH xia 11 J ₁ ii 14	šu-ma šum-ma	OV – The stele has an unusual defective spelling of the particle <i>šumma</i> , “if.”
H157	LH xia 12 J ₁ ii 15	i-il-la-ak i-la-ak	OV – J has defective orthography for the I/1 present future form of <i>√alāku</i> , “to go.”
H158	LH xia 13 J ₁ ii 16	UKU.ÚS UKU.ÚS-am	OV – J has a phonetic complement appended to the logogram UKU.ÚS, <i>√redû</i> , “runner, scout.”
H159	LH xia 18 J ₁ ii 20	DAM.GÀR DAM.GÀR-ru	OV – J has a phonetic complement appended to the logogram DAM.GÀR, <i>√tamkāru</i> , “merchant, trader.”
H160	LH xia 18 J ₁ ii 21	ip-tú-ra-aš-šu-ma ip-tú-ra-šum-ma	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive marker appended to <i>√paṭāru</i> , “release, loosen.” ⁴³⁷
H161	LH xia 19 J ₁ ii 22	uš-ta-ak-ši-da-aš-šu uš-ta-ak-ši-da	OV(l) – The ventive in J is “-a” against “-am” in LH. ⁴³⁸
H162	LH xia 19 J ₁ ii 22	uš-ta-ak-ši-da-aš-šu uš-ta-ak-ši-da	SV(2) – J lacks the pronominal object suffix appended to <i>√kašādum</i> , “reach, arrive.”

⁴³⁶ See note above.

⁴³⁷ While the ventive marker in Neo-Assyrian can appear as ‘-a,’ and so might possibly be read here in J, “if a suffix ... follows the ventive, its etymological *-m-* appears as gemination of the following consonant” (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 92). The form in J must therefore be read as lacking the ventive entirely.

⁴³⁸ As noted above (note) the ventive marker in Neo-Assyrian is “a after a consonant or vowel belonging to the root” (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 92).

H163	LH xia 29 J ₁ ii 31	ip-pa-aṭ-ṭár [ṭ]a-ar	OV – J has CV-VC against CVC in LH.
H164	LH xia 31 J ₁ ii 32	URU-šu UR]U ^{ki} -šú	OV – J has the place determinative following the logogram URU, <i>ālī</i> , “cities.”
H165	LH xia 31 J ₁ ii 32	URU-šu UR]U ^{ki} -šú	OV – The 3ms possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠÚ in J.
H166	LH xia 32 J ₁ ii 32	ip-pa-aṭ-ṭa-ri-šu []-ar-šum	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴³⁹
H167	LH xia 32 J ₁ ii 32	ip-pa-aṭ-ṭa-ri-šu []-ar-šum	OV(l) – The pronominal suffix in J includes mimation.
H168	LH xia 36 J ₁ ii 35	É-sú É-su	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign SU in J.
H169	LH xia 40 J ₂ ii 3	ù lu-ú lu	SV(1) – Lexical interchange or omission of conjunction. ⁴⁴⁰
H170	LH xiiia 34 N i 2	i-ma-a[d-d]a-ad [Á]G.E	OV – The I/1 present future of <i>√madādu</i> , “to measure,” is written logographically in N. ⁴⁴¹
H171	LH xiiia 41 N i 9	A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ-a[m]	OV – N has a phonetic complement appended to the compound logogram A.ŠÀ, <i>eqlam</i> , “field” (accusative singular).
H172	LH xiva 8 L ii 2	A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ-šu	SV(2) – L has a possessive pronominal suffix appended to <i>√eqlu</i> . ⁴⁴²
H173	LH xiva 15	ši-ib-tam	OV – The noun <i>√šibtu</i> ,

⁴³⁹ The stele has the addition of an anaptyctic vowel to *√paṭāru*, “release, ransom,” most likely for literary purposes (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 165).

⁴⁴⁰ See note above.

⁴⁴¹ The presumed composite logogram in N is Í.ÁG.E (see *CAD* M 1 5b).

⁴⁴² The noun is clarified in L by the possessive pronominal suffix: *ina la mē še’um ina eqlišu la ittabši*, “with no water, grain in *his* field has not been grown.”

	L ii 9	[]MAŠ	tary) interest,” is written logographically in L.
H174	LH xiva 16 L ii 9	ša omits	SV(1) – The relative pronoun <i>ša</i> is omitted in L. ⁴⁴³
H175	LH xiva 17 L ii 10	i-na-ad-di-in i-na-di-in	OV – L has defective orthography for the I/1 present future of $\sqrt{\text{nadānu}}$, “to give.”
H176	LH xiva 62 N ii 7	ši-ib-ti-šu []- ^r su ^r	Not Counted – The damaged sign does not allow a certain reading. ⁴⁴⁴
H177	LH xva 9 P ₁ obv. i 3	du-un-nu-[n]im du-un-nu-ni	OV(l) – P lacks mimation.
H178	LH xva 15 P ₁ obv. i 8	uš-ta-bíl uš-ta-bi-il	OV – P has CV-VC against CVC in LH.
H179	LH xva 17 P ₁ obv. i 10	KAR-šu KAR-šú	OV – The pronominal object suffix is written with the sign ŠÚ in P.
H180	LH xva 21 P ₁ obv. i 12	ŠE ŠE-am	OV – P has a phonetic complement appended to the logogram ŠE, $\sqrt{\text{še}}$ ‘um’, “grain.”

⁴⁴³ The omission of the relative particle in L suggests haplography. However, in light of Rule 1 it is possible that *sibtam šattim*, “annual interest,” is a set construction known to the scribe of L. Elsewhere the relative particle is written between these terms: in an Old Assyrian text from Kultepe, *šumma šibtam ša šattim*, “if the interest of (that) year” (*KTS* 12 17); between the term *šibat* and a genitive construction: *šibassu ša adi ūmim annîm*, “its interest up to this day” (*BIN* 4 98 24). See also the construction without the relative particle in LH xva 75 (H184). Cf. similar cases in Gilgamesh XI cited in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 428, “variant possessive constructions.”

⁴⁴⁴ The sign at the end of line 7 in manuscript N looks like it may be the remains of SU, but it is ultimately too damaged to be read with any certainty. The variant is not noted in R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 16, nor in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 109. The reading SU does seem plausible and if taken to be accurate this variant would suggest a difference in number between the sources: *šibtīšu*, 3fs in LH, against *šibātšu* > *šibāssu*, 3fpl in N. Thus N would have a different construction to the set phrase *kispišu u sibtīšu* as it appears in the stele.

H181	LH xva 68 P ₂ obv. i 10	ka-an-nu ka-an-ni	OV(l) – P has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular. ⁴⁴⁵
H182	LH xva 68 P ₂ obv. i 10	ga-ma-ar-tim ga-ma-ar-ti	OV(l) – P lacks mimation.
H183	LH xva 75 P ₂ obv. i 17	A.ŠÀ A.ŠÀ-am	OV – N has a phonetic complement appended to the compound logogram A.ŠÀ, <i>eqlam</i> , “field” (accusative singular).
H184	LH xva 75 P ₂ obv. i 18	omits ša	SV(1) – P has an extra relative particle <i>ša</i> , lacking in LH. ⁴⁴⁶
H185	LH xva 76 P ₂ obv. i 19	i-na-ša-ar-ma i-na-ʿaš-šaʿ-ar-ma	OV – LH has defective orthography for the I/1 present future of $\sqrt{našāru}$, “to guard.”
H186	LH xva 77 P ₂ obv. i 19	i-na BURU omits	SV(2) – The phrase <i>ina ebūrim</i> , “at harvest,” is omitted from P. ⁴⁴⁷
H187	LH xvia 32 P ₁ obv. ii 2	ḪA.LA-šu zi-it-[]	OV – The noun \sqrt{zittu} , “agricultural produce,” is written syllabically in P.
H188	LH xvia 33 P ₁ obv. ii 3	i-ša-ka-nu-šum i-ša-a[k]	OV – P has CV-V[C-CV] against CV-CV in LH.

⁴⁴⁵ P may in fact have the bound form of the noun with the short terminating vowel /i/ (*cf.* note above and the references there). The term \sqrt{kanu} , “rope,” is here part of the genitive construction *kannu gamartim*, a “strip of fabric announcing the termination of the pasturing season” (*CAD* K 157a).

⁴⁴⁶ *Cf.* H174 above. The context is: *eqlam ša ušākīlu inaššarma*, “he shall guard the field (in) which he pastured.”

⁴⁴⁷ LH reads: *ina ebūrim ana burum 60 kur ... imaddad*, “at harvest he will measure 1 *burum* per 60 *kur*.” P lacks the initial phrase that clarifies when the action is required.

H189	LH ib 36 P ₃ rev. ii 8	pa-ša-ri-im pa-ša-ri-am	OV(l) – P has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁴⁴⁸
H190	LH ib 45 T ii 7	i-le-qé i-le-eq	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁴⁹
H191	LH ib 51 P ₃ rev. iii 4	ḫar-ra-nim []-ni	OV(l) – P lacks mimation.
H192	LH iib 52 P ₃ rev. iii 4	wa-ši-ib-ma a-ši-ib'-[m]a	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁵⁰
H193	LH iib 57 P ₃ rev. iii 8 P ₄ rev. i 3	ši-bu-ul-tim []-ti še-[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁵¹
H194	LH iib 58 P ₄ rev. i 4	ú-ša-bíl-šu ú-ša-bi-la-[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁵²
H195	LH iib 63 T iii 4	it-ba-al it-bal	OV – T has CVC against CV-VC in LH.
H196	LH iib 22 P ₂ rev. ii 16	a-na a-ša	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ The genitive case vowel is expected here, as the infinitive follows the preposition: *ana pašarim iddin*, “he gives (something) in order to sell.” Reading an accusative singular in P would translate “he gives the selling (of something),” which conflicts with the other objects in the clause: *še'am šipātīm šamnam u mima bišam*. See also the preposition plus infinitive with the case vowel incorrectly marked as accusative singular, *ana hulluqiam*, in manuscript B at H18 above.

⁴⁴⁹ T lacks the final vowel in III weak $\sqrt{leqû}$, “to take.”

⁴⁵⁰ P reflects the shift of I /w/ > /a/, a feature already seen in late Old Babylonian texts (see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 259).

⁴⁵¹ P₃+P₄ reads “še-[]-ti.” P therefore lacks mimation and also reflects [e] for /i/. For a discussion of the latter phenomenon see note above and the references there.

⁴⁵² P has the addition of an anaptyctic vowel in the III/1 preterite of $\sqrt{wabālu}$, “deliver.” See also H78 and H166.

⁴⁵³ P exchanges the preposition *ana*, “to, for,” for *aša* (= *aššum*?) “concerning, on account of.”

H197	LH iiib 68 P ₁ rev. i 43	ÌR SAG[	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁵⁴
H198	LH iiib 68 P ₄ rev. ii4	ù ú	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign Ú in P.
H199	LH iiib 71 P ₁ rev. i 6 P ₄ rev. ii 7	ú-še-te-eq ú-še-et-[] []ti-iq	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁵⁵
H200	LH ivb 15 P ₂ rev. iii 3	a-na i-na	SV(1) – Exchange of prepositions.
H201	LH ivb 15 P ₂ rev. iii 6	ga-am-ri-im ga-am-ri-am	OV(l) – P has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁴⁵⁶
H202	LH ivb 17 P ₂ rev. iii 6	ma-ḥar ma-ḥa-ar	OV – P has CV-VC against CVC in LH.
H203	LH viiib 75 W i 12	aš-ša-sú []-su	OV – The 3ms possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign SU in W.
H204	LH viiib 78 W i 14	i-iz-zi-ib-ši i-zi-ib-ši	OV – W has defective orthography for the I/1 present future of <i>√ezēbu</i> , “abandon, divorce.”
H205	LH xiib 64 Z 4	wa-ar-ka wa-ar	Not Counted – Probable scribal error in Z. ⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ This variant is properly considered a lexical interchange, though it may in fact be better described as an orthographic variation due to the fact that both sources employ logograms. The stele has ÌR, *wardu*, against SAG.ÌR, *rēšu*, in P. Both terms can be translated “servant, slave.”

⁴⁵⁵ P₁+P₄ reads “ú-še-et-ti-iq,” the III/1 present future of *√etēqu*, “to allow to pass, expire.” The form in the stele is supposed by G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 208, to be an erroneous writing of the same form, but here the variant is counted as reflecting [e] for /i/ in P. The defective orthography of the stele (without the doubled middle radical of the present future) is not counted in light of Rule 3.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. H189 above. The accusative case is incorrect following the preposition *ana*.

⁴⁵⁷ The form in Z is meaningless as it stands, and therefore, in the light of Rule 1, a scribal error is assumed where the sign KA was accidentally omitted.

H206	LH xviii b 12 e ₂ obv. ii 2	i-tam-ma na-[]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁵⁸
H207	LH xxib 39 b 1	im-tu-ut im-ta-[]	OV(l) – Possible difference in grammatical form, or difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁵⁹
H208	LH xxib 96 c ii 3	i-ma-ad-da-ad i-ma-d[a]	OV – C has defective orthography for the I/1 present future of $\sqrt{mad\ddot{a}du}$, “to measure.”
H209	LH xxib 97 c ii 4	pí-ḥa-sú pi-ḥa-su	OV – Different spelling of the noun <i>piḥatu</i> , “obligation, duty,” in c.
H210	LH xxib 97 c ii 4	pí-ḥa-sú pi-ḥa-su	OV – Different spelling of the possessive pronominal suffix in c.

⁴⁵⁸ The term $\sqrt{tam\ddot{u}}$, “to swear,” in the stele is exchanged with another term in manuscript e, though the exact lexeme is uncertain. Possible synonyms for *tamû* may be: $\sqrt{naš\ddot{u}}$, “to lift,” also “to offer (something),” (used intransitively?); or $\sqrt{n\ddot{a}pu}$, “to make (additional) payment.” Unfortunately neither term fits the context at all well. The stele reads: *awīlum šû ina idû la amḥaṣu itamma u ašām ippal*, “that man shall swear ‘I did not knowingly strike,’ and he shall make payment to the surgeon.” If the restored term in manuscript e is read as $\sqrt{naš\ddot{u}}$, then a possible translation is “that man shall offer (the reason) ‘I did not knowingly strike’” Assuming $\sqrt{n\ddot{a}pu}$ is instead to be restored the translation may be “that man shall compensate (by saying) ‘I did not knowingly strike’” Perhaps a preferable reading of manuscript e assumes that “na-[]” is the remains of the word $\sqrt{n\ddot{a}p\ddot{a}lu}$, “to make supplementary payment,” which appears as the I/1 present future *ippal* later in the same line, perhaps written here as a stative or as a verbal adjective. Unfortunately this explanation introduces problems with the syntax of the line that prove more difficult to explain than supposing a lexical interchange. In light of this, counting this variant as SV(1) is preferred here, though admittedly with reservations. Assuming that the scribe was not in error, the intended meaning behind the variant in manuscript e at this point remains obscure.

⁴⁵⁹ According to the present understanding of the layout of the text the form in manuscript b is probably “im-ta-[ut]” where the medial weak $\sqrt{m\ddot{a}tu}$, “to die,” has the diphthong preserved in the orthography. G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 112, see the variant in b as part of the preceding line, parallel to the form *imḥassuma* in the stele, from $\sqrt{m\ddot{a}ḥ\ddot{a}ṣu}$, “to strike, wound.” Their reading takes the form in b of a I/1 perfect of $\sqrt{m\ddot{a}ḥ\ddot{a}ṣu}$, and in fact contends that the sign that supports this reading is visible: “im-ta-ḥa-[su-ma].” However, the sign ḤA is not visible in either the drawing in B. Meissner, “Altbabylonische Gesetze,” 511, or in E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, 47. That reading is therefore doubtful, especially if Meissner did not see the sign in 1908, nor Bergmann in 1953, and yet Driver and Mills claim to have seen it in 1955. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 38, omits the variant entirely.

H211	LH xxiib 2 c ii 10	8 ŠE.GUR 4 [?] []	Not Counted – The damaged sign does not allow a certain reading. ⁴⁶⁰
H212	LH xxiib 77 c i 2	li-pí-it li-pí-it-ti	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁶¹
H213	LH xxiib 77 c i 3	DINGIR i-lim	OV – The genitive singular noun <i>ilim</i> , “god,” is written syllabically in c.
H214	LH xxiib 78 c i 4	lu lu-ú	OV – The long vowel in the conjunction <i>lū</i> is written in c.
H215	LH xxiib 78 c i 5	id-du-uk i-du-uk	OV – c has defective orthography for the I/1 present future of $\sqrt{dakû}$, “to kill.”
H216	LH xxiib 78 c i 6	ma-ḫi IGI	OV – The preposition $\sqrt{maḫu}$, “before,” is written logographically in c.
H217	LH xxiib 78 c i 6	DINGIR i-lim	OV – The genitive singular noun <i>ilim</i> is written syllabically in c.
H218	LH xxiib 79 c i 7	ú-ub-ba-am-ma ú-ub-ba-ab-ma	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁶²

⁴⁶⁰ From the drawings in B. Meissner, "Altbabylonische Gesetze," 509, and E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi*, 47, the reading of the numeral in manuscript c as “4” seems feasible (so G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 113), but R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 39, has “ohne var.” suggesting he sees the remaining wedges as half of the numeral “8.” The damaged state of the text urges a careful reading, and there seems to be sufficient cause for doubt that the figure in c is definitely “4,” so a reading of “8” is made here in agreement with Borger.

⁴⁶¹ The set phrase *lipit ilim*, “touch of (a) god,” referring to an epidemic, has no final vowel in its bound form in the stele. On the short vowel /i/ appended to the *nomen regens* in Neo-Assyrian see note above and the references there.

⁴⁶² The form in LH reflects the assimilation /bm / > /mm/, where *ubabma* > *ubamma* (\sqrt{ubbubu} , “cleanse, purify,” plus the enclitic particle “-ma”).

H219	LH xxiiib 80 c i 8	mi-qí-it-ti mi-qí-it	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁶³
H220	LH xxiiib 81 c i 10	i-maḥ-ḥar-šu i-ma-aḥ-ḥar-ma	OV – c has CVC against CV-VC in LH.
H221	LH xxiiib 81 c i 10	i-maḥ-ḥar-šu i-ma-aḥ-ḥar-ma	SV(2) – c lacks the pronominal object suffix. ⁴⁶⁴
H222	LH xxiiib 81 c i 10	i-maḥ-ḥar-šu i-ma-aḥ-ḥar-ma	SV(1) – c has an additional enclitic particle “-ma.”
H223	LH xxiiib 82 c i 11	i-gu-ma e-gi-šu	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁶⁵
H224	LH xxiiib 82 c i 11	i-gu-ma e-gi-šu	SV(2) – c has an additional pronominal object suffix. ⁴⁶⁶
H225	LH xxiiib 82 c i 11	i-gu-ma e-gi-šu	SV(1) – c lacks the enclitic particle “-ma.”
H226	LH xxiiiib 59 e ₁ obv. i 7	GEMÉ SAG.GEMÉ	OV – The noun \sqrt{amtu} , “slave girl,” is written with the compound logogram in e.
H227	LH xxiiiib 60 e ₁ obv. i 9	la la-am	Not Counted – Scribal error or possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ The stele appends the short vowel /i/ to the bound form of the *nomen regens* in the construction *miqīti tarbišim*, “an outbreak of the (animal) enclosure.” Cf. H212 above.

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. H147 and H148 above, as well as H224 and H225 below. This is conceivably an erroneous writing of the sign ŠU in c. On this see note above.

⁴⁶⁵ The verbal preformative for primae *aleph* $\sqrt{egū}$, “careless, neglectful,” is [i] in the stele, against [e] in c. Here the second sign is read GU with R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 40, against G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 275, who read GE.

⁴⁶⁶ See note above.

⁴⁶⁷ The phrase in the stele is *warḥšu la imlāma*, literally “(when) the month is not full.” The form in manuscript e is marked in R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 41, as an error, presuming parablepsis where the scribe wrote “la <am> im-la-ma” for “la im-la-ma” but did not correct the mistake before continuing. An alternative reading is to consider “la-am” as the conjunction *lām(a)*, “before,” a variant spelling of which appears in the stele as *lā* (so CAD L 52b). The reading adopted here is in agreement with Borger.

H228	LH xxiii b 60 e ₁ obv. i 9	im-la-ma im-ta-la	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical forms. ⁴⁶⁸
H229	LH xxiii b 60 e ₁ obv. i 9	im-la-ma im-ta-la	SV(1) – The enclitic particle “-ma” is lacking in e.
H230	LH xxiii b 63 e ₁ obv. i 12	na-di-na-ni-šu na-di-na-ni-ma	SV(2) – e lacks the pronominal object suffix. ⁴⁶⁹
H231	LH xxiii b 63 e ₁ obv. i 12	na-di-na-ni-šu na-di-na-ni-ma	SV(1) – e has an additional enclitic particle “-ma.”
H232	LH xxiii b 63 e ₁ obv. i 13	ú-ta-ar-ma []-ta-ar	SV(1) – e lacks an additional enclitic particle.
H233	LH xxiii b 66 e ₁ obv. i 15	i-le-qé i-la-qé	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁷⁰
H234	LH xxiii b 68 e ₂ obv. i 4	ÌR SAG.ÌR	OV – The noun $\sqrt{\text{wardu}}$, “slave,” is written with the compound logogram in e.
H235	LH xxiii b 68 e ₂ obv. i 4	GEMÉ SAG.GE[MÉ]	OV – The noun $\sqrt{\text{amtu}}$, “slave girl,” is written with the compound logogram in e.
H236	LH xxiii b 71 e ₂ obv. i 8	ba-aq-ri ba-aq-ri-šu	SV(2) – e has an additional possessive pronominal suffix. ⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ The stele has the I/1 preterite of $\sqrt{\text{malû}}$, “to be complete,” against the I/1 perfect (or I/2 preterite) form in manuscript e.

⁴⁶⁹ See note above.

⁴⁷⁰ In the stele the I/1 present future of III weak $\sqrt{\text{leqû}}$, “to take,” reflects vowel harmonisation where *ilaqqe* > *ileqqe*.

⁴⁷¹ The possessive pronominal suffix in e clarifies that, in the sale of a slave, any existing legal claims made against the slave remain the responsibility of the seller. Manuscript e reads: *nādinānšu baqrīšu îppal*, “his (the slave’s) seller will be liable (for) his claims.” Whether the pronominal suffix appended to $\sqrt{\text{baqru/paqru}}$, “a (legal) claim,” refers to the slave or the slave’s seller is unclear. Regardless of this, the effect is to clarify the text as it stands in the stele.

H237	LH xxiiib 71 e ₂ obv. i 8	i-ip-pa-al i-ip-pa-il	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁷²
H238	LH xxivb 18 e ₁ obv. ii 23	eš-te-i-ši-na-ši[m] e-eš-te-i-ši-i-na-ši-in-im	OV – The III/2 of $\sqrt{\text{še}}'u$, “to search,” is written with full orthography in e.
H239	LH xxivb 18 e ₁ obv. ii 23	eš-te-i-ši-na-ši[m] e-eš-te-i-ši-i-na-ši-in-im	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁷³
H240	LH xxivb 19 e ₁ obv. ii 4	wa-aš-tú-tim wa-aš-tú-ti	OV(l) – e lacks mimation.
H241	LH xxivb 20 e ₁ obv. ii 15	u-[p]e-et-ti u-pé-et-ti	OV – Different spelling of the II/1 present future of $\sqrt{\text{pet}}u$, “to open” in e.
H242	LH xxivb 21 e ₁ obv. ii 5	nu-ra-am nu-ra	OV(l) – e lacks mimation.
H243	LH xxivb 27 e ₁ obv. ii 12	i-ši-ma-am i-ši-ma	SV(2) – The 1cs dative pronominal suffix is lacking in e. ⁴⁷⁴
H244	LH xxivb 28 e ₁ obv. ii 13	le-ú-tim tu-ú-tim	Not Counted – Probable scribal error in e. ⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷² G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 280, suggest that the final sign “IL” in manuscript e has only consonantal force, and the reading should therefore be *ippal*, “he will be liable.” However, in light of Rule 1, the possibility that a difference in pronunciation underlies the orthography cannot be excluded.

⁴⁷³ The 3fpl dative pronominal suffix, written “-šim” in the stele, appears as “-šinim” in e. The 3fpl dative suffix in Standard Babylonian is ‘-šināti,’ and ‘-šim’ for the 3fs. In Neo-Assyrian the 3fpl dative suffix is ‘-šina,’ and the 3fs is ‘-(aš)ši’ (see J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 49, and J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 600-601). The form in manuscript e may be influenced by either the Standard Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian forms.

⁴⁷⁴ The pronominal suffix in the stele refers to the receiver of the allotment of wisdom, clarifying Hammurabi as the beneficiary. The stele reads: *ina igigallim ša Ea išimam*, “with the wisdom Ea allotted to me.”

⁴⁷⁵ The form in e appears to be a scribal error, where the sign TU (𒄠) was mistakenly written for LE (𒄡). Alternatively the form in e may be read as an abstract noun formed from $\sqrt{\text{tu}}$, “incantation” or “garment.” In the context, though, an abstract noun from $\sqrt{\text{le}}'u$, “to be able,” is most likely, so an error is read in e. Manuscript e has the correct spelling in e₁ obv. iii 5.

H245	LH xxivb 29 e ₁ obv. ii 14	id-di-nam iš-ru-kam	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁷⁶
H246	LH xxivb 30 e ₁ obv. ii 15	na-ak-ri [n]a-ki-ri	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁷⁷
H247	LH xxivb 81 e ₁ obv. iii 4	na-ás-qá na-às-[]	OV – Different spelling of the adjective $\sqrt{\text{nasqu}}$, “precious, choice,” in e.
H248	LH xxivb 84 e ₁ obv. iii 8	^d UTU da-a-a-nim ra-bi-im ša AN ù KI mi-sa-ri i-na KALAM li-iš-te-pí ^d UTU ù ^d IM da-i-nu de-e- ni pa-ri-su pu-ru-us-se-e de-e-ni li-iš-te-pí	HV – Different grammatical agent and phraseology in e. ⁴⁷⁸
H249	LH xxivb 92 e ₁ obv. iii 15	mu-ša-sí-ka[m] mu-ša-as-sí-ka	OV(l) – e lacks mimation. ⁴⁷⁹
H250	LH xxivb 94 e ₁ obv. iii 17	a-ra-am-mu a-ra-am-mu-u[m]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁶ The stele reads: *ša Marduk iddinam*, “which Marduk has given to me.” This is against e, which reads: *ša Marduk išrukam*, “which Marduk has granted to me.”

⁴⁷⁷ See also H78, H166 and H194. Manuscript e has an additional anaptyctic vowel that is lacking in the stele.

⁴⁷⁸ The stele reads: *Šamaš dayānim rabīm ša šamē u eršetim mīšarī ina mātim lištēpi*, “By the command of Šamaš, the great judge of heaven and earth, let my justice be promulgated in the land.” Against this e reads: *ina qibūt Šamaš u Adad dayānu dīni parisu purussī dīni lištēpi*, “By the command of Šamaš and Adad, expedite just judgement (or ‘they execute just judgement’), may my just decisions be promulgated.” The appearance of Adad here is probably related to the increased importance of that deity (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 285). The rest of the variant seems to be similar in sentiment but wholly different in form and style.

⁴⁷⁹ Either mimation is lacking in e, or that manuscript lacks the ventive marker that is present in the stele (which seems to have an ablative sense). The orthography of e also has a doubled middle consonant for the III/1 participle of $\sqrt{\text{nasāku}}$, “remove, reject.” The doubled middle radical would suggest the II/1 participle, but this is clearly ruled out by the infixed causative /š/. This leaves open the possibility that e has rare II/III participle form, or perhaps the form III/2, **muštansāku* > *mušassāku*, where /št/ > /šš/ (written <š>), and /ns/ > /ss/. In favour of the latter interpretation (III/2) cf. the precative form “li-iš-ta-as-sú-ku” in *KBo* I 11 obv. 20 (and see *CAD* N 2 20b).

H251	LH xxviii b 12 e ₁ rev. i 2	gu-ru-un qu-r[u]	OV – Different spelling of the noun $\sqrt{gurunnu}$, “heap, mound,” in e. ⁴⁸¹
H252	LH xxviii b 14 e ₁ rev. i 3	um-ma-na-ti-šu um-ma-ni-šu	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁴⁸²
H253	LH xxviii b 16 e ₁ rev. i 4	li-it-ta-ad-di li-iš-t[a]	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁴⁸³
H254	LH xxviii b 17 e ₁ rev. i 5	ERIN-šu-ma um-[m]a-an-šu[m-m]a	OV – The noun ERIN, <i>ummanu</i> , “army, troop,” is written syllabically in e.
H255	LH xxviii b 17 e ₁ rev. i 5	ERIN-šu-ma um-[m]a-an-šu[m-m]a	OV – e has CVC-CV against CV-CV in LH.
H256	LH xxviii b 17 e ₁ rev. i 6	re-ma-am re-[e] ² -ma-am	Not Counted – The damaged sign does not allow a certain reading.
H257	LH xxviii b 18 e ₁ rev. i 7	a-i a	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ The final /m/ in e is not part of the root, which is taken as $\sqrt{r\hat{a}mu}$, “to love.” The form in e is perhaps best understood as archaizing, by adding artificial mimation to a verbal form.

⁴⁸¹ The sign QU can be read as GU₈, so this is counted as a simple orthographic variant.

⁴⁸² The lexeme \sqrt{ummanu} , “army, troop,” is written as a feminine noun in the stele, against the masculine form in e.

⁴⁸³ The stele appears to have the IV/1 or I/2 precativ form of $\sqrt{nad\hat{a}nu}$, “be set (in place),” against the III/2 present future form in e, “be left, put.” The difference in grammatical form produces essentially the same translation, though e carries a causative sense compared to the passive sense given in the stele. The possibility of scribal error in the stele is raised in G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 301.

⁴⁸⁴ The prohibitive particle *ay* is written as a monophthong in e against the diphthong in the stele. See *CAD* A 1 218a for the distribution of both spellings.

H258	LH xxviii b 20 e ₁ rev. i 8	a-na a-di	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁴⁸⁵
H259	LH xxviii b 21 e ₁ rev. i 10	li-ma-al-li-šu-ma li-ma-li-šu-ma	OV – e has defective orthography for the I/1 precative of $\sqrt{malû}$, here with the meaning “to deliver in full.”
H260	LH xxviii b 23 e ₁ rev. i 12	li-ru-šu li-ru-ú-šu	OV – The long vowel in $\sqrt{arû}$, “to lead,” is written in e.
H261	LH xxviii b 25 e ₁ rev. i 14	dan-nu-um da-an-nu	OV(l) – e lacks mimation.
H262	LH xxviii b 26 e ₁ rev. i 15	omits ša	SV(2) – e has an additional relative particle. ⁴⁸⁶
H263	LH xxviii b 26 e ₁ rev. i 15	qá-ba-al qá-ba-al-šu	SV(2) – e has an additional possessive pronominal suffix. ⁴⁸⁷
H264	LH xxviii b 27 e ₁ rev. i 17	mu-ša-ak-ši-du mu-šak-ši-du	OV – e has CVC against CV-VC in LH.
H265	LH xxviii b 30 e ₁ rev. i 18	ra-bi-im ra-bi-i	OV(l) – e lacks mimation.

⁴⁸⁵ The stele reads: *ana qāt narkīšu*, “into the hands of his enemies,” against e: *adi qāt narkīšu*, “unto the hands of his enemies.” The difference in e perhaps reflects a phrasing that the scribe was more familiar with, although *ana qāt narkīšu ... limallišuma* and *ina qāt ... limallišuma* are more familiar expressions (see CAD M 1 187).

⁴⁸⁶ The addition of a relative particle is counted as a clarifying stylistic addition in the phrase *qabal la maḥār*, “the irresistible onslaught,” to become *ša qabalšu la maḥāru*, “whose onslaught is irresistible.” With H264 this particle clarifies the possessor of the object *qabal*, “onslaught,” namely the god Nergal.

⁴⁸⁷ See note above. The addition of the possessive pronominal suffix clarifies the phrase.

H266	LH xxviii b 31 e ₁ rev. i 19	i-ša-tim i-il-ti	OV(l) – e lacks mimation. ⁴⁸⁸
H267	LH xxviii b 32 e ₁ rev. i 20	ez-ze-tim e-zé-[]	OV – e has defective orthography for the adjective $\sqrt{\text{ezzu}}$, “raging, furious.”
H268	LH xxviii b 35 e ₁ rev. i 23	in i-na	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁸⁹
H269	LH xxviii b 82 e ₁ rev. ii 1	er-re-tam []-re-t[um]	OV(l) – e has the wrong vowel for the accusative singular.
H270	LH xxviii b 83 e ₁ rev. ii 3	li-ru-ru li-ru-ru-šu	SV(2) – e has an additional redundant pronominal object suffix. ⁴⁹⁰
H271	LH xxviii b 84 e ₁ rev. ii 4	er-re-tim []-re-tum	OV(l) – e has the wrong vowel for the genitive singular.
H272	LH xxviii b 85 e ₁ rev. ii 5	da-ni-a-tim []-ir-a-ta-an	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ The spelling with IL (𒀭𒀭) is most likely an error for ŠA (𒀭𒀭). If the form in e is not an error then the reading $\sqrt{\text{iltu}}$, “goddess,” is possible: *kīma ilti ezzetim ša apim nišišu*, “like a raging goddess in the rushes.” However the reading in the stele seems more likely: *kīma išātīm ezzetim ša apim nišišu*, “like a raging fire in the rushes.” The reading of the form in e as $\sqrt{\text{i’iltu}}$, “bond,” faces similar problems as an inferior reading (see G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 301).

⁴⁸⁹ See note above.

⁴⁹⁰ The pronoun in e clarifies the object of the verb *līrurušu*, “may they (the gods) curse *him*.”

⁴⁹¹ The reading in the stele may be amended to “á-ni-a-tim” (see *CAD* D 100a, and M.T. Roth, *Law Collections*, 140), but is read *danītim*, “strongly,” by G.R. Driver and J.C. Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, 288 and 304. According to R. Borger, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke*, 46, the scribe of e may have erroneously written IR (𒀭𒀭) instead of NI (𒀭𒀭). The end of the form in e is difficult, where the element “-an” could be read as a ventive marker, or perhaps a dative pronominal suffix. Either interpretation is difficult to force into a translation.

H273	LH xxviii b 87 e ₁ rev. ii 6	KA-šu pi-i-šu	OV – The noun <i>pē</i> , “mouth, command,” is written syllabically in e.
H274	LH xxviii b 88 e ₁ rev. ii 7	ut-ta-ak-ka-ru na-ak-ri-im	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical forms. ⁴⁹²
H275	LH xxviii b 89 e ₁ rev. ii 8	li-ru-ur-šu-ma []ru-šu-ma	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁴⁹³

Discussion of Variants

Orthographic Variants

Orthographic variants are the most common category of variation between the sources. The most frequently occurring orthographic variations are the exchange of like-valued signs, in particular regarding the conjunctions, as well as the use of fewer signs for writing syllables (usually CVC for CV-VC).⁴⁹⁴

The representation of long vowels is also frequently at variance between the sources. Some sources, such as tablet B, frequently (but not always) write long vowels with an extra vowel sign against the short spelling in LH. See, for example, H12, H28, H50, H75 and H85. The opposite case occurs in H20. Other sources, such as J and N, have a ten-

⁴⁹² The stele has the II/2 present future of $\sqrt{\text{nakāru}}$, “to be hostile, countermand” against the stative (verbal adjective), in e. In the context the sense is very similar between the sources. LH reads: *ša la uttakkānu*, “which will not be over-ruled,” while e reads: *ša la nakrim*, “which (is) without over-ruling.”

⁴⁹³ The subject, Enlil, is certainly singular in e, so the vowel is best read as an anaptyctic addition.

⁴⁹⁴ For the increased use of CVC signs as a feature of Standard Babylonian see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 596.

dency to add phonetic complements to logographic writings, where LH lacks such aids to pronunciation. See, for example, H158, H159, H179 and H183.

Another regularly appearing orthographic variation is the syllabic writing in the first millennium sources of words that are written logographically in LH. See, for example, H23, H49 and H125 (tablet B); H187 (tablet P); H213 and H217 (tablet c); H254 and H273 (tablet e). Less regularly we note the writing of some nouns, both proper and common, without determinatives where they would generally be expected.

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

Among the most common linguistic variants in the sources are: the presence or absence of mimation relative to LH (particularly in tablets B and e); incorrectly written case vowels; and changes in the pronunciation of vowels. This latter class of variation could be related to scribal custom or dialect, depending on the particular vowel change and the form in which it occurs. For example, we find some evidence for the Assyrian vowel shift /i/ > /a/ in III weak roots (see H45), and the shift of [i] > [e] for some theme vowels, primae *aleph* verbal forms, genitive case and oblique plural case vowels. In one instance in tablet J (H144) we see primae /w/ > /m/, and once in tablet P (H192) we see primae /w/ > /a/.

Also possibly related to dialect is the occasional difference in the treatment of sibilants in one source (tablet B, see H60 and H83), and the lack of a terminating vowel in III weak verbs in another source (tablet T, see H190). Worth noting is the tendency for tablet B to

periodically have the apocoped bound form of the *nomen regens* that lacks the case vowel (see H107 and H117, but *cf.* H130), and its use of anaptyctic vowels (*cf.* the opposite in tablet J, H166, H212 and H246). Tablet B also exhibits a proclivity towards writing diphthongal vowels that may or may not reflect some underlying aspect of that scribe's particular pronunciation.

Stylistic Variants (Type 1)

Minor changes in style occur throughout the entire text of the Laws, however some types of changes are more common in the poetic sections (the prologue and epilogue) rather than in the intervening law section. For example, changes in the gender of pronouns, describing both objects and subjects, are found in the prologue (H8 and H34) and in the epilogue (H252) but not in the laws themselves. This is effectively an argument from silence on account of the fact that the sources for the poetic sections (tablets B, C, D, and e) typically do not preserve any significant sections of the laws, though tablet e provides some overlap between the last laws and the epilogue. The differences between the types of variations in the poetic sections and those in the law section warrant further discussion, and will be returned to in the concluding remarks.

One type of minor stylistic variation that occurs in all sections of the text is the interchange of lexemes with other lexemes of a similar semantic range. Though the substituted lexemes are often not strictly synonymous, the semantic integrity of the text is relatively uncompromised by these interchanges. In the prologue, tablet B shows that certain

difficult terms may be substituted with more common ones. See, for example, H55, H114 (in agreement with tablet C), and possibly H123.

One lexical interchange in tablet B seems to reflect the wording of another ancient version contemporary with LH, namely AO10237 (see H82). A similar phenomenon is also reflected in tablet D (see H65). A variant of particular interest is the interchange of appellations that occurs in H64, where all three sources (LH, B and D) have different titles for the same deity (see note).

In the law section lexical interchanges potentially occur in tablet J, though this may be otherwise explained (H136, H138, H142 and H169 – see the comments in note). Tablet P does attest a clear lexical interchange (H206, and see H197, though the latter is not properly synonymous). The interchange of lexemes is also reflected in the epilogue in tablet e (see H245).

In addition to these variations, minor stylistic differences that frequently occur involve the addition or omission of certain forms relative to LH, such as conjunctions, the enclitic particle “-ma,” relative particles and pronouns.

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

The most significant stylistic difference between the sources is found in the opening lines of the prologue. Here tablet B appears to diverge significantly from the text of LH in its description of the foundations of the kingship, and in particular the kingship of Hammu-

rabi. The variation between the sources effectively amounts to a different introduction in tablet B. In contrast to LH, the variant introduction in tablet B appears to give more attention to the instruments that symbolise kingship. In addition it ostensibly abbreviates the text as reflected in LH, though the extent to which the text is abbreviated is uncertain (see further H1 and note above).

Other less extensive expansive and clarifying pluses to the text are found in tablet B. For example, H10 reflects an expanded epithet for Hammurabi relative to LH. The clarification of the object is also attested, by way of a redundant pronominal object suffix in H59, and the probable addition of a divine title in H95. Similarly, in the section that contains the laws, J reflects additional pronominal suffixes in H147 and H172 (but *cf.* H162).

The same phenomenon is attested in tablet c (H224, but *cf.* H221) and tablet e (*cf.* H230 and H236). In one instance tablet P omits a phrase that indicates the thematic temporal setting of the clause (H186). Further, in the epilogue as reflected in tablet e, we note an omitted dative pronominal suffix (H243), as well as suffixed and relative pronouns that serve to clarify the grammatical object (H262-63 and H270).

Hermeneutic Variants

The three hermeneutic variants that occur are only attested in the poetic sections, that is in the prologue and the epilogue as recorded in tablets B and e.

Tablet B contains two variants that seem to point to its differing geographical affinity (H2 and H132). In light of these variants there seems to be grounds for linking tablet B, or its *Vorlage*, with the city of Nippur (see notes and above).

Tablet e contains a reference to the deity Adad (H248) as the instrument of Hammurabi's justice. This has been described as possibly due to the increase cultic role of the deity Adad in the period in which the tablet was written (see note and the references there).

CHAPTER 7 – GILGAMESH XI

The Text

The Epic of Gilgamesh gained immediate popularity in modern times after it was first published by George Smith in 1872 as an ancient Babylonian parallel to Genesis 1-11.⁴⁹⁵ Later scholarship has determined that the text now known as the Epic of Gilgamesh is based on a collection of earlier Sumerian literary works based around a common hero, which date to the late third or early second millennium B.C.E.⁴⁹⁶ The early Akkadian versions of the Gilgamesh poems, extant from around the 19th century B.C.E., were apparently based on their Sumerian antecedents, but subsequent editing and transmission of the poems transplanted the hero Gilgamesh into some literary compositions not known in the earlier versions.⁴⁹⁷ It is in this way that tablet XI, containing the story of the Deluge

⁴⁹⁵ The first announcement of George Smith's discovery appeared in a paper presented to the Society for Biblical Archaeology in London in late 1872. Subsequent publications by Smith culminated in the publication of a posthumous volume following his death whilst on an expedition in Mesopotamia in search of further cuneiform parallels to the early biblical accounts. See G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis: Containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs and Nimrod, Babylonian Fables and Legends of the Gods, From the Cuneiform Inscriptions* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1876). Smith's publications are conveniently listed in R.S. Hess and D. Toshio Tsumura, *I Studied Inscriptions From Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11* (Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 4; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994) 4-6.

⁴⁹⁶ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 7-8.

⁴⁹⁷ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 17-22.

originally know from the Atra-hasīs poem, was included into what became the Standard Babylonian version of the Epic.⁴⁹⁸

The Tablets

The fragments of tablet XI in the standard Babylonian series examined here are from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian sources. There are eight tablets represented by the fragments, which were excavated from Nineveh, Ashur, Nimrud and Babylonia, and two further tablets that hold only the incipit of our text.⁴⁹⁹ The following list and description of the tablets relies on the full treatment of the sources in A.R. George's critical edition.⁵⁰⁰ The sigla used by A.R. George are also employed in the present analysis.

Table - First Millennium Sources for Gilgamesh XI Under Examination

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>
C	K2252+2602+3321+4486+Sm1881
J ₁	K3375
J ₂	Rm616
T ₁	K7752+81-2-4, 245+296+460
T ₂	Sm2131+2196+Rm2,383+390+82-5-22, 316
W ₁	K8517+8518+8569+8593+8595
W ₂	K8594+21502
W ₃	K17343

⁴⁹⁸ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 18. The version of the epic that is referred to as the 'standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh' is thought by George to have been edited in the late second millennium B.C.E. (*Gilgamesh*, 30).

⁴⁹⁹ These latter two sources are copies of tablet X that preserve the catch-line of tablet XI. The tablets, given the sigla K₃ and b in George's critical edition, are from Kuyunjik and Babylon respectively. K₃ consists of K8589+Sm1681, while b consists of eleven other fragments joined to BM34160. As may be expected these sources have very little of the text of Gilgamesh tablet XI preserved and so will not feature in the description of the fragments. However, for comprehensiveness, the variants in the catch-lines of both tablets will be noted in the list of variants that follows.

⁵⁰⁰ See *Gilgamesh*, 411-15.

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>
b	VAT10586
c ₁	VAT11000
c ₂	VAT11087
c ₃	VAT11294
j	BM35380 (=Sp2,960)
z	IM67564 (=ND4381)

Description of the Sources

C, K2252+2602+3321+4486+Sm1881

This tablet is written in a type of script defined by A.R. George as type C. Scripts of this type show a tendency to use distinctive forms of certain signs, from which George posits that such tablets were not written at Kuyunjik, but rather were brought in from elsewhere.⁵⁰¹ The tablet has been mostly reconstructed and contains six columns in total. The colophon has the tablet series number plus the title of the series: DUB.11.KÁM *ša naqbī im[uru éš.gà]r* ^dGIŠ-gím-maš libir.ra.bí.gim [a]b.sar.àm ba.a.è, “Tablet 11, ‘He who saw the Deeps,’ series of Gilgameš, written and checked according to its original.”⁵⁰² Incised below this after the clay had dried is a line attributing ownership of the tablet to the palace of Ashurbanipal. The tablet has narrow ruled vertical margins of two lines between columns, and ruled horizontal lines dividing the text into sections.

J₁, K3375; J₂, Rm616

The script is Neo-Assyrian. The tablet contained six columns, with the writing at places cramped and the horizontal direction of the lines tending to drift upwards to the right. The tablet is made from high quality clay and, while it does not contain a colophon, other tab-

⁵⁰¹ *Gilgamesh*, 384.

⁵⁰² For the transliteration and translation see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 736.

lets of this type indicate manufacture specifically for Ashurbanipal's collection.⁵⁰³ Some vitrification on a fragment from the top left corner indicates that the tablet may have been burnt in a conflagration, possibly during the destruction of Nineveh.

T₁, K7752+81-2-4, 245+296+460; T₂, Sm2131+2196+Rm2,383+390+82-5-22, 316

This tablet is possibly to be grouped with tablet J as type A. The script is square Neo-Assyrian, and the clay is of high quality. The tablet originally contained six columns, which were each separated by two vertical ruled lines. There are some remains on fragment T₂ of horizontal rulings that divided the text into sections. This text is therefore presumed to have been prepared for Ashurbanipal's collection at Nineveh.

W₁, K8517+8518+8569+8593+8595; W₂, K8594+21502; W₃, K17343

The script is Neo-Assyrian but more angular than that of tablets J and T. It originally contained six columns of around the same dimensions as tablet J. The tablet is categorised as type B, and contains a short colophon that states the tablet number, name of the series, and that it was "written and checked according to its original."⁵⁰⁴ No information regarding the tablets provenience is given. Based on the museum catalogue numbers assigned to the fragments it can be assumed that this tablet was excavated at Kuyunjik, but its original place of preparation remains unknown. Three vertical rulings form margins between the columns. The clay is brittle and of poor quality.

⁵⁰³ The tablet is designated as type A according to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 382-83. Tablets of this type have very square Assyrian script, narrow vertical margins ruled between columns, and long colophons of the type specified in H. Hunger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone* (Kevelaer: Butson & Bercker, 1968) no. 319.

⁵⁰⁴ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 382-84, 739.

b, VAT10586

The script is Neo-Assyrian and slightly angular. The tablet probably contained one or two columns per side.⁵⁰⁵ The exact provenience of this tablet and tablet c at Ashur is unknown, however another fragment of Gilgamesh tablet VI was found in a private library, so tablet b and tablet c may be connected with this private collection.⁵⁰⁶

c₁, VAT11000; c₂, VAT11087; c₃, VAT11294

The script is Neo-Assyrian and very similar to tablet b. The similarity in script may be further cause for assuming that both of these tablets come from the same private library. The tablet originally contained six columns, and was probably similar to tablet W in its layout of the text.

j, BM35380

This tablet is Late Babylonian and is written in small crowded script. It is assumed to have come from Babylon on account of the initial catalogue designation Sp2,960.⁵⁰⁷ Narrow vertical rulings separate columns, though the text frequently extends beyond the margins. There are some horizontal rulings preserved that separate the text into sections.

⁵⁰⁵ Alternatively the tablet may have contained six columns, thereby holding the text of tablet X and XI in the series. See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 415.

⁵⁰⁶ O. Pedersén designates this library as 'N3,' the private library of the chief musicians. See O. Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in Assur*, N3 no. 45.

⁵⁰⁷ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 415. The merchant house Spartali & Co. sold several large collections of tablets to the British Museum in the later part of the 19th century. The second collection, Sp2, contained tablets that were re-catalogued as BM34529-35494. On this see J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xv-xvii.

z, IM67564

This tablet, kept at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, is written in a Neo-Assyrian script that probably dates to before the time of the Kuyunjik libraries.⁵⁰⁸ It originally contained six columns, holding sections of tablet X and tablet XI, as well as some sections that are unknown in the standard Babylonian epic. This tablet was excavated from the temple of Nabû at Nimrud (ancient Kalḫu), E-zida, a building that was most likely erected at the end of the ninth century B.C.E. Double vertical rulings separate the columns, though the text often exceeds the margins. Horizontal rulings separate the text into sections.

Table - Number of SU Preserved in the First Millennium Gilgamesh XI Tablets

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
C	791.5
J ₁₋₂	1014
T ₁₋₂	430.5
W ₁₋₃	487.5
b	62.5
c ₁₋₃	124
j	260
z	27.5

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each set of two parallel tablets preserving at least 20 SU in common. Following this table is an exhaustive list of all variant readings between any two first millennium sources for Gilgamesh XI that overlap in content, regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved. Although every variant is given in the list, the discussion of the variants will refer

⁵⁰⁸ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 364-65 for a full description of the tablet and its contents. The script is classified as early Neo-Assyrian.

in the main only to those texts preserving approximately 50 SU in parallel listed in the table. Variant readings in the parallel sources that are less fully preserved may be referred to periodically, but will not be made to bear any of the statistical argument put forward regarding types and frequencies of variants.

Table - Variants in the Parallel Sources for Gilgamesh XI

<i>Comparison: Text vs Text</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Ortho- graphic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orthographic (linguistic) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herme- neutic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Her. Variant</i>
C:J	724.5	33	12.7	35	13.4	11	42.6	8	29				
J:T	432.5	21	11.5	15	14.9	10	27	7	30.9	1	48.1	2	43.3
C:W	379.5	37	5.8	21	11.7	5	69	2	63.3				
J:W	300	25	7.7	20	9.4	7	22.2	6	20.6				
W:j	219	8	12.5	17	8.1	2	62.6	2	33.7			1	109.5
J:c	204	13	8.9	20	5.4	1	136	2	102				
C:T	199	6	19	6	22.1	1	398						
C:j	188.5	7	14	4	23.5	1	377						
T:W	183	10	11.1	6	19.3	2	45.8	2	30.5				
C:c	103	8	9.4	8	7.9	4	17.1			1	20.6		
J:b	101	11	6	2	33.7	1	101	1	28.9			1	40.4
T:j	84	3	18.7	4	12.9			1	168				
C:b	43	7	3.7	2	17.2				|				
T:c	43	2	10.8	2	12.3	1	86	2	21.5	1	6.1		
J:j	41	2	11.7	3	10.3								
C:z	40	8	3.1	4	5.7	2	11.4	3	8.9	1	13.3		
W:c	29			1	19.3	1	29					1	29
T:b	20	2	8										

List of Variants Between the Parallel Sources for Gilgamesh XI

<i>No.</i>	<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
G1	C i 1	MU-ra	OV(l) – Ventive suffix lacking in b and f. ⁵⁰⁹
	J ₂ i 1	M[U-r]a	
	K ₃ catchline	MU-ra	
	b catchline	MU-ár	
	f catchline	[á]r	
G2	C i 1	a-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in C.
	K ₃ catchline	ana	
	b catchline	ana	
	f catchline	ana	
G3	C i 1	^m UD.ZI ru-ú-qi	OV – The title <i>Ūta-napišti rūqi</i> , “distant <i>Ūta-napišti</i> ,” is spelled differently in the sources.
	K ₃ catchline	UD.ZI ru-qi	
	b catchline	UD.ZI-tim ru-qi	
	f catchline	^m UD.ZI SUD	
G4	C i 2	^m UD.ZI	OV – W has a phonetic complement on the final element of the proper noun <i>Ūta-napišti</i> .
	W ₁ i 2	[-t]im	
G5	C i 3	ia-ti-ma	OV – W writes the long medial vowel in the independent pronoun.
	W ₁ i 3	ia-a-ti-m[a]	
G6	C i 4	ia-ti-ma	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵¹⁰
	W ₁ i 4	ia-ši-ma	
G7	C i 5	ˊ gu-um-mur-kaˊ	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵¹¹
	J ₂ i 5	[m]ur-ˊkaˊ	
	W ₁ i 5	[]mu[r]-ˊkuˊ	
G8	C i 5	ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabi-

⁵⁰⁹ See note below.

⁵¹⁰ W exhibits the phonetic change /t/ > /š/, probably reflecting pronunciation. The correct form in the previous line indicates that the scribe was aware of the standard orthography for this lexeme.

⁵¹¹ W has a different vowel for the 2ms pronominal suffix. A possible alternative is to read the suffix in W as a dative pronoun, so as the phrase *gummurku libbi ana epeš ...* is translated “my heart is for (devoted to) you to do ...” (cf. M.B. Rowton, “The Use of the Permansive in Classic Babylonian,” JNES 21 [1962] 260). The more straight forward reading of the suffix as accusative is more likely (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 878). The difference in the final vowel is therefore taken as a variation in pronunciation underlying an orthographic change.

	J ₂ i 5 W ₁ i 5	ana a-na	cally in W.
G9	C i 5 W ₁ i 5 j i 5	tu-qu-un-ti t[u-q]u-un-tú [t]u-qu-un-ti	OV(l) – W has the wrong case vowel. ⁵¹²
G10	C i 6 J ₂ i 6 W ₁ i 6	[a]t ˀna-daˀ-at [n]a-ˀdaˀ-at-ta	OV(l) – W has the long form of the verb *nd', “drop, throw down.” ⁵¹³
G11	C i 6 J ₂ i 6 W ₁ i 6 j i 6	e-lu še-ri-ka e-l[u e-li še-[ri]-ka l]u še-ri-ka	OV(l) – W has a different vowel appended to the preposition <i>elu</i> , “upon.” ⁵¹⁴
G12	C i 7 W ₁ i 7	ba-la-ṭa teš-ˀúˀ ˀba-laˀ-[ṭa te]šˀ-ˀum	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronuncia- tion. ⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² W has the case vowel for genitive singular /i/ > /u/ in the phrase *ana epuš tuquntī*, “to make trouble.” The spelling in W may reflect a tendency toward vowel harmony on the part of the scribe, but such an explanation could only be conjectured on analogy with other instances where similar changes occur in case vowels. This is one possible explanation for case vowels that are identical to the penultimate vowel of the root to which they are attached, as occurs frequently in W, cf. G7, G9, G11, G16, G22, G28, G40, G70, G73, G275; and also sporadically in J, cf. G136, G138, G140, G142, G158. It should be noted, though, that aberrant case vowels are explained as a matter of orthography rather than vowel harmony in the grammars. It remains that the case vowels in J and W, where they vary from the other sources, typically follow the penultimate vowels of the form to which they are appended. One may note the observation in J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 32, that “a final vowel may be sporadically assimilated to a preceding long stressed vowel ... [or] casus vowels may even affect the root vowel ... The impact of Babylonian dialect on NA may, in fact, be the cause for some of these changes.”

⁵¹³ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 878 where all sources are taken as writing a stative form. W writes the final weak form as trisyllabic (with a “-t” affixed to the weak root to aid pronunciation). Alternatively the form in W could be read as a stative plus an affirmative subject suffix (the so-called ‘permansive’) which is apocopated in C and J (cf. M.B. Rowton, “Use of the Permansive,” 260). This is equal to 2 ms ‘active stative,’ or a predicative verbal adjective (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 393-95). A.R. George suggests this could be an example of an unusual Kuyunjik orthographic form where VC is written as CV (see *Gilgamesh*, 438).

⁵¹⁴ This variant is listed as a “minor difference in word or expression” in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429.

	j i 7	ba- ^ˊ la ^ˊ - ^ˊ ta taš-ú	
G13	J ₂ i 8a W ₁ i 8	-n]a ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in J.
G14	J ₂ i 8a W ₁ i 8	ša-šu [ša-šu-ma	SV(1) – J lacks the emphatic particle ‘-ma.’ ⁵¹⁶
G15	C i 8 J ₂ i 8a j i 8	a-na ^d Giš[ana ^d Giš-gim-maš a-na ^d Giš-gim-maš	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in J.
G16	J ₂ i 9 W ₁ i 10 j i 10	r]iš-ta pi-riš-ti ri]š-ti	OV(l) – J has the correct case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵¹⁷
G17	C i 10 W ₁ i 10 j i 190	-n]a ka-a-šá DINGIR ^{meš} ka-a-ša DINGIR ^{meš} ka-a-ša	SV(1) – C has a redundant preposition marking the dative. ⁵¹⁸
G18	J ₂ i 10 W ₁ i 11a	[]- ^ˊ ú ^ˊ -ri-pak [U]RU šu-ri-pak	OV – The first vowel of the city name <i>Šuripak</i> is written fully in J.
G19	C i 11 W ₁ i 11a j i 11	d]u-šú ša ti-du-šu ša ti-du-šú	OV – The pronominal suffix is written as ŠU in W.

⁵¹⁵ The lexeme $\sqrt{\text{še}'}\text{um}$, “seek out,” is written with medial *aleph* and final “-m” in W. The glottal stop (written $\text{𐎠} \rightarrow \text{𐎡}$) is part of the root. The final sign in W could be read as U₁₆, which would amount to an orthographic variant.

⁵¹⁶ Although J is broken after the sign ŠU it is clear that the sign MA does not follow as there is not enough room on the tablet. The missing sign MA is not noted in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 702, but is clear in the drawing (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, pl. 132) and is listed in the apparatus in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427. I owe this observation to I. Young.

⁵¹⁷ The form in W (and therefore j) is read as /i/ for accusative singular in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439.

⁵¹⁸ The dative object is already expressed by the independent dative pronoun *kaša*, “to you” in the other sources.

G20	C i 13 W ₁ i 13 j i 13	qer-bu- ^ˆ šú ^ˆ]-šu qer-bu-uš	OV(l) – The pronominal suffix lacks the final vowel in j. ⁵¹⁹
G21	C i 13 W ₁ i 13	qer-bu- ^ˆ šú ^ˆ]-šu	OV – The pronominal suffix is written as ŠU in W.
G22	J ₂ i 12 W ₁ i 13 j i 14	a-bu-b[i a-bu-bu a-bu-bi	OV(l) – W has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular <i>abubi</i> , “deluge.” ⁵²⁰
G23	C i 15 j i 15a	^d a-nu-um ^d a-num	OV – C has CV-VC against CVC in j.
G24	W ₁ i 17a j i 18	^ˆ ana ki ^ˆ -i[k] a-na ki-ik-ki-šu	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in W.
G25	J ₂ i 17a j i 19	[k]i-ik-ki-š[u] ki-ik-kiš	OV(l) – The case vowel is lacking in j. ⁵²¹
G26	J ₂ i 18 j i 21	[š]u- ^ˆ ú ^ˆ -[] ^{lu} šu-ru-up-pa-ku-ú	OV – J has the long spelling of the first vowel in the proper noun <i>Šuripak</i> .
G27	W ₁ i 19 j i 21	[r]i-ip-pa-ku-ú ^{lu} šu-ru-up-pa-ku-ú	OV(l) – j seems reflect a different pronunciation of the proper noun <i>Šuripak</i> .
G28	W ₁ i 20a j i 22a	bi-ni GIŠ.MÁ bi-nu GIŠ.MÁ	OV(l) – j has the wrong stem vowel for ms imperative of III weak <i>√banû</i> , “to build.” ⁵²²

⁵¹⁹ The lack of the final vowel in j is a sign of elevated language and therefore considered a dialectal form. This reflects an Old Babylonian poetic form that survives as a rare literary affectation in Standard Babylonian (see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 431-33).

⁵²⁰ See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440, where /u/ for genitive singular is listed as among the unusual Kuyunjik orthographies.

⁵²¹ j lacks the case vowel in this line, but in the same word in the next line j has the case vowel. According to J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 595, Standard Babylonian orthography has a greater preponderance to use single signs with CVC values against two signs with the values CV-VC. j, a Neo-Babylonian tablet, appears to fit this pattern.

⁵²² The form in j could be read as a plural imperative, but against this it should be noted that the subject in the following address is singular in both sources: “u-qur É,” “demolish the house;” “muš-šir NIG.TUKU-ma,” “abandon wealth;” and “še-’-i ZI^{meš},” “seek survival.”

G29	W ₁ i 21 j i 23	[] ^ʾ -ak-ku ^ʾ -ra [m]a-ak-ku-ru	OV(l) – j has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵²³
G30	W ₁ i 21 j i 23	na- ^ʾ piš ^ʾ -t[ú] ^ʾ ? na-piš-ti	Not Counted – The sign in W is too damaged to be certain. ⁵²⁴
G31	W ₁ i 22 j i 24	a-na ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in j.
G32	W ₁ i 22 j i 24	lib-bi ŠÀ	OV – j has the logogram for $\sqrt{\text{libbu}}$, “heart, midst.”
G33	W ₁ i 23 j i 25a	ta-ban-nu-ši ^ʾ ta-ban ^ʾ -nu-šú	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁵²⁵
G34	W ₁ i 24 j i 25b	mìn-du-da ^ʾ mun-du-da ^ʾ	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁵²⁶
G35	W ₁ i 24 j i 25b	mi-na-tu- ^ʾ šá ^ʾ ^ʾ mi-na-tu ^ʾ -šú	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁵²⁷
G36	T ₂ i 3 ^ʾ W ₁ i 26	a]p-si-i ABZU	OV – The noun <i>apsu</i> , “subterranean waters,” is written logographically in W.

⁵²³ According to J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 597, Standard Babylonian exhibits a merging of the accusative singular case ending towards the nominative singular case ending ‘-u,’ however A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441, notes that the shift of accusative singular /i/ to /u/ is also peculiar to Kuyunjik orthographies. The final vowel in j could therefore be viewed as either a Standard Babylonian linguistic form or a peculiar Neo-Assyrian orthographic form.

⁵²⁴ The sign in W has only the lower head of a single wedge preserved in the lower left part. As well as TÚ (𐎢𐎵), this could just as easily be read as TI (𐎢𐎶), TI₃ (𐎢𐎶𐎶) or TI₅ (𐎢𐎶𐎶𐎶).

⁵²⁵ The 3fs pronominal object suffix is written as 3ms in j. According to J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 598, Standard Babylonian regularly fails to distinguish between masculine and feminine pronominal suffixes (*šu* versus *ša*). The referent *elippu*, “ship, boat,” is clearly treated as feminine singular in the other sources (W and T), but j has a masculine singular pronominal suffix referring to this noun in two instances.

⁵²⁶ The likely difference between the sources here is a participle form in W against a stative (or an attributive verbal adjective) in j. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 426, classes this variant as a “difference of tense, stem or mood,” and more specifically A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 879, records the form in j as “II/1 stative *mun-dudā*.”

⁵²⁷ The gender of the possessive pronominal suffix is difference between the sources. Cf. G33 above.

G37	T ₂ i 4' W ₁ i 27	a-zak-ka-r[a] MU-ra	OV – T has the syllabic spelling of \sqrt{zakaru} , “to speak, mention,” against the logographic spelling in W.
G38	T ₂ i 8a' W ₁ i 31a	DUG ₄ .GA [i]- ^r qab ^r -bi	OV – T has the logographic spelling for $\sqrt{qabû}$, “to say.”
G39	T ₂ i 8b' W ₁ i 31b	MU-[ra] i-zak-ka-ra	OV – T has the logographic spelling of \sqrt{zakaru} , “to speak, mention,” against the syllabic spelling in W.
G40	T ₂ i 9' W ₁ i 32	ta-qab-b[a-áš]- ^r šú-nu-ti' ta-qab-ba-áš-šu-nu-tu	OV(1) – W has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵²⁸
G41	T ₂ i 12' W ₁ i 34b	ul a-šak-ka-n[a] ul a-šak-kan	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁵²⁹
G42	T ₂ i 12' W ₁ i 34b	p]i-ia-a-ma še-pi-i-a	OV – Long /i/ is marked in W, against long /a/ marked in T.
G43	T ₂ i 12' W ₁ i 34b	p]i-ia-a-ma še-pi-i-a	SV(1) – The enclitic particle “-ma” is lacking in W.
G44	C i 1a' T ₂ i 23b' c ₁ i 10'	^r GURUŠ.MEŠ' ^{lú} GURUŠ.MEŠ ^{lú} GURUŠ.MEŠ	OV – T and c have the determinative LÚ denoting professional office, lacking in C.
G45	C i 1a'-b' T ₂ i 23b'-24' c ₁ i 9'-10'	^r GURUŠ.MEŠ'[] ^{lú} GURUŠ.MEŠ ' ^r i'-[b]i- ^r lu' ši-bu-ti i-[zab] ^{lú} GU- RUŠ.MEŠ i-[]	SV(3) – C and T have a different line order to c. ⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ This could reflect Assyrian dialectal influence, where the Standard Babylonian form *šunuti* > *šunu* in Neo-Assyrian (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 600). According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440, this is a case of unusual Kuyunjik orthography where the wrong case vowel is written for the pronominal suffix.

⁵²⁹ T appears to mark the ventive suffix, which is lacking in W.

⁵³⁰ C and T have the order “young men ... old men,” against the reverse in c. See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 424, where this variation is categorised as “lines transposed.”

G46	C i 2' c ₁ i 11'	šar-ru- ^ˈ ú' [š]a-ru-u	OV – C has CVC-CV against CV-CV in c. ⁵³¹
G47	C i 3' j ii 6a	lap-nu lap-ni	OV(l) – j has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular. ⁵³²
G48	C i 4' W ₁ ii 1	u ₄ -mi ^ˈ u ₄ -me'	OV(l) – The case vowel in W is written as /e/ against the expected /i/ in C. ⁵³³
G49	C ii 2 W ₁ ii 3 j ii 8	10 NINDA.ÀM 10 NINDA.TA.ÀM 10 NINDA.TA.ÀM	OV – W and j write $\sqrt{nindanu}$, “measuring rod of 12 cubits,” with the full composite logogram.
G50	T ₂ i 31' W ₁ ii 5a	6-šú 6-šu	OV – Different spelling of the 3ms pronominal suffix.
G51	J ₁ ii 8' T ₂ i 34' W ₁ ii 7	l]u ^ˈ lu' lu-ú	OV – The long vowel in the asseverative particle <i>lū</i> , “indeed,” is written in W.
G52	J ₁ ii 8' T ₂ i 34'	am- ^ˈ ḥaṣ' am-ḥaṣ-si	SV(1) – The pronominal suffix is lacking in J. ⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 350 and 438, could read this as a Neo-Assyrian spelling (CVC) in C against a Standard Babylonian spelling (CV-CV) in c. However, A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 881-82 raises the possibility that this can be read as a theorised **parras* type adjective, *šarrú*, “rich.” In this case C has the correct orthography while c is defective.

⁵³² This could be read as a difference in number, where j has an oblique plural against the nominative singular in C, but a plural in this context is unlikely. It is possible that j (a text from Babylonia) has what A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439 refers to as an unusual Kuyunjik spelling of /i/ or /e/ for nominative or accusative singular, even though the text from Kuyunjik (C) has the correct vowel /u/ for the nominative singular.

⁵³³ See the same phenomena in M119, M145 and M234; P13. The spelling difference is perhaps cosmetic, but the clear delineation between /i/ and /e/ in the writing of the specific signs ME (𐎶) and MI (𐎶𐎵) indicates that this could be the result of an underlying difference in pronunciation. Other shifts of /i/ > /e/ in analogous Assyrian forms could be invoked to suggest this is a dialectal variation: /i/ > /e/ in primae *aleph* roots; /e/ for genitive singular and oblique plural case vowels; contraction of diphthong **ay* > /e/ in Assyrian against **ay* > /i/ in Standard Babylonian – cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 601-3; see also G64 and G300 below, and the comments in note . However, in relation to this specific noun, the form in W is “a common spelling in Babylonia and hardly diagnostic of Assyrian morphology” (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 436).

G53	J ₁ ii 9' W ₁ ii 8	[-t]i ḫi-ših-tum	OV(l) – W has the wrong vowel for the accusative/oblique case.
G54	W ₁ ii 9a j ii 15	3 šár ku-up-ri 6 šár ku-u[p]	HV – Difference in the cardinal number. ⁵³⁵
G55	J ₁ ii 10' T ₁ ii 2 W ₁ ii 9a	GIR ₄ k]i-i-ri ki-i-ri	OV – J has the logogram for the noun √ <i>kīru</i> , “storage jar.”
G56	W ₁ ii 9a J ₁ ii 10'	ana a-n[a]	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in W.
G57	T ₁ ii 4 W ₁ ii 10	[l]i ^{giš} su-us-su-ul	OV(l) – W lacks the genitive case vowel. ⁵³⁶
G58	W ₁ ii 11 j ii 18	e-zu-ub e-zi-i[b]	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵³⁷
G59	W ₁ ii 12 j ii 19	2 šár Ì.GIŠ'[2 šár u[	SV(2) – j apparently lacks the noun √ <i>šamnu</i> , “oil.” ⁵³⁸

⁵³⁴ The 3fs dative pronominal suffix in T appears to refer to one of two accusatives (“peg,” or “boat”), or alternatively to both objects that are qualified by the verb to which the pronominal suffix is attached (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427 and 882).

⁵³⁵ This is most likely confusion between the sign for the cardinal number 3 (𒌦) and 6 (𒌦𒌦). In each case the number written probably indicates a very large but indefinite number, as noted in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 707 n. 8.

⁵³⁶ This is the genitive construct form of the noun √*sussullu*, “(wooden) box,” which in context is written: ERIN.MEŠ *naš* ^{giš} *sussulli*, “troops carrying (wooden) boxes.” The lack of case vowel in W is noted as very rare in the Kuyunjik orthographies, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 442.

⁵³⁷ The repetition of the ‘i’ class vowel in j could reflect vowel harmony. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429 notes this among “minor differences in words or expressions.”

⁵³⁸ The line in W is reconstructed: “2 šár Ì.GIŠ ša u-pa-az-zi-ru lú MÁ.LAḫ₄,” *šina šār šamni ša upazziru malāḫu*, “there were two myriads [3600] of oil which the shipwright stowed away,” (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 707). The text, according to j, is apocopated to become: *šina šār upazziru malāḫu*, “there were two myriads which the shipwright stowed away.”

G60	J ₁ ii 17' T ₁ ii 8	Ì.GIŠ Ì+GIŠ	Not Counted – The signs are marked in Young’s study as an orthographic variant, but we consider that the ligature in T is a palaeographic variant. ⁵³⁹
G61	T ₁ ii 10a J ₁ ii 18-19 W ₁ ii 16 j ii 23-24	[]-ri omits omits omits	SV(2) – T has an extra line that is omitted in the other sources. ⁵⁴⁰
G62	J ₁ ii 19' T ₁ ii 10b W ₁ ii 16b	[š]ú ip-pu-šú [š]u [?]	Not Counted – The sign in W is too damaged to allow a certain reading.
G63	J ₁ ii 19' T ₁ ii 10b W ₁ ii 16b	ki-ma ki-i ki-i	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁴¹
G64	J ₁ ii 25b T ₁ ii 16b	e-še-en-ši i-še-en-ši	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁴²
G65	J ₁ ii 28' W ₁ ii 22	u `ù`	OV – Different spellings of the conjunction.
G66	J ₁ ii 28' T ₁ ii 18	sa-lat-ia []ti-ia	OV – J has CVC-VV against [CV]-CV-VV in T. ⁵⁴³

⁵³⁹ I. Young kindly made his unpublished notes on the specific variations between the first millennium sources for Gilgamesh XI available to me.

⁵⁴⁰ The working assumption in the present study is that additional material which is of uncertain content does not introduce contrary information and is therefore not considered as a hermeneutic variant. Instead the variant is considered to introduce expansionary or additional information and so is counted as SV(2). See the comments in note .

⁵⁴¹ See also G163 and G212 below, and the comments in note .

⁵⁴² An analogous shift of initial /i/ > /e/ in primae *aleph* verbs is considered an Assyrian dialect form (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 602; A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 349), so this variant could reflect a similar phenomenon. See also note above for analogous forms that exhibit the vowel shift /i/ > /e/ in Assyrian pronunciation. Here the form is 1cs, so the vowel indicates a verbal preformative rather than a root vowel for primae *aleph* (the root here is *šênu*, “to load cargo”). According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 816, “... examples of writings of the first-person conjugation prefix /e/ with signs normally displaying /i/ are not uncommon.” For another variation in the orthography of the 1cs preformative morpheme where /a/ > /e/ see G207 below.

G67	J ₁ ii 29' W ₁ ii 23	um-ma-a-ni um-ma-nu	OV(l) – W has the wrong vowel marking the oblique plural. ⁵⁴⁴
G68	J ₁ ii 29' W ₁ ii 23	ka-li-šú-nu ʾka-li-šúʾ-ŋ[u]	OV – Different spelling of the possessive pronominal suffix.
G69	J ₁ ii 31' W ₁ ii 25	ú-šá-az-na-an-nu ú-šá-az-na-nu	OV – Repetition of final consonant at the morpheme boundary in J. ⁵⁴⁵
G70	J ₁ ii 31' W ₁ ii 25	šá-mu-ut šá-mu-t[u]	OV(l) – Lack of case vowel in J against wrong case vowel in W. ⁵⁴⁶
G71	J ₁ ii 32' T ₁ ii 22 W ₁ ii 26a	pi-ḫe KA-ka pi-ḫe KA-ka pi-ḫe ^{giš} MÁ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁴⁷
G72	J ₁ ii 34' W ₁ ii 27	ú-šá-az-na-na i-za-an-na-nu	SV(1) – Difference in grammatical forms, read as a lexical interchange. ⁵⁴⁸
G73	J ₁ ii 34' T ₁ ii 24 W ₁ ii 27	šá-mu-ut [u]t šá-mu-tu	OV(l) – Lack of case vowel in J and T against the wrong case vowel in W. ⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴³ The arrangement of syllables reflects the orthographic patterns given as (c) and (e) in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 438.

⁵⁴⁴ The form in J is read as the genitive plural *nomens rectum* following the plural *nomens regens*, normalised as *mārī ummanī*, “craftsmen.” Against this W has the nominative case vowel, or /u/ for genitive/oblique plural, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440.

⁵⁴⁵ This is a feature of unusual Kuyunjik orthography according to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440.

⁵⁴⁶ Both sources have unexpected orthographies. J lacks a case vowel entirely which can be considered a peculiar feature of Standard Babylonian (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 598). W has /u/ for genitive singular, which can be considered an unusual Kuyunjik spelling (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440).

⁵⁴⁷ The term in J and T is *babka*, “your hatch/door,” against W *elippuka*, “your boat.” In the context there is very little change in the contextual meaning between the sources, even though in isolation the semantic range of the words is significantly different.

⁵⁴⁸ The difference in grammatical forms between the sources amounts to a lexical interchange. J has III/1 preterite \sqrt{zananu} , “he will bring down rain,” against I/1 present future \sqrt{zananu} , “he will continually rain” in W.

⁵⁴⁹ See the same type of variation above, note .

G74	J ₁ ii 36' T ₁ ii 26	i-ši i-šu	OV(1) – J has the wrong inflected verbal ing, or a possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁵⁰
G75	C ii 3' W ₁ ii 29	ana ʿa-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in C.
G76	C ii 3' W ₁ ii 29	ana lib-bi ^{giš} MÁ a-na ^{giš} MÁ	SV(2) – C has an additional clarifying noun. ⁵⁵¹
G77	J ₁ ii 37' T ₁ ii 27 W ₁ ii 29	ap-te-ḫi a]p-ʿte-ḫi ap-ʿti-ḫi	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁵²
G78	C ii 4' W ₁ ii 30	[ḫ]i-i a-na pe-ḫe-ʿe	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁵³
G79	C ii 4'	pe-ḫi-i šá GIŠ.MÁ ^m pu- zu-ur ^d[	SV(1) – The preposition <i>ana</i> precedes the proper noun in W.

⁵⁵⁰ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429, counts this among “minor differences in words or expressions,” but this could equally be considered as a peculiarity of Kuyunjik orthography (*cf.* A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441, type (s), “wrong vowel in inflected verbal ending”). Otherwise this may be a rare attestation of the allophone [ü] as described in M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 87-88, appearing when /u/ is in contact with a sibilant.

⁵⁵¹ The construct form in C clarifies the action, *ērub ana libbi elippi*, “I entered into the midst of the boat,” expanding on the phrase in W, *ērub ana elippi*, “I entered into the boat.”

⁵⁵² The spelling *apṭiḫi* in W against *apṭeḫi* in the other sources could reflect a pronunciation difference where /i/ > /e/, *cf.* note above. W. Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981) 853, has √*paḫû* as themed ‘i/i,’ so here the spelling in W is to be expected while the other sources may reflect Assyrian orthography. Such seems to be the case in the orthography of both the 3ms verbal preformative and medial ‘i’ class vowels in Neo-Assyrian letters according to M. Worthington, “Dialect Admixture of Babylonian and Assyrian in SAA VIII, X, XII, XVII and XVIII,” *Iraq* 68 (2006). However, the generally inconsistent picture that emerges regarding the representation of ‘i’ class vowels in the Neo-Assyrian texts does encourage the view that the phonemes /i/ and /e/ are in free variation, at least in this period, and this is certainly the view expressed in M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 40-42, and 87. Luukko makes the novel suggestion that a solution to the problem of spellings with /i/ > /e/ in Neo-Assyrian might be to assign “high index number to some of the signs, *e.g.* te = ti₇, iš = eš₁₅” (M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 41). This was kindly pointed out to me by L.R. Siddall (personal communication).

⁵⁵³ A similar phenomenon possibly underlies this orthographic difference as has been noted above, *cf.* note and . This variation is noted in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 425, as a lexical interchange, but as both sources preserve an ‘i’ class vowel a difference in pronunciation of the same lexeme seems equally plausible.

	W ₁ ii 30	pe-ḫe-e šá GIŠ.MÁ a-na ^m pu-zu-<ur>- ^r d KUR ^r .GAL	
G80	C ii 4' W ₁ ii 30	^m pu-zu-ur-d[pu-zu-<ur>- ^r d KUR ^r .GAL	OV – The proper noun <i>Puzur-Enlil</i> lacks the determinative in W. ⁵⁵⁴
G81	C ii 5' J ₁ ii 39' W ₁ ii 31	at-ta-din [i]n at-[ta]- ^r din ^r	OV – J presumably has [CV-V]C against CVC in C and W.
G82	C ii 7' W ₁ ii 33	iš-tu u[l-tu]	SV(1) – The preposition <i>ištu</i> in C appears as <i>ultu</i> in W. ⁵⁵⁵
G83	J ₁ ii 42' W ₁ ii 34a	ir-tam-ma-am-ma iš/ir-(t)ag]- ^r gu-um ^r	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁵⁶
G84	C ii 10' J ₁ ii 44' W ₁ ii 35	GU.ZA.LÁ.MEŠ [ME]Š gu-za-lú- ^r ú ^r	OV – The plural noun in W lacks the plural marker MEŠ. ⁵⁵⁷
G85	C ii 11' J ₁ ii 45'	^d er-ra-kal [g]al	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁵⁸
G86	C ii 11'	ú-n[a	SV(1) – Apparent difference in verbal mor-

⁵⁵⁴ The possible orthographic variant where W lacks the sign UR in the name *Puzur-Enlil* is not counted as the tablet is too damaged to allow a certain reading.

⁵⁵⁵ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429, lists this variant among “minor differences in words or expressions.” The change /š/ > /l/ before a voiced velar plosive is termed a Babylonianism in J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 22 n. 30. The case here involves a voiceless dental plosive, but a similar change in pronunciation may be detected. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 596, states that this phonological shift before /t/ is a feature of Standard Babylonian. See also G211 and G231 below.

⁵⁵⁶ This is counted as a lexical interchange √*ragāmu*, “shout, exclaim,” and √*ramāmu*, “roar, rumble.” A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 884, notes that *iš(t)agamma/irtagamma* is “probably more original than ... *irtam-mamma*.”

⁵⁵⁷ The plural noun in W is marked with the spelling of long ‘-u’ instead of the plural marker MEŠ.

⁵⁵⁸ The sources apparently disagree in the use of a voiced or unvoiced velar fricative in the pronunciation of this proper noun. See M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 71, on the possibility of the pronunciation of a voiced /q/ in Neo-Assyrian letters.

	J ₁ ii 45'	i-na-as-saḥ	phology. ⁵⁵⁹
G87	C ii 12' J ₁ ii 46'	mi-iḥ-ra i]ḥ-ri	OV(l) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵⁶⁰
G88	C ii 15' J ₁ ii 49'	i-ba-'-u' b]a-'-ú	OV – Different spelling of the final vowel.
G89	C ii 16' J ₁ ii 50'	u]m-[mat] [t]i	Not Counted – The final sign is not preserved in C so the lack of case vowel is uncertain.
G90	J ₁ iii 5a T ₂ ii 42a	a-ḥa-šú a-ḥa-šu	OV – Different spelling of the 3ms pronominal suffix.
G91	C iii 3b J ₁ iii 5b	ina 'ka'-r[a ina A[N	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁶¹
G92	J ₁ iii 6 T ₂ iii 43	DINGIR.DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ	OV – Different spelling of the plural noun <i>ilū</i> , “gods.” ⁵⁶²
G93	J ₁ iii 6 T ₂ ii 43	ip-tal-ḥu ip-la-ḥu	OV(l) – Difference in verbal stem or tense. ⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ Noted as such in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427. J might be read as containing the form I/1 present future, against the form II/1 in C. In both sources the root is identical, $\sqrt{\text{nasāḥu}}$, “uproot, extract,” but in this case the variation is not read as a difference in verbal conjugation that would amount to a lexical interchange (cf. G72 above). Rather, the doubling of the medial radical indicates that the form is II/1 in both sources with an apparent difference in the preformative morphology of the verbal form.

⁵⁶⁰ This variant is read as a difference in number in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427, where C has the case vowel for the accusative singular against the oblique plural in J. However, it seems equally plausible to read this as /i/ for accusative singular /a/, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439, and also the similar variation in case vowel in G158.

⁵⁶¹ According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 886, the variation between the sources displays some semantic correspondence, and is therefore counted as a lexical interchange. The text of J, “ina A[N],” could be read as *ina šamūti*, “in the rain,” a metaphoric rendering of *karāšu*, “destruction,” where C preserves the latter, more original, term. See also A.R. George, “Notes on Two Extremes of Weather,” *Revue d'Assyriologie* 79 (1985) 69.

⁵⁶² See also G103 below.

⁵⁶³ The form in J could be read as I/1 against I/2 in T, or alternatively I/1 preterite in J against I/1 perfect in T, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 426.

G94	J ₁ iii 7 T ₂ ii 44	it-te-eh-su it-taḥ-su	OV(1) – Possible Assyrian dialect form in T. ⁵⁶⁴
G95	J ₁ iii 8 T ₂ ii 45	ki-ma GIM	OV – The preposition <i>kima</i> is written logographically in T.
G96	C iii 7 J ₁ iii 9	k]i-ma a-lit-ti ma-li-ti	SV(2) – C has a different phraseology compared to J. ⁵⁶⁵
G97	J ₁ iii 10 T ₂ ii 47	ú-nam-bi ú-nam-ba	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁶⁶
G98	J ₁ iii 10 T ₂ ii 47	DINGIR.MAḤ ^d be-let-DI[GIR.MEŠ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁶⁷
G99	J ₁ iii 12 T ₂ ii 49	ʾšá a-naʾ-ku áš-šú a-na-ku	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁴ The difference between the sources could reflect a dialectal shift of Babylonian /i/ > Assyrian /a/ for the stem vowel of certain roots, cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 602, and more specifically A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 437. M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 85-86, notes that on occasions when /i/ is written as /a/ it may be possible to detect an allophone of /i/, presumably [ä]. In the examples cited by Luukko it seems that this usually, though not exclusively, occurs after a dental, as is the case here. Interestingly Luukko holds that the allophone [ä] is most common among scribes of Babylonian origin, but the manuscript in question here is from Nineveh and written in Neo-Assyrian script. According to George, the blank space at the end of column vi would have held one of the long “type iv” colophons designating the tablet as written at the command of Ashurbanipal for his express use (see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 382-85, and 415).

⁵⁶⁵ C has a preposition plus feminine singular noun, *Ištar kima alitti*, “Ištar, like a woman in childbirth.” J lacks the preposition and has a feminine singular participle, *Ištar maliti*, “Ištar, a woman in childbirth.” See A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 886.

⁵⁶⁶ J has the Standard Babylonian form where final weak > /i/, against the Assyrian form in T where final weak > /a/, cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 598.

⁵⁶⁷ The form “DINGIR.MAḤ,” *ilu šīri*, or contextual *iltu šīrti*, “supreme goddess,” in J is contrasted with the proper noun in T, *Bēlet-ilī*, “Lady of the gods.” Both forms are titles for the same “archetypal female in childbirth,” (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 886), and the variation is thus treated as a lexical interchange.

⁵⁶⁸ J has *ša anaku*, “(regarding) which I,” against T *aššu anaku*, “because I.”

G100	J ₁ iii 12 T ₂ ii 49	ina ma-ḥar ina pu-ḥur	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁶⁹
G101	J ₁ iii 13 T ₂ ii 50	ina ma-ḥar ina pu-ḥur	SV(1) – Lexical interchange.
G102	J ₁ iii 15 T ₂ ii 25	a-na-ku-[u]m-ma ana-ku-um-ma	OV – J writes V-CV against VCV in T.
G103	J ₁ iii 17 T ₁ iii 2	DINGIR.DINGIR DINGIR.MEŠ	OV – Different spelling of the plural noun <i>ilū</i> . ⁵⁷⁰
G104	J ₁ iii 18 T ₁ iii 3	DINGIR.MEŠ aš-ru áš-bi i-na bi-ki-ti ina nu-ru-ub ni-is- ^ʿ sa-ti ba ^ʿ -k[u-ú	HV – Variant lines in J and T. ⁵⁷¹
G105	J ₁ iii 19 T ₁ iii 4	kat-ma šap-ta-šú-nu šab-ba šap-ta-šú-nu	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁷²
G106	J ₁ iii 20 T ₁ iii 5	6 ur-ra ^ʿ 6 ^ʿ ur-ri	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the oblique plural. ⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁹ The meaning conveyed in both sources may be contextually synonymous, where J has *ina maḥar*, “in the presence (of the gods),” and T has *ina puḥur*, “in the assembly (of the gods).” According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 887, T retains the superior text.

⁵⁷⁰ See also G92 above.

⁵⁷¹ C ostensibly follows J although not enough is preserved to be sure. According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 887, T is to be preferred over J, which is seen as a corruption due to contact with a similar line in *Atra-ḥasis*. In the present sources J has *ilū ašrū ašbī ina bikīti*, “downcast, the gods sat in grief,” (cf. *CAD* B 224b), whereas T has *ina nurub nissati bakū ittiša*, “in the wetness of lamentation, they wept with her.” Some difference in hermeneutic is evident between the sources. These lines are listed among “variant lines” in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 424.

⁵⁷² J has $\sqrt{\text{katāmu}}$, “closed,” against $\sqrt{\text{sabābu}}$, “parched” in T. The context of the narrative, where the subjects’ lips are stricken by fever, suggests a lexical interchange where J has replaced a difficult lexeme with a more familiar term, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 887-88.

⁵⁷³ J is read as /a/ for oblique plural (cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440) rather than as a collective singular.

G107	J ₁ iii 20 T ₁ iii 5	mu-šá-a-ti ʾ7[]	SV(2) – Extra cardinal number in T. ⁵⁷⁴
G108	J ₁ iii 21 T ₁ iii 6	il-lak šá-a-ru a-bu-ʾbu meʾ-ḥu-ú il-lak šá-ʾaʾ-ru ra-a-du mi- ḥu-ú a-b[u]	SV(3) – J preserves a different word order compared to T. ⁵⁷⁵
G109	J ₁ iii 21 T ₁ iii 6	(omits) ra-a-du	SV(2) – J lacks the term <i>rādu</i> , “downpour.”
G110	C iii 20a J ₁ iii 22a T ₁ iii 7a	7-ú u ₄ -ʾmu se-bu-ú u ₄ -mu 7-ʾú u ₄ -m[u]	OV – J writes the ordinal number syllabically.
G111	C iii 20a J ₁ iii 22a	ina i-na	OV – The preposition is written syllabically in J.
G112	C iii 20a J ₁ iii 22a T ₁ iii 7a	ina ka-šáʾ-[a]-ʾduʾ i-na ka-šá-a-ʾdiʾ k]a-šá-di	OV(l) – C has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁵⁷⁶
G113	J ₁ iii 22a T ₁ iii 7a	ka-šá-a-ʾdiʾ k]a-šá-di	OV – The long vowel in $\sqrt{kašādu}$ is written in J.

⁵⁷⁴ Though broken, the sign partially preserved in T, probably “7,” seems to be a number and not the sign MU (see the drawing in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, pl. 130). The expression in J, 6 *urru u mūšāti*, is restored in T as 6 *urri u 7 mūšāti*, even though the actual numbers are ultimately uncertain. We can only read T as holding extra, not necessarily contradictory, information; as A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 515-16 notes: “the number of nights on MS T could be almost anything.” In light of this fact an expansionary stylistic variation is counted rather a hermeneutic variation.

⁵⁷⁵ J has *šāru abūbu meḥu*, “wind, flood, storm,” against *šāru rādu miḥu abubu*, “wind, downpour, storm, flood” in T. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 888, notes that T is closer to the text of Atra-ḥasīs. The linguistic variation between the spelling of the word *meḥu* / *miḥu* is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

⁵⁷⁶ The expected case vowel for the I/1 infinitive $\sqrt{kašādu}$, “to arrive,” is /i/ for genitive singular because the infinitive follows the preposition *ina*. C can be read as reflecting an irregular Kuyunjik orthography where /i/ > /u/ for genitive singular, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440.

G114	C iii 20b	ʾitʾ-ta-raq me-ḥu-ú[]	SV(2) – J has a different formulation of the line against C and T. ⁵⁷⁷
	J ₁ iii 22b	ʾteʾ-riqʾ šu-ú a-bu-bu qab- la	
	T ₁ iii 7b	it-ta-raq m[i]	
G115	C iii 20b	me-ḥu-ú	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁷⁸
	T ₁ iii 7b	m[i	
G116	C iii 21	ša	OV – Different spelling of the relative pronoun.
	J ₁ iii 23	šá	
	T ₁ iii 8	šá	
G117	C iii 21	GIM	OV – The preposition is written syllabically in J.
	J ₁ iii 23	ki-ma	
	T ₁ iii 8	GIM	
G118	C iii 22	uš-ḥa-ri-ir	SV(1) – J has the enclitic particle “-ma” lacking in the other sources.
	J ₁ iii 24	uš-ḥa-ri-ir-ma	
	T ₁ iii 9	uš-ḥa-ri-ir	

⁵⁷⁷ The variation in the formulation of the line in J amounts to a difference in phraseology without a significant change in the contextual meaning. C and T have *ittaraq meḥû* ..., “the storm relented,” where the form of *ʾitarāqu*, “relent, take pity,” can be read as I/1 perfect, I/2 preterite, or IV/1 preterite, though in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 888, the form is read somewhat more definitively as “what appears to be the I/2 stem”). This contrasts with J, *teriḳ šû abūbu qabla*, which seems to have the active stative (the so-called ‘predicative verbal adjective’) plus the demonstrative pronoun, and mentions the *abūbu*, “Deluge,” in place of the *meḥû*, “storm.” This difficult phrase in J might therefore be translated as “the flood was relenting (from) battle,” in light of the comments in J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 27, which states that the active stative with an active intransitive verb should be translated with a ‘resultative’ sense. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 711 n. 26, translates J thus: “it was *relenting*, the Deluge, in respect of battle,” (italics in original). J. Bottéro, *L'Épopée de Gilgameš: Le grand homme qui ne voulait pas mourir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992) 192, has a variation on this: “Deluge ... cessèrent, après avoir distribué leurs coups (au hasard),” [(the) Deluge ... ceased, after dealing out blows (randomly)]. The unusual form of the active stative *teriḳ* in J possibly reflects an Assyrian dialect form where /a/ > /e/, on analogy with the form *ittahsū* > *ittehsū*, also in J and noted in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 437 (see G94 above).

⁵⁷⁸ J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 45 notes that the shift of /i/ > /e/ before the consonants /ḥ/ and /r/ is common, though “not consistently indicated in the writing system.” Thus the form of the lexeme in C, *meḥû*, might be considered a byform of *miḥû*.

G119	C iii 22 J ₁ iii 24	im-ḥul-lu im-ù-lu	OV – Probable spelling error in J. ⁵⁷⁹
G120	C iii 22 J ₁ iii 24	ʾikʾ-lu ik-la	OV(l) – Wrong stem vowel in final weak √ <i>kalû</i> , “abated, held back” in C. ⁵⁸⁰
G121	C iii 23 c ₃ iii 2ʹ	ap-pal-sa-am-ʾmaʾ ʾapʾ-[p]al[]	OV – J has CV-VC against CVC in the other sources.
G122	C iii 23 J ₁ iii 25 T ₁ iii 10	ap-pal-sa-am-ʾmaʾ ap-pa-al-sa ap-pal-sa-am-ma	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive suffix. ⁵⁸¹
G123	C iii 23 J ₁ iii 25 T ₁ iii 10	ap-pal-sa-am-ʾmaʾ ap-pa-al-sa ap-pal-sa-am-ma	SV(1) – J lacks the enclitic particle ‘ma.’
G124	C iii 23 J ₁ iii 25 T ₁ iii 10	u ₄ -ma ta-ma-ta u ₄ -ma	SV(2) – The interchange of lexemes amounts to a clarification in J. ⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ The most convincing explanation for this variant is that Û (𒍪𒍪) was erroneously written for ḪUL (𒍪𒍪) in J. An alternative possibility is that the form in J represents some linguistic elision of the guttural phoneme /h/ in this lexeme. The latter is highly unlikely given the regular writing of /h/ elsewhere in the tablet and the lack of any known parallel linguistic phenomena in the Akkadian dialects.

⁵⁸⁰ The form in C is listed among those that display the “wrong stem vowel in final weak verbs” in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441. J has the expected stem vowel /a/. The writing of incorrect stem vowels in Neo-Assyrian letters is noted in M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 150-51.

⁵⁸¹ The form in J varies from the other sources in orthography and grammatical form. The lack of ventive suffix in J against C and T precludes counting the orthographic variant between these sources in line with Rule 3.

⁵⁸² The term in J is √*tāmtu*, “sea,” written as *tāmatu* due to a literary interpolation of an anaptyctic vowel, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 432. In the context of the narrative J has Ūta-napištim gauging the state of the weather by looking “at the sea,” rather than “at the day” as the other sources have it. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 889, suggests that the variant in J is due to a misreading of the sign U₄ for TAM in a previous copy from which the scribe of J took his *Vorlage*. However, in the light of Rule 1 the reading of a variation in J stands.

G125	C iii 24 J ₁ iii 26 T ₁ iii 11 c ₃ iii 3'	u ù u u	OV – The conjunction is written differently in J.
G126	C iii 26 J ₁ iii 28 T ₁ iii 13 c ₃ iii 5'	[a]p-ti ap-te ap-ti ap-ti	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁸³
G127	C iii 27 J ₁ iii 29 T ₁ iii 14 c ₃ iii 6'	[]me'-es-ma uk-tam-mi-is-ma uk-tam-mi-is-ma uk-tam-me-es-m[a	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁸⁴
G128	J ₁ iii 31 T ₁ iii 16 c ₃ iii 8a'	ap-pa-li-is ap-pa-lis ap-pa-lis	OV – T and c have CVC against CV-VC in J.
G129	C iii 29 J ₁ iii 31 T ₁ iii 16 c ₃ iii 8a'	[]a- ^r a-ti kib-ra-a-ti kib-ra[]ti kib-ra-a-tu	OV(l) – c has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁵⁸⁵
G130	C iii 29 J ₁ iii 31 T ₁ iii 16 c ₃ iii 8a'	pa ^r -tu A.AB.BA pa-tu A.AB.BA a-n[a] pa- ^r a ^r []	SV(1) – T has the preposition <i>ana</i> , lacking in the other sources. ⁵⁸⁶
G131	C iii 29 J ₁ iii 31 c ₃ iii 8a'	pa ^r -tu pa-tu pa- ^r a ^r []	OV – The long vowel in the form <i>pātu</i> , “edge,” is written in c.

⁵⁸³ The form in J is expected, while the other sources conform to the Standard Babylonian orthography where terminating vowels in final weak verbs > /i/, cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 598.

⁵⁸⁴ The spelling in C and c is with /e/ where the stem vowel /i/ would be expected for $\sqrt{\text{kamāsu}}$, here written as II/2 reflexive, “sit (oneself) down, crouch.”

⁵⁸⁵ The form in c is more common amongst the Kuyunjik irregular orthographies, where the case vowel for the genitive singular or oblique plural is written as /u/, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440. However, in this case the tablet is from Babylonia.

⁵⁸⁶ The preposition in T is partially restored, but may be read *appalis kibrāti ana pātu tâmti*, “I looked to the shoreline, towards the sea’s edge.” This nuanced reading is in contrast to the other sources which, lacking the preposition, have *appalis kibrāti pātu tâmti*, “I looked to the shoreline, the sea’s edge.”

G132	J ₁ iii 32 T ₁ iii 17	12.TA.ÀM 14.TA.ÀM	HV – Difference in cardinal numbers. ⁵⁸⁷
G133	J ₁ iii 33 T ₁ iii 18 c ₃ iii 9a'	a-na ana a-na	OV – The preposition is written logographically in T.
G134	J ₁ iii 33 T ₁ iii 18 c ₃ iii 9a'	a-na KUR ni-muš ana KUR ni-muš a-na ni-muš	SV(2) – c lacks the clarifying plus <i>šadu</i> , “mountain,” before the proper noun. ⁵⁸⁸
G135	J ₁ iii 34 T ₁ iii 19	kur ni-muš ni-muš	OV – The determinative KUR, <i>šadu</i> , is lacking in T.
G136	J ₁ iii 35 T ₁ iii 20a c ₃ iii 10a'	u ₄ -mu u ₄ -ma u ₄ '-ma	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G137	J ₁ iii 35 T ₁ iii 20a c ₃ iii 10a	2-a 2 2-a	OV – The ordinal number $\sqrt{\text{šanû}}$, “second,” is written without the phonetic complement in T.
G138	J ₁ iii 35 T ₁ iii 20a c ₃ iii 10a	u ₄ -mu u ₄ -ma u ₄ -ma	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁷ The number of regions of land appearing after the flood waters recede in J is given as 12, whereas this figure is given as 14 in T. The number of *nagû*, “regions,” varies between the sources, as in other texts as well. See, for example, the eight *nagû* on the so-called ‘Babylonian Map of the World,’ BM92687 (see W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998] 30-40), and the seven *nagû* mentioned in AO6478 (W. Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, 182). On the interpretation of the term *nagû* here as referring to “temporary islands surrounded by the receding waters of the flood” see W. Horowitz, *Cosmic Geography*, 31.

⁵⁸⁸ See S. Parpola, *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh: Cuneiform Text, Transliteration, Glossary, Indices and Sign List* (SAACT I; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997) 111 and 146, for the reading of the proper noun here as “ni-šir.”

⁵⁸⁹ According to J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 77, the case vowel /u/ represents both the nominative and accusative singular in Neo-Assyrian. This also seems to be true for some manuscripts from Babylonia, where manuscript j twice has /u/ for accusative singular (see G273 and G281 below).

G139	C iii 33b J ₁ iii 36 W ₂ iii 2b' c ₃ iii 11'	šal-šá šal-šá 3-šá 3-šá	OV – The ordinal number $\sqrt{\text{šalšu}}$, “third,” is written syllabically in C and J.
G140	C iii 33b J ₁ iii 36 W ₂ iii 2b' c ₃ iii 11'	u ₄ -ma u ₄ -mu u ₄ -ma u ₄ -ma	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G141	C iii 33b J ₁ iii 36 W ₂ iii 2b' c ₃ iii 11'	4-a re-ba-a 4-a 4-a	OV – The ordinal number $\sqrt{\text{rebû}}$, “fourth,” is written syllabically in J.
G142	C iii 33b J ₁ iii 36 W ₂ iii 2b' c ₃ iii 11'	u ₄ -ma u ₄ -mu u ₄ -ma u ₄ -ma	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G143	C iii 33b J ₁ iii 36	KUR-ú KUR-ú ni-muš	SV(2) – The proper noun is lacking in C. ⁵⁹⁰
G144	J ₁ iii 37 T ₁ iii 21a c ₃ iii 12'	5-šú 5-šá 5-šá	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G145	J ₁ iii 37 T ₁ iii 21a c ₃ iii 12'	5-šú 5-šá 5-šá u ₄ -ma	SV(2) – c has an expansive plus, <i>uma</i> , “(fifth) day,” lacking in the other sources.
G146	J ₁ iii 37 T ₁ iii 21a c ₃ iii 12'	6-šá 6-šá 6-šá u ₄ -ma	SV(2) – c has an expansive plus, <i>uma</i> , “(sixth) day,” lacking in the other sources.
G147	C iii 34b J ₁ iii 38 W ₂ iii 3b' c ₃ iii 13'	7-a 7-a 7-ú 7-ú	OV(1) – W and c have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵⁹¹

⁵⁹⁰ J has the inclusion of the proper noun (*šadû*) *Nimuš*, “(mount) Nimuš,” against *šadû*, “(the) mountain,” in C.

⁵⁹¹ Here and below (G148) J has the correct vowel /a/ for the accusative singular against /u/ in W and c. This is in contrast to the writing of the accusative singular with /u/ in J previously (see G136, G138, G140, G142 and G144 above).

G148	C iii 34b J ₁ iii 38 W ₂ iii 3b' c ₃ iii 13'	u ₄ -ma u ₄ -ma u ₄ -mu u ₄ -mu	OV(l) – W and c have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G149	C iii 34b J ₁ iii 38 c ₃ iii 13'	ina i-na [i]na	OV – The preposition is written syllabically in J.
G150	C iii 34b J ₁ iii 38	ka-šá-a-di ka-šá-d[i]	OV – C writes the long medial vowel in $\sqrt{kašādu}$, “to arrive.”
G151	C iii 35b J ₁ iii 39b W ₂ iii 4b' c ₃ iii 15'	i-pi-ra-am-m[a] i-tu-ram-m[a] i-pi[] i-t[u]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁹²
G152	J ₁ iii 40 W ₂ iii 5' c ₃ iii 16'	i-pa-áš-šum-ma []pa-DA-áš-šum'-ma i- [?] pa-áš-šum [?] -ma [?]	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁵⁹³

⁵⁹² According to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 889, the obscure verb in C and W, $\sqrt{lepēru}$, “to provide food,” is exchanged with a more commonly known lexeme, $\sqrt{tāru}$, “to return,” in J and c. The reading of the sign PI (𒀭) as TÚ (𒀭) might otherwise be the result of scribal error or damage to the *Vorlage*, but here the form is read as a lexical exchange.

⁵⁹³ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 712, marks this variant as a scribal error in W. However, the sign is clearly seen in the drawing (pl. 136), so the scribe clearly wrote the sign intentionally. If this is not an error then the meaning of the form in W is uncertain. The reading of the form “i-pa-ta-áš-šum'-ma” as I/2 preterite or I/1 perfect of $\sqrt{lepešu}$ is problematic as one would expect *itepuššumma* instead of *ipataššumma*. In this instance a metathesis of the second and third signs would have to be presumed, and the vowels explained. If, however, the form was read as IV/3 preterite or IV/2(!) present future of $\sqrt{bašû}$, then a grammatical variant may be counted. The present study does count this variant as such in the light of Rule 1, though it should be noted that George’s assumption of scribal error is probably the most likely explanation of this difficult form.

G153	C iii 36 J ₁ iii 40 W ₂ iii 5' c ₃ iii 16'	šim-ma i-pa-áš-šum-ma []pa-DA-aš-šum'-ma i- [?] pa-áš-šum'-ma [?]	SV(1) – Difference in gender of the dative pronominal suffix. ⁵⁹⁴
G154	C iii 37a J ₁ iii 41a W ₂ iii 6a'	ša]r ú-maš-šir ú-maš-š[ar	OV(1) – The stem vowel of $\sqrt{wašāru}$, “to send,” is different in J. ⁵⁹⁵
G155	C iii 37b J ₁ iii 41b W ₂ iii 6b'	i-pi-ra-a[m i-tu-ram-m[a] i-pi'-r[a	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁵⁹⁶
G156	C iii 38 J ₁ iii 42 W ₂ iii 7'	man-za-z[u man-za-zu]-su	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁵⁹⁷
G157	C iii 38 J ₁ iii 42	ši]m-ma i-pa-áš-šam-ma	SV(1) – Difference in gender of the dative pronominal suffix. ⁵⁹⁸
G158	C iii 39 J ₁ iii 43 W ₂ iii 8a'	b]a a-ri-bi]ri-ba	OV(1) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁵⁹⁹
G159	J ₁ iii 46 W ₄ iii 1'	ni-qa-a n]i-q[u	OV(1) – W has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁴ C seems to read TU.MUŠEN as *summatu*, “dove,” a feminine noun if we are to read the dative pronominal suffix “-šimma” as correct. All other sources have this noun as masculine, thus reading TU.MUŠEN as *summu*, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 889.

⁵⁹⁵ Both complete sources reflect the consonantal shift /w/ > /m/ (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 259 and 597). The form in J is II/1 preterite *umaššir*, “I released,” while C has the II/1 durative *umaššar*, “I was releasing.” W, though broken, ostensibly follows C.

⁵⁹⁶ See above, G151.

⁵⁹⁷ See J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 9-10, on the contact of sibilants, voiced and unvoiced, in Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian. In particular, the Babylonian voiced phoneme /z/ is theorised to have a voiceless allophone [s] in Neo-Assyrian.

⁵⁹⁸ See above, G152.

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439.

⁶⁰⁰ The sign in W is very difficult to see in the drawing in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, pl. 136, however the exclusion of the sign QA as a possible reading seems certain. The writing of /u/ for accusative singular, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441, seems the most likely reading.

G160	C iii 46a J ₁ iii 50a	i-ʿši-nù i-ši-nu	OV – Different spelling of the verb $\sqrt{e\check{s}ēnu}$, “to smell (a fragrance).”
G161	J ₁ iii 50b W ₄ iii 4b’	i-ri-šá ʿe-ri-šá	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁰¹
G162	J ₁ iii 50b W ₄ iii 4b’	DÛG.G[A] ta[]	OV – W writes the adjective $\sqrt{t}abu$, “good,” syllabically.
G163	C iii 47 J ₁ iii 51 c ₂ iii 1’	ʿki-iʿ ki-ma ʿki-maʿ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁶⁰²
G164	C iv 1 J ₁ iii 53	^d a-nu-um ^d a-num	OV – C has CV-VC against CVC in J.
G165	J ₁ iii 53 W ₃ iii 1’	ṣu-ḫi-šú]ḫi-šú	OV – The pronominal suffix is written as ŠU in W.
G166	C iv 2 J ₁ iii 54 c ₂ iii 4’	an-nu-tum an-nu-ti an-nu-ʿtumʿ	OV(l) – C and c have the wrong case vowel for the oblique plural. ⁶⁰³

⁶⁰¹ The variation of the first vowel in the lexeme *erešu*, “scent, fragrance,” may reflect a difference in pronunciation although the two vowels seem to be in free-variation (cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 27, especially note 35 and the references there). See also the comments in notes and above.

⁶⁰² This reading follows A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 429, where the variation is classed among “minor differences in words or expressions,” and also *CAD* K 316 and 363, where these lexemes are listed as separate entries.

⁶⁰³ The case vowel in J is correct for the oblique plural form of the demonstrative *annûti*, which is given as the nominative plural form *annûtu* in C and c. It is difficult to make sense of the nominative form in this context as the subject seems to clearly be the speaker Bēlet Ilī. The form of the demonstrative in C and c is therefore read as /u/ for oblique (accusative) plural, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440.

G167	J ₁ iii 54 W ₃ iii 2'	a-a am-ši omits	SV(2) – Expansive plus in J, lacking in W. ⁶⁰⁴
G168	C iv 2 J ₁ iii 54 c ₂ iii 4'	an-nu-tum an-nu-ti an-nu- ^ʿ tum ^ʿ	OV(l) – C and c have the wrong case vowel for the oblique plural.
G169	C iv 3 J ₁ vi 1 c ₂ iii 5'	UD.MEŠ UD.MEŠ [UD.M]E	OV – The plural marker is written as ME in C. ⁶⁰⁵
G170	C iv 3 J ₁ iii 54 c ₂ iii 4'	lu-ú-uh-su-sa-a[m ah-su-sa-am-ma ^ʿ ah ^ʿ]	SV(1) – C has an additional precative particle, lacking in the other sources. ⁶⁰⁶
G171	J ₁ iv 1 W ₃ iii 3'	am-ši am-si	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁴ The plus, $\sqrt{mašû}$, “to forget,” is noted in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 891, as a dittography from the following line. This is due to its singular occurrence in J, against W, and its absence from the Old Babylonian epic of Atra-ḫasīs. He translates the lines accordingly, minus the repeated negative phrase: “Oh gods, let these [great flies] be lapis lazuli (beads) around my neck, so that I remember these days and never forget them!” (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 715). The repeated phrase *ai imšî* does read well enough in context, though, and can thus be counted as an alternative reading in the light of Rule 1: *ilī annûti lu uqnî kišādīa ai amšî; ūmē annûti lu aḫsusamma ana dāriš ai amšî*, “Oh gods, may these (great flies) be lapis lazuli about my neck, I will not forget; may I surely remember these days for ever, I will not forget.” An alternative reading that retains the repetition is given in J. Bottéro, *L'Épopée de Gilgameš*, 195: Ô dieux ici presents ... , je n'oublierai jamais (ces) lazulites de mon collier! Jamais je n'oublierai ... , ces jours; j'en ferai perpétuellement mémoire!” [Oh gods here present, never shall I forget (these) lazulites of my necklace! Never shall I forget these days; I will always remember].

⁶⁰⁵ Two readings are possible for c: the second sign is either a variant writing of the plural determinative, ME, or a phonetic complement. In either case the reading is *ūmī*, “days.”

⁶⁰⁶ The precative in C is written as preterite in J and c. This is counted as an additional particle in C, where the cohortative sense of the verb *luḫsusamma*, “may I surely remember,” is rendered as *aḫsamma*, “I have surely remembered,” (both forms with emphatic “-ma”) in the other sources. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 891, notes that the lack of the predicate in J and c is a corruption.

⁶⁰⁷ W may reflect a variant pronunciation of the sibilant /š/ > /s/ for the lexeme $\sqrt{mašû}$, “to forget,” cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 9-10.

G172	C iv 4 J ₁ iv 2 c ₂ iii 6'	[DI]NGIR.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ DINGI]R?	OV – The plural marker MEŠ is lacking in c. ⁶⁰⁸
G173	J ₁ iv 3 W ₃ iii 4b'	sur-qin-ni sur-qí-ni	OV – The doubling of the final consonant in J is read as an orthographic variant.
G174	C iv 6 J ₁ iv 4 c ₂ iii 8'	im-tal-ku-ma im-tal-ku-ma im-tal-li-ku[	OV(l) – c has the durative form against the preterite in the other sources. ⁶⁰⁹
G175	C iv 7 J ₁ iv 5	u ù	OV – The conjunction is written as U in C.
G176	J ₁ iv 5 W ₃ iii 6'	ana 'a'-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in W.
G177	C iv 10 J ₁ iv 7b c ₂ iv 3	lib-ba-ti lib-ba-ti b]a-a-te	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶¹⁰
G178	J ₁ iv 7b c ₂ iv 3	im-ta-li im-ta-la	OV(l) – J has the wrong stem vowel for final weak $\sqrt{malû}$, “to be filled.” ⁶¹¹
G179	J ₁ iv 7b c ₂ iv 3	DINGIR.DINGIR 'DINGIR'.MEŠ	OV – The plural noun <i>ilû</i> , “gods,” is written as a compound logogram in J. ⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁸ The sign in c is broken but MEŠ can probably be discounted on account of the top of the vertical wedge that can be seen at the right side of the sign in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, pl. 138. The singular form DINGIR is the most obvious reading, but ultimately this is uncertain as the sign could be part of a compound plural form DINGIR.DINGIR, such as is preserved in J, against c, in G179 below.

⁶⁰⁹ The variation is counted as a difference in tense in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427.

⁶¹⁰ It is possible that c, a manuscript from Ashur, may reflect a variant pronunciation of the ultimate vowel. See the suggestion in J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 27, that in Neo-Assyrian the allophone [e] is occasionally written for /i/. The writing of the long vowel /a/ in $\sqrt{libbātu}$, “anger, wrath,” is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

⁶¹¹ The verb in J is counted among forms with the “wrong stem vowel in final weak verbs” in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441.

⁶¹² See also the possible reading of this form of the plural in c above, G172.

G180	C iv 11a J ₁ iv 8a c ₂ iv 4	a-a- [˘] um-ma [˘] a-a-um-ma [n]u-um-ma	SV(2) – Exchange of lexemes clarifying the sense of the phrase. ⁶¹³
G181	C iv 11a J ₁ iv 8a c ₂ iv 4	ú-š[i ú-ši ú-šu	OV(l) – c has the wrong stem vowel for 3ms preterite $\sqrt{wašû}$, “to go forth.”
G182	J ₁ iv 9b c ₂ iv 6b	MU-ár MU-ra	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive suffix. ⁶¹⁴
G183	C iv 13 J ₁ iv 10 c ₂ iv 7a	m]a-ti a-ma-tu a-mat	OV(l) – J has the wrong case vowel for the oblique plural.
G184	C iv 13 J ₁ iv 10 c ₂ iv 7a	i- [˘] ba [˘] -a[n i-ban-n[i] i-ban-ni	OV – C has CV-VC against CVC in J and c.
G185	J ₁ iv 11 c ₂ iv 7b	ù u	OV – The conjunction is written as Û in J.
G186	C iv 14 J ₁ iv 11	ka-lu ka-la	OV(l) – C has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.

⁶¹³ The masculine indefinite demonstrative pronoun *ayumma*, “this,” in C and J is difficult in this context as it seems to refer to a feminine noun, *napištu*, “soul.” A better reading is given in c to which may be restored the interrogative adverb *ayanūma*, “where,” which suits the context grammatically and maintains the sense: *ayanūma ūši napišti*, “from where has life escaped?” The text of C and J is acceptable as it is given in *CAD* A 1 237b and A 2 367b: *ayumma ūši napišti*, “has someone escaped with his life?” Even so, in this interpretation the auxiliary verb and possessive pronoun must be supplied in the translation. In fact, c makes the best sense without demanding too much from the translator, and it is in this regard that this manuscript “has the better tradition of reading in this line” (A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 891).

⁶¹⁴ The form in c can be read as a ventive in context: *izakkara ana quradi Enlil*, “he said to the hero Enlil.” J has essentially the same sense given that it too has the preposition *ana* before the genitive. The lack of ultimate vowel in J could be read as a defective ventive, cf. M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 36. Alternatively the extraneous ultimate vowel carried by the verb in c might be read as a post stress anaptyctic vowel of the type CVC > CV+CV, cf. M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 105, or as an orthographic peculiarity of the type “CV for C,” cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441. See also G1, G226 and G233.

G187	C iv 15a J ₁ iv 12a b obv. 1a' c ₂ iv 8a	- [˘] sú [˘] pa-a-šú š]u p]a- [˘] a [˘] -šú	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in b.
G188	C iv 15b J ₁ iv 12b c ₂ iv 8b	r]a MU-ár MU-ra	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive suffix. ⁶¹⁵
G189	J ₁ iv 12b c ₂ iv 8b	qu-ra-du qu [˘] -ra-di	OV(l) – J has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular. ⁶¹⁶
G190	C iv 17 J ₁ iv 14 c ₂ iv 10	t]a-li[k tam-ta-lik-ma]˘tal-lik [˘] -ma	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical forms. ⁶¹⁷
G191	C iv 17 J ₁ iv 14	b]u-ba a-bu-bu	OV(l) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶¹⁸
G192	C iv 17 J ₁ iv 14 b obv. 2b'	ki- [˘] i [˘] [ki-i-ki-i ki-ki[	OV – The interrogative <i>kīkī</i> , “how,” is written differently in b.
G193	C iv 18a J ₁ iv 15a c ₂ iv 11	ár-ni ḥi-ti á]r-n[i]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁶¹⁹
G194	C iv 18a J ₁ iv 15a b obv. 3a'	]ta-šú ḥi-ta-a-šú ḥi-ta- [˘] šu [˘]	OV – The medial vowel is written as long in J.

⁶¹⁵ See G182 above, and also note , for alternative readings for the ultimate vowel in the other sources that is lacking in J.

⁶¹⁶ Cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441.

⁶¹⁷ The form in c appears to be I/2 present future or II/1 perfect of $\sqrt{malāku}$, “to counsel, advise,” against I/2 preterite in the other sources. Without the first part of the verb in c preserved it is impossible to make a judgement on which grammatical form was written there, *tamtallikma* or *tumtallikma*. In any case a difference in stem or tense exists between the sources, and in light of G174 a difference in tense is most likely.

⁶¹⁸ Cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 440.

⁶¹⁹ The sense remains the same between the sources. C and c have \sqrt{arnu} , “guilt, wrong doing,” against $\sqrt{hītu}$, “fault, crime,” in J.

G195	C iv 18a J ₁ iv 15a b obv. 3a'	]ṭa-šú ḫi-ṭa-a-šú ḫi-ṭa-ṣu'	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in b.
G196	C iv 20 J ₁ iv 17a	am-ma-ki am-ma-ku	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶²⁰
G197	J ₁ iv 17a b obv. 5a'	taš-ku-nu n]a	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶²¹
G198	C iv 20 J ₁ iv 17a b obv. 5a'	a-bu-b[u] a-bu-ba a-bu-ba	OV(l) – C has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G199	C iv 22a J ₁ iv 18a	am-ma-ki am-ma-ku	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
G200	C iv 22a J ₁ iv 18a	taš-k[un taš-ku-nu	OV – C has CVC against CV-CV in J. ⁶²²
G201	C iv 23a J ₁ iv 19a	am-ma-ki am-ma-ku	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
G202	C iv 23a J ₁ iv 19a	taš-ku[n taš-ku-nu	OV – C has CVC against CV-CV in J.
G203	C iv 24a J ₁ iv 20a	am-ma-ki am-ma-ku	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
G204	C iv 24a J ₁ iv 20a	taš-ku[n taš-ku-nu	OV – C has CVC against CV-CV in J.
G205	C iv 24b J ₁ iv 20b	KUR ÙG.MEŠ	SV(2) – Lexical interchange, counted as a clarifying plus in J. ⁶²³

⁶²⁰ J consistently writes the conjunction *ammaki*, “instead of,” as *ammaku*. The form in J is relatively common, though the Standard Babylonian form is found in C (cf. *CAD* A 2 67b). See also G199, G201 and G203.

⁶²¹ The ventive suffix is written with /u/ in J, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441.

⁶²² The damage to C makes it impossible to know the exact sequence of signs, but one could assume that the final sign may have doubled the third radical. Perhaps CVC-CV was contained therein, but considering the broken state of the tablet it is only possible to count this variant as orthographic. See also G202 below.

⁶²³ The object in C is KUR, *māta*, “land,” given in J as ÙG.MEŠ, *nišī*, “life(s).” The context suggests a clarifying stylistic variation, where one lexeme is exchanged for another that suits the phraseology particu-

G206	C iv 25 J ₁ iv 21	ana-ku a-na-ku	OV – C has VCV against V-CV in J.
G207	C iv 25 J ₁ iv 21 b obv. 9'	e[p ap-ta-a a]p-ta-a	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶²⁴
G208	C iv 27 J ₁ iv 23a	š]u mi-lik-šú	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in C.
G209	J ₁ iv 23b b obv. 12'	^d IDIM ^d é-a LUGAL	HV – Different proper nouns given in the sources. ⁶²⁵
G210	C iv 28 J ₁ iv 23b	ˀa-naˀ ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in J.
G211	J ₁ iv 24 b obv. 13'	ul-te-la-an-ni uš-te-la-a[n	OV(l) – Difference in pronunciation. ⁶²⁶

lar to the scribe. C has: *Erra litbamma māta*, “Erra may destroy the land;” this is against J: *Erra litbamma nišī*, “Erra may destroy life.” In context the sources essentially agree in their meaning, namely that the eradication of all life is potentially at hand. Even though, strictly speaking, the two nouns, *māta* and *nišī*, have significantly divergent semantic ranges when divorced of this particular context, the contextual setting must be taken into account. C maintains the poetic repetition begun in line 193 (according to the line numbering in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 714-15), and we therefore read J as clarifying the meaning implied in C – all forms of life are at risk.

⁶²⁴ The form in C has the verb preformative /a/ > /i/ for the 1cs I/1 preterite of $\sqrt{\text{petû}}$, “to open, reveal.” A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 428, lists this among possible differences in dialect. See also the references in notes , and .

⁶²⁵ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 717 n. 44 notes that b is corrupt. In this source “King Ea” takes Ūta-napišti from the boat following the subsidence of the Deluge, whereas J has Enlil. If not a corruption, the reason behind the substitution of Ea for Enlil in b is unclear. Perhaps there is some geo-political or socio-religious impetus for the change, as is suggested for a similar change in the manuscripts of the Laws of Hammurabi (see H2 and H132).

⁶²⁶ The expected consonantal shift /š/ > /l/ before dentals, reflecting Standard Babylonian (J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 596), is not applied in b. The same shift is generally expected in Neo-Assyrian before voiced velar plosives, though this is probably a Babylonianism (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 22 n. 30, and see also G82 and G231). The form in b is therefore archaic, or perhaps more correctly a phonological archaism.

G212	C iv 33 J ₁ iv 28	ki-i ki-ma	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁶²⁷
G213	C iv 35 J ₁ iv 30	pi-i KA	OV – The bound form of $\sqrt{pû}$, “mouth,” is written logographically in J.
G214	C iv 36 J ₁ iv 31	n]a man-nu	OV(l) – C has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular of the interrogative pronoun \sqrt{mannu} , “who, whoever.”
G215	C iv 37 J ₁ iv 32	b]a-ú tu-ba-’-ú	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶²⁸
G216	C iv 38 J ₁ iv 33	u ù	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in C.
G217	C iv 42 J ₁ iv 37	ba-la-ṭ[a] ba-la-ṭu	OV(l) – J has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G218	C iv 44 J ₁ iv 39	ru-’ú’-[qí] ru-qí	OV – The long vowel in medial weak $\sqrt{rūqu}$, “faraway, distant,” is written in C.
G219	C v 1 J ₁ iv 45	re-ši-š[u] re-ši-šú	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in C.
G220	C v 3 J ₁ iv 47	i-pi e-pi	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶²⁹

⁶²⁷ See also G63 and G163 above, and note .

⁶²⁸ The elision of the glottal stop, or ‘hamza,’ in medial position between two dissimilar vowels is common in Neo-Assyrian orthography, cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 13-14.

⁶²⁹ The 1cs verb preformative /i/ > /e/ is considered an Assyrian dialect form, for which see note .

G221	C v 3 J ₁ iv 47	iš-tak-ka-ni iš-tak-ka-an	OV(l) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ⁶³⁰
G222	C v 4 J ₁ iv 48	u ṽ	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in C.
G223	C v 5 J ₁ iv 49 j v 7'	iš-ta-at t]a-ṽat' 1[	OV – The feminine form of the ordinal number <i>išteat</i> , “one,” is written syllabically in C and J.
G224	C v 8 j v 11'	se-ṽbu-ṽ-tum 7[	OV – The ordinal number <i>šebūtum</i> , “seven,” is written syllabically in C.
G225	C v 8 J ₁ v 1	i-ṽte-ṽ-gél-ta-ṽa' ig-gél-ta-a	OV(l) – Difference in stem or tense. ⁶³¹
G226	C v 9 J ₁ v 2	MU-ra MU-ár	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive suffix. ⁶³²
G227	J ₁ v 2 T ₁ iv 6'	ru-qí r]u-ú-qí	OV – The long vowel in the medial weak <i>√rūqu</i> , “faraway, distant,” is written in T.
G228	C v 12 J ₁ v 5 T ₁ iv 9'	^d G[IS̄-gí]m-maš ^{md} GIŠ-gím-maš ^d GIŠ-gím-maš	OV – J has the masculine proper noun determinative preceding the divine determinative.
G229	J ₁ v 6 T ₁ iv 11'	ku-ru-um-me-ti-ka u]m-ma-ti-ka	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶³³

⁶³⁰ The final vowel in C may be read as a defective form of the Neo-Assyrian subjunctive maker, ‘-ū ... ni,’ cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 92, or as a redundant final vowel, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 442. The latter is more likely, perhaps under the influence of the I/3 feminine singular imperative form in line 221 *šitakkanī* (according to the line numbering in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 716). If, on the other hand, a subjunctive form is assumed, one would have to read the form in C as a defective writing of **ištakkanūni* > *ištakkani*, where the subjunctive marker ‘-ū’ has dropped out entirely, and the final consonant of the root **škn*, “to put, place,” has assimilated to the subjunctive marker ‘-ni.’ Such a reading is possible but unlikely. On the ‘serial’ sense of the I/3 form of this root, meaning “to place (objects) one by one in a row,” see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 893.

⁶³¹ See CAD N 1 106b, and A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427, where this variant is listed as a “difference of tense, stem or mood.” The form in C is a IV/1 perfect or IV/2 preterite of the intransitive verb *√nagaltū*, “to awake,” while the form in J is read as a IV/1 preterite.

⁶³² See also G1, G182 and G233, and note above.

G230	C v 13 J ₁ v 6 T ₁ iv 11'	t]e- ^ˈ ka ^ˈ ku-ru-um-me-ti-ka u]m-ma-ti-ka	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶³⁴
G231	J ₁ v 9 T ₁ iv 14a'	]ul-tum 3-tum	OV – J writes the ordinal number <i>šalultum</i> , “third,” syllabically. ⁶³⁵
G232	C v 17 J ₁ v 12 T ₁ iv 16 W ₁ v 4'	]at- ^ˈ ta ^ˈ al-pu-ut-ka a-na-ku te-et[g]él-ta-a at-ta e]t-te-gél-ta[	SV(2) – J has a different phraseology compared to the other sources. ⁶³⁶
G233	J ₁ v 13 T ₁ iv 17'	MU-ár MU-ra	OV(l) – J lacks the ventive suffix.
G234	C v 18 J ₁ v 13 T ₁ iv 17	]ú-qí ru-qí ru-ú-qí	OV – The long vowel in medial weak <i>√rūqu</i> , “faraway, distant,” is written in C and T.
G235	J ₁ v 13 W ₁ v 6'	u]t-ZI u]t-ZI-tim	OV – The proper noun “Ūta-napišti(m)” is written with a phonetic complement in W.
G236	J ₁ v 14 T ₁ iv 18'	a-a-ka-ni]a ^ˈ -i-ka	OV(l) – Difference in grammatical forms. ⁶³⁷

⁶³³ The feminine marker ‘-āt’ is written as “-ēt” in J. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 428, lists this as a possible Assyrian dialect form.

⁶³⁴ The writing /e/ for the oblique plural in C is perhaps a reflection of Assyrian pronunciation. See the references in note above.

⁶³⁵ The form in J reflects the Standard Babylonian shift /š/ > /l/ before a voiceless dental plosive. See the notes to G82 and G211 above.

⁶³⁶ The flow of the narrative is essentially the same between the sources, but J changes the subject and exchanges the intransitive verb *√nagālu*, “to awake,” for the transitive verb *√lapātu*, “to touch.” Though the sources C, T and W must all be partially reconstructed, it seems reasonable to read them all similarly: *tet-tegeltā atta*, “you awoke,” against J: *alputka anāku*, “I touched you.”

⁶³⁷ CAD A 1 231b lists the form in T, *ajika*, as a variant spelling of the form in J, *ayikāni*. Both are forms of the interrogative *√ayikī'am*, “where.” Alternatively the ending “-ani” in J could be read as a 1cs accusative pronominal suffix in context: *ayikāni lullik*, “where may I, even I, go?” Another possibility is to read a Neo-Assyrian subjunctive ending, cf. J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 92. In the light of Rule 4 a grammatical variation is counted.

G237	J ₁ v 15 T ₁ iv 19'	t]a uṣ-ṣab-bi-tu ₄	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶³⁸
G238	J ₁ v 16 T ₁ iv 20'	mu-ú-tum mu-tum	OV – The long vowel in medial weak $\sqrt{m\dot{u}tu}$, “death,” is written in J.
G239	J ₁ v 20 b rev. 7'	aḥ-šá aḥ- [˘] šá'	OV – The pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠA in b.
G240	J ₁ v 21a b rev. 8a'	n]a-as-su pa [˘] -na-su	OV – The long vowel in the noun $\sqrt{pan\dot{a}tu}$, “front part,” is written in J. ⁶³⁹
G241	C v 29 J ₁ v 24 T ₁ v 8 b rev. 11'	me- [˘] e [˘]] _˘ M]EŠ A.MEŠ m]e-e	OV – The plural noun $\sqrt{m\dot{e}}$, “water,” is written logographically in J and T.
G242	J ₁ v 24 T ₁ v 8 b rev. 11'	GIM GI]M [˘] ki-ma'	OV – The preposition <i>kīma</i> is written syllabically in b.
G243	C v 30b J ₁ v 25b W ₁ v 16b	ṭa-a-bu ṭa-a-bu [ṭ]a [˘] -[bu]- [˘] um [?]	OV(l) – W preserves mimation, lacking in the other sources. ⁶⁴⁰
G244	C v 30b J ₁ v 25b W ₁ v 16b	[˘] ṭa-a-bu ṣú-pu [˘]] _˘ ṭa-a-bu lu ṣa-pu [ṭ]a [˘] -[bu] [˘] um [?] ṣú [˘] -p[u	SV(2) – J has a different phraseology compared to the other sources. ⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁸ The form in T is read as a Neo-Assyrian orthographic variation of the ventive suffix where /a/ > /u/. This is the same categorisation of this variant as found in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 441.

⁶³⁹ One possibility is to read the form in b as $\sqrt{pan\dot{u}}$, “front,” plus 3ms pronominal suffix, and therefore to count this variant as a lexical interchange. Such a reading is not preferred as it does not make sense of the writing of the sibilant in both sources as /s/. If the root is read as *panātu* in both sources the orthography satisfies the phonological change expected where a dental plosive [t] plus a palatal sibilant [š] combine to become a single long alveolar sibilant /ss/. Interpreting the orthography of b as simply defective is therefore the best reading in terms of the grammar. See J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 87.

⁶⁴⁰ The sign in W is very damaged, but a variant of some kind is certain based on the remaining material. The variant here is read according to A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 718, where the sign UM is restored.

⁶⁴¹ C and W both have a masculine singular imperative verb referring to the subject, Ur-šanabi: *ṭābu ṣupū zumuršu*, “soak his body well.” This is in contrast to J which has the precative particle *lū* plus a verbal adjective referring to the state of the object: *ṭābu lū ṣapū zumuršu*, “let his body be soaked well.”

G245	J ₁ v 25b b rev. 13a'	zu-mur-šú z]u-m[ur]-šu	OV – The pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in b.
G246	C v 31 J ₁ v 26 W ₁ v 17a' b rev. 13b'	lu-ú ud-du-u[š -g]u d]u-uš pár-si-gu lu-ú ud-du-šú par-si-gi lu-ú[d]u-u[š -]si-gu	SV(2) – The subject is clarified in the other sources against W. ⁶⁴²
G247	C v 31 J ₁ v 26 W ₁ v 17a'	S[AG.D]U-šú qaq-qa-di-šú D]U-šú	OV – The noun <i>qaqqadu</i> , “head,” is written syllabically in J.
G248	C v 32a T1 v 11 W1 v 17b	te-di-qí te-di-qí te-di-qa	OV(l) – C and T have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁴³
G249	C v 32a J ₁ v 27 T ₁ v 11 W ₁ v 17b	lu-ú]´ú' lu lu	OV – The long vowel in the precativ particle <i>lū</i> is written in C and J.

⁶⁴² Though C and b are damaged they appear to agree with J. These are read: *lū udduš parsīgu ša qaqqadišu*, “may the head-band of his head be renewed.” W has a different phraseology here, with three different possibilities in translation: (i) the subject shifts from the noun $\sqrt{\text{parsīgu}}$, “head-band,” to an indefinite plural “they,” and the noun becomes the object *parsīgi*, “head-band,” marked as accusative singular with the wrong case vowel /a/ > /i/; (ii) the subject shifts from the noun *parsīgu* to an indefinite plural “they,” and the noun becomes a plural object *parsīgī*, “head-bands,” marked as oblique plural /ī/; (iii) the noun *parsīgī* is plural and remains as the subject, being marked with the wrong case vowel /ū/ > /ī/. The latter reading, (iii), is preferred in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427, and we similarly read W as *lū udduš parsīgī ša qaqqadišu*, “may the head-bands of his head be renewed,” reflecting a difference in number for the subject, although this is taken as expanding the subject of the other sources, in terms of describing the attire of the protagonist. We therefore count the variant as an expansion or clarification rather than a difference in hermeneutic.

⁶⁴³ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 427, lists this as a difference in number, where C and T have the oblique plural against the accusative singular in W. There seems to be no reason why the forms in C and T cannot be read as instances of the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular /a/ > /i/, as is often read for similar variations, cf. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439. Here the reading that reflects the lesser variant type is preferred, in accordance with Rule 4.

G250	C v 32b J ₁ v 28a W ₁ v 18a'	URU-šú 'KUR'-šú URU-šú	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁶⁴⁴
G251	J ₁ v 28b W ₁ v 18a'	ana a-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in W.
G252	C v 33b J ₁ v 29 b rev. 15'	id-di-ma id-di i]d-di-ma	SV(1) – The emphatic particle “-ma” is lacking in J.
G253	C v 34 J ₁ v 30 W ₁ v 20'	an]a ana a']	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in W.
G254	C v 35 T v 15 W ₁ v 21'	ma-le-šú ma-le-šu [m]a-le-šú	OV – The 3ms possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in T.
G255	C v 35 J ₁ v 31	i]l-li el-li	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁴⁵
G256	C v 36b J ₁ v 32b T ₁ v 17 W ₁ v 23a'	ṭa-a-ba ṭa-a-bu ṭa-a-bu ṭa-a-bu	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁴⁶

⁶⁴⁴ C and W have a slightly different phrasing to J, but no significant difference is detectable between the sources. The narrative describes how Ūta-napišti arranges to dress Gilgamesh appropriately as a king for his return across the *apsū*. C and W have the destination of Gilgamesh's journey as *ālišu*, “his city,” against *mātišu*, “his land” in J.

⁶⁴⁵ The first vowel of the adjective is expected to be /e/, so the use of /i/ here in C probably indicates that the phonemes /i/ and /e/ are in free variation in this manuscript. The underlying difference would therefore be in terms of pronunciation only. On this see note above.

⁶⁴⁶ The ultimate vowel of the adverb $\sqrt{\text{tābu}}$ is expected as /u/, so C reflects a possible difference in pronunciation, cf. G214 where /u/ > /a/ for the nominative singular case vowel in the same manuscript.

G257	C v 36b J ₁ v 32b W ₁ v 23a'	iš-ša-ṛpi' iš-ša-pi iš-ša-pu	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁴⁷
G258	C v 36b J ₁ v 32b W ₁ v 23a'	SU-šú zu-mur-šú zu-mu[r]	OV – The noun $\sqrt{\text{zumru}}$, “body,” is written logographically in C.
G259	C v 37a J ₁ v 33a b rev. 18a'	š]ú S]AG.DU-šú]šu	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in b.
G260	C v 38a-39 J ₁ v 34 T ₁ v 20a-21 W ₁ v 24b'- 25b' b rev. 18b'- 19'	[i]l-[] ṛi-kaš-šá-du' ana ur-ḫi-šú []li-diš omits ṛa'-di ṛil'[] [] ṛte'[] [] ṛa'-di i-kaš-šá-du' ana ṛur-ḫi-šú' a-ṛ di il-la-ku'[] [] [d]i-ṛ ma e-de'-šu[]	SV(2) – Three lines omitted in J. ⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁷ The writing of the ultimate vowel in final weak $\sqrt{\text{šapû}}$ is expected to be /i/. The vowel in W could indicate the plural form of the verb, but in context the object of the verb is a singular noun plus possessive pronominal suffix *zumuršu*, “his body.” A possible explanation may be to read the orthography of W as reflecting a Neo-Assyrian shift of the final vowel towards the penultimate stressed vowel (see J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 32), where the vowels /a/ and /u/ in this verb represent the same underlying allophone [o].

⁶⁴⁸ J seems to lack the lines: *adi illaku ana ālišu adi ikaššadu ana urḫišu tēdiqu šīpa ay iddīma edēšu līdiš*, “until he goes to his city, he arrives at his path, may his garment show no stain but be always new.” The text is largely reconstructed, but can be restored with some confidence due to the overlap of the preserved sources. A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 894, posits that the omission in J is due to haplography, where the scribe skipped from the first instance of the noun *tēdiqu*, “garment,” in line 267 to the second instance in line 270 (according to George’s numbering of the lines in *Gilgamesh*, 720).

G261	J ₁ v 36 W ₁ v 27' b rev. 21'	M]U- ^r ár ^r MU ^r [za]k-ka-r[a	OV – The verb $\sqrt{\text{zakāru}}$, “to speak, mention,” is written syllabically in b. ⁶⁴⁹
G262	C v 44 W ₁ v 29'	mi-na-a mi-na	OV – C writes an extra vowel in the interrogative $\sqrt{\text{mīnu}}$, “what.”
G263	C v 45 W ₁ v 30a	u ù	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in C.
G264	C v 47 W ₁ v 31'	^m ut-ZI Z]I- ^r tim	OV – W has a phonetic complement on the final element of the proper noun Ūta-napišti
G265	C vi 16a j vi 9a	lib-bi ŠĀ	OV – The noun $\sqrt{\text{libbu}}$, “heart, midst,” is written syllabically in C.
G266	T ₁ vi 1 j vi 9b'	d]i? ši-ba-am-ma	Not Counted – The sign in T is too damaged to allow a certain reading.
G267	C vi 17 W ₁ vi 1'	^r šum-šū ² , []šá[	Not Counted – The sign in the first line of W ₁ vi may be from the previous line. ⁶⁵⁰
G268	C vi 17 T ₁ vi 2 j vi 10'	ši-i-bu b]u]i-bi	OV(l) – j has the wrong case vowel for the nominative singular.
G269	C vi 18 W ₁ vi 2'	a-na-ku ana- ^r ku	OV – C has V-CV against VCV in W.
G270	C vi 18 T ₁ vi 3 W ₁ vi 2' j vi 11'	a- ana ana a-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in C and j.
G271	T ₁ vi 3	ana šá su-uḥ-ri-ia-ma	SV(2) – W has a different phraseology com-

⁶⁴⁹ The possible ventive suffix appended to the verb in b (*cf.* G1, G182, G188, G226 and G233 above) is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

⁶⁵⁰ W may have combined lines 298 and 299 (according to George’s line numbering in *Gilgamesh*, 722) into one line that was written on the first line of column vi, meaning that this is a variation in the layout of the text rather than an actual textual variant. For this suggestion see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 896.

	W ₁ vi 2' j vi 11'	ana še-eh-ri-i[a a-na šá šu-uḥ-ri-ia-a-ma	pared to the other sources. ⁶⁵¹
G272	T ₁ vi 3 j vi 11'	ana šá su-uḥ-ri-ia-ma a-na šá šu-uḥ-ri-ia-a-ma	OV – j writes an extra vowel in the possessive pronominal suffix.
G273	C vi 19a T ₁ vi 4a W ₁ vi 3a' j vi 12'	ku-sa-pu ku-sa-pa ku-sa- ^ˈ pa' ku-sa-pu	OV(l) – C and j have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁵²
G274	T ₁ vi 4b W ₁ vi 3b'	a-na ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in T.
G275	C vi 20 W ₁ vi 4' j vi 14'	bu-ra bu-ú-ru b]u-ra	OV(l) – W has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁵³
G276	T ₁ vi 5 j vi 14'	A.MEŠ-šá A.MEŠ- ^ˈ ša'	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠA in j.
G277	C vi 21 W ₁ vi 5'	a-na ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in C.
G278	C vi 22a T ₁ vi 7 W ₁ vi 6a' j vi 16' z vi 2'	^ˈ i-te-ši-in' i]n i-te-še-en t]e-ši-in i]n	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁵¹ The omission of the relative particle and the lexical interchange in W affects the sense of the phrase. C and j, with the relative particle, have something of a comparative sense: *anāku lūkulma lūtur ana ša šuḥriama*, “let me eat, and let me turn into such as I was in my youth.” This is in contrast to W which lacks the relative particle and has a different form of the adjective: *anāku lūkulma lūtur ana šeḥri[ama]*, “let me eat, and let me turn into my childhood (form).” See CAD § 122a for *šeḥēru*, “young, small child” and CAD § 236b for *šuḥru*, “youth, young days.”

⁶⁵² The case vowel /u/ for the accusative singular is unexpected in the Babylonian manuscript j, *cf.* note above.

⁶⁵³ See the comments in note above.

⁶⁵⁴ W writes both vowels as [e] against the other sources. If the phonemes /i/ and /e/ are in free variation (see note above) this may reflect the actual pronunciation of the scribe, or may more simply be a habit of orthographic practice.

G279	C vi 22a T ₁ vi 7 W ₁ vi 6a' j vi 16' z vi 2'	ni-piš ni-piš n[i ni-piš pi [?]	SV(1) – Possible lexical interchange. ⁶⁵⁵
G280	T ₁ vi 8 j vi 3b' z vi 3b'	l]am-ma]la-ma i-lam-ma	OV – z has CV-CV against CVC-CV in the other sources.
G281	T ₁ vi 8 j vi 17'	šam-ma šam-mu	OV(l) – j has the wrong vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁵⁶
G282	C vi 23a W ₁ vi 7' z vi 4b'	ta [˘] -ri-šú t]a-ri- [˘] šu [˘]]šu	OV – The possessive pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠÚ in C.
G283	T ₁ vi 9 j vi 18' z vi 5'	[˘] qu [˘] [t]i qu-lip-tum]ta	OV(l) – T and j have the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁵⁷
G284	C vi 24a W ₁ vi 9a j vi 20'	i]l-la-k[a DU-ka il-la-ka	OV – The verb \sqrt{alaku} , “to go,” is written with a logogram plus phonetic complement in W.
G285	j vi 21' z vi 7b'	ma-la-ḥu MÁ.LAH ₅	OV – The noun $\sqrt{malāḥu}$, “boatman,” is written logographically in z.
G286	C vi 25 W ₁ vi 10a'	ma]n-ni-ia ma]n- [˘] ni [˘] -iá	OV – The 1cs pronominal suffix is written with the sign IÁ in W.
G287	C vi 25 W ₁ vi 10a j vi 22'	^m [˘] ur [˘] -šá[nabi ^m ur- ^d šánabi ^m ur-šánabi	OV – The proper noun Ur-šanabi is written with the inclusion of the divine determinative in W.

⁶⁵⁵ The sign at the end of line 2 in z is broken, but it is clearly not the sign NI and so cannot be read as $\sqrt{nipšu}$, “snort, smell.” The logogram IR with the value *nipšu* is also unlikely. The composite logogram PA.AN with the value *napīšu*, “breath, smell,” is the only possibility (though admittedly a remote one based on the traces in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, pl. 33). If read as such then this variation reflects a lexical interchange.

⁶⁵⁶ See also G273 above, and also note .

⁶⁵⁷ The form in T is listed among Kuyunjik texts displaying accusative forms with unexpected case vowels in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 439. On the blending of the nominative and accusative case vowels in j see note above.

G288	C vi 25 W ₁ vi 10a j vi 22' z vi 8'	^m ur'-šá[nabi ^m ur- ^d šánabi ^m ur-šánabi b]e	OV – The proper noun Ur-šanabi is written syllabically in z.
G289	W ₁ vi 10a' j vi 22' z vi 8'	i-na-ḥa i-na-ḥu e-na-ḥa	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁵⁸
G290	W ₁ vi 10a' j vi 22'	i-na-ḥa i-na-ḥu	SV(1) – Difference in the gender of the verb form. ⁶⁵⁹
G291	C vi 25 W ₁ vi 10a j vi 22' z vi 8'	ḵa'-a i-da-a-a i- ^r da'-a-a Á- ^r a'	OV – The noun <i>idu</i> , “arm,” is written logographically in z.
G292	C vi 26 W ₁ vi 10b'	a-na an[a	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in C.
G293	C vi 27a W ₁ vi 11' j vi 23b	áš-kun áš-kun áš-ku-un	OV – j has VC-CV-VC against VC-CVC in the other sources.
G294	C vi 27a W ₁ vi 11' j vi 23b z vi 9b'	dum-qa dum-qa dum-qa du-un-qi	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁸ The form of the verb $\sqrt{anāḥu}$, “to toil, exhaust oneself,” in z reflects the shift [i] > [e] in primae *aleph* roots. On this as a matter of morphology or free variation of the phonemes /i/ and /e/ see the comments in note above.

⁶⁵⁹ The object of the verb is “i-da-a-a.” The noun \sqrt{idu} , “arm,” is here probably to be read as a dual (a rare declension in Neo-Assyrian – see J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 77-78), and according to the verb form it is treated as feminine in W and masculine in j. The uncommon use of the dual form in Neo-Assyrian may explain the difference in the gender of the governing verb between the sources. The feminine plural form in z is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

⁶⁶⁰ The variant form in z is similar to a form in manuscript W, described as a dialect variant (see G298 and note below). This form of the noun \sqrt{dumqu} , “favour,” might be explained as reflecting linguistic change over two stages: /m/ is assimilated before the plosive /q/ (J. Hämeen-Anttila, *Neo-Assyrian Grammar*, 18), which is then subject to the phonetic change CC > /n/+C (see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 597). The variation in the ultimate vowel in z is not counted in the light of Rule 3.

G295	C vi 27a W ₁ vi 11' j vi 23b	ana a[a-na	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in C.
G296	C vi 27a W ₁ vi 11' j vi 23b z vi 9b'	ana a[a-na i- ^r na ^r ?	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁶⁶¹
G297	W ₁ vi 12' j vi 24'	qaq-qa-ri qa]q-qa-ru	OV(1) – j has the wrong case vowel for the genitive singular.
G298	C vi 27b W ₁ vi 12' j vi 24'	du]m-qi du-un[dum-qa	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁶²
G299	C vi 27b j vi 24'	du]m-qi dum-qa	OV(1) – C has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular.
G300	C vi 27b W ₁ vi 12' j vi 24'	i-te-pu-uš ^r e ^r -te[] e-te-pu- ^r uš ^r	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁶³
G301	C vi 27b W ₁ vi 12' j vi 24' z vi 10b'	du]m-qi i-te-pu-uš du-un[] ^r e ^r -te[] dam-qa e-te-pu- ^r uš ^r]sa-kan du[	SV(2) – Different phraseology in z compared to the other sources. ⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶¹ The interchange of these prepositions is common in texts from this period. According to M. Luukko, *Neo-Assyrian*, 177, “the prepositions *ana* and *ina* were almost completely interchangeable in most Neo-Assyrian contexts.”

⁶⁶² This is listed as a possible difference in dialect or pronunciation in A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 428. For an explanation of the variation through phonological change see note above. Note, however, that W has the form “dum-qa” written in the previous line, so determining which form reflects actual pronunciation is difficult.

⁶⁶³ The use of signs generally used to write /i/ instead representing /e/ has been noted above (see note above, and the references there). Here the I/1 perfect form of $\sqrt{\text{epēšu}}$, “to do,” is affected.

⁶⁶⁴ Following A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 722, z is restored: *assakan dumqa*, “I have established a favour.” This is in contrast to the other sources, which read: *dumqa ētepuš*, “I have done a favour.” The lexical change in z appears to expand on the poetic style of the line, echoing the use of the same lexeme in the previous line where we find the phrase *ul aškun damqa ana ramnia*, “I did not establish a favour for myself.”

G302	C vi 28 W ₁ vi 13'	a-na ana	OV – The preposition is written syllabically in C.
G303	C vi 28 T ₁ vi 15 W ₁ vi 13' j vi 25' z vi 11'	]r'ī-na-aš-šam-ma m]a e-du- ^ˀ ú [a]š-šam[] e-du-ú i-na-aš[]]na-šá-a e-du-ú	SV(3) – z has a different syntax compared to the other sources. ⁶⁶⁵
G304	C vi 29 W ₁ vi 14'	ra-a-ṭa [r]a-a-ṭu	OV(l) – W has the wrong case vowel for the accusative singular. ⁶⁶⁶
G305	C vi 30 W ₁ vi 15'	a-a-i-ta a-a- ^ˀ ta	OV – The diphthong * <i>ay</i> is written fully in C.
G306	C vi 30 W ₁ vi 15'	KI-ia it-t[i	OV – The noun <i>ittu</i> , “mark, sign,” is written syllabically in W.
G307	C vi 30 W ₁ vi 15' j vi 12' z vi 12'	ana KI-ia i[š ana it-t[i ša]k-nu]x-du is-si-a ša[k-n]u	OV(l) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁶⁷
G308	C vi 30 W ₁ vi 15' j vi 12' z vi 12'	ana KI-ia i[š ana it-t[i ša]k-nu]x-du is-si-a ša[k-n]u	OV(l) – z has a different grammatical form compared to the other sources. ⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁵ The syntax of z is reversed. Translated literally z has “rising was the tide,” against “the tide was rising” in C, T, W and j. In all cases the verb is intransitive and durative, though z appears to lack the ventive and enclitic particle “-ma” present in the other sources.

⁶⁶⁶ See note above on the blending of the nominative and accusative singular case vowels in Neo-Assyrian.

⁶⁶⁷ G307 and G308 may be treated as a single case of textual corruption in z (so A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 723 n. 59). C, W and j are restored: *uttâ ayīta ša ana ittia iššaknu*, “what things will be placed for my landmark,” against z: *]x-DU issia šaknu*, “... what things are placed for my landmark.” Here z is read as consisting of two linguistic variants, the first being the shift /tt/ > /ss/, and the second being a grammatical change of the IV/1 preterite verb *iššaknu* > 3mpl stative *šaknū*. In this reading the active stative *šaknū* (also called the predicative verbal adjective) in z has a resultative sense (see J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 393-95), thus the translation “... are placed.” The problem of the initial sign DU following the break in z remains unresolved, which is perhaps why George prefers to see z as containing a textual corruption rather than an alternative reading. However, in the light of Rule 1 the text of z is taken as it stands.

⁶⁶⁸ See note above.

G309	C vi 31b z vi 13b'	ku-sa-pa ka-a-NI-pa	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁶⁹
G310	C vi 32b z vi 14b'	ik-šu-d[u-ni]m-ma ik-šu- ^r du ^r -ni-ma	OV – The ventive suffix retains the final /m/ in the orthography of C.
G311	C vi 33 z vi 15b'	^d GIŠ-gím-maš ^{m d} GIŠ-TUK	OV – The proper noun is spelled differently between the sources. ⁶⁷⁰
G312	C vi 33 W ₁ vi 18' z vi 15b'	a-na ana]na ^r	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written logographically in W.
G313	C vi 33 z vi 16'	m ur-šanabi m ur-šu-na-be	OV – The proper noun Ur-šanabi is written syllabically in z.
G314	C vi 33 z vi 16'	ma-la-ḫi omits	SV(2) – C has a longer title for Ur-šanabi, adding the noun $\sqrt{malāḫu}$, “boatman.”
G315	C vi 34 W ₁ vi 19'	^m ur-šanabi ^m ur- ^d šanabi	OV – The proper noun Ur-šanabi has the divine determinative on the second element in W.
G316	C vi 34 z vi 17'	ša ša	OV – The relative particle <i>ša</i> is written with the sign ŠA in z.
G317	C vi 34 z vi 17'	UNUG ^{ki} UNUG ^{ki} su-pur	SV(2) – The proper noun Uruk has an expansive adjective $\sqrt{supūru}$, “sheepfold,” in z.
G318	C vi 35a W ₁ vi 20a'	ḫi-i-ṭi-ma ḫi ^r] ^r it ^r[	OV – C has CV-V-CV against W (restored) CV-V-VC.
G319	C vi 35b	a-gur-rat	OV – Possible spelling variant in z. ⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁹ The form in z possibly reflects Neo-Assyrian vowel harmony, where the vowel of a short unaccented open syllable assimilates to the vowel of the following accented syllable (cf. J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 599). The sign NI (𒀩) is possibly an erroneous writing of the sign SA (𒀪), where the scribe missed one vertical wedge.

⁶⁷⁰ The form in C is expected, while z has an abbreviated spelling. The short writing of the proper noun is an abbreviated logographic form of the spelling GIŠ-TUK-maš that appears in copies of the lexical series “ḪAR.ra=*ḫubullu*” and in Sumerian lists of early rulers found at Emar. This particular short form is only found here and in one other tablet of early Neo-Assyrian origin from Aššur (VAT10585b and VAT10916). For the references see A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 81.

	z vi 19'	Jub	
G320	C vi 36 W ₁ vi 21'	uš-ši-šú uš-ši-šu	OV – The pronominal suffix is written with the sign ŠU in W.
G321	C vi 37 W ₁ vi 22'	1 šár šár	SV(1) – W lacks the cardinal number. ⁶⁷²
G322	C vi 38 W ₁ vi 23'	ù u	OV – The conjunction is written with the sign U in W.
G323	C vi 38 W ₁ vi 23'	pit-ru pi-t[i-i]r	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁷³

Discussion of Variants

Orthographic Variants

The most common types of orthographic variations in the first millennium sources for Gilgamesh XI are: the exchange of like-valued signs; the full syllabic writing of logographic forms; the writing of CV-VC with single CVC signs (and also V-CV as VCV signs); and the writing of long word medial vowels with additional V signs.

⁶⁷¹ The sign in z is very damaged, but it is certainly not the sign RAT. The form in z is therefore counted as an orthographic variant in the light of Rule 4.

⁶⁷² The cardinal number is implied as W, which is restored: *šār ālu šār kirātu šār issû*, “a *šār* of city, a *šār* of palm-grove, a *šār* of clay-pit” C has the cardinal number written before each instance of the unit of distance ŠÁR.

⁶⁷³ W lacks the final vowel on the noun $\sqrt{\text{pitru}}$, “one-half of a *šār*,” as well as preserving the medial vowel that has been dropped in C. Presumably the lack of the case vowel in W allowed for the full writing of the medial vowel. Such an emendation to the grammatical form that follows phonetic rules in W suggests that the orthography reflects the underlying pronunciation.

Somewhat less frequent is the writing of certain nouns without determinatives. Also less frequent is the writing of plural nouns without the plural marker (MEŠ or ME), in place of which we find the writing of a long word final vowel or the double writing of a logogram (*e.g.* DINGIR.DINGIR for DINGIR.MEŠ in G92, G103, G179 and possibly G172).

Very rarely phonetic complements are attached to logograms in some manuscripts and not others. There is a single occurrence of the full writing of a diphthong in one source against parallel sources (G305). Some unusual orthographic forms that are attributed to peculiarities of perceived Kuyunjik orthographic systems are in evidence (*e.g.* the repetition of final consonants at the morpheme boundary in G69, and see G10 and note above).

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

Incorrectly written case vowels occur very frequently in the sources. In some sources case vowels are periodically lacking (*e.g.* G323), as are final vowels on pronominal suffixes (*e.g.* G20). In other sources the vowels appended to pronominal suffixes can show variation (*e.g.* G7).

Perhaps as an indication of actual differences in the underlying pronunciation of certain forms we can point to the different writing of vowels in some proper nouns (*e.g.* G27), and the apparent cases of vowel harmony (G58, G181, G278, G309). Particular sources attest regular variation in the writing of some prepositions (*e.g.* tablet J in G196, G199, G201 and G203) that presumably also reflect a difference in the underlying pronunciation of those forms.

To some degree one may consider apparent variations in inflected verbal endings as evidence for pronunciation differences (G74, G120, G126, G256 and G257). The addition of anaptyctic vowels may also be included among this evidence, but may alternatively mark subjunction (*e.g.* G221).

More important for a discussion of the differences in pronunciation or dialect that underlie the sources are regular shifts in phones or phonemes that are attested in large proportions in the sources for Gilgamesh XI. Indeed, particular differences are significantly more numerous in the sources for Gilgamesh XI than in the other texts examined in this study. For example, the shift of the phoneme /i/ towards /e/ seems to be prevalent under several morphological conditions: in primae *aleph* roots (G64, G161 and G289); affecting the stem vowel of certain roots (G77 and G127); before guttural consonants (G115) and in ultimate vowels, such as genitive singular or oblique plural case vowels (G177 and G230).

Also significant for the discussion of dialectal differences is the attestation of the so-called Assyrian vowel shift /i/ > /a/ (*e.g.* G94 and G154). We also see /i/ > /a/ in some final weak forms (G97 and G178). Another Assyrian dialect form, namely the feminine marker ‘-at’ > ‘-et,’ is also attested (G229). Perhaps related to Assyrian dialectal influence is evidence concerning the 1cs verbal preformative. In particular, the shift /a/ > /i/ is attested (G207), as is /i/ > /e/ in primae *aleph* ‘i’ themed roots (G220 and G300).

Also worth mentioning in relation to pronunciation differences are examples of phonetic shifts: /tt/ > /ss/ (G307); [k] > [g] (G85); shifts affecting sibilants (G156 and G171); /š/ > /l/ before dentals (G211). Of some interest are phonetic shifts that appear to involve a two stage process (G294 and G298, where /mq/ > /qq/ > /nq/).

Some other types of linguistic variations that are found among the sources for Gilgamesh XI are of less significant value for discussions concerning pronunciation and dialect, but may perhaps contribute to discussions around preferred grammatical forms and the use of certain suffixed particles. For example, the use of the stative instead of the participle occurs (G34), as do several other changes in verbal conjugation or tense that may reflect preferred grammatical forms (G93, G174, G225, G236, G308, and possibly G152). The shift in the final vowel indicating the ventive /a/ > /u/ is occasionally seen (G199 and G237). The omission of the ventive in several places is also seen (G1, G41, G188, G226 and G233), as is the loss of mimation (*e.g.* G243).

Stylistic Variants (Type 1)

The addition, omission or interchange of prepositions occurs frequently (*e.g.* G17, G79, G82, G99, G130, G170, G296). Occasionally a similar change occurs involving pronominal suffixes (G52) and even syntactically redundant cardinal numbers (G321). There are limited examples of differences in the gender of some pronominal suffixes (G33, G153, G157) and verbal predicates (G290). Certain sources, especially tablet J, display a proclivity for dropping the enclitic particle “-ma” (G14, G118, G123).

More significantly, sources for Gilgamesh XI attest a high number of lexical interchanges relative to the other genres in this study. Certain scribes appear to have replaced difficult words with more familiar terms in the process of transmission. This observation seems particularly true for tablet J (e.g. G151 and G155).

It might be said that the scribe of tablet J substituted terms that may have been more familiar on several occasions (G63, G72, G83, G86, G91, G98, G100, G101, G105, G193, G212, G250). Ultimately we cannot be certain in any of these instances whether J reflects a more ‘original’ reading or an updated text. However, the concentration of so many lexical differences in tablet J relative to the parallel sources seems to suggest that tablet J or its *Vorlage* did make updates to the language to some degree. Some other sources also display similar variations, albeit less frequently (G71, G163 and G279).

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

Three major types of stylistic variation occur between the sources. These are: expansive pluses, where an additional element in the narrative exists in one source against another; explicating pluses, where an element in the narrative is clarified in one source against another; and changes in expression, where the same narrative information is re-phrased, ostensibly for reasons of clarity or stylistic preference.

Expansive pluses involve additional information about objects in the narrative that are common to all parallel sources (G59), additional objects not appearing in parallel sources (G108), repeated phrases that form refrains within the narrative (G167, and possibly

G260, but see note), and extraneous adjectives that describe objects common to all parallel sources (G314 and G317).

Explicating pluses involve glosses (G124, possibly G134 and G143), the clarification of elements in the narrative by way of the repetition of redundant nouns (G145 and G146), and the clarification of a subject that is indefinite in a parallel source (G246).

Phraseology in some tablets seems to have been adjusted to suit the preference of the scribe, whether in a particular source examined here or in its *Vorlage*. Adverbs may be added for clarity of expression (G76, G205, G244), or a scribe may prefer the use of simile as opposed to the use of metaphor (G96). Some variants may reflect the personal preference of a scribe (G271), or echo phrases familiar to the scribe from the surrounding context (301).

Stylistic Variants (Type 3)

Changes in the sequence of elements in the narrative are relatively infrequent and minor. There is a small change in the order of the description of workers assisting in the construction of Ūta-napišti's boat (G45), and a small variation in the order of listed elements in a dramatic sequence (G108). There is also a minor change in the syntax of a short phrase in tablet z which affects the order of the subject and predicate (G303).

Hermeneutic Variants

There are very few hermeneutic variations across the sources. Two of the variants categorised as hermeneutic actually reflect differences in cardinal numbers (G54 and G 132). The recording of numerals in cuneiform has been shown to be readily corruptible, so little significance may be attributed to these variants.⁶⁷⁴

There is some uncertainty about the nature of the variant at G104. While the text is damaged in all of the sources, there seems to be little doubt that there is some degree of difference in meaning between the sources. In tablet J (and probably tablet C as well) the reaction of the pantheon to the destruction of humanity by the Deluge is described as sitting in grief. In contrast to this, tablet T appears to have the entire pantheon lamenting along with the mother goddess, probably Bēlet Ilī, as she bemoans the death of her creation. While J and T do not contradict each other at this point, there does seem to be some difference in hermeneutic between the sources as we have them.

An interesting, but also enigmatic, variation in hermeneutic occurs at G209, again involving tablet J. In this instance tablet b has it that the deity Ea brings forth Ūta-napišti from the boat after the Deluge has subsided, while tablet J has the acting deity as Enlil.⁶⁷⁵ There may be some theological reason behind this variation (*cf.* H2 and H132). It can be noted that the domain of Ea is traditionally the *apsû*, the subterranean waters into which the Deluge subsides, while Enlil's domain is the terrestrial sphere, where Ūta-napišti was to disembark from his boat and accept his gift of eternal life. In this sense there may be

⁶⁷⁴ See the discussion in note .

⁶⁷⁵ A.R. George, *Gilgamesh*, 717, notes that b is corrupt.

some reasoning in terms of cosmology behind this variant, though it is admittedly obscure.

CHAPTER 8 – MĪS PĪ

The Text

The ritual of *mīs pī*, “washing the mouth,” was an ancient Mesopotamian cultic practice by which material representations of deities, namely three dimensional statues, were imbued with divine presence before being stationed in their respective temples. While the practice of inducting a manufactured image of a deity for worship in a temple is known from the third millennium B.C.E., cuneiform sources for the textual form of the ritual come only from the first millennium B.C.E.⁶⁷⁶ The mouth washing ritual consists of a list of instructions, which also has placed throughout it the incipits of incantations that are to be read at certain times throughout the rite. The full incantations are contained in a separate series of tablets.

The ritual exists in two major recensions, each having a slightly different order of ritual acts and a differing number of incantations. The divergences in the recensions are seen most readily in the differences between the ritual tablets from Nineveh and tablets from Babylon.⁶⁷⁷ The entire series as we have it is composed of eight incantation tablets at Nineveh, six at Babylon, and in each a final tablet that supplies instructions for perform-

⁶⁷⁶ See the summary of the evidence in P.J. Boden, *The Mesopotamian Washing of the Mouth (mīs pī) Ritual: An Examination of Some of the Social and Communication Strategies which Guided the Development and Performance of the Ritual which Transferred the Essence of the Deity into Its Temple Statue* (The John Hopkins University Ph.D. Dissertation: 1998) 12-18, and also C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, "The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Mesopotamian *mīs pī* Ritual," *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (ed. M.B. Dick; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999) 67-68.

⁶⁷⁷ C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, "The Induction of the Cult Image," 70-71.

ing certain actions and prompts for reciting the incantations.⁶⁷⁸ It is the sources for the tablet containing the ritual instructions from Nineveh that will be the topic of examination here. The incantation tablets will not be considered.

The Tablets

Fragments from 18 tablets have been recovered from Nineveh providing for some extensive overlap.⁶⁷⁹ These fragments are assumed to have been part of the collection amassed during Ashurbanipal's reign, and most fragments are assumed to have been in the collection of the royal library.⁶⁸⁰ In addition to these tablets, fragments from three Late-Babylonian school texts that quote extensive sections of the Nineveh ritual have also been included in the analysis.⁶⁸¹ The following list of tablets uses the sigla given to the various tablets by C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick with one minor adjustment.⁶⁸²

Table - Sources for m̄s p̄ Under Examination

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>
A ₁	K6324+8146+8850+9337+9942+10361+10657+10705+13514
A ₂	K6810+8568+9696
B	K8117
C	Rm2,344
D	K10060
E	K6883

⁶⁷⁸ C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, "The Induction of the Cult Image," 69.

⁶⁷⁹ The following tablets have been inspected: A, B, D, G, and I. For all of the other tablets the high resolution digitised photographs that appear on the compact disc included with C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, have been consulted.

⁶⁸⁰ C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 27-28.

⁶⁸¹ These tablets are given the sigla S, T and U.

⁶⁸² C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*. In line with the sigla used for the fragments of Gilgamesh XI and LH, the siglum A₁ designates the fragments K6324+8146+8850+9337+9942+10361+10657+10705+13514, and the siglum A₂ designates the fragments K6810+8568+9696.

<u>Siglum</u>	<u>Museum Number</u>
F	K10473
G	K13259+13260
H	K15534
I	K7630+79-7-8, 67
J	K3248
L	K6683
M	K8994
N	K15279
O	K15325
P	K11920
Q	K13472
R	K10176
S	PBS 12/1 no. 7 rev 6-10 (CBS4506)
T	PBS 12/1 no. 6 obv 13-17 (CBS8802)
U	PBS ½ no. 116 obv 6-10 (CBS4507)

Description of the Sources

A₁, K6324+; A₂, K6810+

After several joins were made this tablet is now the best preserved of all of the sources. It is written a regularly sized and spaced Neo-Assyrian script, with only minor crowding of the signs in obv i:35-36. The tablet contains four columns separated by narrow double vertical rulings. Single horizontal rulings mark the upper and lower margins, although obv i:61 is written below the lower margin. Single horizontal rulings separate the text into sections. While the height of the tablet cannot be determined with precision (it is ca. 23 cm in height), it is 15cm in width, 1.5cm thick at the edges and about 2.5 cm thick at the centre. The reverse is quite convex, and obverse only slightly so. Where the corner of the tablet is preserved (at the bottom left edge) the angle is less than 90 degrees, forming an acute point. The different colour of the individual fragments suggests the tablet was broken and burned in antiquity, though there is no visible vitrification. The cross section reveals that the clay is free of impurities.

B, K8117

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and the signs are well executed and evenly spaced. Only the top left corner of this tablet is preserved, so no information regarding its dimensions can be known. There is a horizontal ruling marking the top margin preserved, but there is no horizontal ruling marking sections as would be expected between lines 10-11. The horizontal direction of the written lines is straight, and the text does not appear to exceed the margin where preserved. This tablet may have been similar to tablet A in its preparation and execution, as is indicated by the very straight top edge and carefully written script. The clay is an even terracotta colour throughout, and contains very few impurities. There is no visible vitrification.

C, Rm2,344

The museum catalogue number suggests that this tablet was excavated from the North Palace at Nineveh.⁶⁸³ This is a fragment from the middle of a tablet written in a fairly crowded Neo-Assyrian script. There is some stylisation of the signs evident in the very elongated horizontal stroke of MEŠ in line 3. The horizontal direction of the lines appears to drift downwards to the right, but this is a small fragment of the original tablet so the linear character of the entire text is uncertain. There are two horizontal rulings preserved that separate the text into sections. No edges or vertical rulings dividing columns are preserved.

⁶⁸³ See D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology*, 18-19.

D, K10060

The script is Neo-Assyrian and very evenly written. The lines are written close together so that in some places signs from a lower line interfere with those from the line above.⁶⁸⁴ Horizontal rulings separate the text into sections.⁶⁸⁵ There are no edges preserved, and being a flake nothing can be said about the thickness of the original tablet. The clay is a similar colour to K2321 (tablet A of EAE 63) showing relatively uneven firing at very high temperatures. This suggests the unbaked tablet was broken in antiquity and burned in a conflagration. The clay composition seems to have been quite free of impurities, with only a few small stones visible in the cross section.

E, K6883

The script is Neo-Assyrian. The writing is small and even, although the signs are not executed with as much precision as tablet B and D. There is one horizontal ruling preserved that divides the text into sections, but no edges or margins remain.

F, K10473

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and more angular and elongated than the other tablets so far discussed. Part of the top of this fragment has suffered damage through erosion so only the signs on the lower half are clearly preserved. The writing is somewhat crowded, and the horizontal direction of the lines seems to tend upwards to the right. The right margin is preserved and has no vertical ruling, with text from line 9 extending past the margin into the edge of the tablet. No horizontal rulings are preserved.

⁶⁸⁴ For example, E on line 5 partially intersects ŠINIG on line 4.

⁶⁸⁵ The horizontal ruling between lines 1 and 2 is also attested in the same place in tablet B.

G, K13259+13260

The script is irregularly sized Neo-Assyrian, with signs ranging from 2.5mm to 4.5mm in height. The *Winkelhaken* and single vertical downstrokes of some signs are impressed quite deeply (e.g. U and BI on line 10). A double vertical ruling separates columns, slightly wider than other tablets at ca. 5mm-6mm. There is one horizontal ruling separating the text into sections, but no edges or ruled margins are preserved. The clay is relatively free of impurities. Under the discolouration on the surface of the tablet, the colour is terracotta with segments of whitish-brown, indicating some uneven baking temperatures that may indicate baking in a conflagration.

H, K15534

The script is Neo-Assyrian, and is quite corroded at some points. The writing ranges from 3mm to 5mm, and the horizontal direction of the lines tends to shift very slightly downwards to the right. The fragment is from the right edge, and a margin of about 6mm can be seen on that side. There are no ruled lines, whether vertical or horizontal.

I, K7630+79-7-8, 67

This is a fragment of a two column tablet written in an even Neo-Assyrian script.⁶⁸⁶ The tablet has narrow double ruled vertical lines separating columns. There is a clear horizontal ruling across the bottom margin of the obverse, but the top margin of the reverse is not ruled. Column II of the obverse shows a horizontal ruling separating the first and second

⁶⁸⁶ The consignment received at the British Museum on 8th July 1879 was almost entirely “Assyrian, apart from strays” (J.E. Reade, "Rassam's Babylonian Collection," xxix).

lines, where the text is divided between morning and evening ritual instructions, and between the lines 8 and 9 of column II of the reverse. The width of the tablet is about 14cm, and it is about 1.3cm thick at the edge. The tablet was probably about 2.8cm thick at the centre. The obverse is quite flat while the reverse is convex. The clay is free from impurities and is a light terracotta throughout.

J, K3248

This is a fragment from the bottom left corner, written in a Neo-Assyrian script that is slightly less well executed than tablets B and D. From the remaining surface there are no horizontal or vertical rulings on the outside margins of the tablet.

L, K6683

The script is Neo-Assyrian, written in regularly sized signs. There are horizontal rulings separating the text into sections. There is a small part of the right edge preserved, and this shows no horizontal ruling. The horizontal direction of the lines is very regular.

M, K8994

The script is Neo-Assyrian and of a similar type to tablet J. The top left edge of the tablet shows no rulings, but the signs are aligned on a very straight vertical and horizontal axis.

N, K15279

The fragment is written in Neo-Assyrian script, but is severely damaged. The fragment seems to be from the middle of the tablet so little can be said regarding its margins or dimensions.

O, K15325

The script is Neo-Assyrian and of a similar type to tablet J and M, and the signs range from 3 mm to 6mm in height. There is one example of a horizontal line separating the text into sections. The left margin is not ruled but the preserved signs form a reasonably straight edge.

P, K11920

The script is Neo-Assyrian. The tablet is quite weathered, but the remaining surface does show on horizontal ruling below line 1. A small part of the right edge of the tablet is preserved, and some signs can be seen extending past the margin onto the edge of the tablet.

Q, K13472

This is a small flake from the middle of the tablet. The script is very straight Neo-Assyrian, and the horizontal direction of the lines is similarly straight. There are no ruled lines preserved, and no margins visible.

R, K10176

The script is Neo-Assyrian and quite angular. There is one horizontal ruling preserved that separates the text into sections. There are no margins preserved and the dimensions of the tablet cannot be known from the remaining material.

S, PBS 12/1 no. 7 rev 6-10; T, PBS 12/1 no. 6 obv 13-17; U, PBS 1/2 no. 116 obv 6-10

These sources are Neo-Babylonian school texts, excavated from Nippur. These tablets contain different excerpts of a variety of texts including sections of *mīs pi*. None of these tablets can be dated with any certainty.⁶⁸⁷

Table - Number of SU Preserved in the Sources for Mīs Pi

<u>Fragment</u>	<u>Total SU</u>
A ₁₋₂	246.5
B	45.5
C	23.5
D	12
F	3
G	40.5
H	35.5
I	154.5
J	8.5
K	9
M	26.5
N	18.5
O	13
P	16
Q	12
S	38
T	28

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each set of two parallel tablets preserving at least 20 SU in common. Following this table

⁶⁸⁷ C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, "The Induction of the Cult Image," 68.

is an exhaustive list of all variant readings between any two sources for $m\bar{s} p\hat{i}$ that overlap in content, regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved. Although every variant is given in the list, the discussion of the variants will refer in the main only to those texts preserving approximately 50 SU in parallel listed in the table. Variant readings in the parallel sources that are less fully preserved will be referred to but will not impact on the statistical analysis.

Table - Variants in the Parallel Sources for Mīs Pī

<i>Comparison: Text vs Text</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orthographic Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. Vari- ant</i>	<i>Orthographic (linguistic) Vari- ants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (1) Vari- ant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variants</i>	<i>Proportion: SU per St. (2) Vari- ant</i>
A:I	220	1	110	1	110	3	55		
A:G	77								
A:H	69	1	34.5			1	69		
B:S	64.5					1	32.3	1	64.5
A:M	57	1	28.5						
G:I	49	1	32.7						
A:T	45	1	22.5	2	15				
H:I	37.5					1	37.5		
A:N	34.5	1	17.3					1	34.5
M:N	31							1	31
I:T	29.5	2	7.4	1	14.8				
C:S	28			1	14				
A:O	27								
B:C	27			1	18				
G:H	23	1	15.3						
I:P	21			1	10.5				

List of Variants Between the Parallel Sources for Mīs Pī

<i>No.</i>	<i>Tablets</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
P1	B 1 S 6	KA DINGIR LUḪ-ú KA LUḪ-ú	SV(2) – The noun DINGIR, \sqrt{ilu} , “god,” is lacking in S. ⁶⁸⁸
P2	B 6 S 9	GI.URI ₃ .ME GI.URI ₃ .GAL	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁶⁸⁹
P3	B 6 C 4 S 10	su-u’-u[r] su-ur-ta su-u’-ur-ta	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁹⁰
P4	C 10 D 3	’i-ta’-at DINGIR BI ’i’-ta-at É DINGIR BI	SV(2) – C lacks the noun $\sqrt{bītu}$, “house.” ⁶⁹¹
P5	D 8 E 3	a-n[a] ana	OV – The preposition <i>ana</i> is written syllabically in D.
P6	A ₁ i 12 F 10	DUG.A.GÚB.BA A.GÚB.BA	OV – The vessel determinative DUG is lacking in F. ⁶⁹²

⁶⁸⁸ Manuscript B reads: *enūma pī ili temessū*, “when you wash the mouth of a god.” S therefore has an abbreviated yet coherent text: *enūma pī temessū*, “when you wash the mouth.”

⁶⁸⁹ The noun $\sqrt{urigallu}$, “reed bundle,” is written with the plural marker ME in manuscript B against the singular form in S, though the form written with the composite logogram ^{gi} URI₃.GAL in S may be read as the plural *urigallā*. On the translation “reed bundle” see C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 53 n. 41.

⁶⁹⁰ The medial weak is represented in the orthography of B and S by a glottal stop (𐎗𐎗𐎗) while this phoneme is entirely lacking in the orthography of C. The convention of writing the glottal stop without specifically representing it in the orthography is also well known, as noted in J. Huehnergard, *Grammar*, 210. It remains, then, a distinct possibility that in reality no difference in pronunciation existed between the sources even though their respective orthographies are at variance. However, in light of Rule 1 the recording of a possible difference in pronunciation is required.

⁶⁹¹ The phrase in C reads: *itāt bīt ili šuāti*, “beside the house (temple) of that god,” against D: *itāt ili šuāti*, “beside that god.”

⁶⁹² The orthography of $\sqrt{egubbū}$, “holy water vessel,” is apparently not fixed. Even in manuscript A the noun is written without the determinative in i 27.

P7	A ₁ i 21 H 3	DUG.A.GÚB.BA A.GÚB.BA	OV – The vessel determinative DUG is lacking in H.
P8	A ₁ i 21 G i 7 H 3	ŠID-nu-ma]-nu-ma ŠID-ma	OV – H lacks the phonetic complement appended to the noun ŠID, <i>√šukênu</i> , “to submit, prostrate oneself.”
P9	A1 I 24 H 5 I i 4	u u omits	SV(1) – I omits the conjunction. ⁶⁹³
P10	A ₁ i 27 G 13 I i 7 T 16	túl-lal-šú túl-lal-’šú’ túl-lal-šu túl-lal-šú	OV – The 3ms pronominal object suffix is written with the sign ŠU in I.
P11	A ₁ i 27-28 I i 8 T 17	omits omits [] ní-bi-ta è-a 3-šú ŠID-nu	SV(2) – T has an additional incantation, lacking in the other sources. ⁶⁹⁴
P12	A ₁ i 28 I i 8 T 18	ki-a-am ki-a-am ka-a-am	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁹⁵
P13	A ₁ i 29 I i 9 T 19	u ₄ -me u ₄ -mi []-mi	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹³ The omission is not noted in C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 41, and the correct reading is difficult to see in the photograph. An inspection of the tablet reveals that manuscript I lists the proper nouns Ea and Asalluḫi without a separating conjunction.

⁶⁹⁴ The line in T reads: *én an-na ní-bi-ta è-a šalāššū tamannu*, “The incantation ‘In heaven by your own power you emerge’ you recite three times,” (see C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 57). The incantation mentioned here does not appear on any other ritual tablet. The manuscripts G and H, although appearing to lack this incantation incipit as well, are broken and must ultimately be ignored. The reference to this incantation in manuscript T, a Late Babylonian school text, is therefore somewhat enigmatic. Further evidence would seem to be required before an explanation of this anomaly can be attempted.

⁶⁹⁵ The adverb *√kīam*, “thus,” appears commonly in various forms. See *CAD* K 325-326 for examples.

⁶⁹⁶ See note and the references there.

P14	A ₁ i 29 I i 9 T 19	[] ⁷ ak ⁷ GIN-ak tal-lak	OV – The verb $\sqrt{al\acute{a}ku}$, “to go,” is written syllabically in T.
P15	A ₂ i 5 I i 13 K 1	MIN gal-a []z]u dè gal-a MIN gal- ⁷ a ⁷	SV(1) – The incantation incipit is abbreviated in A and K. ⁶⁹⁷
P16	A ₁ ii 17 M 8 N 5	MU-ar MU-ár MU-ár	OV – Different spelling of the noun $\sqrt{zak\acute{a}ru}$, “to speak,” in A.
P17	A ₁ ii 18 M 8 N 6 O 4	UDU.SISKUR ₂ UDU. ⁷ SISKUR ₂ ⁷ UDU.NITA ₂ .S[ISKUR ₂] UDU.SISKUR ₂	OV – N has a masculine determinative marking the noun $\sqrt{niq\acute{u}}$, “offering, sacrifice.”
P18	A ₁ ii 19 I ii 2	ŠUTUG.MEŠ ŠUTUG	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁶⁹⁸
P19	A ₁ ii 27 I ii 11	BABBAR.MEŠ BABBAR.BABBAR	OV – Different spelling of the plural adjective $\sqrt{pe\acute{s}\acute{u}}$, “white, pure.”
P20	I iii 14 ⁷ P 6	an-ki-bi-da-ke ₄ an-ki-bi-da-kám	OV(1) – Possible difference of grammatical forms or pronunciation. ⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ Manuscript E seems to have contained the full incipit: è-a-zu-dè è-a-zu-dè gal-a, “As you go out, as you go out, great ...,” abbreviated in the other sources with the use of *Wiederholungszeichen*: è-a-zu-dè MIN gal-a, “As you go out, ditto, great”

⁶⁹⁸ The noun $\sqrt{\acute{s}utukku}$, “reed hut,” lacks the plural marker MEŠ in manuscript I, though this is very difficult to see from the photograph. An inspection of the tablet reveals the sign ŠUTUG is clearly preserved, followed by a break of two or three signs, then coming out of the break one sees the remains of the sign A. This would support the reading in C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 46, where the plural marker is missing. Indeed, there seems to be insufficient room to restore all of the text “ŠUTUG.MEŠ ana^d é-a” as the parallel sources have it. Context would seem to demand that this form is read as a defective plural, seeing as the text continues to describe the erection of three thrones to the deities Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫi, in the midst of the reed-huts. If the text of tablet I did indicate a single reed-hut here then the following instructions would make no sense.

⁶⁹⁹ See also V18 and the note for the variation between the signs KE₄ and KAM. While it is true that here the signs KE₄ and KÁM vary, the same grammatical observations apply. It might also be said that there is very little graphical difference between the signs KAM and KÁM.

P21	I iii 15' P 7 Q 5	ŠID-ma ŠID-ṛma' ŠID-n[u]	OV – Q has a phonetic complement appended to the verb $\sqrt{manû}$, “recite, recount.”
P22	A ₁ iii 20' U 6	na-an-gub-bé-en na-an-gub-bé	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁰⁰
P23	A ₁ iii 23' U 7	omits SAR	SV(2) – U has the addition of the verb $\sqrt{šabātu}$, “to sweep.” ⁷⁰¹
P24	A ₁ iii 25' U 9	šá omits	SV(1) – The relative particle <i>ša</i> is lacking in U. ⁷⁰²

⁷⁰⁰ The lack of terminating ‘-n’ in the orthography of U may be read as a difference in the Sumerian subject post-position, where A has the 2ms subject “na-an-gub-bé-en,” “by him you shall not tarry,” against the 3mpl form in U “na-an-gub-bé,” “by him they shall not tarry.” A more likely resolution is to read the shorter form in U as dropping /n/ for phonetic reasons (W. Horowitz, personal communication). In any case, one cannot assume that Neo-Assyrian scribes were familiar with classical Sumerian, especially considering that the short form appears in manuscript U, which is a Late Babylonian school text that includes only an excerpt of the ritual.

⁷⁰¹ Elsewhere the sign SAR has the meaning $\sqrt{šabātu}$, “to strike, to sweep (in a ritual context)” so there is no reason to read the sign differently here. The line in U reads: “EGIR-šú SAR šá DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU.MEŠ um-ma-ni DUḪ-ár,” *arkišu tašabbīṭ ša ilāni mārē ummāni tapaṭṭar*, “after it you sweep (or strike), you dismantle the gods of the craftsmen.” This is reminiscent of STT 73 67, “ÛR SAR A.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ SUD,” *uri tašabbīṭ mē ellūti tasallaḫ*, “you sweep the roof, you sprinkle pure water.” Although the syntax here is similar, the verb *tašabbīṭ* in U still lacks a clear object, and so the phrasing remains awkward. Clearly the phrase without the verb in manuscript A is preferred. As noted above, manuscript U is a Late Babylonian school text and so may not be considered a very reliable representative of the ritual text.

⁷⁰² The line in manuscript A reads: [*arkišu*] *ša* [*ilāni*] *rabūti tapaṭṭar*, “afterwards you dismantle the offering arrangements of the great gods” (see C.B.F. Walker and M.B. Dick, *Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary*, 67, for this translation). The lack of the relative particle in U does not alter the meaning of the text.

Discussion of Variants

Orthographic Variants

In all there are 12 orthographic variants, only half of which occur in sources that share more than 50 SU in parallel.⁷⁰³ Variations that occur among these sources are: the exchange of like-valued signs; syllabic writing of logographic forms; and the different spelling of plural forms. In sources with less than 50 SU in parallel we also see omitted determinatives and differences in the representation of phonetic complements.

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

There are a small number of linguistic variants that may point to differences in the underlying pronunciation of some of the sources. The elision of a glottal stop in tablet C may reflect the linguistic reality of the scribe (P3). Similarly the writing of the preposition *kiam* without representing the diphthong in tablet T may also be related to pronunciation (P12). The same may be said for the writing of the genitive case as /e/ against /i/ once in tablet A (P13).⁷⁰⁴

Two variations in the sources may be attributed to differences in the grammar of Sumerian forms, though this interpretation does depend upon the knowledge and conscious application of Sumerian grammatical forms on the part of the scribes. The first instance (P20) appears to involve a genitive post-position marker, while the second (P22) relates

⁷⁰³ This includes the comparisons A:T and G:I, which actually have just under 50 SU in parallel.

⁷⁰⁴ This occurs with the genitive noun *ūmi*, “(of the) day,” written “u₄-me” in tablet A. This form is found in unparalleled sections of other sources (e.g. C 2 and S 8).

to the second person singular subject affirmative. However, these variations may in fact relate to phonetic differences between the scribes, and so also be treated as possible differences in pronunciation (see the comments in note above).

Stylistic Variants (Type 1)

There are two occurrences of differences in the grammatical number of nouns in the accusative. Plural nouns are required by the context in both places. Interestingly, both nouns relate to objects made from reeds, so there may be some collective meaning to the singular nouns in each instance. The first instance (P2) appears in one of the Late-Babylonian school texts (tablet S) so may be considered unreliable for that reason. The second instance (P18), occurring in tablet I, is better read as a defective plural noun given the context.⁷⁰⁵

On a more minor level there is one instance of an omitted conjunction (P9), and one instance of an omitted relative particle (P24). The latter variation occurs in a Late Babylonian school text (U), while the former occurs in tablet I which has a high number of variants compared to the other sources. The same tablet partially preserves a fully written incipit where two parallel sources (A and K) abbreviate the incipit with *Wiederholungszeichen* (P15).

⁷⁰⁵ See note above.

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

It is noteworthy that the only stylistic variants of type 2 occur in the Late Babylonian school texts. The three variants of this type are all expansive in nature. Tablet S lacks the object in the opening phrase of the tablet (P1). Tablet T seems to have a reference to an incipit that is not known from any of the other sources (P11). Finally tablet U has the apparent addition of one verb that lacks an object, but may be taken as an additional instruction relating to the clearing of the ritual space (P23).

CHAPTER 9 – THE TORAH SCROLLS FROM THE DEAD SEA AREA

Approaching the Evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls

The question of how to treat the evidence of the Dead Sea scrolls deserves special consideration. While it seems obvious that all of the scrolls should be subjected to the same process of analysis, questions of how to approach the evidence from different localities are complicated by problems with the interpretation of archaeological data, and by issues associated with dating the finds through palaeographical and radiocarbon analyses. Ultimately we must proceed only after addressing some critical questions that relate to our understanding of the textual evidence. Should the scrolls from Qumran be treated as a separate data set to those from other sites in the Judaean Desert? Is it reasonable to treat the scrolls from Masada, ostensibly written in the first century C.E., with those written in the second century C.E. from Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever, and Wadi Sdeir? Or, accepting that the scrolls from all of these sites can only be examined in their overall context, should we treat them all together in the same analysis without trying to delineate between scrolls from the B.C.E. and C.E. periods?

A number of options are presented for tackling this methodological problem. One approach is that taken by Young, who breaks the corpus of Dead Sea scrolls into two parts.⁷⁰⁶ The first part, representing scrolls from the last three centuries B.C.E., contains the biblical scrolls uncovered in the caves near Qumran. The second part of the corpus is represented by the scrolls from the mid-first century C.E. to the mid-second century C.E.,

⁷⁰⁶ See primarily I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 387, and I. Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," 122-23.

and contains the biblical scrolls from Masada, Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir. This division of the evidence allows Young to view the results of his analysis in terms of two sets of data that inform on two separate stages of textual development. The Qumran biblical texts reflect processes that were underway in the closing stages of the first millennium B.C.E., while the Masada, Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir biblical texts reflect developments that occurred in the first and second century C.E. In this way Young is able to plot developments in textual transmission that occur diachronically, rather than treating all of the evidence as a single data set that reflects synchronic phenomena. Critically, Young treats the evidence from Qumran as representing a collection of equally legitimate texts, without exploring the possibility that some biblical scrolls from Qumran may be more authoritative than others.

Young concludes that there was a change in the transmission of biblical scrolls between the late first century B.C.E. and the mid-first century C.E. His thesis relies on a relatively early dating of the Qumran scrolls, arguing for a first-century B.C.E. deposit of the scrolls in the caves near Qumran.⁷⁰⁷ With multiple forms of the biblical text at Qumran

⁷⁰⁷ This view is approached from the perspective of the arguments put forward by I. Hutchesson and G. Doudna in various publications. See the discussion in I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 380-382, and in particular the references in I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 380, n.38. Doudna's position on an early deposit for the scrolls in the caves near Khirbit Qumran can be found in G. Doudna, *4Q Peshet Nahum: A Critical Edition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) 683-754, especially as regards the use of palaeography for precise dating of internally undated texts. In particular, Doudna points out that "in a situation of multiple sources of text production—which for the Qumran texts is a certainty—typologically later simply cannot be assumed to mean chronologically later due to the possibility, indeed likelihood, of different scribal habits occurring contemporaneously at different scribal centres" (G. Doudna, *4Q Peshet Nahum*, 675). Further to this, Doudna asserts, the accepted chronological stratification for the palaeographical development of Hebrew scripts between the first century B.C.E. and the first century CE relies on a starting point that finds no support from any "internally dated Hebrew

on the one hand, and the uniformly replicated MT-type biblical texts attested at Masada on the other hand, Young suggests that copies of the biblical scrolls made in the period represented by the Qumran finds were not replicated with the same level of exactitude as were later copies, such as those from Masada. He suggests that there was a change in copying practices between the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E. The earlier practice of copying biblical scrolls non-uniformly transitioned to a later practice of exact copying that produced very uniform texts. He thus argues for the ‘stabilisation’ of the biblical text at some time between the deposit of the scrolls in the caves near Qumran and the deposit of the scrolls at Masada.

A second approach to our methodological problem can be found in the analysis of scroll-types by Emanuel Tov.⁷⁰⁸ This analysis recalls the well known categorisation of authori-

manuscript written in a formal hand..., let alone a stratified sequence of dated texts at some archaeological site at which the first appearance of distinctive script characteristics (at that site) could be dated to individual quarter- or half-centuries” (G. Doudna, *4Q Peshet Nahum*, 777). This is one reason why Young maintains that “we must take the first century B.C.E. dating proposal seriously, and investigate its claims accordingly” (I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 382). The main arguments that are supplied for this view are the lack of historical references post-dating 40 B.C.E. within the textual corpus at Qumran outlined in M.O. Wise, *The First Messiah: Investigating the Saviour Before Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper, 1999), and issues with the radiocarbon dating put forward in G. Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 430-71. See the complete list of references in I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 380-382, n. 38-43).

⁷⁰⁸ See E. Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts," *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002), and E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 126-27. An earlier analysis is available in E. Tov, "The Significance of the Texts from the Judean Desert for the History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible: A New Synthesis," *Qumran Between the Old and the New Testament* (eds F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 277-309.

tative and non-authoritative text-types posited by Saul Lieberman,⁷⁰⁹ which relies on evidence found in the later Talmudic sources and analogy with contemporary Hellenistic practices. It will be helpful to firstly elucidate the ideas put forward by Lieberman before exploring the implications for Tov's system for the categorisation of texts.

Lieberman discussed the practices behind literary transmission in Jewish Palestine in the period from the first century B.C.E. until the fourth century C.E. In relation to the exact copying of the Hebrew Bible, perhaps the most often cited section of this work deals with the texts of Scripture in the early rabbinic period.⁷¹⁰ Lieberman infers from rabbinic sources that there was one authoritative biblical text that was deposited in the archives of the Temple. This, Lieberman says, was the

“standard copy par excellence, the book, as the Rabbis tell us, from which the Scroll of the king was corrected under the supervision of the High Court. A special college of book readers (מגהיה ספרים), who drew their fees from the Temple funds, checked the text of the book of the Temple. This was probably the only genuine text which was *legally* authorized for the public service.”⁷¹¹

However, this was not the only kind of biblical text which was to be found in the textual milieu of Jewish Palestine during this period. While the ‘copy par excellence’ that was deposited in the Temple archives represented the authoritative texts of the Hebrew bibli-

⁷⁰⁹ See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine: Studies in the Literary Transmission, Beliefs and Manners of Palestine in the I Century B.C.E. - IV Century C.E.* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1950).

⁷¹⁰ See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 22-27.

⁷¹¹ S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 22, italics in original.

cal scrolls, Lieberman points to various other types of biblical texts that would have circulated in parallel with this ‘official’ version. As well as the official scrolls of the Temple archives (the *ἡκριβωμένα*, or most exact scrolls), the Jewish public also made use of “authoritative popular texts circulated among the masses, in many synagogues and schools.”⁷¹² These texts, designated as *κοινά*, continued to exist as the standard texts used by the public even though the scrolls from the Temple archives were considered to be the most authoritative texts. *κοινά*, or *vulgata*, were not as fixed in form as the scrolls found in the Temple archives. Instead, they were generally correct in form, but subtly different across various localities. Lieberman thus talks obliquely about the “general *vulgata* of the Jews of the first centuries C.E.,”⁷¹³ and asserts that “the Scriptures of the small Jewish localities in Palestine were inferior to the *vulgata* of Jerusalem.”⁷¹⁴ This final observation suggests a third category of biblical texts. These last, designated as *φαιλότερα*, were essentially those copies kept in smaller communities in Palestine.

Lieberman thus describes three general types of biblical scrolls circulating in the period between the last century B.C.E. and the fourth century C.E. From his outline of their qualities, it seems that we can arrange these types of scrolls in an order of diminishing authoritativeness. The scroll-type that carried the most authority in Jewish Palestine during this period was the type that was stored in the Temple archives. These are presumably of the same scroll-type that is alluded to in some ancient sources. For example, as is well known, we encounter in the works of Josephus various allusions to scrolls that were ‘laid

⁷¹² S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 22.

⁷¹³ S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 24.

⁷¹⁴ S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 26.

up in the Temple.⁷¹⁵ Likewise, sections of the Talmudic literature point to official scrolls that were kept in the Temple, the integrity of which was ensured by scribes in the employ of the Temple itself.⁷¹⁶ This authoritative version was accepted as the most correct text, even though its exemplars were apparently not absolutely uniform throughout. The Talmudic literature makes reference to at least one occasion when even these model texts attested variant readings that had to be decided between by the Temple authorities.⁷¹⁷ It

⁷¹⁵ See, for example, *J.W.* 7.161-162, *Ant.* 3.38 and *Ant.* 5.61. For a discussion on these references, see M. Greenberg, "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible, Reviewed in the Light of the Biblical Materials from the Judean Desert," *JAOS* 76, 3 (1956). As to the integrity of the biblical text itself at the turn of the Common Era, see the often cited remarks in *Ag. Ap.* 1.42. It is worth mentioning, though, that Josephus's allusions to the letter-perfect integrity of the biblical text should in all likelihood be seen as a reference to a faithfulness to the text that he is paraphrasing in the late first century CE, and not as an indication that the scriptural texts of the last centuries B.C.E. were absolutely fixed. On this last point see S. Leiman, "Josephus and the Canon of the Bible," *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (eds L.H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 52. For an alternative position, see M. Segal, "The Promulgation of the Authoritative Text of the Hebrew Bible," *JBL* 72, 1 (1953) 38, who states that "these words refer to the Hebrew text of the biblical books, and they prove beyond a doubt that in the days of Josephus the Hebrew text had been consecrated by the veneration of generations, and was regarded as fixed unalterably." Cf. I. Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 386.

⁷¹⁶ For example, *Bab. Ketuboth* 106a makes reference to scribes in Jerusalem, paid from the Temple treasury, who corrected biblical scrolls. There is also reference made in *Bab. Qiddushin* 30a to particular letters that mark halfway points in various biblical scrolls. For discussions on each of these points see M. Segal, "The Promulgation of the Authoritative Text," 38. It is clear that using given letters and words to demarcate specific points in the text demands the utmost exactitude in copying practices, even though the age of such a tradition cannot be absolutely ascertained from the Talmudic sources. On this last matter, see E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues in Light of Judean Desert Finds," *Meghillot* 1 (2003) 195 [Hebrew]. See also S. Safrai, "The Temple," *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions* (eds S. Safrai and M. Stern; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976) 905, esp. n. 5, for further references in the ancient literature supporting the view that activities relating to the copying and correction of scriptural texts were undertaken in the Temple.

⁷¹⁷ References to three 'Scrolls of the Law' found in the Temple Court occur four times in the Tannaitic literature (*Sifre* II, 356; *P.T. Ta'anith* IV, 2.68a; *Aboth d'Rabbi Nathan*, Version B, ch. 46; and *Sopherim* vi, 4). For the issues surrounding the interpretation of the literature see, for example, J.Z. Lauterbach, "The Three Books Found in the Temple at Jerusalem," *JQR* 8 (1917), S. Talmon, "The Three Scrolls of the Law That Were Found in the Temple Court," *Textus* 2 (1962) and S. Zeitlin, "Were There Three Torah-Scrolls in the Azarah?," *JQR* 56 (1966). See also M. Greenberg, "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," 160-161.

therefore seems that scrolls of the *ἠκριβωμένα* type were not in absolute agreement, or were not the only text-type kept in the temple.⁷¹⁸

Less authority is attributed to the scrolls designated as *κοινά*, although in this particular categorisation it is important to avoid being overly simplistic. Lieberman's belief was that the *κοινά* type texts were not simply corrupt manuscripts, but rather were texts that lacked the official emendations and corrections that were present in the copies kept in the Temple archives. But, as Talmon has indicated, it should be recognised that these *κοινά* did not "reflect a single version, common to them all, but rather differed from one another in various details. They were not distinguished by a common textual tradition, but by deviating, individually and as a group, from the authoritative version which progressively crystallized in the model codices."⁷¹⁹ The *κοινά*, then, were those personal copies made by authoritative figures⁷²⁰ that could be used for study, as is referred to in various rabbinic debates.⁷²¹ However, *κοινά* were not seen as fit for deposit as authoritative texts in the Temple archives.

According to Lieberman, texts of the most inferior quality were limited to smaller localities throughout Palestine. It is these texts that, we read in the Talmud, should be avoided

⁷¹⁸ See, for example, *M. Moed Katan* 3:4 and *P.T. Sanhedrin* II, 20c. See also S. Safrai, "The Temple," 906 n. 1.

⁷¹⁹ S. Talmon, "Three Scrolls of the Law," 15.

⁷²⁰ Examples given by Lieberman of such scroll-types are the copies ostensibly made by Rabi Meir, and the scroll taken to the synagogue of Severus. See S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 23-24, and the references there.

⁷²¹ See the reference to the practice of using what might amount to *vulagata* in the academies in S. Talmon, "Three Scrolls of the Law," 14. See also A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in Ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Mada, 1928²) 97-100, 231.

as a source of authoritative literature.⁷²² It would seem that these texts adhered least rigidly to the ‘standard copy par excellence’ held in the Temple archives. Such texts were conceivably copied by scribes who were of less ability, or were perhaps incompletely trained, compared to those scribes who were able produce texts of either of the first two levels of exactitude.

According to Tov scroll types at Qumran are delineable into what he terms ‘de luxe’ scrolls and non-luxury editions. ‘De luxe’ scrolls are carefully produced documents that reflect a high level of exactitude in replication and execution. Thus, Tov’s term ‘de luxe’ may be used somewhat synonymously with Lieberman’s term *ήκριβωμένα*, though it will become apparent as this analysis progresses that a clear delineation between *ήκριβωμένα* and *κοινά* type texts, and between *κοινά* and *φαυλότερα* type texts, is far from straight forward. In fact, the nature of the individual texts often demands a more nuanced description than this three tiered system of categorisation allows. Nevertheless, a consistent terminology is important for the overall clarity of our investigation, and so Lieberman’s terms will be adopted here.

Using Tov’s system of categorisation, *ήκριβωμένα* scrolls can be recognised chiefly by the use of large upper and lower margins (*ca.* +3cm), and secondarily by the high number of lines per column (at least more than *ca.* 20 lines per column, but often over 30 lines),

⁷²² See the example from *T.B. Pesahim* 112a, cited in S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*, 26.

and the relative paucity of scribal intervention (less than once every 20 lines).⁷²³ According to this conceptualisation most *ήκριβωμένα* were proto-Rabbinic texts and may therefore represent scrolls that were produced in the circles of the Jerusalem Temple.⁷²⁴ Tov assigns this social connection to most of the scrolls that have been recovered from Masada, Murabba‘at, Naħal Hever and Wadi Sdeir,⁷²⁵ while only a small number of the texts from Qumran display such exactitude in replication.⁷²⁶

The majority of the biblical scrolls from Qumran therefore become categorised as *κοινά* or *φαιλότερα* type texts.⁷²⁷ While it seems clear based on the evidence from Masada that some *ήκριβωμένα* scrolls were very close, if not identical, to what would become the medieval MT, it would appear that not all *ήκριβωμένα* type scrolls were so carefully aligned. According to Tov’s list of ‘de luxe’ biblical scrolls at Qumran, a close affiliation with the MT can be expected, but not necessarily required, of ‘de luxe’ scrolls. This would seem to be a point of difference between those large format scrolls designated as ‘de luxe’ by

⁷²³ See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 126-27, and also E. Tov, "Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert," 159-60.

⁷²⁴ This is true, according to Tov, for the great majority of scrolls found in non-Qumran sites in the Judaean Desert. In the wider context there are, of course, exceptions. For example, 4QSam^a fits all other criteria other than a closeness to the MT. Similarly, 4QpaleoExod^m has a text closer to the proto-Samaritan type, while displaying all of the other qualities that would define it as a *ήκριβωμένα* scroll.

⁷²⁵ See E. Tov, "Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert," 158.

⁷²⁶ At Qumran, only 4QDeut^g preserves a significant amount of text that does not deviate at all from the medieval MT. This scroll also preserves a large lower margin. 4QGen^b is very close to the MT, and preserves a large upper margin, and contains *ca.* 40 lines of text per column. Tov classifies a total of seven Torah scrolls from Qumran as ‘de luxe’ scrolls or, in the language of the present study, *ήκριβωμένα* type texts.

⁷²⁷ See E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues," 186-90, for the suggestion that most of the scrolls from Qumran were of a lower production value, in terms of their adherence to the model text kept in the temple at Jerusalem, than those from the other find-sites along the western shore of the Dead Sea. That is, from the perspective of those aligned with the text that was affiliated with the temple, the majority of the Qumran scrolls were prepared with a diminished level of adherence to that ‘correct’ text.

Tov, and those *ἡκριβωμένα* type scrolls as described by Lieberman. However, it remains that *most* of the large format ‘de luxe’ scrolls fit into the *ἡκριβωμένα* category.

There is some support for this view in the Talmudic story of the three scrolls found in the *Azarah*, or Temple Court.⁷²⁸ In the context of the story, the differences between the scrolls indicate that there was some level of variation to be expected in the most authoritative texts that circulated during the Second Temple period. In particular, the fact that these scrolls were purported to have come from the *Azarah* itself suggests that the texts are of the *ἡκριβωμένα* type. If this is accepted, it seems reasonable to assume that the textual variants alluded to in the story appeal to three stereotypical categories of variation that may have occurred in *ἡκριβωμένα* texts.⁷²⁹ These are: orthographic confusion due to the graphical similarity of some letters (אָהֵ versus אָהִ); the intrusion of foreign words (Hebrew נֶעְרִי versus Aramaic זַעְטִיטִי – perhaps a common vocable among the general public); and the updating of unusual grammatical forms (מַעֲוִנָה versus מַעֲוִן).⁷³⁰

⁷²⁸ See note above for the Talmudic references.

⁷²⁹ The didactic nature of this story is emphasised by the fact that “in the Palestinian Talmud, and especially in *Aboth d’R. Nathan*, the account of ‘The Three Books’ is adjacent to discussions of other subjects also arrayed in groups of three or four” (S. Talmon, “Three Scrolls of the Law,” 19). It therefore seems pertinent to treat this story as representative of categories of variation that might have occurred in authoritative texts. The story thus serves as a warning of what types of error or variation should be guarded against in the copying of authoritative scrolls. However, it remains a possibility that the story could stem from a historical incident in which variant texts co-existed in the Temple archives, and therefore should be treated as evidence that *ἡκριβωμένα* type texts were not necessarily entirely uniform.

⁷³⁰ I owe these observations to M. Cogan, who has suggested in a private conversation that the variant types outlined in the Tannaitic sources possibly echo an awareness at an earlier period of the kinds of variation that could infiltrate the authoritative Temple texts, especially confusion of graphically similar letters, the substitution of vernacular terminology in place of high register language, and the erosion of unusual grammatical forms. The confusion between graphemes such as *yod* and *waw*, *kaph* and *beth*, *dalet* and *resh*, etc., is well known in scrolls from the period under concern. Concerning the second feature, the reader is directed to the more general discussion on the friction between vernacular and high register language in tex-

Evidence for variation within *ἡκριβωμένα* texts is purely inferential, and the same must be said of evidence for the exactitude with which such texts were replicated. Our only hint at the requirement for a high level of exactitude in copying authoritative texts in the Second Temple period comes from the Damascus Document. While this evidence is slightly stronger than the Tannaitic material mentioned immediately above – due to the fact that the fragments of the Damascus Document uncovered at Qumran at least allow us to proceed from a point which is contemporary with the period in question – it still requires inferred reasoning to make it applicable to our present discussion.

The passage in question is partially preserved in three of the ten copies of the Damascus Document found at Qumran: 4Q266 frag. 5ii 1-3; 4Q267 frag. 5iii 3-5; and 4Q273 frag. 2 1. The passage informs us that there existed, at least at Qumran, a requirement for an accurate reading of an authoritative text.⁷³¹

וכול כחה [עיני]ם או [--] כול אשר אינו ממחר לה[ב]ין וכול אשר נקל בל[שונ]ו או
בקול] טרוד דבר לו ולא פצל דברו להשמיע [קולו איש מאלה] לוא יקרא בס[פר]
התורה] למה ישוג בדבר מות

tual settings in F.H. Polak, "Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew," *Hebrew Studies* 47 (2006) 116-19. The grammatical form of the last feature, whether a substitution of masculine and feminine synonyms, or the presence or absence of a locative suffix, is more difficult to decide. Of the various interpretations of this form, see in particular S. Talmon, "Three Scrolls of the Law," 22-25, esp. n. 14.

⁷³¹ See L.H. Schiffman, "The Early History of Public Reading of the Torah," *Jews, Christians and Polytheists in the Ancient Synagogue: Cultural Interaction During the Greco-Roman Period* (ed. S. Fine; New York: Routledge, 1999) 45-46.

“And everyone whose [eye]s are dim or [...] and everyone that is not quick to un[der]stand, and everyone wh[ose tongue] is cursed, [or] speaks [with] a continuous [voice] and does not divide his words so that [his voice] is heard, [men such as these will not read from the scroll of the Law] in case he makes a mistake in a capital matter.”⁷³²

This text refers specifically to the capacities of one charged with publicly reading a scroll of the Law, and requires that anyone doing so must be perfect in their faculties of vision and speech to eliminate any possibility of misinterpretation of the text being read. Now, although the precision of the text from which the accurate reading was to be made is not explicitly referred to, one might assume that the scroll of the Law from which an exact reading was to be made would itself need to be a reliable copy. It seems reasonable to suppose that an exact text is a prerequisite for an exact reading, but it is perhaps too presumptuous to surmise that an exact text of the type termed by Lieberman as *ἡκριβωμένα* underlies the practice referred to in this passage. Be that as it may, it is not impossible that this passage in the Damascus Document refers “to a practice which took place in the Jerusalem Temple, or to one which the sectarians [at Qumran] thought should take place there.”⁷³³ It may be permitted, then, to presume that scrolls replicated with a high level of precision were required for services, such as public readings, that took place within the Jerusalem religious institution during the Second Temple period.

⁷³² For the fragments in question, see J.M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4 XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 49-50, 102 & 194.

⁷³³ L.H. Schiffman, "Public Reading," 46.

The above discussion suggests that when looking at the evidence from the scrolls discovered in the Judaean Desert we must proceed from a position which is respectful of the complex nature of the evidence. It seems that we can approach the evidence from one of two perspectives. Following Young, we can take the Qumran scrolls *in toto* to represent earlier evidence than the scrolls from Masada, Naḥal Ḥever, Murabba‘at and Wadi Sdeir. This would allow us to draw conclusions that fall into two temporally distinguished groups, namely evidence from the last centuries B.C.E. (Qumran), and evidence from the early centuries C.E. (all other sites).

Alternatively, we could take the position that supposes a contemporary provenience for the scrolls from Qumran and Masada, and adds to this body of synchronic evidence the material from Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir. As has been indicated above, such a position would take into account the considerations of Lieberman that delineate scrolls into groups which reflect particular care in their production and which have a specific intended function in Jewish Palestinian society. Lieberman’s observations would seem to fit well with Tov’s system which recognises scrolls of varying quality of production. We have outlined above some considerations towards seeing this particular system of categorisation as also pertaining to texts of varying degrees of authoritativeness.

The present study will progress from the perspective that all of the scrolls from the Dead Sea area should be examined as a collective and relatively contemporaneous group, segregated not in terms of chronological placement but rather in terms of locality and quality of production. If the discussions of Doudna, Hutcheson and Young noted above should

alert us to anything, it should be that the dating of scrolls from the Judaeen Desert, using palaeographical evidence that is unsubstantiated by external archaeological data, lends more uncertainty to our endeavour than it resolves.⁷³⁴ A firm position on the exact dating of the scrolls will thus be avoided as much as is possible in the following examination. Rather, this study will aim to reach conclusions that remain relevant irrespective of the precise dating that scholars attribute to the scrolls.

That is not to suggest that it suffices to ignore the question of dating the scrolls entirely. Indeed, it will need to be remembered that the differences in temporal setting considered in Young's study must be taken into consideration in our final analysis. To this end, the material from Masada and Qumran will be treated primarily as contemporary evidence, and the later material from other sites from the Judaeen Desert will be factored into the analysis with due consideration of their later provenience. Such an approach seeks to, at least partially, reconcile the diachronically driven views of Young with the synchronically driven views of Tov. However, it is the view of the writer that we can be relatively free to comment upon the textual character of certain scrolls that have been grouped according to the quality with which they have been manufactured and executed, without the need to enter into the arguments that surround the specific dating of these texts. Our comments in this respect should hold independently of whether we attribute an early dating to the deposit of the scrolls in the caves near Qumran (before the turn of the Common Era), or a late dating (after the turn of the Common Era). In either case, we are still discussing scrolls from Qumran and Masada that saw out their existence as authoritative

⁷³⁴ See note above.

texts (in the case of carefully produced documents) during the late Second Temple period in Jewish Palestine.

The Sites

There is no longer and single theory concerning the deposit of the Qumran Scrolls that can claim an outright consensus among scholars. However, it may not be too far from the truth to say that the most commonly held theory is that the Qumran Scrolls were deposited in the caves at around the middle of the first century C.E. This is based primarily on the *terminus ante quem* of the destruction of Qumran at the hands of the Roman army just before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Other evidence, such as C14 dating and palaeographical analysis, has been employed to support this view. As such, the majority position over the last six decades of research has continued to date the deposit of the scrolls in the caves near Qumran to around the year 68 C.E. This is roughly contemporaneous with the *terminus ante quem* for the deposit of the scrolls in the fortress at Masada, which was destroyed by the Roman 10th Legion in the year 73 C.E.⁷³⁵ Because of the temporal proximity of the destruction of both sites, the predominant scholarly view treats the corpora from Qumran and Masada as representing relatively contemporaneous deposits. The two corpora form a composite picture of the kind of biblical texts that were circulating in Jewish Palestine in the late Second Temple period.

⁷³⁵ The date for the destruction of Masada at the hands of the 10th Legion is given as Spring 73-74 CE in Y. Yadin, *Masada II. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963 - 1965. Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989) 4-5. R. de Vaux thought it likely that the 10th Legion was also responsible for the destruction of Qumran – see R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) 38-41.

The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran

Khirbet Qumran sits atop a marl terrace close to the north-western shoreline of the Dead Sea. It is a relatively small site, with its most prominent features being a square tower of at least two stories, and a complex aqueduct and water storage system dissecting what appear to be largely functional buildings. Significant occupation at the site of Qumran spans between 150 and 200 years. The site's first excavator, R. de Vaux, termed the earliest phase Period Ia, and the final phase Period III. The end of what de Vaux termed Period II at Qumran is attested by the discovery of first century C.E. Roman arrowheads around the site, and various signs of violent destruction and conflagration in many of the structures there.⁷³⁶ On the basis of numismatic evidence, and the description of the movements of the Roman army recorded by Josephus, de Vaux decided on the year 68 C.E. for the end of Period II.⁷³⁷ Even though the earlier periods defined by de Vaux as Periods Ia and Ib have been adjusted by more recent scholarship, there is general agreement with his dating of the end of Period II.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁶ J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 61. A period of relatively minor construction and occupation apparently preceded Period Ia by several centuries, but will not be considered here. Period III, the final phase of occupation by the Roman army in the second half of the first century CE, also will not be considered, but see J.E. Taylor, "Kh. Qumran in Period III," *Qumran - The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (eds K. Galor, J. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

⁷³⁷ See R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 38. Josephus records that Roman troops travelled from Jericho to the Dead Sea under Vespasian's command at around the time of Nero's death in 68 C.E. Before Vespasian returned to Caesarea, fighting in the area had "gone through all the mountainous country, and all the plain country also" (*J.W.* 4.490). In addition to this, de Vaux found solid archaeological evidence to date the end of Period II to this year. He found Jewish coins associated with the end of Period II, the last of which was minted in 68 CE, while the earliest Roman coins associated with the period immediately after the destruction of the Period II buildings were minted in 67/68 C.E. Thus, de Vaux concludes that "the evidence of history agrees with that of the coinage... [therefore] it is reasonable to put forward the hypothesis that the year 68, at which the two numismatic sequences meet, marks the destruction of the

lower level and the initiation of the higher one. And, since this explanation is in accordance with the historical data, it acquires that degree of certainty with which a historian of antiquity often has to be content. It is in this sense that I consider it certain that Khirbet Qumran was destroyed by the Romans in June 68 of our era” (R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 41).

⁷³⁸ de Vaux’s Period Ia dates from *ca.* 130 B.C.E. to 100 B.C.E.; his Period Ib from *ca.* 100 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E.; his Period II from 4-1 B.C.E. to 68 C.E. Recently Jodi Magness has proposed disregarding Period Ia entirely, and re-dating Period Ib to span from *ca.* 100-50 B.C.E. to 9-4 B.C.E., claiming that the site was not abandoned after the earthquake of 31 B.C.E. For this chronology see J. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 63-69. This proposal has found support from other scholars. For example, Hirschfeld agrees that de Vaux’s Period Ia should be abandoned, and says that Period Ib began no later than 100 B.C.E. He has also suggested that the earthquake damage at the site was not necessarily sustained in 31 B.C.E., a view supported by the geo-spatial and topographical analysis of K. Lönnkvist and M.P. Lönnkvist, "Spatial Approach to the Ruins of Khirbet Qumran at the Dead Sea," *Proceedings of the XXth ISPRS Congress, 12-23 July 2004 Istanbul, Turkey, Commission V* (vol. 35, 2004) 558-63. Hirschfeld basically agrees with Magness that there is little or no break in the inhabitation of the site during Period Ib (see Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* [Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004] 54-55). Davies has also argued that de Vaux’s dating of Period Ia to the mid-second century B.C.E. is symptomatic of his desire to parallel the period given in CD for the establishment of the ‘Damascus’ community, and thus locate that community at Qumran. On this see P.R. Davies, "How Not to Do Archaeology: The Story of Qumran," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51, 4 (1988) 203-7, reprinted in P.R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 79-87. In addition, Hutchesson has suggested that de Vaux’s Period Ib came to an end in 63 B.C.E., when Aristobulus was forced to hand over the fortresses of Judea to Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus (I. Hutchesson, "63 B.C.E.: A Revised Dating for the Deposition of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Qumran Chronicle* 8, 3 [1999] 188). Hutchesson’s dating of the end of Period Ib is chiefly based on Josephus (*Ant.* 14.52), but he also draws attention to uncertainties in de Vaux’s reading of the numismatic evidence. He argues that the coins found at Qumran do not necessarily prove any inhabitation during de Vaux’s Period Ib after 76 B.C.E. That is, the period dating from 76 B.C.E. to 31 B.C.E. (the end of Period Ib according to de Vaux) is represented by only ten coins. "Such a small number can easily be absorbed into the category of coins which circulated long after the reign of the king who minted them" (I. Hutchesson, "63 B.C.E.," 186). Against this Hirschfeld notes that most rulers issued coins bearing their own image when they came into power, so coins can usually be associated with the period of the ruler they represent (Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 55). Doudna, after initially suggesting the year 63 B.C.E. as the date for the deposit of the scrolls, has revised this date to *ca.* 40 B.C.E., based on textual evidence. On this see G. Doudna, "Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran: The Case for 63 B.C.E.," *The Qumran Chronicle* 8, 4 (1999), *4Q Peshet Nahum*, 683-754, most recently reiterated in G. Doudna, "The Legacy of an Error in Archaeological Interpretation: The Dating of the Qumran Scroll Deposits," *Qumran - The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (eds K. Galor, J. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 147-58.

The Connection Between Khirbet Qumran and the Scrolls Found Nearby

According to de Vaux, there is a clear link between the site of Khirbet Qumran and the caves in which the scrolls were discovered. He pointed to similarities in the ceramic assemblage uncovered at the site and also in the caves.⁷³⁹ This view gained widespread ac-

⁷³⁹ The unusual ceramic storage jars with lids (which have come to be known as 'scroll jars') that appear at Khirbet Qumran were also found in the most of the caves that contained scrolls. In addition, other ceramic materials identifiable with the site of Qumran were discovered in the same archaeological context as the scrolls, namely pots, jugs, juglets and lamps (see R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57, and pl. XL). Up to 30 caves contained evidence of the same pottery types that are almost unique to the Qumran site, with 11 of these caves also containing scrolls. Only Cave 5 contained scroll fragments without any ceramic evidence (R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 101). The connection between the scroll finds and the inhabitants of Qumran Period II seemed clear to de Vaux: "...in most cases [the ceramic assemblage] belongs exclusively to this general class... In some cases forms characteristic of both periods [Ib and II] have been found in the same cave, and no cave can be positively stated to have been used only during Period Ib. The forms most frequently occurring, and in many instances the only ones attested, are the cylindrical jars, the lids, and the bowls, and these are, in fact, common to both periods. The greater part of the materials which have survived probably belongs to Period II" (R. de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 54, and see also 102-104). Recent analyses of the ceramic finds from several sites show that a significant proportion of the clay used at sites such as Qumran, Ein Ghuweir and Masada came from deposits not local to Qumran. See the analyses of J. Yellin, M. Broshi, and H. Eshel, "Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenience," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 321 (2001) 65-78, and J. Yellin, *Masada IV. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963 - 1965 Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994). In particular, examples from the characteristic Qumran assemblage, namely the four scroll jars and three lids examined, were all shown to be manufactured using Jerusalem clay. In fact, about half of the material analysed from Qumran did not originate from that site (see J. Yellin, M. Broshi, and H. Eshel, "Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir," 75). Subsequent analyses have upheld this conclusion – see J. Gunneweg and M. Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis, Scroll Jars and Common Ware," *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de 'Ain Feshkha II: Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha: Présentées par Jean-Baptiste Humbert et Jan Gunneweg* (Academic Press: Fribourg, 2003) 3-53, and J. Michniewicz and M. Krzysko, "The Provenance of Scroll Jars in the Light of Archaeometric Investigations," *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de 'Ain Feshkha II: Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha: Présentées par Jean-Baptiste Humbert et Jan Gunneweg* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003) 59-99. Added to this is the fact that "a potter's atelier and two kilns operated at Qumran for about a century and a half to serve a small and austere community. Such activity ..., in a site lacking outstanding clay and cheap energy, can be explained only by the community's adherence to strict purity laws" (J. Yellin, M. Broshi, and H. Eshel, "Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir," 73). It would appear that the Qumran inhabitants' requirements for ritually pure vessels were such that pottery production at the site was supplemented by imported clay or finished goods (most likely the former, according to J. Magness, "Qumran: The Site of

ceptance, both because of the material culture, and because of the feeling that the inhabitants of Qumran must have been aware of the deposit of such a large collection of scrolls that, in some cases, occurred little more than a stone's throw from the site itself. "That this library belongs to the group living at Khirbet Qumran is not only suggested by the physical proximity between the caves and the Khirbeh but proved by the relation ... established between the material remains of the caves and Khirbet Qumran."⁷⁴⁰

Aspects of the site suggest it was home to a community that was very concerned with the concept of ritual purity. A clear example is the number of *miqva'ot* situated throughout the site.⁷⁴¹ While there are some large cisterns capable of containing enough water for the

the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Review Article," *Revue de Qumran* 22, 4 [2007] 652-53). This would seem to contradict suggestions that the site was used for the mass production of pottery, most recently argued by Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993-2004," *Qumran - The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (eds K. Galor, J. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 55-113. For a critical review of their paper, see J. Magness, "Qumran Review Article," 649-59.

⁷⁴⁰ F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *Revue de Qumran* 14, 4 (1990) 523. The proximity of the scrolls to the settlement would seem to demand the view that there was an awareness of the deposit of the scrolls by the occupants of Qumran, provided that the two were contemporary. Further, the presence of a ceramic assemblage that clearly connects the site with the caves would seem to mandate such a view, and suggest that those living at Qumran were in some way involved in the deposit of the scrolls. However, due to the clandestine excavations conducted by local tribesmen in the early days of the Scrolls' discovery, there are some doubts as to the exact find-sites of a relatively large number of fragments – see S.A. Reed, "Find-Sites of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 14, 2 (2007) 211-213. There is also good reason to be wary of directly superimposing the view of the community in the sectarian texts onto the site of Qumran. In particular, see P.R. Davies, "The Birthplace of the Essenes: Where Is 'Damascus'?", *Revue de Qumran* 14, 4 (1996) 509, reprinted in P.R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls*, 95-112. Additionally, see S.B. Hoenig, "The Sectarian Scrolls and Rabbinic Research," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 59, 1 (1968) 31, esp. n. 51.

⁷⁴¹ The discovery of cooked animal bones around the settlement, deliberately covered with pots or potsherds, also suggests sectarian activity at Qumran that was possibly in conflict with the institutional authority in Jerusalem (see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Pharisaic-Sadducean Controversies About Purity and the

site's inhabitants (loci 91 and 110), almost half of the water capacity at Qumran was held in ritual baths.⁷⁴² In fact, ten of the sixteen pools at Qumran have been designated as *miqva'ot*, and eight of these have broad steps to allow for separation of those entering and exiting the water.⁷⁴³ Perhaps the best example is the *miqveh* at locus 138, at the north-west extreme of the site. This structure was designed with two stepped entrances, each occupying separate sides of the pool (the eastern and southern sides). This design clearly indicates that there was a concern to have two defined access points. Their separation ensured that there would be no contact between those entering in an impure state and those exiting in a pure state. The broad-stepped *miqva'ot* at loci 48, 56, 68, 71, 117 and 118 also served this purpose.⁷⁴⁴

Certain texts, such as S, D, M, the *pesharim*, and MMT, seem to have been the product of a Jewish sectarian group (or groups), whose beginnings are commonly thought to be found among either the Essenes or the Sadducees.⁷⁴⁵ The group's members seem to have

Qumran Texts," *JJS* 31 [1980] 161-63, and more recently J.M. Baumgarten, "Tannaitic Halakhah and Qumran - A Re-evaluation," *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7-9 January, 2003* [eds S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements; STJD 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006] 3-10).

⁷⁴² See J. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 147. Of the 577,800 litre capacity, ca. 259,000 litres were contained in ritual baths.

⁷⁴³ See J. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 147-50.

⁷⁴⁴ See J. Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 145 ff. As Magness has noted, this practice is mentioned in the Temple Scroll (45 4-5), and also in the Mishnah (*Sheqalim* 8:2, and *Middot* 2:2).

⁷⁴⁵ Literature on this point abounds, but in general see F. Garcia-Martinez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Gröningen Hypothesis," *The First International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Mogilany Near Cracow, May 31-Jun 2, 1987* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Folia Orientalia 25; Wrocław: Załad narodowy imienia Ossolinkich, wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1989); L.H. Schiffman, "Origin and Early History of the Qumran Sect," *Biblical Archaeologist* 58, 1 (1995); and P.R. Davies, "The 'Damascus' Sect and Judaism," *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder* (eds J.C. Reeves and J.

separated themselves from the ruling authority in Jerusalem at some point in the second century B.C.E., as recorded in CD I:5-6. Given the isolation of Khirbet Qumran, and its apparently ritualistic material culture and infrastructure, the identification of the site as a place of isolation for a splinter group like that mentioned in the sectarian documents seems reasonable.⁷⁴⁶ However, the extent to which socio-religious isolation can be equated with economic isolation is uncertain. Despite their socio-religious distinctions the inhabitants of Qumran apparently maintained connections with those outside their group to some degree.⁷⁴⁷

Based on the link between the site of Qumran and the documents found in the nearby caves, a clear *terminus ante quem* of 68 C.E. emerges for the deposit of the Scrolls there.⁷⁴⁸ This date, which has gained widespread acceptance among the broader scholarly

Kampen; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), reprinted in P.R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls*, 163-78. Recent scholarship, such as is expressed in these few examples, tends to represent the sect that lived at Qumran as arising from an ousted authority structure in Jerusalem which retreated from the central institution, eventually developing into a disconnected and isolationist fringe group.

⁷⁴⁶ See M. Broshi and H. Eshel, "Daily Life at Qumran," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63, 3 (2000) 136-37, for the identification of Qumran as a sectarian settlement based purely on archaeological evidence from the site.

⁷⁴⁷ Making a clear delineation between socio-religious isolation and economic isolation is complicated by aspects of the archaeology. Qumran was defined as an 'open site' by R. Donceel and P. Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (eds M.O. Wise, N. Golb, J.J. Collins, and D. Pardee; ANYAS 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 9, who described it as "a place for which articles were not only purchased from Jerusalem or Jericho but from elsewhere in the Mediterranean world ... this 'open site' not only received but most probably also produced and exchanged something of true commercial value." In relation to this it is interesting to note the recent paper by M. Bélis, "The Production of Indigo Dye in the Installations of 'Ain Feshka," *Qumran - The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (eds K. Galor, J. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006) 253-61.

⁷⁴⁸ N. Golb has argued that the scrolls in the caves near Wadi Qumran are not linked to the settlement at Khirbet Qumran, but instead came from Jerusalem. See N. Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New

community, implies that the Scrolls represent the type of biblical texts that were in circulation in Jewish Palestine during the very end of the Second Temple period.⁷⁴⁹ Regardless of the dates attributed to individual scrolls, which range from the middle of the third century B.C.E. to the middle of the first century C.E., the fact that their deposit is perceived to be limited to a single event at around the year 68 C.E. encourages the view that the whole collection was in simultaneous circulation prior to that date.⁷⁵⁰ If the scrolls were

York: Scribner, 1995), but previously H. Del Medico, "L'état des Manuscrits de Qumran I," *VT* 7 (1957) 127-38; H. Del Medico, *L'énigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Plon, 1957) 23-31; K.H. Rengstorff, *Hirbet Qumran and the Problem of the Library of the Dead Sea Caves* (Leiden: Brill, 1963); and G.R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1965) 386-91. Golb has written extensively on this topic. See, for example, N. Golb, "Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls?," *Biblical Archaeologist* 48, 2 (1985) 68-82; N. Golb, "How Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? A New Answer Suggests a Vital Link Between Judaism and Christianity," *The Sciences* 27, 3 (1985) 40-49; N. Golb, "The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Perspective," *American Scholar* 58, 2 (1989) 177-207; and most recently N. Golb, "Fact and Fiction in Current Exhibitions of the Dead Sea Scrolls," n.p. [cited 10 September 2007]. Online: http://oi.uchicago.edu/pdf/dss_fact_fiction_2007.pdf. A critique of Golb's argument can be found in F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis," 526-36. See also R. Alter, "How Important are the Dead Sea Scrolls?," *Commentary* 93, 2 (1992) 38, and F. Garcia-Martinez, "The Great Battles Over Qumran," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63, 3 (2000) 127.

⁷⁴⁹ The tendency of recent scholarship seems to be to consider that the Qumran scrolls in general stem from broader Palestinian Jewish circles in the late Second Temple period, rather than constituting the product of a single isolated sect (see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 101-3, and E. Ulrich, "The Scrolls and the Study of the Hebrew Bible," *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* [eds R.A. Kugler and E.M. Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999] 35). The conception of a single historical 'sect' in the Scrolls is also problematic – see P.R. Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *JJS* 33 (1982) 289, n. 7 (reprinted in P.R. Davies, *Sects and Scrolls*, 45-60, and see pages 99-100 in the same volume). Consequently the alleged historical community at Qumran has been shown to lack a singular identity. Instead perhaps two stages in the development of certain sectarian divisions are discernable from CD and S. These considerations have been distilled into a revised hypothesis of Qumran origins that supposes both a diverse background for many of the biblical texts found in the caves near Qumran, and a two stage developmental process reflected in the sectarian writings also found there. On this see F. Garcia-Martinez, "Qumran Origins," 113-36, and F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis," 521-41.

⁷⁵⁰ For a chronological synopsis for the Qumran texts, see B. Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (ed. E. Tov; DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002) 371-75. The issues surrounding the dating of individual texts are complex, and there is a significant divergence of scholarly

not all in circulation at the same point in time, we would not expect to find them deposited together in the same archaeological context.⁷⁵¹

The Archaeology of the Masada Scrolls

Masada is situated towards the south end of the western shore of the Dead Sea. The isolated plateau on which the fortress was built rises almost half a kilometre above the surrounding plain. Some of the buildings in the Western Palace appear to have been constructed in the Hasmonean period, however the majority of the construction, including its impressive three tiered Northern Palace, is attributed to Herod's reign.⁷⁵² There were also subsequent, though smaller, building phases at Masada under the Roman procurators and during the First Jewish Revolt. The fortress was, of course, the site of the last stand of the *Sicarii*, famously documented by Josephus.⁷⁵³

opinion on some points. The palaeographical sequencing established by F. M. Cross, while gaining general acceptance, has not escaped criticism (e.g. G. Doudna, "Radiocarbon Analysis," 464; R. Eisenman and M. Wise, *Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* [New York: Penguin Books, 1992] 12-13). On the other hand, uncritical application of Cross's sequencing has led to some questionable outcomes. Scholars often "limit their discussion of the date of a document to identifying a line on one of Cross's charts to which the script of their scroll bears a similarity. Cross's date for the exemplar is then adopted as the date of the text being published" (B. Webster, "Chronological Index," 354).

⁷⁵¹ Attention should be drawn to the possible exception of Cave 1. Recently G. Brooke has made the observation that "it seems as if the Scrolls that were found in Cave 1 had been placed there because these were the Scrolls that were most damaged in antiquity, just as being the case, through the centuries damaged texts are much respected and are buried as in the *genizas*. So it seems that it's possible to understand Cave 1 as such a *geniza* from antiquity," (G.J. Brooke, interview by Rachael Kohn, *The Spirit of Things*, ABC Radio National, 20 May, 2007).

⁷⁵² See E. Netzer, *Masada III. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963 - 1965. Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1991) 615, 646-49, and G. Stiebel, "Masada," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 13; 2007²) 595. The two references by Josephus to the beginnings of the fortification of Masada do not specifically identify its founders (see *J.W.* 4.399 and *J.W.* 7.285), but do allow the view that the site was first developed between the middle of the second century B.C.E. and early first century B.C.E., either by Jonathan the brother of Judah Maccabee, or by Alexander Yannai.

⁷⁵³ *J.W.* 7.275-406.

Fragments of 15 Hebrew documents from this final period at Masada were uncovered during the excavations led by Y. Yadin between 1963 and 1965. These were found around the site, the majority being unearthed in or close to the building known as the ‘synagogue’, loci 1042-1043.⁷⁵⁴ The documents, 14 parchment and one papyrus, represent those used by the rebels occupying the fortress during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome.⁷⁵⁵ Most scrolls are severely damaged by the effects of prolonged exposure to the desert environment, but several also show signs of tearing suggesting deliberate destruction. In locus 1039, a room close to the synagogue in the north-western casemate, three biblical and four extra-biblical texts were recovered by archaeologists.⁷⁵⁶ In the syna-

⁷⁵⁴ Fragments were found in the western, eastern and northern sections of the site. Loci 1039, 1042, 1043 and 1045 form part of the western casemate, in and around the ‘synagogue’. These rooms contained 10 of the 15 Hebrew scrolls discovered at Masada. In particular locus 1039 possibly served as a central place in which someone, perhaps the Roman besiegers or the Zealots themselves, collected and destroyed property. On this see Y. Yadin, *The Excavation of Masada 1963/64: Preliminary Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965) 83. Elsewhere, in an open area approaching the Northern Palace, fragments of a Leviticus scroll (MasLev^b) were discovered amidst a large amount of debris, apparently discarded there by those who defaced it – see Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1972) 179. A Ben Sirah scroll and one of the Psalms scrolls (MasPs^b) were found in rooms to the north and south of the Snake Path Gate, on the eastern side of the site. These scrolls were also deliberately defaced – see S. Talmon, *Masada VI. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999) 155. Locus 1276, which contained the fragment of Jubilees (MasJub) is located in the south western section of the casemate wall. Netzer believed that this locus served the same purpose for the Roman looters as locus 1039 – see E. Netzer, *Masada III*, 445.

⁷⁵⁵ This much is beyond doubt concerning the scrolls found in locus 1039, which were uncovered along side coins from the First Revolt (Y. Yadin, *Herod's Fortress*, 168-71). The scrolls in locus 1043 were buried beneath the floor made by the rebels, confirming that these belong to the same period. Although the palaeography of the square script Hebrew parchments was, with the exception of the Ben Sirah scroll, described as Herodian according to S. Talmon, *Masada VI passim*, the circumstances of their deposit indicate that they were in circulation right up to the end of the Second Temple period.

⁷⁵⁶ Locus 1042 forms the main hall, while locus 1043 is a small room located in the north-western corner of locus 1042. These rooms were first identified as a synagogue or *ecclesiasteria* by Yadin, who initially posed the idea as conjecture (see Y. Yadin, *Preliminary Report*, 78-79), before stating the case more defini-

gogue itself, a scroll of Deuteronomy and a scroll of Ezekiel were found buried beneath the floor of locus 1043.⁷⁵⁷

The condition of the scrolls found at Masada, and the location of the finds, suggest that most of the scrolls were disposed of after a deliberate attempt was made to destroy or deface them.⁷⁵⁸ The two exceptional cases are MasDeut and MasEzek, found buried underneath the floor of locus 1043. These deposits were carried out intentionally, and one of the scrolls had been rolled before it was placed.⁷⁵⁹ It seems, therefore, that out of at least 15 Hebrew scrolls that existed at Masada during the First Jewish Revolt, only two of those were deposited in such a way that they might be spared mutilation at the hands of the Roman soldiers. The remaining scrolls that preserve sufficient material all appear to have suffered this exact fate: MasPs^b in locus 1103, the Ben Sirah scroll in locus 1109, Mas1n 'Unidentified Qumran-Type Fragment' in locus 1063, and the scrolls gathered together with other materials to be destroyed in locus 1039, 1045 and 1276; all these show signs of intentionally inflicted damage.

tively (see Y. Yadin, *Herod's Fortress*, 181-92). Netzer has pointed out that this was not the original function of the building, but that it was rather adopted as suitable for the purpose by the Zealots who occupied the site during the First Revolt (see E. Netzer, *Masada III*, 402-13).

⁷⁵⁷ These scrolls were buried in two separate pits in the floor of locus 1043. See the description of the finds in E. Netzer, *Masada III*, 410, and the description in Y. Yadin, *Herod's Fortress*, 187-89.

⁷⁵⁸ S. Talmon, "Hebrew Scroll Fragments From Masada," *The Story of Masada: Discoveries From the Excavations* (ed. G. Hurvitz; Utah: BYU Studies, 1997) 102-3, says of the fragmentary texts: "the margins seem to show that some scrolls were willfully torn, presumably by Roman soldiers who, after their conquest of the fortress, vented their rage on the sacred writings of the defenders of Masada."

⁷⁵⁹ See Y. Yadin, *Herod's Fortress*, 187. The pits themselves were quite large, about 1-2 metres in diameter and 70 centimetres deep according to E. Netzer, *Masada III*, 410. It is unclear whether or not the two scrolls were the only items of value that were laid in them, though the only other matter to be found in the pits was "a mixture of gravel, sherds and organic material." The separation of the pits in which the scrolls were discovered suggests that they were deposited on different occasions. On this see E. Tov, "The Biblical Text in Ancient Synagogues," 186-90, and E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 318.

The Sources

In total there are 95 Torah texts represented in the evidence that has been recovered from sites along the western shore of the Dead Sea. A small number of these texts occupy the same scroll but are treated in the analysis as separate texts.⁷⁶⁰ Regarding the provenience of the individual scrolls, it is a matter of no small concern that certain of the scrolls allegedly found in Qumran Cave 4 in uncontrolled excavations may in fact not have been uncovered in those caves.⁷⁶¹ Nevertheless, it will be a working hypothesis in this study that scrolls with the designation 4Q were in fact found in Cave 4, unless there is good evidence to the contrary.

⁷⁶⁰ The scrolls are 4QGen-Exod^a, 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l, 4QExod-Lev^f, 4QLev-Num^a.

⁷⁶¹ A ready example is 4QGen^b, which is assumed to be from a location other than Qumran Cave 4, possibly Wadi Murabba'at, as noted in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 31. See also the discussion in S.A. Reed, "Find-Sites," 211. Reed notes that as many as 80% of the biblical scrolls from Cave 4 may be of unascertainable provenience due to their being excavated in uncontrolled circumstances.

Table - Number of SU Preserved in the Torah Scrolls From the Dead Sea Area

Scroll	Total SU
4QpExod ^m	2147
11QpaleoLev ^a	1667
4QNum ^b	1667
4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l (Exod)	922
4QExod ^c	865
4QLev-Num ^a (Num)	808
4QDeut ⁿ	714
4QGen-Exod ^a (Exod)	683
4QDeut ^c	605
4QLev ^b	577
MasLev ^b	571
4QExod ^b	487
4QDeut ^h	467
4QGen ^b	447
4QDeut ^f	431
4QGen-Exod ^a (Gen)	414
4QLev-Num ^a (Lev)	407
4QpDeut ^f	377
4QDeut ^d	317
4QExod-Lev ^f (Exod)	309
1QDeut ^b	290
4QDeut ^j	271
4QGen ^j	263
4QDeut ^b	213
4QGen ^e	193
4QGen ^g	181
MurExod	159
4QDeut ^g	156
5QDeut	155
4QDeut ^{k1}	148
MurGen ^a	146
2QExod ^a	146
4QDeut ^c	142
4QGen ^f	142
SdeirGen	134
4QDeut ^{k2}	131
4QGen ^c	131
4QLev ^c	127
4QLev ^d	125
4QDeut ^a	124
4QDeut ⁱ	118
XHev/SeNum ^b	116

<i>Scroll</i>	<i>Total SU</i>
4QLev ^c	109
1QpaleoLev	106
4QDeut ^o	100
11QLev ^b	94
MasLev ^a	89
1QDeut ^a	88
4QGen ^d	84
4QDeut ^m	79
MasDeut	76
1QExod	64
4QDeut ^q	64
4QGen ^k	53
MurDeut	53
4QLev ^g	51
4QDeut ^j (Exod)	50
1QGen	48
4QExod ^e	48
4QDeut ^l	43
2QExod ^b	43
MurNum	34
4QExod ^d	32
2QNum ^a	23
4QpGen ^m	21
XHev/SeDeut	21
5/6 HevNum ^a	20
2QNum ^b	20
6QpaleoGen	20
11QDeut	18
2QpaleoLev	18
4QDeut ^p	18
4QExod ^g	18
8QGen	17
4QDeut ^{k3}	14
MurGen ^b	14
2QGen	13
4QExod ^h	13
4QpDeut ^s	13
MasGen	13
2QDeut ^c	11
4QExod ^j	11
6QpaleoLev	10
4QExod ^k	9
4QExod-Lev ^f (Lev)	8
2QDeut ^b	8
2QDeut ^a	7

<i>Scroll</i>	<i>Total SU</i>
1QpaleoNum	5
2QNum ^c	5
4QGen ^{h1}	5
4QGen ⁿ	5
2QExod ^c	4
4QGen ^{h2}	4
2QNum ^d	2
4QGen ^{h-title}	1

The following table gives the total number of SU and the total count of variant forms for each scroll that contains at least 20 SU in common with the MT. Following this table is a list of variant readings between any scroll as compared with the MT regardless of the amount of overlapping text preserved.⁷⁶² The discussion of the variants will refer mainly to those scrolls preserving at least 50 SU in parallel with the MT. Variant readings in the scrolls that have less parallel SU preserved may be referred to periodically, but will not be made to bear any of the statistical argument put forward regarding the type and frequency of the variants.

⁷⁶² There is a total of 1,089 orthographic variants between the MT and the Torah scrolls from the western shore of the Dead Sea. While all of these variants were assessed and tallied in the data collection process, the representation in the present study of an exhaustive list of variants was considered too cumbersome, and so it was decided to eliminate orthographic variants from the list. The number of orthographic variants between each source and the MT has been given in the table. There will also be some minor comment on orthographic variants in the discussion that follows the list.

Table - Variants From the MT in the Dead Sea Torah Scrolls

<i>Comparison: Q vs MT</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orth. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herm. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Herm. Variant</i>
4QpExod ^m	4295	164	15	8	296	40	70	31	24	4	70		
11QpaleoLev ^a	3335	44	39	3	606	14	152	11	89	2	606		
4QNum ^b	3335	246	7	42	41	52	44	53	22	7	69		
4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l (Exod)	1844	33	30	1	922	13	112	6	246	3	82		
4QExod ^c	1729	30	30	9	102	17	65	4	266	2	112		
4QLev-Num ^a (Num)	1616	14	59	2	462	7	154	1	539				
4QDeut ⁿ	1428	102	7	8	119	24	48	8	29				
4QGen-Exod ^a (Exod)	1366	5	161	2	342	8	124	2	210	1	342	1	455
4QDeut ^c	1210	24	26	3	220	13	47	15	37	2	173		
4QLev ^b	1154	16	38	1	577	18	37	5	115				
MasLev ^b	1142												
4QExod ^b	973	62	9	8	65	16	32	17	31	1	243	1	487
4QDeut ^h	934	24	20	2	233	15	36	4	144				
4QGen ^b	895	1	447										
4QDeut ^f	862	8	56	3	144	9	69	2	287				
4QGen-Exod ^a (Gen)	829	5	87			5	118						
4QLev-Num ^a (Lev)	813	5	86	2	203	10	43	1	116				
4QpaleoDeut ^f	755	22	20	4	101	11	49	3	50				
4QDeut ^d	634	12	26			7	60						
4QExod-Lev ^f (Exod)	619	23	13	6	52	13	33	9	18	1	44		
1QDeut ^b	576	8	36	2	165	6	37	3	230				
4QDeut ⁱ	542	33	9	16	18	5	68	6	54			1	271
4QGen ^j	526	6	46			3	105	4	105	4	58		
4QDeut ^b	426	6	35			6	43	4	43	1	53		

<i>Comparison: Q vs MT</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orth. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herm. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Herm. Variant</i>
4QGen ^c	386	5	39			5	43	1	386				
4QGen ^g	363	9	20	2	91	2	91						
MurExod	318												
4QDeut ^g	312												
5QDeut	309	6	27	2	77	4	52	3	44				
4QDeut ^{k1}	295	18	9	6	25	5	33	4	27				
MurGen ^a	292												
2QExod ^a	302	15	11	1	151	4	36	6	20				
4QDeut ^e	284	1	142					1	71				
4QGen ^f	284	3	52	1	142	3	57	2	28	1	36		
SdeirGen	268												
4QDeut ^{k2}	262	18	8	12	12	6	33	2	44				
4QGen ^c	262	7	19	2	65			1	131				
4QLev ^c	253			1	127	1	127						
4QLev ^d	251	7	19			3	84	7	15				
4QDeut ^a	248	2	62			1	248	1	50				
4QDeut ⁱ	237	4	32			1	118						
XHev/SeNum ^b	332												
4QLev ^e	217	1	109			1	217	4	43				
1QpaleoLev	216	4	29			2	72						
4QDeut ^o	200	5	21	1	100								
11QLev ^b	188	5	20	1	94	2	94	3	125			1	34
MasLev ^a	177												
1QDeut ^a	211	14	8	17	6	3	47	5	21				
4QGen ^d	168	4	22										
4QDeut ^m	158	9	9	15	6	4	26	1	79				

<i>Comparison: Q vs MT</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orth. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herm. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Herm. Variant</i>
MasDeut	152	1	76										
1QExo ^d	129	1	86			1	64					1	64
4QDeut ^d	127	2	32	2	36	2	51	5	9			2	32
4QGen ^k	106	4	13	1	53	2	53						
MurDeut	105												
4QLev ^g	102	5	10			4	14						
4QDeut ⁱ (Exod)	99	9	6			3	25	1	199			1	50
1QGen	97	3	18			2	32						
4QExod ^e	95	3	17			5	19	2	24	1	12		
4QDeut ^l	87	1	43			1	87					1	43
2QExod ^b	85	6	7			1	57	3	6				
MurNum	68												
4QExod ^d	63	1	32			1	42			1	4		
2QNum ^a	46												
4QpGen ^m	42	3	7										
XHev/SeDeut	41												
5/6 HevNum ^a	40												
2QNum ^b	39	4	5	1	26			1	39				
6QpaleoGen	39	2	11									1	20
11QDeut	35	1	18										
2QpaleoLev	35	2	10							1	7		
4QDeut ^p	35	1	18										
4QExod ^g	35	1	18										
8QGen	34	1	17										
4QDeut ^{k3}	28												
MurGen ^b	27												

<i>Comparison: Q vs MT</i>	<i>TOTAL PLL</i>	<i>Orth. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. Variant</i>	<i>Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>SU per Orth. (l) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 1) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (1) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 2) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (2) Variant</i>	<i>Stylistic (Type 3) Variant</i>	<i>SU per St. (3) Variant</i>	<i>Herm. Variant</i>	<i>SU per Herm. Variant</i>
2QGen	25												
4QExod ^h	25	2	7										
4QpaleoDeut ^s	25												
MasGen	25	1	13			3	8						
2QDeut ^c	22	2	6	2	6	2	11						
4QExod ^l	21	3	4										

List of Variants From the MT Torah Scrolls From Qumran and Masada

<i>No.</i>	<i>Scrolls</i>	<i>Variant Text</i>	<i>Categorisation</i>
Q1	MT Gen 1:20 1QGen 1 2	ישרצו [יש]רצו	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁶³
Q2	MT Gen 22:14 1QGen 3 2	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q3	MT Exod 16:14 1QExod 1 3	כחספס מחספס	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q4	MT Exod 20:25 1QExod 5-6 2	והחללה [תחללהו]	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁷⁶⁴
Q5	MT Lev 20:21 1QpaleoLev 3-4 2	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁷⁶⁵
Q6	MT Lev 22:6 1QpaleoLev 6 10	נפש ונפ[ש]	SV(1) – MT lacks the conjunction.

⁷⁶³ E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 50-53, has shown that the most common form of the ‘o’ themed imperfect verb with affirmative in Qumran Hebrew maintains the root vowel, represented in the orthography as *waw*, where the Massoretic tradition has *shewa*. This may be an indicator of penultimate stress in Qumran Hebrew, or related to dual forms of the indicative imperfect verb that existed in parallel in that dialect, on analogy with the dual forms of the infinitive and the imperative. See also S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," *VT* 38, 2 (1988) 155-56.

⁷⁶⁴ The feminine singular pronominal object suffix in MT refers to the adjective גזיית. The form of the pronominal object suffix in 1QExod appears to treat the adjective, which is not preserved, as masculine, perhaps due to a misunderstanding of the gender of the irregular feminine noun to which the adjective refers, namely זבן.

⁷⁶⁵ 1QpaleoLev has the grammatically correct form of the masculine singular independent pronoun, also corrected in the *qere* of MT. This phenomenon is common in the MT and the correct grammatical form of the third person singular independent pronoun is found regularly in the Qumran biblical scrolls. The distinction between *waw* and *yod* in this script is clear, though this is not the case in many of the scrolls written in ‘Assyrian’ script.

⁷⁶⁶ Throughout this analysis suffixed pronominal forms written with final *heh*, such as 2ms כה-, 2mpl כמה-, and 3mpl מה(ה)-, as well as the independent pronominal forms written with final *heh*, such as 1cs הוה, 3mpl המה and 3fpl הנה, are treated as reflecting a potential difference in pronunciation when contrasted with the common Massoretic forms of these pronominal suffixes and independent pronouns without final *heh*. This observation extends also to particular verbal forms that show the same terminal *heh*, namely the 2ms perfect קמלה and the 1c imperfect נאקמלה. Discussion around the long forms of the suffixed and independent pronouns has focussed mainly on the issue of interpreting the final *heh* on these pronouns as signifying an orthographic or a morphological difference, that is, whether or not the variation in the spelling reflects an orthographic convention or an actual difference in pronunciation. An exhaustive list of the scholarly literature that makes up this discussion is difficult to collate, but see primarily M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1958) 8, E.Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll* (STDJ VI; Leiden: Brill, 1974) 45-48, 57-58, 434-38, 448-49, E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57-64, E. Tov, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls found at Qumran and the Origin of these Scrolls," *Textus* 13 (1986), S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," *VT* 38, 2 (1988) 158-59, F.M. Cross, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies," *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (eds L. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11 Leiden: Brill, 1992), E. Tov, "Some Notes on a Generation of Qumran Studies: A Reply," *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (eds L. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11 Leiden: Brill, 1992), M.G. Abegg, "The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam; Brill, 1998) 327-39, K. Dong-Hyuk, "Free Orthography in a Strict Society: Reconsidering Tov's 'Qumran orthography'," *DSD* 11, 3 (2004), and E. Tov, "Reply to Dong-Hyuk Kim's Paper on 'Tov's Qumran Orthography'," *DSD* 11, 3 (2004). The view taken in this analysis is that in light of Rule 1 the spellings with final *heh* do represent an underlying difference in pronunciation. The similarities to Samaritan pronunciation go some way towards supporting this view (see E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 449), and one may see some influence of Samaritan or perhaps even Aramaic in the unusual forms that appear in Qumran Hebrew, as does W. Weinberg, *The History of Hebrew Plene Spelling* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985) 9. However this evidence should not be overstated, as it must be said that the similarities in Samaritan pronunciation do not extend to all of the peculiar orthographic nuances of Qumran Hebrew (see E. Tov, "Orthography and Language," 39, E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 567, and E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40-42). Rather, we can surmise with D. Talshir, "The Habitat and History of Hebrew During the Second Temple Period," *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; London: T&T Clark International, 2003) 264-66, that the Qumran Hebrew forms with extraneous terminal *heh* are a logical continuation of what is termed Late Biblical Hebrew, while the orthography of the Massoretic Text, without taking into account the vowel pointing of the Massorettes themselves, is in line with the spelling in Mishnaic Hebrew, for which see M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980) 41. We therefore adopt the view that the spelling of Qumran Hebrew forms with terminal *heh* reflect a pronunciation which stems

	1QDeut ^a 1 2	מכמה	
Q8	MT Deut 1:23 1QDeut ^a 1 2	שנים שני	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁷⁶⁷
Q9	MT Deut 1:24 1QDeut ^a 1 3	אתה האתך	SV(2) – The object is clarified in 1QDeut ^a . ⁷⁶⁸
Q10	MT Deut 9:28 1QDeut ^a 5 2	הוצאתנו יוצאנו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁷⁶⁹

from surviving archaic spellings, following F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995³) 175-76, E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 438-39, and D. Talshir, "Habitat and History," 265. This stands against the Massoretic spelling that reflects a system of orthography based on the 'proto-Rabbinic' vernacular. The latter, as noted by Cross (see F.M. Cross, *Ancient Library*, 176, and "Some Notes," 4-5), was edited back towards the former by the Massorettes who applied, in most situations, vowel points that retained the pronunciation of long endings. See further B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 302, esp. note 46, and R. Steiner, "From Proto-Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew: The History of ך- and ך-," *Hebrew Annual Review* 3 (1979). Incidentally, it must be said that the designation 'Late Biblical Hebrew' used above can be either chronologically or stylistically defined, for which see I. Young, R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensvaerd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems* (Bible World 28; 2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008).

⁷⁶⁷ This variation reflects different forms of a cardinal number in construct. By far the most common writing of the numeral 'twelve' in the MT is שנים עשר (occurring over 60 times) though the form שני עשר does occur twice (in Joshua 3:12 and I Kings 7:25).

⁷⁶⁸ The pronominal object suffix in MT seems to refer to the valley: ויבאו עד נחל אשכל וירגלו אתה: "... and they came to the valley Eshkol, and they explored it." In contrast 1QDeut^a makes the object of the verb "the land": הוצאתנו [וירגלו אתה] אשכל, "[... Eshkol], [and they expl]ored the land."

⁷⁶⁹ The verb יוצא, "to go out," is written as imperfect (probably durative) in 1QDeut^a against the perfect in MT Deut 9:28.

Q11	MT Deut 13:4 1QDeut ^a 7-8 3	השמע תשמעו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁷⁷⁰
Q12	MT Deut 13:4 1QDeut ^a 7-8 3	ההוּס ההוּסָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁷¹
Q13	MT Deut 13:5 1QDeut ^a 9 2	אלהיכם אלוהיכמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.

⁷⁷⁰ The verb is plural in 1QDeut^a against the singular in MT. 1QDeut^a agrees with LXX here and perhaps reflects a consistency of addressee in this section of the text. The phenomenon of *Numeruswechsel* is well known in Deuteronomy so an exhaustive taxonomy of the relevant literature is impractical in the present context. In general see N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung literarische Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11* (Analecta Biblica 20; Rome: E Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963) 239-58. A worthwhile review of the literature until 1962 is found in G. Minette de Tillesse, "Sections 'tu' et sections 'vous' dans le Deutéronome," *VT* 12, 1 (1962) 29-34, and see also C. Begg, "The Significance of the Numeruswechsel in Deuteronomy: The 'Pre-History' of the Question," *Ephemerides Theologicae Louvianenses* 55 (1979). Several dissertations on the topic are also worth mentioning, namely C. Begg, *Contributions to the Elucidation of the Composition of Deuteronomy with Special Attention to the Significance of Numeruswechsel* (Louvian University Ph.D. Dissertation: 1978); W.R. Higgs, *A Stylistic Analysis of the Numeruswechsel Sections of Deuteronomy* (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary Ph.D. Dissertation: 1982); and Y. Suzuki, *The 'Numeruswechsel' Sections of Deuteronomy* (Claremont Graduate School Ph.D. Dissertation: 1982).

⁷⁷¹ See the discussion in note above. The long form in 1QDeut^a is typical of Qumran Hebrew, perhaps reflecting a preserved archaic ending from Proto-Semitic which is attested in Ugaritic. See D. Sivan, "The Contribution of the Akkadian Texts From Ugarit to Ugaritic and to Biblical Hebrew Grammar," *Leshonenu* 47 (1983) 182 [Hebrew], for the reading of the Ugaritic pronoun "ú-PI" as "huwa." See also E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57 n. 56, and S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew," 156-57, for the same suggestion. E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 436-40, raises four possibilities and finally settles for one of two explanations: either the long forms of the 3ms and 3fs independent pronouns in Qumran Hebrew represent the preserved archaic ending with /a/, evident in Akkadian as /u/ and in Ugaritic and Phoenician as /t/; or these pronouns represent a long vowel that is appended on analogy with the 3mpl and 3fpl independent pronouns. According to Kutscher both arguments have their own merits and pitfalls that make deciding between the two options a matter of opinion. According to W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985) 80-81, among first millennium Palestinian dialects only Old Byblian preserves a final vowel on the 3ms independent pronoun, and this dialect also shows a form of the same pronoun with final /t/ as found in Phoenician. 3ms and 3fs independent pronouns with final /a/ and /t/ also appear in Ugaritic, for which see S. Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language: With Selected Texts and Glossary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 47. This may support Kutscher's first possibility that the ending in Qumran Hebrew is related to an archaic form of the pronoun.

⁷⁷² The form in 1QDeut^a preserves paragogic *nun*. This occurs only on the last verb in the clause in MT. 4QDeut^c (Q598 below) and the SP also retain paragogic *nun* for this verb, with the SP preserving this ending also in the following verb הִירֵאוּן. The form in Biblical Hebrew is generally considered to be a genuine archaic form, a deliberate archaism, a result of Aramaic influence or due to concerns of metre – see P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia Biblica 14/1 Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993) 137. In the case of the Qumran biblical scrolls the same explanations may apply. It is possible that the influence of Aramaic as a spoken language encouraged the use of the archaic verbal affirmative ׀- particularly when proximate to instances of the same form as is the case in Deut 13:5. Similarly, the influence of Aramaic on the 2fs perfect affirmative in Samaritan Hebrew has been conjectured by Z. Ben-Hayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2000) 103-4, where the archaic affirmative ׀- was preserved in Samaritan Hebrew due to its similarity to the affirmative in the vernacular Aramaic (see also E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 25-27). Indeed, E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 193, seems to view the Qumran Hebrew forms with affirmative ׀- as influenced by Aramaic. According to J. Hoftijzer, *The Function and Use of the Imperfect Forms with Nun Paragogicum in Classical Hebrew* (Studia Semitica Nederlandica 21 Nederlands: Van Gorcum, 1985) and B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 516-17, in Biblical Hebrew the verb form with paragogic *nun* may be a mark of what is termed 'contrastivity,' which occurs infrequently depending on style and syntax, and indicates that a particular action is unexpected in relation to the rest of the narrative or contrary to the wishes of one or more protagonists. This explanation has been criticised more recently by S.A. Kaufman, "Paragogic *nun* in Biblical Hebrew: Hypercorrection as a Clue to a Lost Scribal Practice," *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (eds Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), who sees the use of paragogic *nun* in Biblical Hebrew as based on phonological rather than morpho-syntactic principles. See also T. Zewi, *A Syntactic Study of Verbal Forms Affixed by -n(n) Endings in Classical Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, El-Amarna Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999) 72-73, for a critique of Hoftijzer's position. Alternatively V. de Caën, "Moveable Nun in Biblical Hebrew: Verbal Nunation in Joel and Job," *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 29, 1 (2003) sees paragogic *nun* in Biblical Hebrew as a function of disjunctive accents (pausal forms) and nuanced prosaic phraseology that introduces disjunction between verb and subject, or verb and object, in certain phono-syntactic situations. For de Caën the affirmative *nun* is a function of Hebrew grammar rather than a product of cross-linguistic influence, such as from Aramaic. "Indeed, the frequency of nunation is *inversely correlated* with the degree of Aramaic influence on BH" (V. de Caën, "Moveable Nun," 125, italics in original). While this view may *a priori* explain the writing of paragogic *nun* in Qumran Hebrew in a strictly grammatical sense, it remains the assessment of this study, following T. Zewi, *Verbal Forms Affixed by -n(n)*, 187-88, that the affirmative *nun* on 2mpl and 3mpl imperfect indicative verbs represents an archaic form that entered Hebrew and Aramaic from an older linguistic stratum, visible in Amarna Canaanite and Ugaritic as described in A.F. Rainey, "The Ancient Hebrew Prefix Conjugation in the Light of Amarnah Canaanite," *Hebrew Studies* 27 (1986) 7 – but see his remarks on Hebrew as a strictly Transjordanian language in "Inside, Outside: Where Did the Early Israelites Come From?," *BAR* 34, 6 (2008) – and in this respect is properly considered part of the prosaic morphology available to the scribe to be employed as a matter of linguistic style that directly

	1QDeut ^a 9 2	תלכון	
Q15	MT Deut 13:5 1QDeut ^a 9 2	תיראון תעבנדרו	SV(2) – Possible difference in phrasing in 1QDeut ^a . ⁷⁷³
Q16	MT Deut 13:5 1QDeut ^a 9 3	תדבקון ר[	SV(2) – Possible difference in phrasing in 1QDeut ^a . ⁷⁷⁴
Q17	MT Deut 13:6 1QDeut ^a 9 3	ההוא ההואה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁷⁵
Q18	MT Deut 13:6 1QDeut ^a 9 3	חלם ה[ח]לם	SV(1) – 1QDeut ^a has an extra definite article. ⁷⁷⁶

affected pronunciation. Perhaps, as proposed by W.R. Garr, "Paragogic Nun in Rhetorical Perspective," *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives* (eds S.E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006) 74, paragogic *nun* marks a 'rhetorical satellite,' an indication that the containing clause embellishes rather than grounds the discourse. However the use of verbs with paragogic *nun* is by no means mandated by rhetorical context. The occurrences of such textual variants in this study are therefore classified as linguistic variation.

⁷⁷³ The preserved text in 1QDeut^a suggests that the line is arranged differently to MT. The clause in MT is: יהוה אלהיכם תלכון ואתו תיראון ואת מצותיו תשמרו ובקלן תשמעו ואתו תעבדו ובו תדבקון אחרי, "After YHWH your god you shall walk, and you shall fear him, and you shall keep his commandments, and you shall listen to his voice, and you shall serve him, and you shall cleave to him." Although the line is fragmentary in 1QDeut^a, the arrangement of the clause is clearly different: אלהיכם תלכון ואתו תעבדו, "... your god you shall walk, and you shall ser[ve] him." With only this fragmentary line of 1QDeut^a remaining it is impossible to know if the rest of the verse as it is in MT appeared here, albeit in a different order, or if the verse was abbreviated in this manuscript.

⁷⁷⁴ 1QDeut^a can probably be restored ואת מצותיו תשמרו, "and you shall keep his commandments," which amounts to a rearrangement of the text as it is represented in MT. As noted above (see note) the fragmentary state of the text only allows reading a variation of type SV(2).

⁷⁷⁵ See note above for a discussion of this variant type. The same note should be referred to for all subsequent occurrences of the long form of the 3ms independent pronoun, and more generally note above should be referred to for all subsequent occurrences of the long forms of the 3pl and 2pl independent pronouns.

⁷⁷⁶ The form in 1QDeut^a appears to be grammatically incorrect as the article appears on the first term in a construct chain. The phrase in MT is: חלם החלום ההוא, "the dreamer of the dream." It is possible that the phrase in 1QDeut^a lacked the *nomens rectum* and can be restored ה[ח]לם ה[ח]הוא.

Q19	MT Deut 13:6 1QDeut ^a 9 5	מקרבך מ[קרבכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁷⁷
Q20	MT Deut 13:13 1QDeut ^a 10 1	עריך עריכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q21	MT Deut 13:14 1QDeut ^a 10 2	עירם עירמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q22	MT Deut 14:21 1QDeut ^a 11 1	omits ב]	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^a possibly contains an expanded version of this verse. ⁷⁷⁸
Q23	MT Deut 14:23 1QDeut ^a 12 1	אלהיך כה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q24	MT Deut 14:24 1QDeut ^a 12 2	שאתו לשתו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁷⁷⁹
Q25	MT Deut 14:24 1QDeut ^a 12 3	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q26	MT Deut 14:25 1QDeut ^a 12 4	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q27	MT Deut 16:4	לך	OV(1) – Possible difference in

⁷⁷⁷ See note above for a discussion of this variant type. The same note should be referred to for all subsequent occurrences of the long forms of the pronominal suffixes.

⁷⁷⁸ Exodus 23:19 contains the same dietary law as Deut 14:21: **לֹא תִבְשֵׁל גְדִי בְחֵלֶב אִמּוֹ**, “you shall not boil a kid in its mother’s milk.” In Exod 23:19 of the SP we find the addition **כִּי עָשָׂה זֹאת כְּזִבְחַת שְׂכַח וְעִבְרָה הִיא** “because doing this is like a lowly (or forgotten?) sacrifice, and it is an outrage to the god of Jacob.” 1QDeut^a may reflect the same textual tradition that produced SP Exod 23:19, but the writing of **ב** instead of **כ** is difficult to explain in this context. Alternatively 1QDeut^a may have a gloss, possibly **בְּיַחַד**, “together,” as is read in *Tg. Ps.-J.*: **בְּיַחַד מֵעֵרְבִין בְּחֵדָּה**: “it is unlawful for you to boil, much less to eat, meat and milk when both are mixed together;” and *Tg. Neof.*: **לֹא תִבְשֵׁל וְלֹא תֹאכַל בֶּשֶׂר וְחֵלֶב מֵעֵרְבִין בְּחֵדָּה**, “you shall not boil nor shall you eat meat and milk mixed together.” See D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 55.

⁷⁷⁹ 1QDeut^a has the infinitive construct plus preposition **ל** in the phrase **לֹא תִבְשֵׁל לְשֵׂאוֹ**, “[...] that you are not able to carry it.” MT has a different phrasing with the infinitive construct and lacking the preposition: **כִּי לֹא תִשְׂאוֹ**, “... that you are not capable (of) carrying it.”

	1QDeut ^a 13 1	לכה	pronunciation.
Q28	MT Deut 16:6 1QDeut ^a 14 1	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q29	MT Deut 16:6 1QDeut ^a 14 1	omits בו	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^a clarifies the object of the verb בחר, “to choose.” ⁷⁸⁰

⁷⁸⁰ 1QDeut^a reads: בו יהיה אלוהיכה אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך, “[the place which] YHYH your god will cho[ose].” MT lacks the emphatic preposition plus pronominal object suffix here however does have the same phrase with the preposition plus pronominal suffix in Deut 12:18, 14:25, 16:7, 17:8 and 17:15.

Q30	MT Deut 16:7 1QDeut ^a 14 2	ובשלת ובשלתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁸¹
Q31	MT Deut 15:14 1QDeut ^b 5 1	יהוה יהוה[ס]	SV(1) – Interchange of divine titles.

⁷⁸¹ According to E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 45-48, the affirmative הַה- on the 2ms perfect verb and the long form of the 2ms pronoun כַּה- are considered to be preserved archaic pronunciations. These forms pertain to a high register of the language used in liturgical scriptural readings, called ‘standard’ vocalisation by Kutscher. The longer pronunciations stand against the short 2ms perfective verbal affirmative ה- (הַ-) and the short pronominal suffix ה- (הַ-). These forms were common to Mishnaic Hebrew and were part of a ‘substandard’ vocalisation or lower register. Evidence for the different social uses for Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew can be found in the early first millennium rabbinic sources, for which see M.H. Segal, *Grammar*, 2-5. It is the full spelling of these forms in Qumran Hebrew that Cross identifies as ‘baroque’ orthography which was “devised as an attempt to preserve archaic elevated or poetic speech, lost in vernacular or prosaic Hebrew” (F.M. Cross, “Some Notes,” 4). For Kutscher “these two types of Hebrew existed side by side in the ancient Jewish communities,” (*Language and Linguistic Background*, 46), whereas for Cross the ‘baroque’ orthography is “devised” and often “artificial” (“Some Notes,” 4). The process of linguistic change in the biblical text can be seen as two-fold, as has been summarised by E. Qimron, “Observations on the History of Early Hebrew (1000 B.C.E.-200 C.E.) in the Light of the Dead Sea Documents,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10 Leiden: Brill, 1992) 350-51: “during the Second Temple period, attempts are said to have been made to write BH, but these were influenced by the spoken language, a type of MH; and at a later period, scribes who copied texts written in MH are said to have changed them to bring them more into line with BH.” The sociological role of this orthography has been described by W.M. Schniedewind, “Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage,” *JBL* 118, 2 (1999) 248, who suggests long Qumran Hebrew forms are not “a peculiar dialect,” but rather a deliberate attempt to “mark off the sectarian texts from other Jewish literature in their [the sectarians’] library.” The long pronominal and verbal forms are therefore seen as markers of an “antilanguage created by conscious linguistic choices intended to set the speakers and their language apart from others” (“Qumran Hebrew,” 235). In “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?,” *JAOS* 119, 1 (1999) 45, S. Weitzman goes a step further, seeing the Qumran community’s use of Hebrew in general, and Qumran Hebrew in particular, as a way to affirm “through the avoidance of other ‘mundane’ languages ... its identity as a transcendent community, a symbolic gesture of its eternally valid status in a world of competing ideologies and languages.” Each of these scholarly positions, while subtly different, all consider that the long orthographic forms of pronouns and verbal affixes were, on some level, reflective of a particular vocalisation of the text. Whether the morphology underlying these forms is archaic (Kutscher) or archaising (Cross), and to what extent this reflects a socio-linguistic response to a contemporary political situation (Schniedewind and Weitzman), is debatable. Even so, this study’s categorisation of long pronominal and verbal forms as ‘possible differences in pronunciation’ is appropriate.

Q32	MT Deut 15:15 1QDeut ^b 5 2	omits לעשות	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^b has an expanded phrase that includes the infinitive construct $\sqrt{\text{עשה}}$, “to do.” ⁷⁸²
Q33	MT Deut 24:14 1QDeut ^b 8 4	מאחיד מאחניד	Not Counted – The reading in 1QDeut ^b is not certain. ⁷⁸³
Q34	MT Deut 24:16 1QDeut ^b 8 6	יומתו ימות	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁷⁸⁴
Q35	MT Deut 29:10 1QDeut ^b 11 2	נשיכם וננשיכם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q36	MT Deut 29:14 1QDeut 12-13 i 2	עמנו עמנים	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁸⁵
Q37	MT Deut 31:1 1QDeut ^b 13 ii 4	וילך משה וידבר ויכל משה לדבר	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^b has an expanded or clarified syntax that includes a finite verb plus infinitive construct. ⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸² The phrase in 1QDeut^b is restored: על כן אנכי מצוך לעשות את הדבר הזה היום, “therefore I am commanding you to do this thing today.” While MT lacks the final infinitive לעשות, it is common to the LXX which has *ποιειν*, and *Tg. Ps.-J.* which has למעבר, both meaning “to do.” The phrase על כן אנכי מצוך לעשות את הזה also appears in Deut 24:18 and 22 of the MT.

⁷⁸³ See D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, pl. X, where the left side of the sign is totally lacking. Although reading the vertical stroke as the top stroke of *het* is ruled out, its restoration as *taw* is hardly certain.

⁷⁸⁴ The singular verb in 1QDeut^b may indicate a singular subject, though none of the versions attest such a reading. It is possible that this is a case of metathesis of the consonants *waw* and *taw*. In light of Rule 1 the form in 1QDeut^b is read as a *Qal* 3ms imperfect verb, “he will die,” against the *Hoph'al* 3mpl imperfect, “they will be put to death,” in MT. The variant actually reflects two differences, firstly in grammatical number of the subject, and secondly in the interchange of causative and active lexemes. However, in light of Rule 3 only one variant may be counted.

⁷⁸⁵ See E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27-28, where the form in 1QDeut^b is read as enclitic *mem* affixed to a word ending in an open syllable. The distinction between *waw* and *yod* is not clear in this script.

⁷⁸⁶ The construction of finite verb plus infinitive in 1QDeut^b is reflected in the LXX: *και συνετελεσεν Μωυσης λαλων παντας τους λογους*, “And Moses finished speaking all of the words,” (see also MT Deut 32:45).

Q38	MT Deut 31:1 1QDeut ^b 13 ii 4	omits כל	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^b clarifies the ject with the addition of the adject- ive כל, “all.” ⁷⁸⁷
Q39	MT Deut 31:5 1QDeut ^b 13 ii 8	לפניך לפניכם	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁷⁸⁸
Q40	MT Deut 32:26 1QDeut ^b 18 4	אשביתה א[שבית]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁷⁸⁹
Q41	MT Deut 32:27 1QDeut ^b 18 5	יהוה אדני	SV(1) – Interchange of divine ti- tles.
Q42	MT Deut 33:17 1QDeut ^b 20 4	שורו ש[ו]ר	SV(2) – 1QDeut ^b lacks the pos- sessive pronominal suffix. ⁷⁹⁰
Q43	MT Exod 1:12 2QExod ^a 1 2	ירבו ירבה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁷⁹¹
Q44	MT Exod 1:12	יפרץ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁷ See note above, where the LXX agrees with 1QDeut^b in the use of the adjective *παντας*, “all.”

⁷⁸⁸ 1QDeut^b consistently has Moses addressing the people with the 2ms pronominal suffix, whereas the MT changes from singular address in Deut 31:1-4, to plural in Deut 31:5-6a, and back to singular in Deut 31:6b.

⁷⁸⁹ The long cohortative form of the *Hiph'il* verb שבהל, “remove, conclude,” is written without the affirmative (paragogic) *heh* in 1QDeut^b. Alternatively this may indicate that the verb should be read as future indicative, אשביתה*, “I will remove (them),” rather than the cohortative אשביתה, “let me remove (them).” In light of Rule 4 the forms are read as grammatically equivalent.

⁷⁹⁰ The possessive pronominal suffix clarifies the object, שורו, “his bull.” Both the LXX and the SP lack the pronoun.

⁷⁹¹ The difference appears to be in the treatment of the בני ישראל as a collective singular or a plural noun, or the similar treatment of the noun עם which occurs in construct with the phrase בני ישראל in verse 9. The LXX, *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* agree with 2QExod^a.

⁷⁹² 2QExod^a, the LXX, *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Neof.* have a plural verb here against the singular in the MT. The LXX may reflect שרצו, “they kept multiplying,” in its translation *ισχυον σφοδρα σφοδρα*, “they grew exceedingly strong.” M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 49, suggest that the lacuna in 2QExod^a may have once held the adjectival phrase במאד מאד, reflecting the double use of the adjective *σφοδρα* in LXX. The *Tgs.* have והכדין הוון תקפין, “and thus they became strong,” which generally reflects the wording of the MT (see, for example, the similar translation of פריך, “to spread, increase,” in the *Tgs.* at Gen 28:14; 30:43; Exod 19:22). The use of שריך in 2QExod^a may reflect harmonisation with Exod 1:7.

	2QExod ^a 1 2	ישרצו	
Q45	MT Exod 1:14 2QExod ^a 1 6	omits ויקוצו מצרים מפני בני ישראל	SV(2) – 2QExod ^a has a repeated refrain lacking in the MT. ⁷⁹³
Q46	MT Exod 9:28 2QExod ^a 3 2	omits ואש	SV(2) – 2QExod ^a has an additional term lacking in the MT. ⁷⁹⁴
Q47	MT Exod 9:29 2QExod ^a 3 3	אליו omits	SV(2) – The preposition plus pronominal suffix is lacking in 2QExod ^a . ⁷⁹⁵
Q48	MT Exod 11:3 2QExod ^a 4 1	בארץ [אך ארץ]	SV(1) – Lexical Interchange. ⁷⁹⁶
Q49	MT Exod 11:4 2QExod ^a 4 2	omits אל פרעה	SV(2) – 2QExod ^a clarifies the addressee of Moses' speech, lacking in MT. ⁷⁹⁷
Q50	MT Exod 12:39	גרשו	SV(2) – 2QExod ^a clarifies the ob-

⁷⁹³ The end of Exod 1:12, ויקוצו מפני בני ישראל, “and they felt dread before the sons of Israel,” is perhaps repeated at the end of verse 14 in 2QExod^a (see M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 49).

⁷⁹⁴ 2QExod^a has וברד ואש, “and hail and fire,” against וברד, “and hail,” in the MT. 2QExod^a is perhaps harmonised with Exod 9:24 which has the two terms together. The LXX has both terms, χαλαζαν and πυρ, in Exod 9:24 and 28.

⁷⁹⁵ The possibility remains that the word order is changed in 2QExod^a, for which see M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 51. With the reconstruction 2QExod^a reads ויאמר משה אליו, against the MT ויאמר אליו משה. The word order of the LXX, SP and the *Tgs.* agree with the MT, which indicates reading 2QExod^a as omitting the preposition plus pronominal suffix is the most likely reading.

⁷⁹⁶ 2QExod^a seems to agree with the SP in the reading ארץ מצרים בתוך against the MT בארץ מצרים. In the context the preposition ב and the bound form of the substantive plus preposition בתוך can be treated as conveying synonymous meaning. In the SP the phrase ארץ מצרים בתוך appears in the long addition to Exod 11:3, which harmonises with the text of MT Exod 11:4-7, however there is not enough room in the lacuna to allow this additional material to be restored in 2QExod^a.

⁷⁹⁷ The phrase in 2QExod^a is ויאמר משה אל פרעה against the MT ויאמר משה. The SP has the additional text as it appears in 2QExod^a, but see note above regarding the long addition to the SP lacking in 2QExod^a. The phrase in 2QExod^a may partially harmonise with the similar phrase in the following verse that appears also in MT, yet not to the extent that is preserved in the SP. Interestingly, the extended phrase is preserved in *Tg. Ps.-J.*, which reads ויאמר משה לפרעה, but it does not appear in the parallel section of *Tg. Neof.*

	2QExod ^a 5 8	גרשום	ject of the verb $\sqrt{\text{גרש}}$, “to drive out.” ⁷⁹⁸
Q51	MT Exod 12:39 2QExod ^a 5 8	ממצרים מצרים	SV(1) – 2QExod ^a lacks the preposition מן, “from.” ⁷⁹⁹
Q52	MT Exod 26:11 2QExod ^a 7 2	וחברת וחברתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q53	MT Exod 30:25 2QExod ^a 9 4	omits [לדורות]	SV(2) – 2QExod ^a has a repeated refrain lacking in the MT. ⁸⁰⁰
Q54	MT Exod 31:16 2QExod ^b 7 1	omits ליהוה	SV(2) – The Tetragrammaton is lacking in the MT. ⁸⁰¹
Q55	MT Exod 19:10	omits	SV(2) – 2QExod ^b inserts Exodus

⁷⁹⁸ 2QExod^a agrees with the SP and the LXX in specifying the object of the verb with a pronoun. The phrase in 2QExod^a and the SP reads: כי גרשום מצרים , in apparent agreement with the LXX $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\nu\gamma\alpha\rho\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\ \text{Αιγυπτιοι}$, but against the MT כי גרשו ממצרים . See also note below for a solution to this reading in the MT.

⁷⁹⁹ With the previous variant, the MT reads כי גרשו ממצרים against כי גרשום מצרים in 2QExod^a and the other parallel sources. It is possible that the variant readings may be synthesised if we posit confusion over the correct word division of the two forms at some stage in the text’s transmission. In light of Rule 1 each variant is counted without the conjectural reconstruction of a theorised ‘original’ text. As such Q50 and Q51 must be considered separate textual variations.

⁸⁰⁰ 2QExod^a possibly harmonises this verse with Exod 30:31 which ends with the phrase זה ליה לדרתכם (see M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 52). Such an addition is not paralleled in any of the versions.

⁸⁰¹ The addition of the Tetragrammaton in 2QExod^b is also found in the Syriac but is lacking from the LXX, SP and *Tgs.* (see M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 54). The plus in 2QExod^b clarifies the beneficiary YHWH in the phrase $\text{ותשמרו בני ישראל את השבת ליהוה}$, “and the sons of Israel shall keep the Sabbath for Yahweh.”

	2QExod ^b 8 3-7	וואמ]ר [...אנוכ]י	34:10 after Exodus 19:9. ⁸⁰²
Q56	MT Exod 34:10 2QExod ^b 8 3	omits]הוה א	SV(2) – 2QExod ^b clarifies the speaker and addressee, lacking in the MT. ⁸⁰³
Q57	MT Exod 34:10 2QExod ^b 8 4	עמד עמכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q58	MT Exod 34:10 2QExod ^b 8 7	אני אנוכ]י	SV(1) – Lexical interchange.
Q59	MT Lev 11:26 2QpaleoLev 5-6	ושסע שסעת]ושסעת	SV(3) – 2QpaleoLev has a different word order to the MT. ⁸⁰⁴
Q60	MT Num 33:52 2QNum ^b 5	והורשתם ה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q61	MT Num 33:52 2QNum ^b 5	כל omits	SV(2) – 2QNum ^b lacks the adjective describing the object of the verb ירשׁ, “possess.”

⁸⁰² The excise of the large section of text comprising MT Exod 19:10 – 34:10 from 2QExod^b does not mandate the view that this scroll should be considered among the florilegia, though such a view would not be unreasonable. Already M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 53, noted that “... le f. 8 révélant une importante variante dans l'ordre des péripécopes et le tétragramme divin étant écrit en caractères paléo-hébraïques (ff. 2, 7 et 8), on pourra se demander s'il s'agit d'un manuscrit proprement biblique ou d'un simple recueil de textes ... Après des textes législatifs, suivis de l'alliance et de l'apostasie (ch. 20-33), on revient au ch. 34 à la même situation qu'en 19, avec le renouvellement de l'alliance” [... with fragment 8 revealing a significant variant to the order of the pericopes and the Tetragrammaton being written in palaeo-Hebrew characters (fragments 2, 7 and 8), one may wonder if this is a legitimate biblical text or merely a collection of texts ... After the legislative text, followed by those of covenant and apostasy (chapters 20-33), the text returns in chapter 34 to the same situation as chapter 19, with the renewal of the covenant].

⁸⁰³ The clarification is suggested by the remaining letters]הוה א, “[r]estitution suggérée par la trace oblique qui convient à un *aleph*” (M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes'*, 55). 2QExod^b presumably reflects the reading in the LXX: *καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν*, “And the Lord said to Moses.”

⁸⁰⁴ In 2QpaleoLev the arrangement of the words ושסעת שסע, “and (whatever) is cloven of claw,” is the reverse of the MT which reads ושסע שסעת, “and (the) claw is cloven.” The phrasing in 2QpaleoLev possibly harmonises with Lev 11:3, which in the MT reads ושסעת שסע. The LXX has the same phrasing in 11:3 and 11:26, *ονυχιστηρας ονυχιζον/ονυχιζει*.

Q62	MT Num 33:52 2QNum ^b 6	במתם במותמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q63	MT Deut 1:8 2QDeut ^a 2	ראה רא[	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸⁰⁵
Q64	MT Deut 17:14 2QDeut ^b 3	לך לכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q65	MT Deut 10:8 2QDeut ^c 2	לעמד ולעמ]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q66	MT Deut 10:10 2QDeut ^c 5	ההוא ההואה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q67	MT Deut 10:10 2QDeut ^c 5	לא [ו]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction. ⁸⁰⁶
Q68	MT Deut 10:11 2QDeut ^c 7	לאבתם לאבותיהמ]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q69	MT Gen 22:14 4QGen-Exod ^a 1 1	יהוה אלהים	SV(1) – Interchange of divine titles.
Q70	MT Gen 35:19 4QGen-Exod ^a 5 3	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁸⁰⁷
Q71	MT Gen 35:25 4QGen-Exod ^a 5 7	ובני בלהה בני בלהה	SV(1) - 4QGen-Exod ^a lacks the conjunction.
Q72	MT Gen 35:26 4QGen-Exod ^a 5 7	ובני זלפה בני זלפה	SV(1) - 4QGen-Exod ^a lacks the conjunction.

⁸⁰⁵ The subject, בני ישראל, is treated with a singular imperative verb ראה in the MT, but with the plural imperative ראו in 2QDeut^a. The LXX, SP and Tgs. agree with the plural form in 2QDeut^a. The pronominal suffixes that refers to the subject in the MT later in this verse is also plural, לפניכם ... לאבהיכם, as are the subsequent imperative verbs באו ורשו.

⁸⁰⁶ The SP agrees with 2QDeut^c.

⁸⁰⁷ The Masoretic *qere* agrees with 4QGen-Exod^a, however in light of Rule 1 this variant is considered as a difference in gender based on the consonantal text of the MT.

Q73	MT Gen 35:26 4QGen-Exod ^a 5 8	אשר ילד לו אשר ילדה לו	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁸⁰⁸
Q74	MT Gen 41:7 4QGen ^c 1 ii 13	תבלענה תבלען	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸⁰⁹
Q75	MT Gen 41:7 4QGen ^c 1 ii 14	omits השדפות	SV(2) – 4QGen ^c adds an expansive plus lacking in the MT. ⁸¹⁰
Q76	MT Gen 41:11	ונחלמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in

⁸⁰⁸ The MT has לו אשר ילד לו בני יעקב אשר ילד לו, “these are the sons of Jacob who was (sic) born to him.” In this phrasing the *Qal* masculine singular passive participle √לד, “to be born,” conflicts with the plural object, בני יעקב, “the sons of Jacob.” The grammatical problem of the MT is not found in the LXX, which has the indicative aorist middle 3pl *εγενοντο*, “they were born,” also reflected in the SP which has ילדו, “they were born.” 4QGen-Exod^a is still grammatically correct but instead has an active indicative, rendering the verb as *Qal* 3fs perfect in the phrase אלה לו אשר ילדה לו בני יעקב אשר ילדה לו אלה, “these are the sons of Jacob that she (Zilpah) bore to him.” Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Onq.* all reflect a similar phrasing to the LXX and the SP, with the *hip’el* 3mpl form of the verb in the phrase דאיתילדו לה בני(י) דיעקב דאיתילדו לה בני(י) דיעקב, “these are the sons of Jacob who were born to him.”

⁸⁰⁹ Here and below (Q76) the spelling of 4QGen^c seems to reflect the use of short forms of verbal affixes and pronominal suffixes where the MT preserves the long (Qumran Hebrew) forms. This appears to go against all expectations of the grammar. However, it is not mandatory that the spelling in the MT must always be in preference of short forms against the preference for long forms in the Dead Sea Scrolls biblical manuscripts. Indeed, there is no requirement for the MT to have an absolute monopoly on the shorter forms against all of the manuscripts from Qumran. It may be acceptable that some manuscripts from Qumran, such as 4QGen^c, reflect the orthographic practices that became most common in the text-type from which the MT stems, and this is quite possibly what we find in evidence here. In fact, the short form of the feminine plural prefixed conjugation תקמלן is relatively common in the MT (appearing about 38 times) but the long form תקמלנה is clearly preferred (appearing some 297 times). Occasionally the affirmative (ה)נ- is dropped entirely (Jer 49:11, Ez 37:7, and before a pronominal suffix in Jer 2:19 and Job 19:15). See W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (New York: Dover Publications, 2006²) 161, §60a, for these exceptional forms. Gesenius also lists Ct 1:6 as containing a feminine plural imperfect verb that lacks the expected affirmative before a pronominal suffix, but it is unclear which verb he is referring to. The only possibility is the form תראוני, which in the present writer’s understanding is best read as a masculine singular form that adheres to the expected grammar.

⁸¹⁰ 4QGen^c harmonises the description of the ears of grain with that of the previous verse in MT Gen 41:6 שבע שבע דקות ושדופה שבע, “seven ears of grain, blighted and burned.” The LXX agrees with 4QGen^c, where both adjectives are found in both verses. See the discussion in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 42. Cf. Q79 below.

	4QGen ^c 1 ii 18	ונחלם	pronunciation. ⁸¹¹
Q77	MT Gen 40:20 4QGen ^c 4 i-5 3	הלדה הולד	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸¹²

⁸¹¹ See the comments in note above. The unexpected long form in the MT against the short form in the manuscript from Qumran has been noted in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 42: “It is surprising to find the ה- ending in [the MT] rather than in 4QGen^c, since the Hebrew at Qumran used this form of the perfect tense fairly often.” As this instance indicates, as well as those similar at Q40, Q73, Q335 and Q414, we cannot be certain that documents from Qumran that preserve ‘baroque’ spellings will employ that orthographic style consistently against shorter spellings in the MT. In some cases the trend for longer Qumran spellings against the MT is reversed.

⁸¹² It is possible that 4QGen^c reflects the interchange of the feminine form הלדה, a *hoph'al* infinitive construct from וולד, “to bear,” with a form that was more grammatically suitable according to the scribe. According to J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (eds L. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11 Leiden: Brill, 1992) 169, this amounts to a “grammatical smoothing over or ... a result of a phonetic haplography with the following אה.” The former interpretation requires that the form הולד, a 3ms *hiph'il* perfect, was viewed as suiting the context: אה פרעה ביום הולד, “on the day that Pharaoh was caused to have been born (*i.e.* Pharaoh’s birthday).” We suppose here that the scribe of 4QGen^c failed to understand the passive verb הולדה plus accusative אה פרעה in its original ergative sense, where the marked object (Pharaoh) actually functioned grammatically as the subject of the passive verb הלדה. In this sense the phrase אה פרעה ביום הלדה could be rather literally translated “on Pharaoh’s day of being caused to be born.” This variant may be read as a grammatical difference, and may thus be counted as OV(1). However, the exchange of the transitive finite verb הולד for the intransitive infinitive verb הלדה should properly be read as a lexical interchange given that the exchange significantly affects the syntax of the whole verse. This type of variation is possibly due to synchronic changes in the syntax of the spoken language, and is more properly considered a variant in style rather than linguistic form. On this see E.Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1982) 82, §122, and the references there. On the object marker אה as marking the subject of a passive verb in an ergative clause see B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 178-79, and F.I. Andersen, “Passive and Ergative in Hebrew,” *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. H. Goedicke; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971). Alternatively, an indefinite subject might be read here following the suggestion of P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 461-62, so that אה פרעה ביום הלדה would be translated “on the day of (somebody’s) bearing Pharaoh.” The problem with this reading is that it fails to take full account of the passive sense of the *hoph'al* verbal form, even though the transitive sense of the verb and the proper accusative function of the object marker are maintained.

Q78	MT Gen 41:3 4QGen ^e 4 i-5 10	ודקות ורקות	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸¹³
Q79	MT Gen 41:4 4QGen ^e 4 i-5 11	ודקות ורקות	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸¹⁴
Q80	MT Gen 41:6 4QGen ^e 4 i-5 13	שבליים דקות ושדופת שב[ליים ושדפות	SV(2) – 4QGen ^e lacks the feminine plural adjective דקן, “fine, thin.” ⁸¹⁵
Q81	MT Gen 41:36 4QGen ^e 4 ii, 6 4	תכרת תכחד	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸¹⁶
Q82	MT Gen 43:9 4QGen ^e 8 1	מידי ומידני	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q83	MT Gen 48:6 4QGen ^f 1 10	אחריהם אחרים	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q84	MT Gen 48:7 4QGen ^f 1 13	כברת ארץ כברתה ארץ	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה. ⁸¹⁷

⁸¹³ It is possible that 4QGen^e harmonised the readings דקן, “fine, thin,” and דקן, “thin, gaunt,” throughout the narrative of Pharaoh’s dreams, also reflected in the LXX. Alternatively, 4QGen^e could be restored to retain both terms and refer to the cows as רקות and the ears of grain as דקות (so J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 170). The fragmentary state of the scroll makes a definitive reading impossible. It is likely that the textual tradition from which the MT stems suffered some confusion between the two graphically similar terms (see J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 169).

⁸¹⁴ See note above.

⁸¹⁵ Cf. Q74 above. The writing of the conjunction before the adjectival phrase שדפות קדים, “burned by the east (wind),” in 4QGen^e suggests that the first adjective דקות was omitted erroneously by the scribe. However, a stylistic variant is counted in light of Rule 1.

⁸¹⁶ The opinion expressed in J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 172, is that the lexical interchange occurred when a scribe of the tradition from which the MT stems replaced the difficult lexeme כחד, “to be destroyed, effaced,” with a more familiar term כרת, “to cut off.” All of the versions appear to follow the wording reflected in the MT, although the LXX has the 3ms indicate future passive *εκριβησεται*, “it will be rubbed out, destroyed,” often used elsewhere in Genesis to translate שחית, “ruin, annihilate” (cf. Gen 19:13, 14, 29). The use of the passive in the LXX suggests affiliation with the *niph’al* form in the MT, though this is hardly conclusive.

⁸¹⁷ The form in 4QGen^f probably reflects a corruption of the phrase כברת הארץ, as found in MT Gen 35:16, and in Gen 35:16 and 48:7 of the SP. The article is lacking in the phrase in MT 2 Kgs 5:19 and so is proba-

Q85	MT Gen 48:7 4QGen ^f 1 13	ואקברה שם בדרך אפרת omits	SV(2) – 4QGen ^f lacks additional narrative information. ⁸¹⁸
Q86	MT Gen 48:7 4QGen ^f 1 13	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁸¹⁹
Q87	MT Gen 48:9 4QGen ^f 1 14	אל אביו omits	SV(2) – The MT clarifies the addressee. ⁸²⁰
Q88	MT Gen 48:10 4QGen ^f 1 16	מזקן מזקנה	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁸²¹
Q89	MT Gen 48:10 4QGen ^f 1 17	וישק להם ויחבק להם ויחבק להם וישק להם	SV(3) – 4QGen ^f has a different word order to the MT. ⁸²²
Q90	MT Gen 1:5 4QGen ^g 1 4	יום יומם	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸²³

bly a secondary addition in MT Gen 35:16 and in the SP. “The reading in 4QGen^f resulted from a misreading of this secondary article as a locative suffix on the previous word” (J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 174).

⁸¹⁸ The omission from 4QGen^f may have been caused through haplography (J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 174).

⁸¹⁹ See note above. Here the pronoun refers to the city Bethlehem.

⁸²⁰ The MT reads: ויאמר יוסף אל אביו. J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 175, calls the phrase אל אביו in the MT an “explicating plus.” As Davila notes, the additional phrase appears in all versions except some manuscripts of the LXX.

⁸²¹ The form in the MT only appears here. E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 55, assumes that the form in the MT is “a scribal slip,” but in light of Rule 1 we read a difference in gender between the sources.

⁸²² Targum Neofiti seems to agree with 4QGen^f, although *Tg. Neof.* does appear to have an extra verb: ונפץ ויחבון וישק ויחבון, “and he hugged and embraced him, and he kissed him.” All of the other witnesses agree with the reading in the MT.

⁸²³ 4QGen^g uses the abstract noun יומם, “daytime,” against the absolute יום in the MT, the LXX and the SP. The *Tgs.* have forms equivalent to יומם throughout in Gen 1-2:4a whenever the word refers to daytime in the abstract sense, and from this E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 59, assume that 4QGen^g and the *Tgs.* stem from the same corrupted textual predecessor. This view was first expressed in J. Davila, “New Readings for Genesis One,” *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins* (eds H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins, and T.H. Tobin; Maryland: University Press of America, 1990) 5-6.

Q91	MT Gen 1:9 4QGen ^g 1 10	מתחת השמים מתחת לשמים	SV(1) – The prepositional phrase lacks the preposition ל in the MT. ⁸²⁴
Q92	MT Gen 1:14 4QGen ^g 2 3	והיו ויהיו	OV(I) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸²⁵
Q93	MT Gen 1:22 4QGen ^g 2 14	ירב ירבה	OV(I) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸²⁶
Q94	MT Gen 1:9 4QGen ^h 3	מקום מקוה	SV(2) – 4QGen ^h has a different phrase to the MT. ⁸²⁷

⁸²⁴ The particle *txt* plus preposition *מן* can be used adverbially when followed by the preposition *ל*, for which usage see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 377-78, §119c, P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 346-47, §103n, and B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 221, 11.3.2. 4QGen^g appears to use the particle *תחת* in this sense, perhaps harmonising with the use in Gen 1:7 *אשר מעל לרקיע ובין המים אשר מתחת לרקיע* and *ויבדל בין המים אשר מתחת לרקיע*. The phrase in MT Gen 1:9 *מתחת השמים* regularly appears when the particle *תחת* plus preposition *מן* precedes the noun *שמים* (Gen 1:9; 6:17; Exod 17:14; Deut 7:24; 9:14; 25:19; 29:19; 2 Kgs 14:27), but this is in contrast to other adverbial forms of the particle *תחת* plus the preposition *מן* preceding the preposition *ל* (*cf.* *מתחת לארץ* in Exod 20:4; Deut 4:18; 5:8; *מתחת לבית* in Gen 35:8; 1 Sam 7:11; and *מתחת לזרו* in Exod 30:4; 37:27; *etc.*). Apparently the MT reflects a usage of the phrase *מתחת השמים* that does not utilise the preposition *ל* to give adverbial force, whereas the use of the preposition *ל* for adverbial force when pairing the complex preposition *מתחת* with other nouns is normal. The scribe of 4QGen^g apparently treated the noun *שמים* in the same way as other nouns when constructing the adverbial phrase with the complex preposition *מתחת* plus preposition *ל*.

⁸²⁵ 4QGen^g appears to have an imperfect verb plus *waw*, against the perfect verb plus *waw* in the MT. The force of the *waw*, whether conjunctive or consecutive, in either source is debatable but there appears to be little problem in assuming that the *waw* functions as consecutive in the MT and conjunctive in 4QGen^g. In this case the difference in aspect between the sources amounts to a variant of type OV(I).

⁸²⁶ The form in each source is presumed to be the jussive masculine singular of *רבה*, “increase” in line with Rule 4 (for this reading see J. Davila, “New Readings for Genesis One,” 6). 4QGen^g preserves the long form of the jussive with additional final *heh*, perhaps on analogy with the long Qumran Hebrew cohortative form *אקמלה*. Perhaps a better alternative is to read 4QGen^g as in agreement with the SP which also has the form with final *heh*.

⁸²⁷ 4QGen^h has *מקוה*, “gathering,” against the reading in MT Gen 1:9 *מקום*, “place.” J. Davila, “New Readings for Genesis One,” 9-11, presumes that the original reading in 4QGen^h was *יקוו המים מתחת אל הארץ*, “And God said let the waters gather into one collection.” According to this reading the *Wortbericht* is continued in 4QGen^h and 4QGen^k (and reflected in the LXX) by the *Tatbericht* that continues the expected format of the creation account: *ויקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקויהם והרא היבשה*, “And the waters were gathered from under the heavens to their gatherings and the dry land appeared.” The *Tatbericht* is lacking from the MT, presumably through haplography.

Q95	MT Gen 41:16 4QGen ^j 1 2 ^{sup}	אלהים יענה אלהים לא יענה	SV(2) – The negative particle is lacking in the MT. ⁸²⁸
Q96	MT Gen 41:24 4QGen ^j 2 i 2 ^{sup}	ותבלען השבלים הדקות [ע] [שב] [לים הדקות]	SV(2) – 4QGen ^j has a harmonising plus lacking in the MT. ⁸²⁹
Q97	MT Gen 41:30 4QGen ^j 3-4 2	וקמו ויקמו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸³⁰
Q98	MT Gen 41:40 4QGen ^j 2 ii 3	כמוד ממוד	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q99	MT Gen 42:19 4QGen ^j 5 5	אחד ה[א]חד	SV(1) – 4QGen ^j has a definite article lacking in the MT.
Q100	MT Gen 42:22 4QGen ^j 5 9	ויען ראובן אתם [וי] [אתם רא]	SV(3) – The order of the subject and object are reversed in 4QGen ^j . ⁸³¹
Q101	MT Gen 45:17	עשו	SV(2) – 4QGen ^j has a possible

⁸²⁸ The reading in 4QGen^j is supralinear, where the negative particle precedes the passive/reflexive *niph'al* verb form יענה, “it will be answered,” plus its direct object, את שלם פרעה, “the wellbeing of Pharaoh.” According to J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 170-171, the verb, which is passive in 4QGen^j, the LXX, the SP and the Old Latin, was read as active in the MT tradition as a result of the direct object marker. This is despite the fact that the reflexive form of the verb can indeed take a direct object, for which see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 138 and 369, §51f and 117w. Subsequently “the verb was read as a *Qal* form and the preposition was read as having a first person singular suffix ... This understanding of the phrase seemed to make Joseph offensively arrogant and for this reason the לא was deleted” (J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 171). The reading in the MT is therefore considered as a clarification and counted as variant type SV(2).

⁸²⁹ 4QGen^j probably can be restored: ותבלען שבע השבלים הדקות, “and the seven thin ears of grain swallowed,” in agreement with the LXX και κατεπιον οι επτα σταχυες οι λεπτοι. The use of the cardinal number harmonises the phrase with other like phrases in this pericope.

⁸³⁰ The verb in 4QGen^j has *waw* consecutive, whereas the verb in the MT has *waw* conjunctive. J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 171-72, suggests that the latter reflects later syntax, or otherwise haplography due to confusion between the graphemes *yod* and *waw*. On the former syntactic feature of later Hebrew see E.Y. Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 45, §67. See also Q91 above.

⁸³¹ The same order of object and subject as 4QGen^j is reflected in *Tg. Ps.-J.*, but all other witnesses reflect the order found in the MT.

	4QGen ^j 9 i-10 7	עשר	expansive plus lacking in the MT. ⁸³²
Q102	MT Gen 45:17 4QGen ^j 9 i-10 7	באו בהן	SV(2) – 4QGen ^j has a possible expansive plus lacking in the MT. ⁸³³
Q103	MT Gen 1:9 4QGen ^k 1 1	ותראה ותרא	OV(1) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ⁸³⁴
Q104	MT Gen 1:14 4QGen ^k 2 3	ושנים ולשן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ל.
Q105	MT Gen 3:1 4QGen ^k 5 2	איך האיך	SV(1) – The MT lacks the interrogative particle.
Q106	MT Exod 1:5	שבעים	HV – Difference in cardinal num-

⁸³² The meaning of the form עשר in 4QGen^j is difficult to determine, particularly as the LXX, the SP and the Tgs. all agree with the reading as it appears in the MT, which has a plural imperative verb עשהו, “to do.” The phrase in the MT is: אָמַר אֶל אַחֵיךָ זֹאת עֲשׂוּ טַעֲנוּ אֶת בְּעִירְכֶם: “say to your brothers, ‘do this: load up your cattle.’” The reading in 4QGen^j can be restored: אָמַר אֶל אַחֵיךָ זֹאת עֲשׂוּ טַעֲנוּ אֶת בְּעִירְכֶם, which suggests two possible interpretations. We may read the form עשר as a number, and thus translate the phrase “say to your brothers this: ‘load up a tenth of your cattle.’” Alternatively we may read עשר as a noun, “wealth,” and the object marker as the conjunctive particle את, “with,” which produces the translation “say to your brothers this: ‘load up wealth with your cattle.’” Either reading amounts to an interchange of lexemes in 4QGen^j that is not reflected in any of the other witnesses. This is taken as an expansive plus on account of the fact that the variant introduces additional information, being either a restriction on the number of cattle to be taken, or an additional object of the imperative verb טענו. J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 173 n. 18, instead reads the form עשר in 4QGen^j as “clearly a scribal slip for עשו ... The error arose through a *waw-reš* confusion.” However, in light of Rule 1 the variant form in 4QGen^j is considered here to be a genuine reading.

⁸³³ The form in 4QGen^j is restored as בחטים, “provisions,” which finds support in some manuscripts of LXX and in the Syriac (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 72, and J. Davila, “New Qumran Readings for the Joseph Story,” 173-74).

⁸³⁴ The form in 4QGen^k is either imperfect or an apocopated jussive form (without final *heh*). If the form in 4QGen^k is to be read as jussive it could reflect a difference in pronunciation, where the long form of the jussive in the MT “appears to have been preferred before a guttural” (P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 208, [§79]).

	4QGen-Exod ^a 17-18 2	וַחֲמֵשׁ [	ber. ⁸³⁵
Q107	MT Exod 1:14 4QGen-Exod ^a 17-18 10	וַיִּמְרָרוּ וַיִּמְרָר	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸³⁶
Q108	MT Exod 2:2 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 i 6	שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשֶׁת	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸³⁷
Q109	MT Exod 2:4 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 i 8	לְדַעַה לְדַעַת	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸³⁸
Q110	MT Exod 3:8 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 ii 1-2	וְהָאִמְרֵי וְהַפְּרֹזִי וְהַפְּרֹזִי וְהָאִמְרֵי	SV(3) – Different order of listed items.

⁸³⁵ The sources refer to the number of sons of Jacob in Egypt. 4QGen-Exod^a agrees with the LXX in numbering the progeny of Jacob as 75, against 70 in the MT, the SP and the *Tgs*. The extra five sons in 4QGen-Exod^a and the LXX could be a reference to the children and grand-children of Ephraim and Manasseh listed in Num 26:33-40. On this see A.E. Steinmann, "Jacob's Family Goes to Egypt: Varying Portraits of Unity and Disunity in the Textual Traditions of Exodus 1:1-5," *Textual Criticism* (1997) n.p. [cited 22 June 2008]. Online: <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol02/Steinmann1997.html>. The number order here is reversed as compared to the LXX and also 4QExod^b 1 5 (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 19, and Q122 below).

⁸³⁶ Although in the previous line of 4QGen-Exod^a the verb קִיֵּץ, "to abhor, be disgusted," refers to the Egyptians in the plural, the verb מִרַר, "to be bitter," refers to them in the singular. All of the other witnesses agree with the MT in the use of the plural form in both instances.

⁸³⁷ The construct form of the cardinal in 4QGen-Exod^a suggests that the number of days here should be taken as a block: וְהִצְפִּינָהּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָרְחִים, "and she hid him for (a group of) three days." This is in contrast, in terms of grammar, with the phrase in the MT and the SP: וְהִצְפִּינָהּ שְׁלֹשָׁה יָרְחִים, "and she hid him (for) three days." On the difference between the absolute and construct form of the cardinals see P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 526, §142d, and B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 278. The form in 4QGen-Exod^a does not appear to be particularly suited to the construct, but for a similar form in the MT we can point to 2 Sam 24:13 where the absolute and construct forms of the cardinal appear in close proximity with little difference in meaning: אִם שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים נֹסֶךְ ... וְאִם הָיְתָה שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים: דַּבֵּר בְּאַרְצְךָ, "will you flee for three months ... and will pestilence be in your land for (a group of) three days?"

⁸³⁸ 4QGen-Exod^a has the expected form of the infinitive construct of יָדַעַל, "to know." According to W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 189, §69m, the infinitive construct of primae *yod* roots with the feminine ending ה- is rare, which raises the possibility that the form in the MT may be read as containing paragogic *heh*.

Q111	MT Exod 3:8 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 ii 2	והחוי החוי	SV(1) – 4QGen-Exod ^a lacks the conjunction.
Q112	MT Exod 3:8 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 ii 2	והחוי והיבוסי החוי הגרגשי והיבוסי	SV(2) – 4QGen-Exod ^a includes a list item lacking in the MT. ⁸³⁹
Q113	MT Exod 3:15 4QGen-Exod 19 ii 10	כה תאמר כי תאמר	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q114	MT Exod 3:15 4QGen-Exod ^a 19 ii 11	אלהי יצחק ואלהי יצחק	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q115	MT Exod 5:8 4QGen-Exod ^a 22 ii, 26 9	נזבחה נזבחה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q116	MT Exod 6:8 4QGen-Exod ^a 25 ii, 28-31 6	הארץ אשר נשאתי את ידי הארץ אשר נשבעתן]	SV(2) – 4QGen-Exod ^a contains a possible expansion or harmonisation. ⁸⁴⁰

⁸³⁹ On the variation of this and other lists of Canaanite nations see K.G. O'Connell, "The List of Seven Peoples in Canaan: A Fresh Analysis," *The Answers Lie Below: Essays in Honor of Lawrence Edmund Toombs* (ed. H.O. Thompson; Lanham: University Press of America, 1984) 221. See also J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll From Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (Harvard Semitic Studies 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986) 78, who suggests that "the fact that the list varies so widely ... is due to the pitfalls involved in copying a list consisting of so many names."

⁸⁴⁰ 4QGen-Exod^a obviously has a different text to the MT and the other witnesses here, though the sense is lost in the lacuna. There is a strong possibility that the text was harmonised with the similar phrase in Exodus 33:1 (and also in Num 14:23, 32:11; Deut 1:35, 10:11, 31:20, 21 and 23, 34:4; Jos 1:6 and Judg 2:1), where we read the set phrase *אל הארץ אשר נשבעתי לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב*, "to the land which I promised to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob." A similar phrase, though not quite as common, appears in the MT and the other witnesses here: *אל הארץ אשר נשאתי את ידי לתת אתה לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב*, "to the land concerning which I raised up my hand to give it to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob." The latter phrase appears with various terminations in Num 14:30, Ezek 20:28 and 42. In *Tg. Neof.* we find a combination of each: *לארעא דזקפית ידי די ארעימית ית ידי בשבועה למתן יתה לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב*, "to the land concerning which I raised my hand, concerning which I lifted up my hand in an oath, to give it to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob." On the reading of *ארעימית* as a corruption of *רום*, "to lift up," see M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990) 519.

Q117	MT Exod 7:10 4QGen-Exod ^a 33 6	אל פרעה לפני פרעה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q118	MT Exod 7:19 4QGen-Exod ^a 34-35 6	קח מטך קח את מטך	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q119	MT Exod 7:19 4QGen-Exod ^a 34-35 6	ונטה ידך ונטה את]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q120	MT Exod 1:1 4QExod ^b 1 3	omits אביהם	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an explicating plus. ⁸⁴¹
Q121	MT Exod 1:3 4QExod ^b 1 4	omits יוסף	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has a possible harmonisation lacking in the MT. ⁸⁴²
Q122	MT Exod 1:5 4QExod ^b 1 5	שבעים חמש ושבעים	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ⁸⁴³
Q123	MT Exod 1:5 4QExod ^b 1 5	ויוסף היה במצרים omits	SV(2) – The clause in the MT is lacking in 4QExod ^b . ⁸⁴⁴
Q124	MT Exod 1:16	והיה	SV(2) – Difference in expres-

⁸⁴¹ So described in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 85. The addition in 4QExod^b adds the description אביהם, “their father,” to the name of Jacob. This agrees with the LXX which reads *Ἰακωβ τῶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν*, “Jacob their father.”

⁸⁴² The mention of Joseph in 4QExod^b may have harmonised with the mention of his death in Exod 1:6. In 4QExod^b the mention of Joseph in Exod 1:5 is redundant, for which see Q123 and note below, and also A.E. Steinmann, “Jacob's Family Goes to Egypt.”

⁸⁴³ See Q106 and the comments in note above.

⁸⁴⁴ The clause is misplaced in the LXX as compared to the MT and the *Tgs*. That it is lacking in 4QExod^b entirely has given rise to the suggestion that there exist two different textual traditions for this verse: the former, represented by 4QExod^b, and the latter by the MT, with the LXX assumed to be corrupt (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 85).

	4QExod ^b 2 2	חנה[	sion. ⁸⁴⁵
Q125	MT Exod 1:18 4QExod ^b 2 4	omits העבריות	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an explicating plus. ⁸⁴⁶
Q126	MT Exod 1:19 4QExod ^b 2 6	אלהן אליהנה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q127	MT Exod 2:3 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 2	ותואמר לשפחתה לכי omits	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an explicating plus. ⁸⁴⁷
Q128	MT Exod 2:3 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 2	omits אותו	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an explicating plus. ⁸⁴⁸
Q129	MT Exod 2:4 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 3	לדעה עת[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸⁴⁹
Q130	MT Exod 2:6 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 5	ותראהו ותראה	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b lacks the cataphoric pronominal object suffix.
Q131	MT Exod 2:6 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 5	omits בת פרעה	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b clarifies the subject of the verb $\sqrt{\text{חמל}}$, “to have compassion.” ⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁵ The form of the verb in the MT is חיה, read as *Qal* 3fs perfect plus *waw* consecutive, $\sqrt{\text{חיה}}$, “be alive.” The clause in the MT is וואם בת היא וחיה, “and if she is a daughter, then she will live.” The verb in 4QExod^b is restored חיייתה, and if read with the LXX *περιποιεσθε* (2pl present middle imperative), is *Pi’el* 2fpl imperative of the same root. 4QExod^b therefore has a different reading: וואם בת היא וחיייתה, “and if she is a daughter, you will preserve (her).” This is a rephrasing of the text.

⁸⁴⁶ The object of the verb is clarified in 4QExod^b with the addition of an adjective: מילדות העבריות, “Hebrew midwives.” The addition in 4QExod^b harmonises this phrase with those in Exodus 1:15 and 16.

⁸⁴⁷ In the MT narrative, the infant Moses is deposited in the river by his mother: ותשם בסוף על שפת היאר, “and she put (it) in the reeds upon the bank of the river.” 4QExod^b is restored to suggest that it was the maidservant of the mother of Moses: ותואמר לשפחתה לכי ותשים אותו בסוף על שפת היאר, “and she said to her maidservant, ‘Go,’ and she put it in the reeds upon the bank of the river.” The longer text of 4QExod^b is not reflected in any of the other witnesses.

⁸⁴⁸ See note above. The object marker plus pronominal suffix clarifies the object of the (restored) verb והשים, “and she put.”

⁸⁴⁹ The form in 4QExod^b is restored לדעה. See Q109 and note above.

⁸⁵⁰ 4QExod^b agrees with the LXX which reads: και εφεισατο αυτου η θυγατηρ Φαραω, “and the daughter of Pharaoh has compassion on it.”

Q132	MT Exod 2:7 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 6	ותינק הינקה	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸⁵¹
Q133	MT Exod 2:11 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 12	omits רבים[	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an expansive plus. ⁸⁵²
Q134	MT Exod 2:13 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 14	omits וירא	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an expansive plus. ⁸⁵³
Q135	MT Exod 2:13 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 15	רעד רת רעד[	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q136	MT Exod 2:14 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 15	omits לו	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an explicating plus. ⁸⁵⁴
Q137	MT Exod 2:14 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 15	ושפט ולשופט	SV(1) – The MT lacks the redundant preposition ל. ⁸⁵⁵
Q138	MT Exod 2:14 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 16	omits מואדה	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an additional adverb describing the verb וירא, “to fear.” ⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁵¹ The form of וינק, “to suck,” in 4QExod^b is *Hiph’il* 3fs perfect against *Hiph’il* 3fs imperfect plus *waw* consecutive in the MT. Both the SP and the *Tgs.* agree with the MT in the form of the verb.

⁸⁵² The additional adjective in 4QExod^b may well be secondary in “anticipation of the same expression in 2:23” (E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 89). The phrase in 4QExod^b, ויהי בימים הרבים ההם, seems to reflect the LXX *εγενετο δε εν ταις ημεραις ταις πολλαις*, “and it came to pass in those many days.”

⁸⁵³ An extra verb drives the narrative in 4QExod^b, which is restored: וירא והנה שני אנשים עברים נצים, “and he saw, and behold, two Hebrew men were fighting.” The verb ראה, “to see,” is lacking in all of the other witnesses. The occurrence here is difficult as the phrase only appears elsewhere in Exodus in 3:2 in reference to the burning bush, and a total of eight times in Genesis.

⁸⁵⁴ The preposition ל plus dative pronominal suffix in 4QExod^b clarifies the character (Moses) to whom the statement is directed: ויואמר לו מי שמך שר ולשופט עלינו, “who made you a ruler and for a judge over us?” The reading in 4QExod^b is found also in some Greek manuscripts and in the Peshitta (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 89).

⁸⁵⁵ The reading in 4QExod^b agrees with the SP but is considered secondary in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 89.

⁸⁵⁶ On the unusual form of the adverb מאד, “very,” with final *heh* see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 69 and 117. The final *heh* is considered locative in origin but retains no syntactic function in Qumran Hebrew.

Q139	MT Exod 2:16 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 18	omits רוע[ו]ת	SV(2) – 4QExod ^b has an expansive plus. ⁸⁵⁷
Q140	MT Exod 2:16 4QExod ^b 3 i-4 19	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q141	MT Exod 3:13 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 1	להם [ליהם]	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁸⁵⁸
Q142	MT Exod 3:15 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 4	עוד אלהים אלהים עוד	SV(3) – 4QExod ^b has a different word order to the MT. ⁸⁵⁹
Q143	MT Exod 3:15 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 5	יצחק ישחק	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸⁶⁰
Q144	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 6	ואספת ואספתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q145	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 6	omits בני	SV(2) – The MT lacks the masculine plural construct noun בן, “son.” ⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁷ The feminine plural participle in 4QExod^b describes the daughters of the “Priest of Midian.” The phrase is restored as שבע בנות רועות, “seven daughters (who were) shepherds,” and agrees with the feminine plural present participle in the LXX ποιμαινουσαι, “shepherds.”

⁸⁵⁸ The form in 4QExod^b is restored אליהם.

⁸⁵⁹ The adverbial particle עוד, “further,” follows the verb directly in the MT and most other witnesses, but in 4QExod^b and some Greek manuscripts the subject of the verb אלהים interrupts the sequence. The syntax in MT Exod 3:15 is more common, appearing about 12 times in the Pentateuch where the adverb stands directly between the verb and its object. This is against four occurrences in the MT where the adverb stands after the verb and its object. One instance of this unusual syntax occurs in Exod 4:6, which, due to its proximity to the current verse, may be the exemplar towards which the scribe of 4QExod^b harmonised the present passage. Note, however, that there seems to be little difference between the uses of each syntax, as is demonstrated in Gen 37:9 where both arrangements of verb, object and adverb occur in the very same verse: ויחלם עוד הלום אחר ויספר אתו לאחיו ויאמר הנה חלמתי הלום עוד, “and he dreamed again another dream, and he recounted it to his brothers, and he said, ‘behold, I have again dreamed a dream.’”

⁸⁶⁰ The MT has the spelling יצחק 108 times, used consistently 98 times in the Pentateuch. In contrast the spelling ישחק occurs only four times in the MT, in Jer 33:26, Amos 7:9 and 7:16, and Ps 105:9. See also Q148 below.

Q146	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 6	ואמרת ה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸⁶²
Q147	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 7	omits ואלהי	SV(2) – The MT lacks the resumptive proper noun in construct אלהי. ⁸⁶³
Q148	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 7	יצחק יש]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q149	MT Exod 3:16 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 7	omits [	SV(2) – The MT lacks the resumptive proper noun in construct אלהי. ⁸⁶⁴
Q150	MT Exod 3:17 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 9	והחוי החוי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^b lacks the resumptive conjunction. ⁸⁶⁵
Q151	MT Exod 3:17 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 9	והפרזי הפרזי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^b lacks the resumptive conjunction.
Q152	MT Exod 3:18 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 10	omits בני	SV(2) – The MT lacks the masculine plural construct noun בן, “son.” ⁸⁶⁶

⁸⁶¹ The SP and the LXX agree with the reading in 4QExod^b, which has the object of the verb אסף, “collect, gather,” as זקני בני ישראל, “the elders of the sons of Israel.” The MT, *Tgs.* and a few Greek manuscripts have זקני ישראל, “the elders of Israel,” assumed to be a corruption of the longer phrase by *homoio-teleuton* in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 92.

⁸⁶² The form in 4QExod^b is restored אמרתה.

⁸⁶³ There is some variation in this verse between the witnesses. The MT and *Tgs.* have the shorter phrasing: אלהי אברהם ויצחק ויעקב; the SP has an extra conjunction: אלהי אברהם ויצחק ויעקב; and the LXX appears to agree with 4QExod^b: θεος Αβρααμ και θεος Ισαακ και θεος Ιακωβ. The phrase in 4QExod^b may also be a harmonised reading with Exod 4:5. The addition is treated as an explicating plus.

⁸⁶⁴ 4QExod^b is restored אלהי. See note above.

⁸⁶⁵ See note above.

⁸⁶⁶ Almost all witnesses lack the addition of the masculine plural construct noun בני, while only a small number of Greek manuscripts and the Peshitta agree with 4QExod^b. In the light of this E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 93, suggest that the construct noun is secondary here in contrast to Exod 3:16 (*cf.* Q145 and note above).

Q153	MT Exod 3:19 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 12	להלך ללכת[	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸⁶⁷
Q154	MT Exod 3:19 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 12	ולא ביד כי אם ביד	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q155	MT Exod 3:21 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 13	omits וכן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the adverbial particle כן, “thus.”
Q156	MT Exod 4:3 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 18	השל יכהו ל'יכהו נא	SV(1) – The MT lacks the entreating particle נא. ⁸⁶⁸
Q157	MT Exod 4:4 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 19	ואחזו והחזוק	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁶⁹
Q158	MT Exod 4:6	לו	SV(1) – Interchange of preposi-

⁸⁶⁷ The form of the infinitive construct of $\sqrt{\text{הלך}}$, “to go,” in the MT is rare, whereas the more common form is found in 4QExod^b. According to W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 192, §69x, the forms based on the regular inflexion of $\sqrt{\text{הלך}}$ are found “rarely, and almost exclusively late or in poetry,” neither of which circumstances suit the present context. This rare form of the infinitive construct occurs only seven times in the MT (Exod 3:19; Num 22:13, 14, 16; Job 34:23; Ecc 6:8 and 9), so it is difficult to see what is meant by ‘exclusively late’ in relation to these verses. In contrast the infinitive construct is written ללכת a total of 129 times in the MT, 22 occurrences of which appear in the Pentateuch. The spelling in 4QExod^b is therefore regular and quite possibly secondary. More weight could be given to the consideration that the form in 4QExod^b is secondary by the fact that the SP agrees with the rare form in MT where it occurs in Exod 3:19 and in Num 22:13.

⁸⁶⁸ The scribe of 4QExod^b may have harmonised this form with Exod 4:13.

⁸⁶⁹ Both the MT and the SP have $\sqrt{\text{אחז}}$, “seize,” against $\sqrt{\text{חזק}}$, “grow strong,” in 4QExod^b. In the context the exchange of lexemes amounts to an interchange of synonyms, where the *Hiph'il* of $\sqrt{\text{חזק}}$ is translated as “grasp.” The MT reads: שלח ירך וואחזו בזנבו, “put out your hand and seize (the serpent) by its tail.” 4QExod^b may be translated similarly: שלח ירך והחזוק בזנבו, “put out your hand and grasp (the serpent) by its tail.” The verb of the *Wortbericht* in 4QExod^b is most likely harmonised with the verb in the accompanying *Tatbericht*: וישלח ידו ויחזק בו.

	4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 21	אלי	tions. ⁸⁷⁰
Q159	MT Exod 4:8 4QExod ^b 3 ii, 5-6 i 23	והיה אם לא למען	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁸⁷¹
Q160	MT Exod 5:4 4QExod ^b 6 ii 2	תפריעו תפרידו	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁷²
Q161	MT Exod 5:8 4QExod ^b 6 ii 7	צעקים הצ[עקי]ם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q162	MT Exod 5:9 4QExod ^b 6 ii 8	ויעשו וישעו	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁷³
Q163	MT Exod 5:10 4QExod ^b 6 ii 9	ויאמרו וידברו	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁷⁴
Q164	MT Exod 5:11	קחו	SV(1) – The MT lacks the con-

⁸⁷⁰ The form in 4QExod^b is possibly harmonised with the expression in Exod 4:2, 11 and 15.

⁸⁷¹ The compound preposition למען in 4QExod^b is most likely harmonised with the same form in Exod 4:5. Both Exod 4:5 and 8 are difficult syntactically in that the apparent direct speech of Yahweh is not introduced by the usual form ויאמר, although reading these verses as direct speech is mandated by the context. The MT has two different prepositional phrases introducing each of these verses. The former is introduced by the compound preposition למען, “so that,” while the latter is introduced by the prepositional phrase אם לא והיה, “and it will be if not.” 4QExod^b certainly seems to have a propensity to harmonise various parts of the text that in the MT are divergent, as demonstrated in Q142, Q149, Q156, Q157 and Q158 above. It is likely that here also 4QExod^b harmonises the prepositions that introduce the direct speech of Yahweh in Exod 4:5 and 8.

⁸⁷² The verb פריד, which in *Hiph’il* has the meaning “to separate,” is unusual in 4QExod^b. The verb פריע, “to loosen,” in *Hiph’il* meaning “to let off duties,” appears also in Exodus 32:25 (twice) in the MT and in the SP. Here the SP agrees with 4QExod^b against the MT. If the general tendency is for 4QExod^b to harmonise unique syntactic and linguistic forms towards more common ones (see note above) we should not expect to find a form here that does not appear elsewhere in Exodus. However the form that we encounter here in 4QExod^b appears elsewhere in the Pentateuch only in Genesis and Deuteronomy.

⁸⁷³ The reading in 4QExod^b is supported by the SP. The LXX has the 3pl present active imperative verb μεριμνατωσαν, “let them be concerned,” twice in this verse, where as the MT has once עשה, “to do,” and once שעה, “to look at, give attention.” It is conceivable that the textual tradition behind the MT has suffered metathesis, or paronomasia as suggested in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 95.

⁸⁷⁴ 4QExod^b agrees with the SP against the MT and the *Tgs*.

	4QExodb 6 ii 10	וקחו	junction.
Q165	MT Exod 7:21 4QExod ^c i 17	הדם דם	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the definite article.
Q166	MT Exod 7:22 4QExod ^c i 17	בלטיהם הטיהם[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁸⁷⁵
Q167	MT Exod 8:12 4QExod ^c i 35	מטך ידך]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁷⁶
Q168	MT Exod 8:17 4QExod ^c i 42	הם המה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q169	MT Exod 9:19 4QExod ^c ii 27	וכל ואת כל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q170	MT Exod 9:29 4QExod ^c ii 38	את כפי כפי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the object marker.
Q171	MT Exod 9:29 4QExod ^c ii 38	יחדלון יחדלו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸⁷⁷
Q172	MT Exod 9:30 4QExod ^c ii 39	תיראון ראו[	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form.
Q173	MT Exod 9:30	יהוה אל הים	SV(1) – Interchange of divine ti-

⁸⁷⁵ 4QExod^c is restored בל הטיהם, in agreement with the SP. The spelling לט = לטט, for which see *HALOT*, 513 and 527. This suggests some confusion of gutturals as per the SP.

⁸⁷⁶ 4QExod^c is restored במטך בידך, נטה את ידך במטך, “reach out your hand with your rod,” in agreement with the SP. The LXX would also seem to support this reading: *εκτεινον τη χειρι την ραβδον σου*, “stretch forth your rod with your hand.” The reading in 4QExod^c and the supporting witnesses clarifies the instrument of the action that follows: והך את עפר הארץ, “and strike the dust of the earth.”

⁸⁷⁷ According to J. Hoftijzer, *Imperfect Forms with Nun Paragogicum*, 9, the use of paragogic *nun* here marks contrastivity whereby “the text speaks of the discontinuance of a certain situation.” For a discussion of the verb form with and without paragogic *nun* see note above. See also Q172, Q187 and Q194 below.

	4QExod ^c ii 30	אדני יהוה	ties. ⁸⁷⁸
Q174	MT Exod 9:31 4QExod ^c ii 39-40	כי השערה אביב והפשתה גבעל [על והש]	SV(3) – 4QExod ^c has a different word order to the MT. ⁸⁷⁹
Q175	MT Exod 10:3 4QExod ^c iii 2	omits במצר	SV(2) – 4QExod ^c has an explicating plus. ⁸⁸⁰
Q176	MT Exod 10:15 4QExod ^c iii 18	ותחשך ותשחת	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁸¹
Q177	MT Exod 10:17 4QExod ^c iii 20	שא שאו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁸ The phrase יהוה אלהים occurs much less often than the phrase אדני יהוה in the MT (37 times versus 293 times). In the case of the former many occurrences are found in Genesis, especially in direct address (see Genesis 15:2, 8; 2 Sam 7). However, the majority of the instances of the latter occur in the prophets, in particular Ezekiel. This may indicate that the language of the scribe of 4QExod^c is less archaizing, having dropped some of these stylistically early forms when compared to the MT. Such is the impression left by the language in respect of the occasional dropping of the object marker את, the paragogic nun, etc.

⁸⁷⁹ The clause in 4QExod^c is restored: כי הפשתה גבעל והשערה אביב, “because the flax was in bloom and the barley was headed.” All of the other witnesses agree with the phrase order of the MT against 4QExod^c.

⁸⁸⁰ 4QExod^c clarifies the secondary object as במצרים, “in Egypt,” thus locating the place in which the narrative action occurs. All of the other witnesses agree with the MT.

⁸⁸¹ The phrase in 4QExod^c, ותשחת הארץ, “and the land was ruined,” probably harmonises with the phrasing in Exod 8:20 which reads: תשחת הארץ מפני הערב, “the land was continually ruined on account of the swarm.” The LXX appears to reflect a similar Vorlage: και εφθαρη η γη, “and the land was ruined,” against the MT, the SP and Tgs. ותחשך הארץ, “and the land was darkened.”

⁸⁸² 4QExod^c agrees with the SP and the LXX. Pharaoh addresses both Moses and Aaron in Exod 10:16 where they are referred to in the plural: חטאתי ליהוה אלהיכם ולכם, “I have sinned toward Yahweh your god and toward you.” In this context the plural imperative שאו in 10:17, as reflected in 4QExod^c, the SP and the LXX, seems to be the grammatically correct form, against the singular form in the MT: שא נא חטאתי אך הפעם, “forgive my sin one more time.”

Q178	MT Exod 12:34 4QExod ^c v 4	בשמלתם [של מתם]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁸³
Q179	MT Exod 12:35 4QExod ^c v 5	omits ממצרים	SV(2) – 4QExod ^c has an explicating plus. ⁸⁸⁴
Q180	MT Exod 12:40 4QExod ^c v 10	omits בארץ	SV(2) – 4QExod ^c has an explicating plus. ⁸⁸⁵
Q181	MT Exod 13:22 4QExod ^c v 40	הענן ענן	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the definite article.
Q182	MT Exod 13:22 4QExod ^c v 40	האש אש	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the definite article.
Q183	MT Exod 14:3 4QExod ^c v 43	לבני אל בני	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q184	MT Exod 14:10 4QExod ^c vi 7	נסע [עי]	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸⁸⁶
Q185	MT Exod 15:11	כמכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in

⁸⁸³ According to J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 60-61, the MT preserves the correct form along with 4QpaleoExod^m. Sanderson suggests that, seeing as both שלם and שמל have the meaning “mantle, cloak,” the two roots are related forms. The difference is related to “a dialectal or similar variation in language” (J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 61). The LXX consistently uses the same word, *ματιον*, to translate both roots. The two forms are taken in the present study to be synonyms that perhaps were used in different geographical or ethnic distributions. Though the distribution of use of both roots is not ascertainable from the evidence, their synonymous value is reasonably certain. See, for example, the use of both forms in Exod 22:8, 25 and 26; or the distribution of both roots in Deut 22, 24 and 29. See also Q593 below.

⁸⁸⁴ 4QExod^c clarifies the secondary object by means of a prepositional phrase: וישאלו ממצרים כלי כסף וכלי זהב, “and they asked for instruments of silver and instruments of gold from the Egyptians.” Cf. Q175 and note above.

⁸⁸⁵ The MT and the Tgs. lack the *nomens regens*, restored in 4QExod^c in the phrase בארץ מצרים. The SP and some Greek manuscripts have an additional expansive plus בארץ כנען ובארץ מצרים, not found in the Qumran manuscript (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 116).

⁸⁸⁶ The form in 4QExod^c is restored נסעים. The plural participle of נסע, “to start out, pull up,” indicates that the noun מצרים, “Egyptians,” is treated as a plural in 4QExod^c, with the SP and the LXX in agreement. The MT appears to treat the noun as singular, “Egypt.”

	4QExod ^c vi 36	כמוך	pronunciation. ⁸⁸⁷
Q186	MT Exod 15:12 4QExod ^c vi 37	נמיה]מו]	Not Counted – The reading in 4QExod ^c is uncertain. ⁸⁸⁸
Q187	MT Exod 15:14 4QExod ^c vi 38	וירגזון וירגזו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form.
Q188	MT Exod 15:16 4QExod ^c vi 39	אימתה אימה	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸⁸⁹
Q189	MT Exod 15:17 4QExod ^c vi 40	תביאמו תביאם	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁸⁹⁰
Q190	MT Exod 15:17 4QExod ^c vi 40	והמעמו והמעם	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form.
Q191	MT Exod 15:18 4QExod ^c vi 41	לעלם עולם	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the preposition ל.

⁸⁸⁷ It is notable that the form of the pronominal suffix in the MT is long against the short form in the Qumran manuscript. The long spelling in the MT appears only here. For similar unusual spellings see Q74 and Q76, and also note above. 4QExod^c has the common form of the preposition כ plus 2ms pronominal suffix. The short spelling appears in the MT 29 times with the 2ms pronominal suffix, and once with the 2mpl pronominal suffix (Job 12:3).

⁸⁸⁸ See the discussion in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 118, which raises the following points. A variant text to the MT is presumed on the basis of two partially preserved letters, read as *mem* and *waw/yod*. The phrase in the MT and the SP is נמיה ימך, “you reached out your right hand.” A likely but ultimately uncertain reconstruction of the phrase in 4QExod^c might be הרימות ימך, “you raised up your right hand.” The evidence from the LXX, Peshitta and Tgs. is inconclusive.

⁸⁸⁹ The form in the MT may be understood as an archaic feminine accusative form, ה-, where the ending with [t], ה-ה, is appended to “avoid the contact of two stressed syllables” (P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 281, §93j). This accusative form may be based on an ‘old locative,’ of which the form with the termination ה-ה, is “often used in poetry with feminines” (W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 251, §90g). See also W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography*, 117-18. The archaic termination seems to have been dropped in the SP and also in 4QExod^c.

⁸⁹⁰ The archaic ending מו- is lacking in 4QExod^c. The language of the Qumran manuscript seems to have been updated, for which see also Q188 and note above, and Q190 below. For a discussion of the suffix מו- as a feature of archaizing style as distinct from an authentic archaic form, see R.C. Vern, *The Relevance of Linguistic Evidence to the Dating of Archaic Poetry of the Hebrew Bible* (University of Sydney Ph.D. Dissertation: Sydney, 2008) 4:4-6.

Q192	MT Exod 17:1 4QExod ^c viii 5	ממדבר סין למסעיהם למסעיהם ממדברן	SV(3) – 4QExod ^c has a different word order to the MT. ⁸⁹¹
Q193	MT Exod 17:2 4QExod ^c viii 7	מה ומה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q194	MT Exod 17:2 4QExod ^c viii 7	תנסון תנסו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form.
Q195	MT Exod 17:5 4QExod ^c viii 10	אל משה omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ⁸⁹²
Q196	MT Exod 17:7 4QExod ^c viii 13	ואם ואם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q197	MT Exod 17:12 4QExod ^c viii 20	ויהי ויהיו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸⁹³
Q198	MT Exod 18:6 4QExod ^c viii 30	חתנך יתרו יתרו חן	SV(3) – 4QExod ^c has a different word order to the MT. ⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹¹ The syntax in 4QExod^c agrees with that of 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l against the MT, the LXX, the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m (see Q251 below). 4QExod^c possibly harmonises with Num 10:12 which has the same word order.

⁸⁹² The secondary object is specified in the MT: ויאמר יהוה אל משה, “And Yahweh said to Moses.” All of the witnesses agree with the MT.

⁸⁹³ The object of the verb is the plural noun plus possessive pronominal suffix ידי, “his hands.” 4QExod^c has the correct form, and is in agreement with 4QpaleoExod^m, the LXX, the SP and *Tg. Neof.* Partial agreement with the MT is found in *Tg. Ps.-J.* which refers to the noun with a singular pronoun but then has a plural verb describing it: הוואה ידוי פריסן, “and his hands were spread.”

⁸⁹⁴ The noun phrase Kntx, “your father-in-law,” precedes the proper noun in the MT but follows it in 4QExod^c. Several Latin, Coptic and Ethiopic manuscripts agree with the word order in 4QExod^c (see), though the majority of witnesses seems to agree with the MT. In the majority of cases, when the noun חתן appears with the proper noun to which it specifically refers, the proper noun precedes the common noun. In the MT this occurs nine times (Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1, 2, 5, 12; Num 10:29; Jdg 1:16; 4:11) against a single occurrence of the reverse order (Exod 18:6). It may well be assumed that 4QExod^c harmonises the unusual word order towards the more common phrasing.

Q199	MT Exod 18:7 4QExod ^c viii 32	ויבאו ויביאהו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁸⁹⁵
Q200	MT Exod 18:7 4QExod ^c viii 32	ויבאו ויביאהו	SV(2) – 4QExod ^c clarifies the object.
Q201	MT Exod 13:15 4QExod ^d 2	אני אני]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁸⁹⁶
Q202	MT Exod 15:1 4QExod ^d 4	14:31 → 15:1 13:16 → 15:1	SV(3) – Possible difference of verse order. ⁸⁹⁷
Q203	MT Exod 13:3 4QExod ^c 2	ממצרים מארץ מצרים	SV(2) – 4QExod ^c has an expansive plus. ⁸⁹⁸
Q204	MT Exod 13:3 4QExod ^c 2	מבית עבודה omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ⁸⁹⁹
Q205	MT Exod 13:5	והאמרו והחוי	SV(3) – Different order of listed

⁸⁹⁵ The MT reads: ויבאו האהלה, “and they came to the tent,” where the 3pl *Qal* of בוא, “to come,” refers to the action of each character in the narrative. 4QExod^c has more specific phrasing, indicating the agency of one specific character over another: ויביאהו האהלה, “and he brought him to the tent,” where the verb בוא is given as *Hiph’il*, “to bring,” and has its object directly appended as a pronominal suffix.

⁸⁹⁶ On the different uses of the 1cs independent pronoun אני and אנכי in the MT see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 105 n. 1. The short form of the pronoun is more common in the later books (see P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 119-20, §39a). The form in 4QExod^d may therefore be viewed as archaic or archaizing. See, for example, the use of the long form of this pronoun in 11QT and the comments in E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57. Archaizing tendencies in 11QT reflect the biblical tone artificially adopted in that scroll, concerning which see S. Kaufman, “The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism,” *HUCA* 53 (1982) 35. According to M.G. Abegg, “Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 330, the long form of the 1cs independent pronoun is used in other non-biblical scrolls a total of 19 times, and then only in reference to the deity. In contrast, the short form never refers to the deity, according to the list in M.G. Abegg, J. Bowley, and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 75-77.

⁸⁹⁷ Either a verse similar to Exod 13:16 preceded 15:1 in 4QExod^d, or the text of Exod 13:17-14:31 is lacking in this part of the text. Two possibilities suggest themselves, namely that the scroll reflects a different textual tradition in which the narrative account of the crossing of the Red Sea was missing or repositioned, or that 4QExod^d is in fact a liturgical scroll (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 127-28).

⁸⁹⁸ 4QExod^c agrees with the LXX and the SP. See also Q180 above.

⁸⁹⁹ All of the witnesses agree with the MT.

	4QExod ^c 6	הַחַוִּי הַאֲמַרִּי	items. ⁹⁰⁰
Q206	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 6	וְהַחַתִּי הַחַתִּי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q207	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 6	וְהַחַוִּי הַחַוִּי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q208	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 6	וְהַאֲמַרִּי הַאֲמַרִּי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q209	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 6	וְהַיְבוֹסִי הַיְבוֹסִי	SV(1) – 4QExod ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q210	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 6	אֲשֶׁר כְּאֲשֶׁר	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition כּ.
Q211	MT Exod 13:5 4QExod ^c 8	וְעַבַדְתָּ וְעַבַדְתָּ [ה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁹⁰¹
Q212	MT Exod 39:7 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 i 7	אֲתָם אוֹתָנָה	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹⁰²
Q213	MT Exod 39:17 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 i 20	הַעֲבַתָּה עֲבַתָּה	SV(1) – 4QExod-Lev ^f lacks the definite article.
Q214	MT Exod 39:21	omits	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has an ex-

⁹⁰⁰ See Q110 and note above.

⁹⁰¹ The form in 4QExod^c is restored: וְעַבַדְתָּה, “and you shall serve.”

⁹⁰² The plural pronominal object suffix refers both to a masculine object (בְּנֵי הַשָּׂהָם), “carneian” – a precious red-coloured stone) and to a feminine object (מִשְׁבַּעַת זָהָב, “gold ornamental work, filigree,”). It is therefore essentially correct for either the masculine or the feminine form to be used to refer to the multiple objects of the verb שָׂם, “set, put.” However, in light of the so called “priority of the masculine” that prevails in biblical language and discourse, one may expect the form in the MT to be more grammatically acceptable (see B.K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 108-9, for a discussion of the “intensely androcentric character of the world of the Hebrew Bible”). This may be interpreted to suggest that 4QExod-Lev^f has an older, unrevised form.

	4QExod-Lev ^f 1 ii 3	בן [ר צוה יהוה] [את מ]	pansive plus. ⁹⁰³
Q215	MT Exod 39:21 4QExod-Lev ^f 1 ii 4	omits ביתה	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has an explicating plus. ⁹⁰⁴
Q216	MT Exod 39:21 4QExod-Lev ^f 1 ii 5-6	omits ויעש את האורים ו[משה]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the expansive plus. ⁹⁰⁵
Q217	MT Exod 39:22 4QExod-Lev ^f 1 ii 6	מעיל המעיל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q218	MT Exod 40:10 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 5	וקדשת וקדש	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁹⁰⁶
Q219	MT Exod 40:12 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 6	והקריבת את אהרן ואת בניו את אהרן ואת בניו תקריב	SV(3) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has a difference word order to the MT. ⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰³ The insertion of the phrase *כאשר צוה יהוה את משה*, “as Yahweh commanded Moses,” in 4QExod-Lev^f mirrors the many occurrences of the same phrase in this pericope (see Exod 39:1, 5, 7, 21, 26, 29 and 31). If the rest of verse 21 in 4QExod-Lev^f is in line with the MT then there would be three occurrences of this phrase in the same verse. The end of verse 21, which in the MT contains the phrase, is not preserved in the Qumran scroll. It is of interest that the SP includes two instances of the phrase in this verse and an additional passage that is reflected in 4QExod-Lev^f but not in the MT. On this see Q214 below.

⁹⁰⁴ The addition in 4QExod-Lev^f reflects the description of the ephod in Exod 28:26 and 39:19 (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 139).

⁹⁰⁵ The additional text appended to verse 21 is present in the SP and 4QExod-Lev^f. The SP reads: *ויעש את משה*, “And he made the *urim* and the *tummim* as Yahweh commanded Moses.” According to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 139, the additional text in 4QExod-Lev^f “echoes Exod 28:30. It is best taken as original in the Hebrew text, lost by parablepsis ... in the other traditions.”

⁹⁰⁶ 4QExod-Lev^f can be read as a defective infinitive in place of the finite verb in the MT (so E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 141). Alternatively the verb could be read as imperative: *וקדש את המזבח*, “and sanctify the altar.” However, the latter is unlikely given the use of the 2ms perfect *במשה*, “you shall anoint,” at the beginning of the clause. Also, in favour of reading the verb as an infinitive, the infinitive absolute is known to function as “the continuation of a preceding finite verb” (W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 345-46, §113y-aa). Note also the use of the infinitive absolute as an “emphatic imperative ... followed by a *perfect consecutive*” (W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 346, §113bb, italics in original), which would also suit the context.

⁹⁰⁷ The witnesses agree with the MT. The placement of the verb in the MT agrees with that of verse 13, while the placement in 4QExod-Lev^f agrees with that of verse 14 (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 143).

Q220	MT Exod 40:12 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 6	והקריב תקריב	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁹⁰⁸
Q221	MT Exod 40:14 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 8	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition את, “with.”
Q222	MT Exod 40:14 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 8	כתנת הכתנן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q223	MT Exod 40:15 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 9	אביהם אביהן	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹⁰⁹
Q224	MT Exod 40:16 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 11	אתו אותם	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹¹⁰
Q225	MT Exod 40:16 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 11	כן עשה omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹¹¹
Q226	MT Exod 40:17	omits	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has an ex-

⁹⁰⁸ E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 143, suggests that the use of the imperfect verb in 4QExod-Lev^f and the change in word order reflects the shift in topic from cult instruments to the priesthood. The MT maintains the use of the perfect verb plus *waw* consecutive throughout, except for the first of two verbs in verse 14.

⁹⁰⁹ The pronominal suffix appears to be a 3fpl object suffix, but this is very difficult in the context where the object is clearly בני אהרן, “Aaron’s sons.” More preferable is the opinion of E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, that the form in 4QExod-Lev^f is “evidently an Aramaic suffix by a slip of the pen.” This view posits that the scribe accidentally wrote a defective form of the 3mpl Aramaic pronominal suffix -הון which, according to S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik: mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1990⁴) 173, is itself a late form of the pronominal suffix -הם.

⁹¹⁰ E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, raises the possibility that the plural pronominal suffix in 4QExod-Lev^f refers to both Moses and Aaron, which names may have both been contained in the lacuna of the previous line. Such a reading would also explain the lack of the particle and singular verb that follows, for which see Q225 below.

⁹¹¹ The MT completes the ‘Priestly’ formula, according to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142: כן עשה, “as Yahweh commanded him, thus he did.” The same phrase appears in Gen 6:22 concerning Noah and in Num 17:26 concerning Moses.

	4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 12	לצאתם ממצרים]	plicating plus. ⁹¹²
Q227	MT Exod 40:17 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 13	המשכן את המשכן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker. ⁹¹³
Q228	MT Exod 40:18 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 13	ויקם משה את המשכן omits	SV(2) – The phrase is lacking in 4QExod-Lev ^f . ⁹¹⁴
Q229	MT Exod 40:18 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 13-14	omits את קרסין	SV(2) – The phrase is lacking in the MT. ⁹¹⁵
Q230	MT Exod 40:19	ויהתן	OV(1) – Possible difference in

⁹¹² 4QExod-Lev^f clarifies the period being discussed as לצאתם ממצרים בשנה השנייה, “in the second year *after their going out from Egypt*.” The additional material in 4QExod-Lev^f is also found in the SP and is reflected in the LXX: *τω δευτερω ετει εκπορευομενων αυτων εξ Αιγυπτου*, “in the second year after their going out of Egypt.”

⁹¹³ The object marker appears marking the object of a passive verb frequently in the MT: with *Niph'al* verbs some 32 times, 10 times with *Hoph'al*, and only once with *Pu'al* (Jer 50:20). See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, and B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 384-85.

⁹¹⁴ The phrase in the MT appears to be lacking in 4QExod-Lev^f. The restored phrase in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, is ויקם את אדניו, however there does not seem to be any necessity for the verb to be restored קום rather than נתן. If the latter is restored the reading in 4QExod-Lev^f simply lacks the first phrase. Alternatively, with the verb restored as קום, one may assume a variant textual tradition that has קום in place of נתן in the MT. From this 4QExod-Lev^f has suffered haplography losing the text between the first occurrence of the verb קום to the second. Of the two phrases, ויקם משה (את) המשכן, “and Moses raised up the tabernacle,” and וינתן את אדניו, “and he set its base,” 4QExod-Lev^f seems to lack the first while the LXX seems to lack the second.

⁹¹⁵ The MT reads: וישם את קרסיו, “and he placed its boards.” 4QExod-Lev^f has an extended phrase, restored: וישם את קרסיו ואת קרסיו, “and he placed its hooks and its boards.” The listed items involved in the tabernacle’s construction may have been harmonised in 4QExod-Lev^f with other such lists, e.g. Exod 35:11 and 39:33. Alternatively the textual tradition behind the MT may have suffered haplography and omitted the object marker and the noun קרס. Against the latter the same haplography would have to underlie the textual traditions behind the SP and the LXX, and also those that are represented by the *Tgs.* and the Peshitta, as the noun is lacking in all of the other witnesses. Therefore harmonisation in 4QExod-Lev^f is the most likely explanation.

	4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 14	וינתן	pronunciation. ⁹¹⁶
Q231	MT Exod 40:19 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 14	ויפרש וינתן	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹¹⁷
Q232	MT Exod 40:20 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 16	ויתן וינתן	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q233	MT Exod 40:20 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 17	על אל	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q234	MT Exod 40:20 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 17	ויתן וינתן	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q235	MT Exod 40:20 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 17	מלמעלה omits	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f lacks the explicating plus. ⁹¹⁸
Q236	MT Exod 40:21 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 18	ארון הארון	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q237	MT Exod 40:22 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 19	ויתן וינתן	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q238	MT Exod 40:22 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 19	באהל אל אן	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.

⁹¹⁶ The initial *nun* is written regularly in 4QExod-Lev^f. See also Q231, Q232, Q234, and Q237 below. According to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, this may be an indication of Aramaic influence on the scribe. However, the assimilation of *nun* in verbal forms was regular in Aramaic by the Persian period, and the dissimilation of *nun* was an indication of a retrogressive, archaising orthography. “Formen mit *n* in den orthographisch besseren Texten des RA [Reichsaramäisch] können zwar zum Teil auf Systemzweig zurückgeführt werden ...” [Forms with *n* in the orthographically superior texts of Imperial Aramaic were in some part due to a retrogressive system ...] (S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 112).

⁹¹⁷ The MT reads: ויפרש את האהל על המשכן, “And he spread the tent over the tabernacle,” against the reading in 4QExod-Lev^f: וינתן את האהל על המשכן, “And he put the tent over the tabernacle.” While the words are not synonymous the sense of the phrase in both sources is consistent. E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 142, reads the form in 4QExod-Lev^f as “evidently an anticipation of ונתן in vv 20 and 22.” All of the other witnesses agree with the MT. On the dissimilation of initial *nun* in the verb ונתן see note above.

⁹¹⁸ The phrase in the MT includes the adverb מעלה, “above,” in the phrase ויתן את הכפרת על הארון מלמעלה, “and he put the atonement upon the ark above (it).”

Q239	MT Exod 40:22 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 20	צפנה צפון	SV(1) – 4QExod-Lev ^f lacks the locative ה.
Q240	MT Exod 40:27 4QExod-Lev ^f 2 ii 25	omits לפניו	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has an explicating plus. ⁹¹⁹
Q241	MT Exod 14:24 4QExod ^g 5	וענן עם	Not Counted – 4QExod ^g is too damaged to allow a certain reading. ⁹²⁰
Q242	MT Exod 1:1 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 1 5	ואלה אלה	SV(1) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l lacks the conjunction.
Q243	MT Exod 2:23 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 3-4 4	ויזעקו ויצעקו	SV(1) – Interchange of synonyms. ⁹²¹
Q244	MT Exod 10:3 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 i, 8 11	עמי את עמי	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q245	MT Exod 12:3 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 ii 16	omits בני	SV(2) – The MT lacks the plural construct noun בן, “son.” ⁹²²

⁹¹⁹ The occurrence of the prepositional phrase לפניו, “before him,” is considered secondary in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 143. The MT lacks the addition in agreement with the other witnesses.

⁹²⁰ Based on the photo we are in agreement with E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 146, that the traces of ink left below the line following the lacuna immediately after the *‘ayin* are most likely to be the remains of *mem*. The reading עם therefore seems most appropriate, though it must be admitted that the extremely poor preservation of the fragment precludes any certain reading. One may point to the phrase אש ועצים in Isa 30:33 for a possible parallel to the phrase in 4QExod^g, but in the context that wording is quite unlikely.

⁹²¹ The form in 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l is more common in the Pentateuch. *HALOT*, 277, lists זעק as a by-form of צעק (see also *HALOT*, 1042). The variant is treated as an interchange of synonyms rather than a difference in pronunciation of the same lexeme.

⁹²² The phrase in 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l is restored: כל עדת בני ישראל, “the whole congregation of the sons of Israel,” in agreement with the SP and the LXX.

Q246	MT Exod 12:3 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 ii 17	שה לבית אבות שה לבית [לבית ש] [בית א] ת	SV(3) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l has a different word order to the MT. ⁹²³
Q247	MT Exod 12:5 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 ii 19	הכבשים הכשב]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹²⁴
Q248	MT Exod 12:9 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 ii 24	נא נו	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁹²⁵
Q249	MT Exod 12:9 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 7 ii 24	מבשל ומבשל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q250	MT Exod 14:23 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 10 ii 13	רכבו ורכבו	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q251	MT Exod 17:1 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 17-18 7	ממדבר סין למסעיהם [ל] [ס] [א] מ]	SV(3) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l has a different word order to the MT. ⁹²⁶
Q252	MT Exod 18:20 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 20 6	omits אשר	SV(1) – The MT lacks the relative particle.
Q253	MT Exod 18:21 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 20 7	אלהים יהוה	SV(1) – Interchange of divine titles.

⁹²³ 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l is restored: שה לבית אבות שה לבית, “a lamb for a father’s house, a lamb for a house.”

⁹²⁴ See also Q243 and note above. Here, too, the interchange of synonyms is counted as such rather than as a metathesis or dialectal by-form. See *HALOT*, 501.

⁹²⁵ This is a possible instance of *waw* standing for Massoretic *qames*, for which see P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 33, and E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 39-40.

⁹²⁶ 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l is restored: ממדבר סין למסעיהם, in agreement with 4QExod^c against the MT, the SP and the LXX. See Q192 and note above.

Q254	MT Exod 18:21 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 20 8	omits אתם	SV(2) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ has an object marker plus pronominal suffix clarifying the object.
Q255	MT Exod 23:8 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 23 7	יעור פחקים יעור עיני פחקים	SV(2) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ has an explicating plus. ⁹²⁷
Q256	MT Exod 23:9 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 23 8	תלחץ תלחצו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹²⁸
Q257	MT Exod 23:9 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 23 8	את omits	SV(1) - 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ lacks the object marker.
Q258	MT Exod 25:11 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 24-29, 30 i 4	סביב omits	SV(2) - 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ lacks the adverbial particle סביב, “around.”
Q259	MT Exod 26:29 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 30 ii, 31-34 2	טבעתיהם תעשה זהב ם זהב	SV(3) - 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ has a different word order to the MT. ⁹²⁹
Q260	MT Exod 26:30 4QpaleoGen-Exod ¹ 30 ii, 31-34 3	כמשפטו משפט	SV(2) – The MT clarifies the object, המשכן, “the tabernacle,” with a possessive pronominal suffix. ⁹³⁰

⁹²⁷ 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ reads: כי השחד יעור עיני פחקים, “for a bribe blinds the eyes of the seeing,” in agreement with the SP, the LXX and *Tg. Ps-J.*

⁹²⁸ In the MT the subject in the verse is plural except for this verb: ואתם לא ידעתם את נפש הגר כי גרים הייתם. The plural form in 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ may be viewed as harmonising the singular form in the MT with the plural forms in the rest of the verse.

⁹²⁹ 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ is restored to have an altered order of verb and object: תעשה טבעתיהם זהב, “you will make gold rings.” All of the other witnesses agree with the MT.

⁹³⁰ The phrase in the MT reads: והקמת את המשכן כמשפטו אשר הראת בהר, “and you will raise the tabernacle according to its design which you were shown on the mountain.” The pronominal suffix is found also in the SP, while the *Tgs.* and the LXX seem to agree with 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹. Both *Tg. Ps-J.* and *Tg. Neof.* lack a pronoun between the noun and the relative particle (“היילכהא / סדר דינא ד”). The LXX also lacks a pronoun after the accusative *ειδος*, “form, shape.”

Q261	MT Exod 26:33 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 30 ii, 31-34 7	שמה שם	SV(1) – 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l lacks the locative ה.
Q262	MT Exod 27:9 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 35 5	נגב נגבה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה.
Q263	MT Exod 27:11 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l 35 7	ועמדו עמודי	SV(1) - 4QpaleoGen-Exod ^l lacks the conjunction.
Q264	MT Exod 7:10 4QpaleoExod ^m I 22	אל פרעה לפני פרעה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁹³¹
Q265	MT Exod 7:14 4QpaleoExod ^m I 29	ויאמר ידבר	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the conjunction.
Q266	MT Exod 7:14 4QpaleoExod ^m I 29	ויאמר ידבר	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹³²
Q267	MT Exod 7:15 4QpaleoExod ^m I 30	הנה והנה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q268	MT Exod 7:15 4QpaleoExod ^m I 30	omits הוא	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an explicating plus. ⁹³³
Q269	MT Exod 7:18 4QpaleoExod ^m II 4	ביאר בת] [היאר	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁹³⁴

⁹³¹ 4QpaleoExod^m agrees with the SP. The LXX reads: *εναντιον Φαραω*, “before Pharaoh,” which also seems to reflect a Vorlage like 4QpaleoExod^m.

⁹³² The SP agrees with 4QpaleoExod^m.

⁹³³ The pronoun clarifies with subject of the phrase: *הנה הוא יצא המימה*, “behold, *he* goes towards the water.” The pronoun is also found in the SP and in *Tg. Neof.* According to J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran, 78-79*, the pronoun is probably original given that in the usual construction of the particle *הנה* plus present participle, the two forms are generally intersected by a pronoun.

⁹³⁴ The phrase in 4QpaleoExod^m is restored: *ryh Kwtb*, “in the midst of the river.” Here the SP follows the MT. The phrase *בתוך היאר* is not found anywhere in the MT or the SP, so 4QpaleoExod^m appears to be alone in using this construction.

Q270	MT Exod 7:18 4QpaleoExod ^m II 6-11	omits וי] [ומר ... מ] [ריים לש]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹³⁵
Q271	MT Exod 7:29	omits	SV(2) – The MT lacks the addi-

⁹³⁵ The damaged text in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored on the basis of the SP which seems to contain the same additional material:

וילך משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו יהוה אלהי העברים שלחנו אליך
לאמר שלח את עמי ויעברני במדבר והנה לא שמעת עד כה כה אמר יהוה בזאת
תדע כי אני יהוה הנה אנכי מכה במטה אשר בידי על המים אשר ביאר ונהפכו
לדם והדגה אשר ביאר תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשתות מימ מן היאר

And Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and they said to him, ‘Yahweh the god of the Hebrews has sent us to you to say: ‘Send away my people that they may serve me in the wilderness;’ and behold until thus you did not listen. Thus Yahweh has said: ‘With this you will know that I am Yahweh: behold I am striking with the staff that is in my hand upon the waters that are in the river, and they will be turned into blood. And the fish that is in the river will die, and the river will be odorous, and the Egyptians will give up drinking the water from the river.’

The SP and 4QpaleoExod^m both contain an additional *Tatbericht* that compliments the *Wortbericht* in Exod 7:16-18. Other instances of additional *Wortberichte* and *Tatberichte* in 4QpaleoExod^m that reflect the SP are frequent: see Q273, Q275 and Q281 below.

	4QpaleoExod ^m III 2-4	ובח[...]פרדעין]	tional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹³⁶
Q272	MT Exod 8:14 4QpaleoExod ^m III 26	ותהי ויהי	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹³⁷
Q273	MT Exod 8:16 4QpaleoExod ^m III 29	omits לאמור	SV(2) – The MT lacks the syntactically redundant infinitive.
Q274	MT Exod 8:17 4QpaleoExod ^m III 33	הם המה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q275	MT Exod 8:19	omits	SV(2) – The MT lacks the addi-

⁹³⁶ The *Tatbericht* in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored on the basis of the SP:

ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה וידברו אליו כה אמר יהוה שלח את עמי ויעבדני
ואם מאן אתה לשלח הנה אנכי נגף את כל גבולך בצפרדעים ושרץ היאר
צפרדעים ועלו ובאו בבתיך ובהדרי משכבך ועל מטתך ובבתי בעבדיך
ובעמך ובתנוריך ובמשארתך ובך ובעמך ובכל עבדיך יעלו הצפרדעים

And Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh and they spoke to him. ‘Thus said Yahweh: send my people away that they may serve me; and if you refuse to send, behold, I am afflicting your every border with frogs, and the river will teem with frogs and they will go up and enter into your houses, and into your bed chambers, and upon your beds, and into your servants’ houses, and against your people, and into your ovens and into your kneading troughs; and against you and against your people and against all of your servants the frogs will go up.’

⁹³⁷ The subject of the verb $\sqrt{\text{היה}}$ is כנם (כנים), “gnats, lice.” The *pluralis inhumanus* is “frequently construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate” (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 464, §145k).

	4QpaleoExod ^m IV 4-9	אמנ] [... כי אני יה]	tional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹³⁸
Q276	MT Exod 8:20 4QpaleoExod ^m IV 10	omits מאד	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹³⁹
Q277	MT Exod 9:7 4QpaleoExod ^m V 5	ישראל בני ישראל	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an explicating plus. ⁹⁴⁰
Q278	MT Exod 9:8 4QpaleoExod ^m V 7	omits לאמור	SV(2) – The MT lacks the syntactically redundant infinitive. ⁹⁴¹
Q279	MT Exod 9:8 4QpaleoExod ^m V 8	השמימה הש] ים	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the locative ה.
Q280	MT Exod 9:9 4QpaleoExod ^m V 8	כל omits	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹⁴²

⁹³⁸ The *Tatbericht* in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored on the basis of the SP:

ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו כה אמר יהוה שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי אם אינך משלח את עמי הנני משלח בך ובעבדיך ובעמך ובבתוך את הערב ומלאו בתי מצרים את הערב וגם האדמה אשר הם עליה והפלי יתי ביום ההוא את ארץ גשן אשר עמד עליה לבלתי היות שם ערב למען תדע כי אני יהוה בקרב הארץ ושמתי פדות בין עמי ובין עמך למחר יהיה האות הזה

And Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh and they said to him, ‘Thus said Yahweh: ‘Send my people away that they may serve me, because if you do not send my people away, behold, I am sending the horse-fly against you and against your servants and against your people and against your houses; and the houses of the Egyptians will be filled with the horse-fly, and also the ground upon which they are; and I will define the land of Goshen that day, upon which my people stand: no horse-fly will be there, so that you will know that I, Yahweh, am in the midst of the land; and I have put a distinction between my people and between your people, for tomorrow will be this sign.’

⁹³⁹ The adjective appears in 4QpaleoExod^m to form the phrase ערב כבד מאד, “very dense (swarms of) horse-flies,” also in the SP.

⁹⁴⁰ The subject of the verb מוה, “to die,” is clarified in 4QpaleoExod^m, the LXX and the SP: והנה לא מת ממקנה בני ישראל, “And behold, none of the cattle of *the sons of Israel* died.”

⁹⁴¹ See also Q273 above.

⁹⁴² The adjective describes the construct phrase כל ארץ מצרים, “all the land of Egypt.” The LXX and the SP agree with the MT.

Q281	MT Exod 10:2 4QpaleoExod ^m VI 27-29	omits כל [] ... ת[	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹⁴³
Q282	MT Exod 10:5 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 2	omits עשב הארץ ואת כל	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹⁴⁴
Q283	MT Exod 10:21 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 28	ויאמר ידבר	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the conjunction.
Q284	MT Exod 10:21 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 28	ויאמר ידבר	SV(1) – Lexical interchange.
Q285	MT Exod 10:21 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 29	וימש חשך omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹⁴⁵

⁹⁴³ The *Wortbericht* in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored on the basis of the SP:

ואמרת אל פרעה כה אמר יהוה אל הי העברים עד מתי מאנת לענות מפני שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי אם מאן אתה השלח את עמי הנני מביא מחר ארבה בגבולך ובסה את עין הארץ ולא יכל לראות את הארץ ואכל את יתר הפלטה הנשארות לכם מן הברד ואכל את כל עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי העץ הצמח לכם מן השדה ומלאו בתיך ובתי כל עבדיך ובתי כל מצרים אשר לא ראו אבותיך ואבות אבותיך מיום היותם על האדמה עד היום הזה

And you will say to Pharaoh, ‘Thus said Yahweh the god of the Hebrews: ‘For how long will you refuse to humble yourself before me? Send my people away that they may serve me. If you refuse to send away my people, behold, tomorrow I am bringing (the) locust into your territory, and it will cover the surface of the earth so that none shall be able to see the earth, and it will eat everything that remained preserved to you from the hail; and it will eat every plant of the ground, and every fruit of the tree growing for you from the field. And your houses and the houses of all your servants and the houses of every Egyptian will be filled; which your fathers and your fathers’ fathers did not see from the day they came into existence on the ground until now.

⁹⁴⁴ 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP have additional listed items: את כל עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי העץ, “every green plant of the ground and every fruit of the tree.” The LXX and the *Tgs.* agree with the MT.

⁹⁴⁵ The phrase וימש חשך, “and may the darkness be palpable” is present in all other witnesses.

Q286	MT Exod 10:24 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 32	אל משה ל משה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q287	MT Exod 10:24 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 32	omits ול אהרן	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m includes Aaron in the narrative. ⁹⁴⁶
Q288	MT Exod 10:24 4QpaleoExod ^m VII 32	ויאמר ויאמרו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁴⁷
Q289	MT Exod 10:26 4QpaleoExod ^m VIII 2	תשא נשא	SV(1) – Difference in person. ⁹⁴⁸
Q290	MT Exod 11:9	ויאמר	Not Counted – The conjunction in

⁹⁴⁶ The lack of the figure of Aaron in the narrative in MT is conspicuous as his presence is described in several of the other visits to Pharaoh (see Exod 7:20; 8:8; 10:3, *etc.*). The SP agrees with 4QpaleoExod^m as does the LXX. The Targums are divided, with *Tg. Neof.* agreeing with 4QpaleoExod^m and *Tg. Ps-J* agreeing with the MT. There is, however, some evidence that the name of Aaron was interpolated into the text of Exodus, perhaps in two separate periods, to increase the role of this priestly figure in the narrative. This can be judged from the fact that although both the characters of Moses and Aaron appear in chapter 10 the verb forms remain predominantly singular in form. Aaron's name also fails to appear where it may reasonably be expected in Exod 10:3, 8 and 16. "Thus it appears that whatever drive did exist to include Aaron's name, while it antedated the division of the text into the various extant traditions, it occurred late enough in the literary history to disturb syntactical relationships" (J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 277).

⁹⁴⁷ The verb in 4QpaleoExod^m is plural due to the plural subject. See Q287 above.

⁹⁴⁸ The subject of the verb in the MT, the SP and the *Tgs.* is פרסה, "hoof," and the verb תשא is read as *Niph'al* 3fs of שאר, "to be left, remaining." The reading in 4QpaleoExod^m may be read as masculine *Niph'al* but in the light of the LXX, which has a 1cpl indicative middle future verb, υπολειφομεθα, "we (will not) leave remaining," the form in 4QpaleoExod^m should probably be read as 1cpl. J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 296, reads the form as *Hiph'il*, presumably because the only 1cpl imperfect form of שאר attested in the MT is in *Hiph'il* at 1Sam 14:36.

	4QpaleoExod ^m VIII 28	יאמר	MT appears as a paragraph marker in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹⁴⁹
Q291	MT Exod 12:6 4QpaleoExod ^m IX 6	אתו אותם	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁵⁰
Q292	MT Exod 16:34 4QpaleoExod ^m XVII 4	אל משה [ת מ]	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ⁹⁵¹
Q293	MT Exod 17:2 4QpaleoExod ^m XVII 11	מה ומה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q294	MT Exod 17:12 4QpaleoExod ^m XVII 29	ויהי ויהיו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁵²
Q295	MT Exod 17:13	omits	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an

⁹⁴⁹ The writing of paleo-Hebrew *waw* in the margin of the scroll is identified in E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 185, as signifying a paragraph break. The difference is arguably aesthetic, given that where the marginal *waw* occurs the adjacent verb form typically lacks the *waw* consecutive that is read in the MT. It is conceivable that the *waw* marks a paragraph break and also functions in the text as marking the consecutive imperfect. See also P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV*, 58.

⁹⁵⁰ 4QpaleoExod^m is unique in reading a plural pronominal object suffix here, against the singular in all of the other witnesses. The plural suffix seems to refer incorrectly to the singular object *שה תמים זכר בן שנה*, “a lamb, pure, male, one year old.”

⁹⁵¹ 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored *את משה אל*, in agreement with the SP and the *Tgs*. Either reading is acceptable: *צוה יהוה אל / את משה כאשר*, “as Yahweh commanded (to) Moses.” The construction with the object marker is used with *צוה* approximately 75 times in the MT. The construction with *אל* occurs only seven times. It might be argued that the preposition *אל* should mark the indirect object of the verb *צוה*, as in Exod 25:22: *אל בני ישראל*, “all that I will command you for the sons of Israel.”

⁹⁵² The singular verb in the MT refers the plural noun *ידיו*, “his hands.” 4QpaleoExod^m agrees with the SP and the LXX in referring to the noun with the plural verb. If, however, the singular verb refers instead to the noun *אמונה*, “steadfastness, fidelity,” (read as a substantive: “remained steadfast” – cf. W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 451, §141b), then the disagreement of gender between the verb and the noun may echo a similar disagreement of gender in the first half of the verse: *וידיו משה כבדים*, “And Moses’ hands (feminine) were heavy (masculine).” Note the similar use of the substantive as predicate in both phrases. The form in the MT may then represent a stylistic choice that was dropped in the other witnesses.

	4QpaleoExod ^m XVII 30	ויכם	explicating plus. ⁹⁵³
Q296	MT Exod 17:16 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 1	מדר עד דור	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q297	MT Exod 17:16 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 1	דר ודור	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q298	MT Exod 18:2 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 4	אחר [	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁹⁵⁴
Q299	MT Exod 18:6 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 8	אני הנה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹⁵⁵
Q300	MT Exod 18:13 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 21	מן הבקר מן בקר	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the definite article.
Q301	MT Exod 18:16 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 25	בא א[ו]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.

⁹⁵³ The verb *הלש*, “discomfit, defeat,” does double duty in the MT taking both the object *ואת עמלק*, “Amaleq and his people,” and the instrument *פי חרב*, “the edge of the sword.” The MT has the following construction: *ויהלש יהושע את עמלק ואת עמו לפי חרב*, “And Joshua defeated Amaleq and his people with the edge of the sword.” 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP both have the verb *נכה*, “to strike,” coordinating with the instrument and restate the object as a pronominal suffix attached to the verb, giving the following reading: *ויהלש יהושע את עמלק ואת עמו ויכם לפי חרב*, “And Joshua defeated Amaleq and his people, and he struck them with the edge of the sword.”

⁹⁵⁴ The form in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored *אחרי*, which is used as an adverb with a temporal sense, while the form in the MT is also used adverbially and has essentially the same temporal meaning of “after” (see *HALOT*, 35-36). The difference between the forms may be dialectal.

⁹⁵⁵ J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 142, regards the two lexemes as synonymous in the context: “If it is taken impersonally ... then a third party is announcing Jethro’s coming to Moses, with the word *הנה* ... If it is taken as Jethro’s speaking through a messenger, then the messenger has gone ahead and is speaking in Jethro’s name, with the word *אני*.”

Q302	MT Exod 18:20 4QpaleoExod ^m XVIII 32	omits אשר	SV(1) – The MT lacks the relative particle. ⁹⁵⁶
Q303	MT Exod 18:21 4QpaleoExod ^m XIX 1	שרי ושרי	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q304	MT Exod 18:21 4QpaleoExod ^m XIX 1	שרי ושרי	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q305	MT Exod 18:23 4QpaleoExod ^m XIX 5	על אל	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q306	MT Exod 18:25 4QpaleoExod ^m XIX 7-17	omits [א אובל [...] איש]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹⁵⁷
Q307	MT Exod 18:27 4QpaleoExod ^m 23	לו omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ⁹⁵⁸
Q308	MT Exod 20:19	omits	SV(2) – The MT lacks the addi-

⁹⁵⁶ The relative particle marks the subordinate clause in 4QpaleoExod^m, in agreement with the SP and the LXX: והודעת להם את הדרך אשר ילכו בה “and you will make known to them the way in which they must walk.” Note that the MT marks the next clause, subordinated to the same verbal predicate, with the relative particle: ואת המעשה אשר יעשון “and the deeds that they must do” (see J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 117).

⁹⁵⁷ The MT lacks the harmonisation with Deut 1:9-18. 4QpaleoExod^m agrees with the SP in this addition.

⁹⁵⁸ The SP and the LXX agree with the MT. The preposition introduces the *dativus commodi*: לו אל ארצו “he got *himself* to his land” (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 381, §119s).

	4QpaleoExod ^m XXI 21-28	ן הר אנו ...] שר	tional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹⁵⁹
Q309	MT Exod 21:13 4QpaleoExod ^m XXIII 8	שמה שם	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the locative ה.
Q310	MT Exod 22:3 4QpaleoExod ^m XXIV 10	חיים ים אחד	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an explicating plus. ⁹⁶⁰
Q311	MT Exod 22:6 4QpaleoExod ^m XXIV 16	וגנב נגנב	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹⁶¹
Q312	MT Exod 22:4 4QpaleoExod ^m XXIV 12	omits כל	Not Counted – The variant is reconstructed. ⁹⁶²
Q313	MT Exod 22:24 4QpaleoExod ^m XXV 5	העני עני	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the definite article.

⁹⁵⁹ The MT lacks the harmonisation with Deut 5:24-27. 4QpaleoExod^m agrees with the SP in this addition. On the apparent exegetical change of the adjective describing אל הים from plural חיים in Deut 5:26 to singular ה in the 4QpaleoExod^m interpolation, see E. Eshel, "4QDeut^m - A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 (1991) 141. J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 217, is less certain that the change is exegetical in nature, preferring to see multiple possible reasons for the variant: "Were corrections made by later scribes ... or, alternatively, were there two equally acceptable usages?" Cf. Q809 below.

⁹⁶⁰ The number of animals is clarified in 4QpaleoExod^m. The phrase is restored on the basis of the SP, which also contains the addition: אם המצא תמצא בידו הגנבה ... חיים אחד שנים שלם, "If the theft (of an animal) is certainly found in his hand ... one alive (is) two restored."

⁹⁶¹ The form in the MT is considered *Pu'al* of גנב, "be stolen away," against the *Niph'al* of the same root in 4QpaleoExod^m, "to be stolen" (see *HALOT*, 198). The difference in the grammatical forms amounts to a lexical interchange, for which classification see J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 118-19.

⁹⁶² See J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 76-77, for a discussion of the likely reading of a variant here in line with the SP and the LXX. However, in light of Rule 2 the variant is not counted here. The letter כ is doubtful, and though the ל is clear it may be read as part of another word that suits the context of the MT.

Q314	MT Exod 22:24 4QpaleoExod ^m XXV 5	עמד עמכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q315	MT Exod 22:26 4QpaleoExod ^m XXV 7	הוא הין	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹⁶³
Q316	MT Exod 22:26 4QpaleoExod ^m XXV 7	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender.
Q317	MT Exod 23:31 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVI 15	ושת מת	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹⁶⁴
Q318	MT Exod 24:1 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVI 20	omits]איתמ[	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹⁶⁵
Q319	MT Exod 24:7 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVI 29	נעשה ונשמע]נשמע ו[	SV(3) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has a different word order to the MT. ⁹⁶⁶
Q320	MT Exod 24:9	omits	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an

⁹⁶³ The grammatically correct reading is found in the *qere* of the MT.

⁹⁶⁴ According to J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 88, the scribe of 4QpaleoExod^m replaced the less common word שית, “put, set,” with the better known synonym שים, “place, set.”

⁹⁶⁵ At least one extra name is appended to the list of names of those who ate and drank in the presence of Yahweh on Sinai. The SP includes two extra names, אלתר ואיתמר, on which basis 4QpaleoExod^m can probably be similarly restored. The addition of the two names is a minor textual addition, but it has particular exegetical significance, in that all four sons of Aaron are here mentioned as joining those who witnessed the presence of Yahweh on Sinai. The MT includes only the two older sons of Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, who are later to be found guilty of ritual malpractice in Lev 10:1-2. The change to this taxonomy is assumed to be part of a gradual process that increased the representation of the two younger sons of Aaron in the Pentateuch. On this see J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 212-14. See also Q320 below.

⁹⁶⁶ The SP and some manuscripts of the LXX agree with the word order as it appears in 4QpaleoExod^m. The scribe of 4QpaleoExod^m was perhaps more familiar with the expression that has the verb שמע first, as is known from Deut 6:3; 30:12, 13; see also 2 Kgs 18:22 and Jer 35:10 for similar constructions. The phrasing with עשה in first position occurs only here in the MT.

	4QpaleoExod ^m XXVI 31	[יתמר	expansive plus.
Q321	MT Exod 25:20 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVII 31	איש אל אחיו ל אחד]	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has a different expression than the MT. ⁹⁶⁷
Q322	MT Exod 25:26 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVIII 5	ונתת ונתתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q323	MT Exod 25:29 4QpaleoExod ^m XXVIII 8	בהן ם]	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹⁶⁸
Q324	MT Exod 26:10 4QpaleoExod ^m XXIX 3	וחמשים לל אה ות חמשים]	SV(3) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has a different word order to the MT. ⁹⁶⁹
Q325	MT Exod 26:26	בריהם עצי שמים	OV(1) – Difference in grammati-

⁹⁶⁷ The expression refers to the cherubim that face each other on the top part of the ark of the covenant. The phrase in 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored based on the reading in the SP: אחד אל אחד, “one to the other,” against the phrase in the MT: איש אל אחיו, “each man to his brother.” The textual tradition underlying 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP appear to use more familiar expressions regularly, often replacing those rarely occurring in the tradition behind the MT, for which see B.K. Waltke, “The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the Old Testament,” *New Perspectives on the Old Testament* (ed. J. Barton Payne; Waco: Word Books, 1970) 220. According to J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 94-95, other contributing factors may involve the definition through such expressions in the SP between human and non-human entities in tandem, of which the present instance is an example of the latter, or simply a propensity for phraseological standardisation.

⁹⁶⁸ 4QpaleoExod^m can be restored on the basis of the SP: בהם. The nouns to which the pronominal suffix refers are feminine, וּמְנִיקֵיהֶן וּמְכֻסֵיהֶן וּמְכַסֵיהֶן וּמְכַסֵיהֶן, “its dishes, and its spoons, and its covers, and its bowls.” The MT appears to have the correct feminine form against 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP.

⁹⁶⁹ The cardinal number and the object are reversed. 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP read: לל אה חמשים, “loops (by) 50,” against the MT: חמשים לל אה, “50 loops.”

	4QpaleoExod ^m XXIX 22	ברִיחֵי עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים	cal form. ⁹⁷⁰
Q326	MT Exod 26:35 4QpaleoExod ^m 12- 13	26:35 → 26:36 26:35 → 30:1-10	SV(3) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has a different word order to the MT. ⁹⁷¹
Q327	MT Exod 27:19 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXI 9	omits]ועש	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹⁷²
Q328	MT Exod 28:11 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXI 29	תַּפְתָּח יַפְתָּח	SV(1) – Difference in person. ⁹⁷³
Q329	MT Exod 28:23 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXII 10	וְנִתַּח הַ	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q330	MT Exod 28:41	וְהָלַבְשָׁת	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷⁰ The MT has the plural absolute noun בְּרִיחֵים in apposition to the construct phrase עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים, “bars, shittim wood.” The noun in 4QpaleoExod^m and also in the SP is in construct: בְּרִיחֵי עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים, “bars of shittim wood.” The form in 4QpaleoExod^m and the SP possibly harmonise with the form in Exod 36:31, where the MT also has בְּרִיחֵי עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים. J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 118, considers the form in 4QpaleoExod^m to be a synonymous interchange.

⁹⁷¹ The SP agrees with 4QpaleoExod^m in inserting Exod 30:1-10 between 26:35 and 26:36. The placement of the fragments of 4QpaleoExod^m to support this reading is based primarily on reconstructed margins and letter spaces, but such reconstruction seems certain. Only four SU from a total of 191 SU, about 2% of the text, are preserved of this paragraph in 4QpaleoExod^m. See the discussion in J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 111-14. This small number of preserved units, and the placement of the fragment that contains them, is sufficient to maintain our adherence to Rule 2.

⁹⁷² The SP agrees with 4QpaleoExod^m in adding the introductory line concerning the priestly garments. The clause can be restored: וְעָשִׂיתָ בְּגָדֵי תְּכֵלֶת וְאַרְגָּמָן וְהוֹלַעַת שְׁנֵי לְשָׂרֵת בְּהֵם בְּקֹדֶשׁ, “And you will make clothes of violet and purple and crimson scarlet, to minister in them in the sanctuary.” See the discussion on the placement of this clause in J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 209-11.

⁹⁷³ The 2ms imperfect form in the MT suits the context, and is in agreement with the LXX, the SP and the Tgs.

⁹⁷⁴ The plural form in 4QpaleoExod^m does not fit the context and disagrees with all other witnesses. The erroneous form is considered a scribal lapse in J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 90.

	4QpaleoExod ^m XXXIII 3	להל בשתם	
Q331	MT Exod 29:2 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXIII 11	משחים בשמן omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹⁷⁵
Q332	MT Exod 29:21 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXIV 6	29:21 → 29:29 29:21 → 29:28 → 29:23	SV(3) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has a different verse order to the MT. ⁹⁷⁶
Q333	MT Exod 29:22 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXIV 8	יתרת היו]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article. ⁹⁷⁷
Q334	MT Exod 29:22 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXIV 7	omits ואת	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q335	MT Exod 30:36 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVI 22	ונתתה נתת]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ⁹⁷⁸
Q336	MT Exod 31:4 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVI 28	לעשות לעשוב]	Not Counted – The reading in 4QpaleoExod ^m is uncertain. ⁹⁷⁹
Q337	MT Exod 31:5	מל אכה	Not Counted – The reading in

⁹⁷⁵ The phrase in the MT is reflected in the other witnesses, and is only lacking in 4QpaleoExod^m. The reference is to מצות רקיקי מצות, “unleavened wafers,” which in the versions is described as being משחים בשמן, “smeared with oil.”

⁹⁷⁶ Exod 29:22 is inserted after verse 28 in 4QpaleoExod^m and also in the SP.

⁹⁷⁷ The form in 4QpaleoExod^m is restored: היותרת, “the caudate lobe” (a small posterior lobe of the liver).

⁹⁷⁸ See also Q40, Q73 and Q75 above, as well as note and .

⁹⁷⁹ There is perhaps a trace of a supralinear ה written to correct the form in 4QpaleoExod^m according to P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV*, 121. The MT reads: לעשות בזהב, “to make with gold.” Restoring the correction in 4QpaleoExod^m gives the identical text: לעשוה בזהב.

	4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVI	מלאכת	4QpaleoExod ^m is uncertain. ⁹⁸⁰
Q338	MT Exod 31:13-14 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVII 7	ביני וביניכם ... קדש הוא omits	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the additional text in the MT. ⁹⁸¹
Q339	MT Exod 32:7 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVII 27	omits [מור	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an expansive plus. ⁹⁸²
Q340	MT Exod 32:7 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVII 27	לך omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹⁸³
Q341	MT Exod 32:10 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVIII 1	omits [וה מאד להשמידו ... א	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QpaleoExod ^m . ⁹⁸⁴

⁹⁸⁰ The final letter of the word in 4QpaleoExod^m is quite damaged. The reading with ה is tentative, while “*heh* could be possible but much less likely” (P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV*, 121).

⁹⁸¹ The versions agree with the MT. The omission in 4QpaleoExod^m may have been through error, but may equally present an original reading. See the comments in P.W. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4. IV*, 123.

⁹⁸² 4QpaleoExod^m has an additional infinitive construct לאמור, restored on the basis of the SP, introducing Yahweh’s instruction to Moses to descend from Sinai. The additional infinitive agrees with the LXX and the SP, but the *Tgs.* agree with the MT.

⁹⁸³ The instruction לך רד, “go, descend,” is given simply as רד, “descend,” in 4QpaleoExod^m. The other witnesses agree with the MT.

⁹⁸⁴ 4QpaleoExod^m agrees with the SP in adding the expression of Yahweh’s anger towards Aaron over the incident involving the golden calf. The addition can be restored on the basis of the same reading in the SP : ובאהרן התאנקי יהוה מאד להשמידו ויתפלל משה בעד אהרן “And against Aaron Yahweh was very enraged, so as to destroy him, but Moses prayed on Aaron’s behalf.” The addition is a likely harmonisation with Deut 9:20. For a discussion of the exegetical significance of the harmonisation see J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 208-9.

Q342	MT Exod 32:11 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVIII 4	וביד בזרוע[	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹⁸⁵
Q343	MT Exod 32:13 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVIII 9	ונחלו וזה[	SV(2) – The MT lacks the 3fs pronominal object suffix. ⁹⁸⁶
Q344	MT Exod 32:27 4QpaleoExod ^m XXXVIII 28	עברו ועב]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q345	MT Exod 34:1 4QpaleoExod ^m XL 12	הראשנים omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹⁸⁷
Q346	MT Exod 34:11 4QpaleoExod ^m XL 29	omits והגרג]	SV(2) – 4QpaleoExod ^m has an extra listed item lacking in the MT. ⁹⁸⁸
Q347	MT Exod 34:13 4QpaleoExod ^m XL 32	ואת	SV(1) – 4QpaleoExod ^m lacks the object marker.
Q348	MT Exod 34:16 4QpaleoExod ^m XLI 2	וזנו בנתיו אחרי אל היהן omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁵ The MT has the phrase חזקה וביד, “and with a strong hand,” against the phrase in 4QpaleoExod^m, restored: חזקה ובזרוע, “and with a strong arm.” The SP has ובזרוע נטויה, “and with an outstretched arm,” and the LXX also seems to reflect this reading: *και εν τω βραχιονι σου τω υψηλω*, “with a high arm.” On the use of *υψηλος* to translate נטה in the LXX see Deut 4:34, where the phrase חזקה ובזרוע נטויה, “and with a strong hand, and with an outstretched arm,” is rendered *και εν χειρι κραταια και εν βραχιονι υψηλω*.

⁹⁸⁶ The form in 4QpaleoExod^m is restored on the basis of the SP: ונחלוה, “and they will inherit it.”

⁹⁸⁷ The MT clarifies the object with an adjective: הלחת הראשנים, “the *first* tablet.” The other witnesses agree with the MT.

⁹⁸⁸ On the variation of the list of foreign nations see note above.

⁹⁸⁹ 4QpaleoExod^m is alone among the witnesses in lacking this addition. It is possible that the MT and the versions preserve a harmonisation with Exod 34:15 that was not added in the textual tradition behind 4QpaleoExod^m. For this thesis, and the complications that arise from the reading in the LXX, see J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 149.

Q349	MT Exod 37:13 4QpaleoExod ^m XLV 8	ל ארבע על ארבע	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q350	MT Lev 14:42 4QLev-Num ^a 4 3	יקח יקחו	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ⁹⁹⁰
Q351	MT Lev 14:42 4QLev-Num ^a 4 3	יטה יטחו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁹¹
Q352	MT Lev 14:43 4QLev-Num ^a 4 4	אחר אחרי	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁹⁹²
Q353	MT Lev 14:43 4QLev-Num ^a 4 4	ואחרי הקצות את הבית omits	SV(2) – 4QLev-Num ^a lacks the additional text in the MT. ⁹⁹³
Q354	MT Lev 14:43 4QLev-Num ^a 4 4	ואחרי ואחר	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ⁹⁹⁴
Q355	MT Lev 14:44 4QLev-Num ^a 4 5	הוא הין	SV(1) – Difference in gender.
Q356	MT Lev 14:45 4QLev-Num ^a 4 6 ^{sup}	ונתן נתצו]	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁹⁵
Q357	MT Lev 14:45	אבניו	SV(1) – Difference in gender or

⁹⁹⁰ Leviticus 14:32-57 describes actions pertaining to the treatment of leprosy. In the MT the plural verbs in this passage seem to refer to the occupants of a dwelling in which leprosy has been found, while the singular verbs refer to the priest treating the disease. In MT Lev 24:42 the task of re-plastering the house would appear to belong to the priest, while this task is assigned to the occupants of the house in 4QLev-Num^a.

⁹⁹¹ This verb forms part of the same phrase as the previous variant. See note above.

⁹⁹² See note above. The form in 4QLev-Num^a agrees with the SP. The opposite arrangement of forms appears later in the same clause, for which see Q353 below.

⁹⁹³ The phrase may have been omitted from 4QLev-Num^a due to parablepsis as the scribe mistook the second instance of the word אחרי for the third. Otherwise 4QLev-Num^a may preserve the more original reading (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 158, for these suggestions).

⁹⁹⁴ See note above.

⁹⁹⁵ See note above.

	4QLev-Num ^a 4 6 ^{sup}	אבנה	number. ⁹⁹⁶
Q358	MT Lev 14:46 4QLev-Num ^a 4 6	הסגיר אתו [ירו]	SV(1) – 4QLev-Num ^a lacks the object marker. ⁹⁹⁷
Q359	MT Lev 14:49 4QLev-Num ^a 4 9	לחטא לטהר	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ⁹⁹⁸
Q360	MT Lev 14:50 4QLev-Num ^a 4 10	ושחט ושחמו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ⁹⁹⁹
Q361	MT Lev 14:51 4QLev-Num ^a 5 2	אל על	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q362	MT Lev 16:23 4QLev-Num ^a 8-14 i 10	בבאו וב]	SV(1) – 4QLev-Num ^a lacks the conjunction. ¹⁰⁰⁰
Q363	MT Lev 1:11	דמו	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite

⁹⁹⁶ The possessive pronominal suffix refers to הַבַּיִת, “the house,” a masculine definite noun. In this case the MT would appear to have the correct form. However, the suffix in 4QLev-Num^a may be read as a masculine singular suffix, either with an archaic Hebrew spelling or otherwise under Aramaic influence. In such a case the noun in 4QLev-Num^a may be read as singular, and hence a difference in number would result. On the archaic 3ms pronominal suffix ה- see the discussion in F.I. Andersen, “The Spelling of Suffixes,” *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography* (eds D.N. Freedman, A.D. Forbes, and F.I. Andersen; Biblical and Judaic Studies 2 Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 63-65.

⁹⁹⁷ The pronominal object suffix is appended directly to the verb in 4QLev-Num^a, which is restored הַסְגִירָו, “he has caused it to be shut.” This form may be read as a plural verb with no pronominal object on the basis that some Samaritan manuscripts read הַסְגִירוּ אֹתוֹ, “they have caused it to be shut” (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 158). Such a reading would also fit the context given the other plural forms in this scroll (see Q351, Q356 and Q357 above, and Q360 below). However in light of Rule 4 the reading with the pronominal object is preferred.

⁹⁹⁸ The reading in the MT is supported by the SP, and possibly also by the LXX. The latter has an infinitive form of ἀφαιλιζω, “to purify,” which is used more often to translate טָהַר than טָהַרְו (for טָהַרְו = ἀφαιλιζω see Lev 14:49, 52; Num 19:12, 13, 19, 20; Num 31:20; for טָהַרוּ = ἀφαιλιζω see Num 8:6, 21).

⁹⁹⁹ See note above.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The form in 4QLev-Num^a is restored here as וּבְבָאוּ. In the *edition princeps* the form in 4QLev-Num^a is restored as וּבָאוּ (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 159). That is, the MT has a preposition בַּ preceding the infinitive construct, as opposed to the conjunction plus finite verb in 4QLev-Num^a. The condition of fragment 13 allows for very little certainty for this reading, and so restoring in favour of the MT reading would seem plausible.

	4QLevb 1-7 13	הדם	article.
Q364	MT Lev 1:11 4QLev ^b 1-7 13	דמו הדם	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b lacks the pronominal suffix.
Q365	MT Lev 1:16 4QLevb 1-7 19	מראתו מראתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰⁰¹
Q366	MT Lev 1:17 4QLev ^b 1-7 20	ל ול	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q367	MT Lev 1:17 4QLev ^b 1-7 21	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰⁰²
Q368	MT Lev 1:17 4QLev ^b 1-7 20	אשה omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁰³
Q369	MT Lev 2:8 4QLev ^b 1-7 29	והבאת והביא	SV(1) – Difference in person. ¹⁰⁰⁴
Q370	MT Lev 2:11 4QLev ^b 1-7 32	המנחה מנחה	SV(1) – 4QLev ^b lacks the definite article.
Q371	MT Lev 2:14 4QLev ^b 1-7 36	ואם וכי	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.

¹⁰⁰¹ The pronominal suffix in 4QLev^b may be 3fs, but see note above for a discussion of the reading of the ה- pronominal suffix as an archaic 3ms form. The form is regarded as coming from archaic Hebrew or Aramaic influence – the possibility that it is due to early or late dialectal influence is left open.

¹⁰⁰² The pronoun refers to עלה, “burnt offering,” a feminine singular noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

¹⁰⁰³ The phrase in the MT reads: עלה הוא אשה ריח ניחח ליהוה, “it (is) a burnt offering, an offering by fire, a pleasing smell to Yahweh.”

¹⁰⁰⁴ The form in the MT agrees with the SP, while the form in 4QLev^b agrees with the LXX. The address of this passage of Leviticus alternates between second and third person, and there would appear to be some disagreement between the witnesses. See also verse 4 for similar differences between the MT and the LXX.

Q372	MT Lev 2:16 4QLev ^b 1-7 38	אזכרתה זכרתה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁰⁵
Q373	MT Lev 3:1 4QLev ^b 1-7 39	omits ליהוה	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁰⁶
Q374	MT Lev 3:11 4QLev ^b 8 4	והקטירו והקן] יר	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁰⁷
Q375	MT Lev 22:11 4QLevb 9 i, 10-17 19	ויליד ל ידי	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁰⁸
Q376	MT Lev 22:12 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 26	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰⁰⁹
Q377	MT Lev 22:18	omits	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b has an expansive

¹⁰⁰⁵ The unusual noun אזכרתה in the MT is found only in Lev 2:2, 9, 16; 5:12; 6:8 and Num 5:26. The form that appears in 4QLev^b is not found at all in the MT, so it is unlikely that the scribe of 4QLev^b exchanged an unusual lexeme for a more common one here. According to G.R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in the Pentateuch," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 1, 2 (1956) 99-100, the term זכרה, not necessarily of Aramaic origin, denoted a token amount of a sacrificial offering that was burnt on the altar, leaving the rest of the offering to be consumed in other ways (presumably by the priests). If, as Driver suggests, the term is used specifically in the Priestly code, its particular meaning may have been unclear to the scribe of 4QLev^b, who then exchanged it for a term that was closer in appearance to the obvious root זכר, "to remember." This view, of course, presumes that the form in the MT is the more original, but this is not necessarily the case. See, for example, the tendency for Mishaic Hebrew to use prosthetic aleph as a noun former (apparently as a phonemic modification of preformative h) in M.H. Segal, *Grammar*, 38, 113.

¹⁰⁰⁶ 4QLev^b clarifies the beneficiary of the peace offering: ואם זבח שלמים קרבנו ליהוה, "If his offering is a sacrifice of peace offering to Yahweh." The LXX agrees with 4QLev^b, as do many Latin manuscripts (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 180).

¹⁰⁰⁷ The MT clarifies the object of the verb קטר, "to burn," by appending the pronominal object suffix.

¹⁰⁰⁸ It is possible that 4QLev^b has a plural noun with a pronominal suffix appended, restored וילידיו, "his progeny." According to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 183, "At the end of the word is an intentional ink stroke; the leather is damaged, making it impossible to determine whether the scribe wrote וילידיו ביתו or began to write waw or an extra yod but stopped." Regardless of whether or not we read a pronominal suffix at the end of the word it can be assumed that the noun is plural in 4QLev^b.

¹⁰⁰⁹ The pronoun refers to בתהוה, "the daughter of a priest." Clearly the 3fs pronoun in 4QLev^b and the MT *qere* is correct.

	4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 26	הגֵּר	plus. ¹⁰¹⁰
Q378	MT Lev 22:18 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 27	וּלְכַל אוּ לְכַל	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q379	MT Lev 22:20 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 28	לְכַם לְכַה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰¹¹
Q380	MT Lev 22:21 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 29	לְנֹדֵבָה בְּנֹדֵבָה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q381	MT Lev 22:22 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 30-31	omits אוּ מְרוּחַ] [ךְ	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰¹²
Q382	MT Lev 22:22 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 31	אֵלֶּה omits	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b lacks the demonstrative. ¹⁰¹³
Q383	MT Lev 22:22 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 31	omits אֵשָׁה	SV(2) – 4QLev ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰¹⁴
Q384	MT Lev 22:23 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 32	תַּעֲשֶׂה תַּעֲשׂוּ	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰¹⁵

¹⁰¹⁰ 4QLev^b has a different phrasing that is found in the MT, with a definite noun followed by a definitive participle: *ומן הגר הגר בישראל*, “and from the sojourner, the one sojourning in Israel.” The MT, on the other hand, has only the definite article plus participle. The phraseology in 4QLev^b is not foreign to the MT, where in other places the same root is used for the noun and following definitive participle a total of 15 times (see, for example, Gen 1:26; 7:14, 21; 8:17; Lev 11:29, 41, 42, 43).

¹⁰¹¹ The plural pronominal suffix is also reflected in the other witnesses. The verb seems to demand a plural suffix: *לא תקריבו כי לא לרצון יהיה לכם*, “you will not bring (it) near because it shall not be desirable to you.”

¹⁰¹² The MT lacks the addition *או מרוח אשך*, “or one with crushed testicles,” which is probably a harmonisation with Lev 21:20.

¹⁰¹³ The demonstrative refers to the listed items that are forbidden to bring as offerings to Yahweh in Lev 22:22. 4QLev^b lacks the demonstrative but does include a noun in its place, for which see the next variant. The SP and the LXX agree with the MT.

¹⁰¹⁴ The phrase in 4QLev^b reads: *לא תקריבו אשה ליהוה*, “you shall not bring (them) as an offering by fire to Yahweh.”

¹⁰¹⁵ The plural form in 4QLev^b fits the context and is in agreement with the SP.

Q385	MT Lev 22:31 4QLev ^b 9 i, 10-17 38	אני יהוה omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus.
Q386	MT Lev 23:14 4QLev ^b 9 ii, 11 ii, 18-20 12	וקל קל	SV(1) – 4QLev ^b lacks the conjunction.
Q387	MT Lev 24:10 4QLev ^b 20 ii, 22-25 16	ואיש והאיש	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article. ¹⁰¹⁶
Q388	MT Lev 25:46 4QLev ^b 27-28 2	והתנחלתם והנחלתם	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰¹⁷
Q389	MT Lev 4:14 4QLev ^c 3 5	אתו אתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰¹⁸
Q390	MT Lev 5:12 4QLev ^c 5 2	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰¹⁹
Q391	MT Lev 14:36 4QLev ^d 2 4	omits הצרתה	SV(2) – 4QLev ^d has an expansive plus. ¹⁰²⁰
Q392	MT Lev 17:3 4QLev ^d 4 2	omits גַּר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	SV(2) – 4QLev ^d has an expansive plus. ¹⁰²¹
Q393	MT Lev 17:3	מהוּן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the loca-

¹⁰¹⁶ This may amount to a difference in expression, where the MT has the construct noun phrase **ואיש הישראלים**, “and the man of the Israelites,” against the restored adjectival phrase in 4QLev^b **והאיש הישראלי**, “and the Israelite man.” The same phrasing as 4QLev^b is found in the LXX and in 11QpaleoLev^a. The SP lacks any definite article in the phrase.

¹⁰¹⁷ The reflexive form in the MT is treated as a different lexeme to the causative form in 4QLev^b.

¹⁰¹⁸ See the comments in note above.

¹⁰¹⁹ The pronoun refers to **הַמִּטָּה**, “a sin offering,” a feminine singular noun, so the form in 4QLev^c and the MT *qere* is correct.

¹⁰²⁰ The phrase in 4QLev^d is probably harmonised with similar forms in Lev 13 and 14.

¹⁰²¹ The phrase in the MT reads: **איש מבית ישראל**, “a man from the house of Israel,” which has some type of expansion in 4QLev^d. The Greek manuscripts, including Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, seem to support the restoration of 4QLev^d: **איש מבית ישראל הגר הגר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל**, “a man from the house of Israel and the sojourner, the one sojourning in Israel.”

	4QLevd 4 3	מחוצה	tive ה.
Q394	MT Lev 17:4 4QLevd ^d 4 4-5	omits או שלמים ליהוה לרצונכם לן	SV(2) – 4QLevd ^d has an expansive plus. ¹⁰²²
Q395	MT Lev 17:4 4QLevd ^d 4 5	להקריב להקריבו	SV(2) – The MT lacks the resumptive pronominal suffix that clarifies the object. ¹⁰²³
Q396	MT Lev 17:10 4QLevd ^d 4 15	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q397	MT Lev 17:11 4QLevd ^d 4 16	omits כל	SV(2) – 4QLevd ^d has an explicating plus. ¹⁰²⁴
Q398	MT Lev 17:11 4QLevd ^d 4 16	הבשר בשר	SV(1) – 4QLevd ^d lacks the definite article. ¹⁰²⁵
Q399	MT Lev 17:11 4QLevd ^d 4 16	בדם בדמו	SV(2) – The MT lacks the pronominal suffix that clarifies the object. ¹⁰²⁶
Q400	MT Lev 3:6 4QLev ^e 2 3	שלמים השלמן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q401	MT Lev 19:36 4QLev ^e 3 3	מאזני צדק omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹⁰²⁷

¹⁰²² The plus describes additional sacrifices that are suitable to offer, reflected also in the LXX and the SP.

¹⁰²³ The pronominal object suffix refers to the masculine noun קרבן, “an offering,” equated with the list of possible offerings in Lev 17:3. The MT has a similar form, referring to the same object, in the preceding phrase לא הביאו, “he shall not bring it.”

¹⁰²⁴ The phrase in the MT reads: כי נפש הבשר בדם, “because the soul of the flesh (is) in the blood.” The LXX agrees with 4QLevd^d with the addition of the adjective: כי נפש כל בשר בדם, “because the soul of all flesh (is) in the blood.”

¹⁰²⁵ The difference in phrasing accounts for the loss of the article in 4QLevd^d – see the previous variant.

¹⁰²⁶ The form in 4QLevd^d is harmonised with the form in Lev 17:14, also reflected in the LXX.

¹⁰²⁷ 4QLev^e lacks the reference to מאזני צדק, “correct scales.” E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 198, supposes homoioteleuton, on the basis that the LXX also lacks one of the listed items in this verse, איפת צדק, “a correct *ephah*.”

Q402	MT Lev 21:1 4QLev ^e 5 4	בעמיו בעמו	OV(1) – Possible difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰²⁸
Q403	MT Lev 21:9 4QLev ^e 6 2	omits את בית]	SV(2) – 4QLev ^e has an expansive plus. ¹⁰²⁹
Q404	MT Lev 21:24 4QLev ^e 7 5	כל בני ישראל כל ישראל	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus.
Q405	MT Lev 22:5 4QLev ^e 8 3	omits טמא	SV(2) – 4QLev ^e has an expansive plus. ¹⁰³⁰
Q406	MT Lev 2:1 4QExod-Lev ^f 4 3	קרבן [רבנו	SV(2) – The MT lacks the dative pronominal suffix. ¹⁰³¹
Q407	MT Lev 2:1 4QExod-Lev ^f 4 4	omits מנחה	SV(2) – 4QExod-Lev ^f has an expansive plus. ¹⁰³²

¹⁰²⁸ Cf. the discussion on the 3ms pronominal suffix on singular nouns [ō] written ה- or ו- in note above. The same pertains to the 3ms pronominal suffix on plural nouns [ā(y)w], for which an archaic spelling ו- was updated towards the standard spelling וי-. See F.I. Andersen and A.D. Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible: Dahood Memorial Lecture* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986) 324-26, and F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, "Another Look at 4QSam^b," *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography* (eds D.N. Freedman, A.D. Forbes, and F.I. Andersen; Biblical and Judaic Studies 2 Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 196. The spelling of the singular suffix appended to a plural noun as ו- is noted as a characteristic Qumran Hebrew orthographic form in E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59.

¹⁰²⁹ The phrase in the MT states that the prostituted daughter of a priest is אֵת אֲבִיהָ מִחֻלְלֵת, "profaning her father," against the expansive phrase in 4QLev^e which is restored אֵת אֲבִיהָ מִחֻלְלֵת בֵּיתָהּ, "she is profaning her father's house." Among the Targums, *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Onq.* agree with the MT, but the phrase is somewhat altered by the injection of a temporal clause in *Tg. Ps.-J.* This text possibly reflects a different Vorlage: אֲרוֹם הַפִּיס גִּרְמָה לְמַטְעֵי בִּזְנֵי עַד דְּהִיא עִם בֵּית אֲבוֹהָ וּזְנוּיִת, "if she becomes desecrated by straying in harlotry while she is in her father's house, and she is a harlot."

¹⁰³⁰ The phrase in 4QLev^e reads: אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַגֵּעַ בְּכֹל שְׂרִיץ טָמֵא אֲשֶׁר יִטְמָא לוֹ, "a man who touches any unclean swarming thing which will make him unclean." The word may have been lost in the MT by parablepsis considering that the same lexeme occurs three other times in the same verse. The SP and the LXX support the reading in 4QLev^e.

¹⁰³¹ The secondary object is specified by the pronominal suffix: נֶפֶשׁ כִּי תִקְרִיב קֶרְבָּנו, "one that will offer his offering." The MT has the same form later in the same verse.

¹⁰³² The phrase in 4QExod-Lev^f is restored לִבְנַה מְנַחָה, "a frankincense tribute," which reflects the similar phrasing קֶרְבֵּן מְנַחָה, "tribute offering," earlier in the same verse. The SP and the LXX agree with 4QExod-Lev^f.

Q408	MT Lev 7:20 4QLev ^g 2	ההוא ההיא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰³³
Q409	MT Lev 7:21 4QLev ^g 4	ההוא ההיא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰³⁴
Q410	MT Lev 7:25 4QLev ^g 8	יקריב [קן] [יבו]	SV(1) – Difference in number.
Q411	MT Lev 7:25 4QLev ^g 8	אשה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰³⁵
Q412	MT Num 1:38 4QLev-Num ^a 29 2	לבני דן לבן דן	SV(1) – Difference in number.
Q413	MT Num 3:3 4QLev-Num ^a 31, 32 i, 33 6	מלא לא	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰³⁶
Q414	MT Num 3:9	נתתה	OV(I) – Possible difference in

¹⁰³³ The pronoun refers to הנפש, an irregular feminine definite noun, so the form in 4QLev^g and the MT *qere* is correct.

¹⁰³⁴ The pronoun refers to הנפש. See the previous note.

¹⁰³⁵ The MT reads: אשר יקריב ממנה אשה ליהוה, “from which you bring near an offering made by fire to Yahweh,” against the restored reading in 4QLev^g: אשר יקריב ממנה קרבן ליהוה, “from which you bring near an offering to Yahweh.” The SP and the LXX agree with the MT, but the *Tgs.* support the reading in 4QLev^g.

¹⁰³⁶ The verb could refer to either the singular noun יד or the plural אהרן בני. The verse is poorly preserved in 4QLev-Num^a, but the MT reads: אלה שמות בני אהרן הכהנים המשחים אשר מלא ידם לכהן, “These are the names of the sons of Aaron, the anointed ones, whose hand (lit. ‘which their hand’) was filled for performing priestly duties” (the final infinitive construct is read here as a stative). It seems evident that in both sources the noun יד, “hand, power,” is singular, and so the singular verb in the MT likely coordinates thus: “the hand of whom was filled.” The plural verb in 4QLev-Num^a may refer instead to בני אהרן, thus: “the sons of Aaron ... who had filled their hand.” In the MT the verb is intransitive and takes only a secondary object לכהן, whereas in 4QLev-Num^a the verb is transitive and takes the noun יד as its direct object. While this variant is therefore read as a change in expression and syntax, the variation is only indicated in the verb itself, and so only a difference in number is counted.

	4QLev-Num ^a 31, 32 i, 33 11	נתת	pronunciation. ¹⁰³⁷
Q415	MT Num 3:12 4QLev-Num ^a 31, 32 i, 33 14	מבני ישראל בבני ישראל	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q416	MT Num 5:3 4QLev-Num 34 ii, 44-50 17	עד ועד	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q417	MT Num 5:6 4QLev-Num ^a 34 ii, 44-50 22	ההוא ההיא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰³⁸
Q418	MT Num 9:3 4QLev-Num ^a 53-54 1	בין ביום]	SV(2) – 4QLev-Num ^a has a different expression to the MT. ¹⁰³⁹
Q419	MT Num 12:3 4QLev-Num ^a 60-61 1	מאד דה[	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁷ See the comments in note and above.

¹⁰³⁸ The pronoun refers to נפש. See note above.

¹⁰³⁹ Not enough text is preserved to read a hermeneutic variant here. It is true, though, that the wording in 4QLev-Num^a seem difficult to reconcile with the MT if the placement of the fragment is accurate. Where the MT reads: בין הערבים, “between the evenings,” 4QLev-Num^a has a phrase that begins with ביום, “in the day.” The SP and the LXX support the reading in the MT. The phrase in *Tg. Ps.-J.* may shed some light on the problem, as it reads: בין שימשה, “at twilight,” (see M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 558-59) but literally means “between the suns.” While the particle בין agrees with the reading in the MT, the use of the term שמש√ may somehow reflect a text like 4QLev-Num^a. While this translation may provide some clues it does not allow for any firm conclusions. The tone of E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 168, is equally perplexed: “If frg. 53 is placed correctly, the scribe wrote ביום] where [the MT and the SP] have בין הערבים. What the ensuing text would have read is uncertain.”

¹⁰⁴⁰ The form in 4QLev-Num^a is restored מאדה, “very.” This is a form of the regular adverb מאד, terminating with a locative ה, which had arguably become part of the spoken dialect reflected in certain scrolls from Qumran (see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 117-18). The form is identical in meaning to מאד, according to Qimron, as “the *he* of direction has lost its syntactical function in DSS Hebrew. It was rather perceived as a locative termination without any syntactical function” (*Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68).

Q420	MT Num 12:8 4QLev-Num ^a 60-61 5	ומרשה ובמרשה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ב.
Q421	MT Num 11:32 4QNum ^b I 1-4 2	omits כול	SV(2) – The MT lacks the adjective that clarifies the object. ¹⁰⁴¹
Q422	MT Num 11:32 4QNum ^b I 1-4 2	יום ה]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q423	MT Num 11:32 4QNum ^b I 1-4 3	להם להמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q424	MT Num 11:33 4QNum ^b I 1-4 4	מואד מואדה	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰⁴²
Q425	MT Num 11:34 4QNum ^b I 1-4 4	ההוא שה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q426	MT Num 11:35 4QNum ^b I 1-4 5	נסעו נסע	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁴³
Q427	MT Num 11:35 4QNum ^b I 1-4 5	חזרות omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁴⁴
Q428	MT Num 12:6 4QNum ^b I 1-4 12	omits יהוה אל הים	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁴⁵

¹⁰⁴¹ 4QNum^b is restored: והיום ההוא כול העם כול היום ההוא, “And all the people stood up all that day.” All of the other witnesses agree with the MT. There may be some tendency toward harmonisation as there is repeated reference to כל העם in Num 11:11, 12 and 14.

¹⁰⁴² See note above.

¹⁰⁴³ The noun עם is treated as plural in the MT and the SP. On the general variability of the grammatical number of verbs when coordinating with the collective noun עם in Qumran biblical manuscripts see I. Young, “Am Construed as Singular and Plural in Hebrew Biblical Texts: Diachronic and Biblical Perspectives,” *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 12, 1 (1999) 65-66, esp. note 73.

¹⁰⁴⁴ In the MT the goal is clarified in the phrase חזרות ההואה נסעו העם חזרות, “From Kibroth-hattaavah the people journeyed (to) Hazeroth.” The SP and the LXX support the reading in the MT.

¹⁰⁴⁵ 4QNum^b clarifies the subject of the verb אמר, “to say.” One Greek manuscript agrees with 4QNum^b in this regard.

Q429	MT Num 12:8 4QNum ^b I 1-4 14	ומרשה במרשה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions. ¹⁰⁴⁶
Q430	MT Num 13:17 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 6	אתם אותמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q431	MT Num 13:18 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 8	הרפה רפה	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the definite article.
Q432	MT Num 13:18 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 8	הוא הרפה רפה ה[]א	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a different word order to the MT.
Q433	MT Num 13:19 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 8	הוא הואה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q434	MT Num 13:19 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 8	הוא הואה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q435	MT Num 13:19 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 10	אם ואם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q436	MT Num 13:20 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 10	omits היא	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁴⁷
Q437	MT Num 13:20 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 11	והתחזקתם והתחזקתמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q438	MT Num 13:20 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 11	ולקחתם ולקחתמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.

¹⁰⁴⁶ The MT reads: ומרשה ולא בחידת, “and clearly, and not in riddles,” against the restored reading in 4QNum^b: במרשה ולא בחידת, “with clarity, and not in riddles.” This amounts to a minor change in expression via an interchange of prepositions, perhaps according to the preferred syntax of the scribe, or perhaps in harmonisation with the form in Num 12:6. The SP probably supports the reading in 4QNum^b (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 217).

¹⁰⁴⁷ The independent pronoun in 4QNum^b specifies the subject of the phrase ואם רזה היא, “and if *it* (is) impoverished.”

Q439	MT Num 13:20 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 11	בכורי בכורות	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹⁰⁴⁸
Q440	MT Num 13:21 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 12	ויעלו וילכו ויבואו	SV(2) – Difference in expression. ¹⁰⁴⁹
Q441	MT Num 13:22 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 13	שם שמה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה.
Q442	MT Num 13:24 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 16	ההוא ההואה	OV(I) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q443	MT Num 13:24 4QNum ^b II 3 ii, 5 16	קרא קראו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁵⁰
Q444	MT Num 16:1 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 13	בני ראובן בן ראובן	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁵¹
Q445	MT Num 16:2 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 14	אנשי שם ואנשי שם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q446	MT Num 16:5 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 17	והקריב הקריב	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the conjunction. ¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁸ The masculine noun ענבים, “grapes,” is constructed with the *nomens regens* ברכות in 4QNum^b, and SP, and possibly also the LXX. The latter has the feminine plural adjective προδρομοι, “forerunners,” but the noun it describes is feminine (σταφυλης, “grape bunch”). It is unclear why 4QNum^b and the SP have the feminine *nomens regens*. In the MT Torah the feminine form of this noun as *nomens regens* only appears with a feminine noun in Gen 4:4, מבכרות צאנו, “his choice sheep,” but see the *nomens rectum* in Jer 24:2 האני הבכרות, “first-ripe figs,” and the construction in Neh 10:37 אה בכרות בנינו, “our first-born sons.” The latter two instances can hardly be expected to be triggers for harmonisation in the present context. The overwhelming majority of plural *nomens regens* formed from בכר in the MT are masculine (at least 13 times).

¹⁰⁴⁹ The expression in 4QNum^b agrees with the SP, possibly harmonising with Num 13:26 (for this suggestion see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 220).

¹⁰⁵⁰ The grammatical number of the indefinite subject differs between the sources. 4QNum^b agrees with the SP and the LXX.

¹⁰⁵¹ 4QNum^b agrees with the SP and the LXX.

¹⁰⁵² The conjunction could otherwise be read as *waw* consecutive plus perfect verb, for which see note below.

Q447	MT Num 16:5 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 17	יבחר בן	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰⁵³
Q448	MT Num 16:8 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 21	omits אל כול עדתו	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁵⁴
Q449	MT Num 16:10 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 23	אתך אותכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q450	MT Num 16:11 4QNum ^b VI 6-10 24	עדתך עדתכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q451	MT Num 18:26 4QNum ^b X 12 2	לכם לכמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q452	MT Num 28:26 4QNum ^b X 12 3	omits ת	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q453	MT Num 18:26	יהוה	SV(2) – The MT has an explicat-

¹⁰⁵³ The entire phrase is constructed as a past temporal sequence in 4QNum^b in agreement with the LXX, against the future sequence in the MT and the SP. The verb form, taken with the preceding perfect form *הקריב*, indicates that this is indeed the case. The entire phrase can be restored as a series of past temporal clauses thus: *בקר וידע יהוה את אשר לו ואת הקדוש הקריב אליו ואת אשר בחר בו הקריב אליו*, “And Yahweh has scrutinised, and has made known who belongs to him, and the holy he has drawn near to himself, and the one he has chosen he has drawn near to himself.” Here the form *בקר* is translated as *Pi’el* 3ms perfect *בקר*, “examine,” following E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 222. Against this the MT has the *waw* consecutive plus perfect verb *והקריב* (see Q446 above) and the imperfect verb *יבחר*, as well as writing *בקר* as a noun meaning “morning.” The phrase in the MT is translated thus: “(By) morning Yahweh will make known who belongs to him, and the holy he will draw near to himself, and the one he has chosen he will draw near to himself.” However, the two variants taken individually could be otherwise interpreted. The first form, Q446 where 4QNum^b lacks *waw* consecutive, could be read simply as the elision of a conjunction with no impact on the tense or aspect of the phrase. The second form, Q447, could be read as a participle, and similarly have no significant impact on the overall incomplete aspect of the phrase. In light of Rule 4 this interpretation is preferred, and so two separate minor variants are counted. Such a reading admittedly makes no use of the LXX reading, which otherwise sheds light on the verbal forms in this passage of 4QNum^b. However, seeing as we can find a reading of the bare consonantal text that maintains the sense of the MT, this reading is preferred.

¹⁰⁵⁴ The phrase in 4QNum^b harmonises with Num 16:5 and 6.

	4QNum ^b X 12 4	omits	ing plus. ¹⁰⁵⁵
Q454	MT Num 18:28 4QNum ^b X 12 4	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q455	MT Num 18:30 4QNum ^b X 12 7	ללויים לכמה	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁵⁶
Q456	MT Num 18:30 4QNum ^b X 12 7	omits תרומתכמה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁵⁷
Q457	MT Num 18:30 4QNum ^b X 12 8	omits מן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition.
Q458	MT Num 18:30 4QNum ^b 12 8	יקב היקב	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article. ¹⁰⁵⁸
Q459	MT Num 18:31 4QNum ^b X 12 8	ואכלתם ואכלתמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q460	MT Num 18:31	אתו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵⁵ The phrase in 4QNum^b has a different construction, restored to read: את תרומת מעשר מן המעשר, “the tribute of tenths from the tenths,” against the MT reading: תרומת יהוה מעשר מן המעשר, “a tribute to Yahweh, a tenth from the tenths.” The *nomens regens* is the same between the sources, but the tribute itself is classified as being Yahweh’s in the MT, while the construct chain is extended to include the following chain in 4QNum^b, namely “a tenth of the tenths.” The phrase is written with the proper noun included in 4QNum^b X 12 5 and 6 (Num 18:29-30).

¹⁰⁵⁶ The MT clarifies the addressee of the speech, namely the Levites, given only as the 2mpl pronominal suffix in 4QNum^b. The Levites are already mentioned as the addressees of the speech in Lev 18:26. The MT agrees with the SP and the LXX.

¹⁰⁵⁷ 4QNum^b specifies the “best part of it,” *i.e.* the tithe of the priests, as “your (the priests’) tribute,” harmonising with Num 18:27 (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 224).

¹⁰⁵⁸ This variant and Q457 amount to a difference in expression between the sources. The construct chain in the MT reads: יקב צתבואת, “like the produce of the winepress.” The same information is differently phrased in 4QNum^b, which is restored: בתבואת מן היקב, “like the produce from the winepress.” This phrasing in 4QNum^b finds support in the wording of the LXX which includes the genitive preposition: ως γηνυμα απο ληνου, “as produce from the winepress.”

¹⁰⁵⁹ The pronominal object suffix refers to the singular noun חלב, “best part,” in the previous verse. The scribe possibly read the objects as חלב ... תבואת גרן ... תבואת מן היקב, “the best part ... the produce of the threshing floor ... the produce of the winepress.”

	4QNum ^b X 12 8	אוּ [יְמָה]	
Q461	MT Num 18:31 4QNum ^b X 12 8	אֵתָם אֵתָמָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q462	MT Num 19:2 4QNum ^b X 12 12	אֵל יָד אֵל יָכָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q463	MT Num 19:3 4QNum ^b X 12 13	וּנְתַתָּם וּנְתַתָּה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁶⁰
Q464	MT Num 19:3 4QNum ^b X 12 14	וּשְׁחַט וּשְׁחַטוּ	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁶¹
Q465	MT Num 19:4 4QNum ^b X 12 15	פְּנֵי פֶתַח	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁶²
Q466	MT Num 20:13 4QNum ^b XI 13 i-14, 25-30	omits מֵר [...] יְמָה	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QNum ^b . ¹⁰⁶³
Q467	MT Num 20:20 4QNum ^b XII 13 ii, 15-17 i 14	omits [...] אֵתָבָה [...] אֵתָבָה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁶⁴
Q468	MT Num 20:24 4QNum ^b XII 13 ii, 15-17 i 23	אֵת פִּי פִּי	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the object marker.

¹⁰⁶⁰ 4QNum^b treats the subject of the verb, בני ישראל, “the sons of Israel,” as singular, in agreement with the LXX.

¹⁰⁶¹ The indefinite subject is given as singular in the MT, but as plural in 4QNum^b. The LXX has a plural indicate active verb, και σφαζουσιν, “and they shall slay,” supporting the reading in 4QNum^b.

¹⁰⁶² The location of the action of the verb נוּחַל, “to scatter,” is given as פְּנֵי אֹהֶל, “before the tent,” in the MT, against פֶתַח אֹהֶל, “the opening of the tent,” in 4QNum^b.

¹⁰⁶³ 4QNum^b includes a major interpolation which is also reflected in the SP. The additional in the SP is taken from Deut 3:24-28 and Deut 2:2-6, though only part of the first pericope is preserved in 4QNum^b. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 225-26, for the restored text based on the SP, and for the variants from the SP contained therein. The additional material is not found in the LXX. See also the similar interpolations in this section in variant Q470, Q471 and Q472 below.

¹⁰⁶⁴ The additional in 4QNum^b repeats the threat issued by the Edomites in Num 20:18.

Q469	MT Num 20:26 4QNum ^b XII 13 ii, 15-17 i 24	והפשת [מתה]	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹⁰⁶⁵
Q470	MT Num 21:12 4QNum ^b XIII 17 ii- 18 13-15	omits [ויואמר] [...] לוֹא אֶתֵּן מְ]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QNum ^b . ¹⁰⁶⁶
Q471	MT Num 21:13 4QNum ^b XIII 17 ii- 18 16-17	omits גבול] [מ] [...] כי ל]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QNum ^b . ¹⁰⁶⁷
Q472	MT Num 21:21 4QNum ^b XIII 17 i- 18 27	omits ויואמר] [...] [סיה] [להמה]	SV(2) – The MT lacks the additional text in 4QNum ^b . ¹⁰⁶⁸
Q473	MT Num 22:5 4QNum ^b XIV 19 27	והוא [אה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q474	MT Num 22:6 4QNum ^b XIV 19 29	הוא [אה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q475	MT Num 21:7 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 1	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q476	MT Num 22:9	omits	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicat-

¹⁰⁶⁵ The *Hiph'il* imperative in the MT is written as jussive in 4QNum^b, in agreement with the SP.

¹⁰⁶⁶ The SP agrees with 4QNum^b in the interpolation from Deut 2:9. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 229, for a restoration of the text based on the SP, and for the variants from the SP contained therein. The additional material is not found in the MT or the LXX.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The SP agrees with 4QNum^b in the interpolation from Deut 2:17-19. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 229, for a restoration of the text based on the SP, and for the variants from the SP contained therein. The additional material is not found in the MT or the LXX.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The SP agrees with 4QNum^b in the interpolation from Deut 2:24-25. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 229, for a restoration of the text based on the SP, and for the variants from the SP contained therein. The additional material is not found in the MT or the LXX.

	4QNum ^b XV 20-22 3	אלי	ing plus. ¹⁰⁶⁹
Q477	MT Num 22:9 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 3	עמד [מכה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q478	MT Num 22:10 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 4	omits לאמר	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁷⁰
Q479	MT Num 22:11 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 4	העם עם	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the definite article.
Q480	MT Num 22:11 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 4	היצא	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the definite article.
Q481	MT Num 22:11 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 4	omits והוא יושב]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁷¹
Q482	MT Num 22:11 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 5	וגרשתיו וגרשתיהו	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹⁰⁷²
Q483	MT Num 22:11	omits	SV(2) - 4QNum ^b has an expansive

¹⁰⁶⁹ The secondary object is clarified in 4QNum^b, restored אלי, “and he said to him.” The LXX agrees with the reading in 4QNum^b: *και ειπεν αυτω*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ 4QNum^b includes the infinitive construct לאמר *dicendo*, the לאמר ‘of saying’ (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 351, §114o), which is perhaps harmonised with Num 12:5 (so E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 233), but in reality is so common throughout the syntax of the Torah that the scribe of 4QNum^b may have added the form based on personal preference. The form agrees with the LXX, which has the nominative active present participle λεγων, “saying.”

¹⁰⁷¹ The phrase in 4QNum^b is restored: והוא יושב ממולי, “and he lives next to me.” The addition of this phrase harmonises the reported speech of the king of Moab with his message to Balaam in Num 22:5. The LXX also supports the reading in 4QNum^b.

¹⁰⁷² The pronominal suffix הו- in 4QNum^b is written as ו- in the MT.

	4QNum ^b XV 20-22 5	ן[	plus. ¹⁰⁷³
Q484	MT Num 22:12 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 6	לש אל	SV(1) – Interchange of prohibitive and negative particles.
Q485	MT Num 22:12 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 6	עמהם ם האנשים [	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁷⁴
Q486	MT Num 22:12 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 6	לש ואל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q487	MT Num 22:12 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 6	לש ואל	SV(1) – Interchange of prohibitive and negative particles.
Q488	MT Num 22:12 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 6	הוא הואה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q489	MT Num 22:13 4QNum ^b 20-22 7	ארצכם אדוננ] [כמה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁷⁵
Q490	MT Num 22:13 4QNum ^b 20-22 7	ארצכם אדוננ] [כמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q491	MT Num 22:13	לתתי	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹⁰⁷³ The phrase in 4QNum^b is restored: מן הארץ, “from the land,” and harmonises with Num 22:6, *cf.* note above.

¹⁰⁷⁴ 4QNum^b is restored: עם האנשים, “with the men.” The masculine plural definite noun האנשים is given only as a 3mpl pronominal suffix in the MT. The latter finds support in the readings of the SP and the LXX.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The command that Balaam gives the princes of Moab is equivalent between the sources in the context. 4QNum^b is restored: לכו אל אדוניכמה, “go to your master,” against the reading in the MT: לכו אל ארצכם, “go to your land.” There is support for both readings: 4QNum^b agrees with the LXX, while the MT agrees with the SP.

	4QNum ^b 20-22 7	להתני	pronunciation. ¹⁰⁷⁶
Q492	MT Num 22:14 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 8	omits אלי	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁷⁷
Q493	MT Num 22:16 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 9	ל אלי	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q494	MT Num 22:16 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 9	omits]לך[	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁷⁸
Q495	MT Num 22:17 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 10	אכבדך אכבדכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q496	MT Num 22:17 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 10	omits לכה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁷⁹
Q497	MT Num 22:18	omits	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expan-

¹⁰⁷⁶ The infinitive construct of $\sqrt{\text{נחן}}$ with the 1cs dative pronominal suffix is rare in the MT, occurring only here. Cf. also the difficult instance of the infinitive construct with the 1cs possessive (genitive) pronominal suffix in 2 Sam 4:10 (and see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 349, §114l, n. 3). According to W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 109, §33g, the long form -נִי is strictly accusative, while the short form -י is genitive in function.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See note above.

¹⁰⁷⁸ 4QNum^b is restored to read: בלק בן צפור מלך מואב, “Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab.” The title of Balak son of Zippor in 4QNum^b that includes the phrase “the king of Moab,” is harmonised with Num 22:10. Both the SP and the LXX lacks the addition in agreement with the MT.

¹⁰⁷⁹ The phrase in 4QNum^b includes the preposition plus genitive pronominal suffix, clarifying the beneficiary of the action אֲעֲשֶׂה , “I shall do.” The clause is restored to read: וכל אשר תאמר אלי אעשה לכה, “and all that you will say to me I shall do for you.” See the similar addition in Q504 below.

	4QNum ^b XV 20-22 12	ל[	sive plus. ¹⁰⁸⁰
Q498	MT Num 22:19 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 13-14	omits [שרי]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁸¹
Q499	MT Num 22:20 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 14	לך לכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q500	MT Num 22:20 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 15	אתם [תמה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q501	MT Num 22:31 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 28	לאפיו לפניו	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁸²
Q502	MT Num 22:32 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 28	הכית הכיתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q503	MT Num 22:32 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 28	אתנך אתונכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q504	MT Num 22:32	omits	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus.

¹⁰⁸⁰ In 4QNum^b, and also in the LXX, the words that Balaam tells the servants of the king of Moab in Num 22:18 are harmonised with the words he tells the king directly in Num 24:13 (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 233). 4QNum^b is restored: לעשות קטנה או גדולה בלבי, “to do less or more *in my mind*.”

¹⁰⁸¹ 4QNum^b includes an additional phrase that harmonises with Num 22:8. The SP and the LXX agree with the MT. 4QNum^b is restored: וישבו שרי מואב עם בלעם, “And the princes of Moab dwelt with Balaam.”

¹⁰⁸² The MT has Balaam falling “on his face,” against 4QNum^b which has Balaam falling “before him.” For the meaning of the form לאפיו as “before” in the same sense as לפניו, see L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 77, who point to the use of this form in Gen 48:12 and 1 Sam 20:41.

	4QNum ^b XV 20-22 29	לכה	sive plus. ¹⁰⁸³
Q505	MT Num 22:32 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 29	ירט רעה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁸⁴
Q506	MT Num 22:33 4QNum ^b XV 20-22 29	לפני מלפני	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition מן.
Q507	MT Num 22:33 4QNum ^b 22 33	מפני מלפני	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ל.
Q508	MT Num 23:3 4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 12	עלתך ולתכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q509	MT Num 23:3 4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 12	omits ואנוכי	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁸⁵
Q510	MT Num 23:3	אלך	OV(1) – Difference in grammati-

¹⁰⁸³ 4QNum^b has the addition of the secondary object in the phrase *הנה אנכי יצאתי לשטן לכה*, “Behold, I have come out to be hostile *towards you*.” The addition of the preposition plus genitive pronominal suffix is similar to the addition noted in Q496 above. The SP and the LXX agree with the MT, so the addition probably reflects the preferred syntax of the scribe.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The MT and the SP have the rare form *ירט*, “to throw down,” which seems to have the sense of implied difficulty in the context: *כי ירט הדרך לנגדי*, “for the way has become difficult in my presence,” that is, the presence of the messenger of Yahweh has made Balaam’s path treacherous. Perhaps the rarity of this lexeme, which occurs only here and possibly in Job 16:11 (though the latter may be *רטה*, “push, shove”) prompted the scribe of 4QNum^b to replace the lexeme with a more commonly occurring word, *רעה*, “to be wicked.”

¹⁰⁸⁵ The cohortative form in the MT is written as an imperfect verb preceded by the first person singular independent pronoun in 4QNum^b, in agreement with some Greek manuscripts. The difference in expression may be related to the diminished syntactical function of the cohortative form in Qumran Hebrew (see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44).

	4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 12	ואל כה	cal form. ¹⁰⁸⁶
Q511	MT Num 23:3 4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 12	יהוה אלוהים	SV(1) – Interchange of divine titles.
Q512	MT Num 23:3 4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 13-14	omits [ילך ותיצב ... ובלעם]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁸⁷
Q513	MT Num 23:4 4QNum ^b XVI 23-26 14	ויקר אלהים אל בלעם [מל] [אלוהי] [לעם]	SV(2) – Difference in expression. ¹⁰⁸⁸
Q514	MT Num 23:27 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30, 9	האלהים אלוהים	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the definite article.
Q515	MT Num 24:1 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30 13	נחשים הנח	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The imperfect form in 4QNum^b is in contrast with the cohortative form in the MT. While some Greek manuscripts agree with 4QNum^b, the MT finds support in the major editions of the LXX, and in the SP. See note above.

¹⁰⁸⁷ 4QNum^b preserves a description of Balak's actions following the speech of Balaam in Num 23:3. The description comes between the final two words of the verse as preserved in the MT. Where the MT has the phrase וילך שפי, "and he (Balaam) went to a bare hill" (on the translation of שפי as "bare hill" or "barren high plain" see the discussion in *HALOT*, 1628; or alternatively "quietly" for which see M. Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 563, and the LXX *εὐθείαν*, from *εὐθες*, "directly, honestly"), against the restored reading in 4QNum^b: וילך ויהוה וילך שפי, "and he (Balak) went and stood by his sacrifice, and Balaam went and encountered God, and he went to a bare hill." See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 235, where the evidence that points to the support of the LXX for this reconstructed text of 4QNum^b is given.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The clause in the MT reads: ויקרה אלהים אל בלעם, "And God encountered Balaam," against the restored reading in 4QNum^b: וימצא מלאך אלוהים את בלעם, "And a messenger of God found Balaam." The divergent reading in 4QNum^b finds support in the SP. The theological implications of the variant reading are clear, in that 4QNum^b assigns the role of contact with Balaam to a divine messenger rather than to the deity directly. In addition the verb is made active, the *Qal* 3ms *מציא*, "to find," in place of the *Niph'al* 3ms *קרה*, "to encounter, meet."

Q516	MT Num 24:5 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30 17	אהל יך כה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q517	MT Num 24:6 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30 18	נטע נטה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁸⁹
Q518	MT Num 24:9 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30 21	כרע כער	Not Counted – Error of transposition. ¹⁰⁹⁰
Q519	MT Num 24:9 4QNum ^b XVII 24 ii, 27-30 21	שכב רבץ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹⁰⁹¹
Q520	MT Num 25:16 4QNum ^b XVIII 31- 33 i, 25	omits]שרא[	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁹²
Q521	MT Num 25:18	לכם	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹⁰⁸⁹ The clause in the MT reads: כַּאֲהַלִּים נָטַע יְהוָה, “like the aloes planted by Yahweh,” against the restored reading in 4QNum^b: כַּאֲהַלִּים נָטַח יְהוָה, “like the tents spread by Yahweh.” The SP and the LXX both reflect the reading in 4QNum^b. The verb נָטַח, “to spread out,” is possibly influenced by the occurrence of the same verb earlier in the verse, but the obvious difference between the sources is the reading of the noun אֲהַלִּים in the MT as “aloes,” against “tents” in 4QNum^b.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 237, for this interpretation of the form in 4QNum^b. Other possible readings are כַּעֲרָ / כַּאֲרָ, “indecent, ugly,” for which see M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targum, the Talmud Babli, the Talmud Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (London: Luzac & Co., 1903) 656. However, such a reading is conceivably in breach of Rule 1, in that the form in 4QNum^b ‘disrupts the logical flow of the passage.’ Additionally, the agreement between 4QNum^b and the SP in the next variant suggests that reading these texts as agreeing here is preferable. In this instance the SP agrees with the MT in reading כַּרְעָ, therefore an error involving the metathesis of the letters *kaph* and *ayin* is read.

¹⁰⁹¹ The variant amounts to an interchange of synonyms. The MT has כַּרְעָ כַּאֲרִי, “he croched, he lay like a lion,” against the reading in 4QNum^b, restored on the basis of the SP: כַּעֲרָ רַבֵּץ כַּאֲרִיָּה, “he crouched (sic), he lay down like a lion.”

¹⁰⁹² The additional phrase in 4QNum^b is in agreement with the LXX, and clarifies the beneficiary of Moses’ address. 4QNum^b is restored to read: וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה לֵאמֹר דַּבֵּר לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, “And Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying: ‘Speak to the sons of Israel.’”

	4QNum ^b XVIII 31-33 i 26	לכמה	pronunciation.
Q522	MT Num 26:10 4QNum ^b XIX 33 ii-40 8	omits הַסֵּן]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹⁰⁹³
Q523	MT Num 26:10 4QNum ^b XIX 33 ii-40 9	omits רת[	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁹⁴
Q524	MT Num 26:15 4QNum ^b XIX 33 ii-40 14	בני ובני	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q525	MT Num 26:33 4QNum ^b XIX 33 ii-40 31	omits אלה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁹⁵
Q526	MT Num 26:33 4QNum ^b 33 ii-40 31	שם שמות	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁹⁶
Q527	MT Num 26:62 4QNum ^b XX 41 29	להם להמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q528	MT Num 27:1 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 4	נעה נועה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q529	MT Num 27:1	והגלה	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the con-

¹⁰⁹³ 4QNum^b has a redundant repetition of the subject of the verb תבלע, namely הארץ, “the land.” The SP agrees with the reading in 4QNum^b.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The additional text in 4QNum^b is possibly harmonised with Num 16:35 (so) though this addition is not found in any other witness. 4QNum^b can be restored on this basis: חמשים ומאתים איש מקריבי הקטורת, “two hundred and fifty men *from the midst of the incense*.”

¹⁰⁹⁵ The demonstrative pronoun is lacking in the MT, cf. Num 26 *passim*.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The LXX agrees with the plural noun in 4QNum^b which, given that five names are referred to in the text following, appears to be the grammatically correct form. The singular noun in the MT is in agreement with the SP.

	4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 4	הגלה	junction.
Q530	MT Num 27:3 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 7	היו היה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹⁰⁹⁷
Q531	MT Num 27:18 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 23	ידך כה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q532	MT Num 27:21 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 27-28	וכל בני ישראל אִתּוֹ וְכָל הָעֵדָה [בני ישר] אִתּוֹ	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a different word order to the MT. ¹⁰⁹⁸
Q533	MT Num 27:22 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 29	omits בן נון	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹⁰⁹⁹
Q534	MT Num 27:23 4QNum ^b XXI 42-47 31	omits [ה אֵלָיו עִינִיכָה ...]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁰⁰
Q535	MT Num 28:14	ורביעת ההין לכבש יין	SV(4) – 4QNum ^b has a different

¹⁰⁹⁷ The clause in the MT is **לֹא הָיוּ לוֹ בָנִים** לוֹ, “and he had no sons,” against the restored reading in 4QNum^b: **לֹא הָיָה לוֹ בָנִים**. The plural noun **בָנִים**, “sons,” is treated a singular in 4QNum^b, in agreement with some manuscripts of the SP (so E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 245).

¹⁰⁹⁸ The remaining letters make it clear that the particle plus pronominal suffix **אִתּוֹ**, “with him,” is clause final in 4QNum^b against the reading in the MT. 4QNum^b is restored: **וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל הָעֵדָה אִתּוֹ**, “and all the sons of Israel, and the whole congregation with him.” The word sequence is slightly different to the MT: “and all the sons of Israel with him, and the whole congregation.”

¹⁰⁹⁹ The full name “Joshua ben Nun” is given in 4QNum^b, in line with the listing of this name in various other places in Numbers (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 245, for a list of occurrences). The other witnesses agree with the MT.

¹¹⁰⁰ The interpolation in 4QNum^b is harmonised with Deut 3:21-22, and is also reflected in the SP, against the MT and the LXX.

	4QNum ^b XXII 46 ii 23	ורביעת ההין יין יהיה לכבש	word order to the MT. ¹¹⁰¹
Q536	MT Num 29:11 4QNum ^b XXIII 48- 50 21	ומנחתה ומנחתם	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁰²
Q537	MT Num 29:28 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 8	omits [ליכמה]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has additional text not in the MT. ¹¹⁰³
Q538	MT Num 30:5 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 29	יקום [מ]ו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁰⁴
Q539	MT Num 30:8 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 31	ביום שמעו והחריש לה [והחריש לה]	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a different word order to the MT. ¹¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁰¹ The qualifying term יין, “wine,” describes the material that is offered in a drink offering. The noun itself is clause final in the MT, but in 4QNum^b the noun is moved to precede the predicate of the final clause, improving the syntax of the entire phrase. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 246, for the various formulations of this verse in the different witnesses, none of which appear to directly agree with each other.

¹¹⁰² The plural possessive pronominal suffix in 4QNum^b probably harmonises with the plural possessive pronominal suffix appended to the following form ונסציהם, “their drink offerings.” A difference in gender need not be read if the pronominal suffix in the MT is taken as an archaic form (see note above). The noun to which the pronominal suffix refers is not clear, but if it refers to the noun at the beginning of the verse, namely שער עזים, “a young male goat,” then a masculine pronominal suffix would be required. Also in favour of the plural reading in 4QNum^b see 11QT XVII 14; XXV 6 and 14.

¹¹⁰³ The description of the offering in Num 29:28 appears to be extended in 4QNum^b, though the damaged state of the text makes a certain reconstruction impossible. See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 249, for a suggested reconstruction and the variant readings in the other witnesses.

¹¹⁰⁴ The reading in 4QNum^b is uncertain, with only the lower part of the *mem* and *waw* preserved. The bottom horizontal ligature of a medial *nun* may also be visible between these letters, though this is very poorly preserved. The possibility of a plural verb underlying the form remains strong. E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 249-50, note that in several places “the textual witnesses preserve widespread confusion between sing. and pl. forms in this chapter.” The MT has the form with the pronominal suffix 3ms נג- in Num 30:14, so it may be that the form in 4QNum^b is harmonised with the form occurring there, giving us the form יקימנו. Without a certain reading the context would seem to require a plural verb, and so the reading of a plural has been adopted here, and the possibility of a pronominal suffix נג- left aside.

¹¹⁰⁵ The order of the phrases are reversed. 4QNum^b agrees with the word sequence in the LXX.

Q540	MT Num 30:9 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 32	omits כול	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁰⁶
Q541	MT Num 30:9 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 32	נדרה נדריה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁰⁷
Q542	MT Num 30:9 4QNum ^b XXIV 51- 54 32	omits ואסריה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁰⁸
Q543	MT Num 31:2 4QNum ^b XXV 55 i- 56 12	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q544	MT Num 31:3 4QNum ^b XXV 55 i- 56 13	העם [בני ישראל]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an explicating plus. ¹¹⁰⁹
Q545	MT Num 31:23 4QNum ^b XXVI 55 ii, 57-59 11	במים [י נדה]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹¹⁰
Q546	MT Num 31:30 4QNum ^b XXVI 55 ii, 57-59 18	מן החמרים ומן הצאן מן ה[אן] מן החמרים	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a different word order to the MT.
Q547	MT Num 31:30	ומן	SV(1) – 4QNum ^b lacks the con-

¹¹⁰⁶ The phrase כול נדריה, “all her vows,” in 4QNum^b harmonises with the same phrase in Num 30:5, 6, 12 and 15.

¹¹⁰⁷ The MT has a singular noun, נדרה, “her vow,” against the plural in 4QNum^b, the SP and the LXX.

¹¹⁰⁸ The phrase נדריה ואסריה, “her vows and obligations,” in 4QNum^b harmonises with the same or similar phrase used repeatedly in Num 30:5-8.

¹¹⁰⁹ The audience of Moses’ address is clarified in 4QNum^b as בני ישראל, “the sons of Israel,” perhaps in line with the reference to the same in the previous verse. This is against the more general description of the audience as העם, “the people,” in the MT, the SP and the LXX.

¹¹¹⁰ 4QNum^b replaces the absolute noun מים, “waters,” with the construct hdn ym, “waters of (purity from) menstruation.” This possibly harmonises with the same construction in Num 19:9, 13 and 20.

	4QNum ^b XXVI 55 ii, 57-59 18	מן	junction.
Q548	MT Num 31:48 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 3	omits כול	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹¹¹
Q549	MT Num 31:48 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 3-4	omits [המלחמה]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹¹²
Q550	MT Num 31:49 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 4	עבדיך עבדיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q551	MT Num 31:50 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 6	עגיל ועגיל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q552	MT Num 31:50 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 6	לכפר וכפ]	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical forms. ¹¹¹³
Q553	MT Num 31:52 4QNum ^b XXVII 60- 64 8	שבע ושבע	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q554	MT Num 32:23 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 4	חמאתכם ח[]מה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q555	MT Num 32:24 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 5	לצאנכם ה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q556	MT Num 32:24	מפיכם	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹¹¹¹ 4QNum^b specifies כול הפקדים, “all the officers.” The LXX also has the adjective παντες, “all.”

¹¹¹² The interpolation in 4QNum^b harmonises with Num 31:14.

¹¹¹³ A likely reading of the text is that the infinitive construct in the MT לכפר, “to atone,” is written as a *waw* consecutive plus perfect verb in 4QNum^b: (ו) וכפר(ו), “and it/they will atone.”

	4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 5	[פִּיכְמָה	pronunciation.
Q557	MT Num 32:25 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 6	בְּנֵי גֵד וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן [גֵּד וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן וּבְנֵי גֵד]	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a difference word order to the MT. ¹¹¹⁴
Q558	MT Num 32:25 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 6	omits [מֵהַמְּנֻשָּׁה]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expan- sive plus. ¹¹¹⁵
Q559	MT Num 32:25 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 6	עֲבָדֶיךָ [עֲבָדֶיךָ] כֹּה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q560	MT Num 32:26 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 7	מִקְנֵינוּ וּמִקְנֵינֵינוּ	SV(1) – The MT lacks the con- junction.
Q561	MT Num 32:27 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 7	וְעֲבָדֶיךָ וְעֲבָדֵיכֶם	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q562	MT Num 32:30 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 12	omits [נְשִׂיהָ]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has additional text not in the MT. ¹¹¹⁶
Q563	MT Num 32:39 4QNum ^b XXVIII 65-71 20	omits [וְ]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has a expansive plus. ¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹⁴ The sequence in 4QNum^b agrees with the SP and the LXX.

¹¹¹⁵ 4QNum^b has an interpolation that harmonises with Num 32:1 and 29, also found in the SP.

¹¹¹⁶ The additional text in 4QNum^b is lacking from the MT and the SP, but can be restored on the basis of the LXX: לְמַלְחָמָה לְפָנֵי יְהוָה וְהַעֲבִירוּ אֶת טַפָּם וְאֶת נְשִׂיהֶם וְאֶת מִקְנֵיהֶם לְפָנֵיכֶם אֶל אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן: “to make war before Yahweh, then you will cause to pass over their small children, and their wives, and their cattle before you to the land of Canaan.” See E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 257, for this reconstruction.

¹¹¹⁷ The phrase, restored בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף, “the sons of Joseph,” appears to be included in the list in 4QNum^b against the other witnesses.

Q564	MT Num 34:21 4QNum ^b XXX 75- 79 17	למטה למטי	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹¹⁸
Q565	MT Num 35:5 4QNum ^b XXX 75- 79 27	ים ימה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה. ¹¹¹⁹
Q566	MT Num 35:18 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 9	omits [יומת המ]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁰
Q567	MT Num 35:20 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 11	עליו בצדיה וימת [מ] [ת בצדיה	SV(3) – 4QNum ^b has a different word order to the MT. ¹¹²¹
Q568	MT Num 35:21 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 12	omits מות יומת הרוצה	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²²
Q569	MT Num 35:21 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 12	omits הוא	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²³
Q570	MT Num 35:23 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 14	בכל בכלי	SV(2) – Difference in expression. ¹¹²⁴

¹¹¹⁸ The plural construction in 4QNum^b refers to “the tribes of Benjamin,” against the singular “tribe of Benjamin” in the MT.

¹¹¹⁹ The LXX supports reading a locative with the accusative preposition *προς* indicating motion toward or general direction.

¹¹²⁰ 4QNum^b harmonises with Num 35:21 and can be restored on that basis: מות יומת המכה, “the one who strikes will certainly die.”

¹¹²¹ The position of the adverb in 4QNum^b follows Num 35:22, against the syntax of the MT, the SP and the LXX.

¹¹²² The repeated refrain in 4QNum^b is perhaps harmonised with Num 35:16-18. The MT agrees with the SP and the LXX.

¹¹²³ The independent pronoun has an emphatic sense in 4QNum^b: נאל הדם הוא, “he, the redeemer of blood.”

¹¹²⁴ The MT, the SP and the LXX are in agreement: בכל אבן: “with any stone,” against the phrase in 4QNum^b: אבן כלי, “with an instrument of stone.”

Q571	MT Num 35:27 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 27	אָהוּ omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁵
Q572	MT Num 36:1 4QNum ^b XXXI 80- 84 30	omits [עֶזֶר הַכֹּהֵן]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁶
Q573	MT Num 36:4 4QNum ^b XXXII 81 ii 15-16	omits אֶל עֶזֶר הַן [נֹנֵן וְאֵת כֵּן]	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁷
Q574	MT Num 36:6 4QNum ^b XXXII 81 ii 18	omits הֵן	SV(2) – 4QNum ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁸
Q575	MT Deut 24:2 4QDeut ^a 3	וַיֵּצֵאָה מִבֵּיתוֹ omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹¹²⁹
Q576	MT Deut 24:5 4QDeut ^a 8	לְכָל כֵּן	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^a lacks the preposition.
Q577	MT Deut 29:24 4QDeut ^b I 1	אֲשֶׁר omits	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^b lacks the relative particle.

¹¹²⁵ The object of the verb $\sqrt{\text{מצא}}$, “to find,” is clarified in the MT in agreement with the SP.

¹¹²⁶ 4QNum^b adds the priest Eleazar to the audience that hears the address of the tribe of Gilead and the family of Joseph. The reading agrees with the LXX.

¹¹²⁷ 4QNum^b has additional names added to the list, though damaged, which seem to include Eleazar the priest, Joshua ben Nun and Caleb ben Jephunneh. Cf. the additional name in Q572 above. On the exegetical significance of this addition see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 263.

¹¹²⁸ According to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. VII*, 263, 4QNum^b has the additional infinitive absolute הִיָּה, “being,” harmonising with the form in Num 30:7 which has the phrase הִיָּה תְהִינָה לְנָשִׁים, “if they shall certainly be for wives.”

¹¹²⁹ The MT has the expanded phrase concerning the divorced wife: וַיֵּצֵאָה מִבֵּיתוֹ וְהִלְכָה וְהִיתָה לְאִישׁ אֲחֵר׃, “and (if) she went out from his house and she went and she became (a wife) to another man,” in agreement with the SP 4QDeut^a omits the phrase וַיֵּצֵאָה מִבֵּיתוֹ, having only the second verb in agreement with the LXX and the Vulgate. The shorter text may represent the more original reading, but the evidence is inconclusive according to S.A. White, “Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts from Cave 4, Qumran,” *JBL* 112, 1 (1993) 27.

Q578	MT Deut 30:9 4QDeut ^b I 13	בהמתך ובפרי אדמתך [בהמתך	SV(3) – 4QDeut ^b has a different word order to the MT. ¹¹³⁰
Q579	MT Deut 30:10 4QDeut ^b I 14	הכתובה הכתובים	SV(1) – Difference in gender and number. ¹¹³¹
Q580	MT Deut 30:11 4QDeut ^b I 16	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹³²
Q581	MT Deut 30:11 4QDeut ^b I 16	omits ממך	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^b has an explicating plus. ¹¹³³
Q582	MT Deut 30:13 4QDeut ^b I 17	omits היא	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^b has an explicating plus. ¹¹³⁴
Q583	MT Deut 30:14	omits	SV(2) – The MT lacks the addi-

¹¹³⁰ The word order in 4QDeut^b is restored on the basis of the SP: בהמתך ובפרי אדמתך, “in the fruit of your land, and in the fruit of your cattle.” The LXX also supports the reading in 4QDeut^b: *και εν τοις γεννημασι της γης σου και εν τοις ακγνοις των κτηνων σου*, “in the fruits of your land, and in the offspring of your cattle.” See also Q615 below.

¹¹³¹ The participle is written as a feminine singular in the MT, in agreement with the SP, while the masculine plural is written in 4QDeut^b. The latter form agrees with that required by the context, where the participle הכבוהים, “those that are written,” refers to the plural nouns מצותיו וחקתיו, “his commandments and his statutes.” While the nouns to which the participle refers are feminine in form the use of the masculine plural in 4QDeut^b may be attributed to the ‘priority of the masculine’ (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 468, §146d, and the comments in note above). The *Vorlage* to the LXX appears to have had an additional term ומשפטיו, “and his judgements,” which may account for the masculine form in 4QDeut^b as suggested by J.A. Duncan, *A Critical Edition of Deuteronomy Manuscripts From Qumran Cave IV: 4QDt^b, 4QDt^e, 4QDt^h, 4QDtⁱ, 4QDt^k, 4QDt^l* (Harvard University Ph.D. Dissertation: 1989) 22. The preference for the masculine form to describe a series of nouns, only the last of which is masculine, is again reflective of the ‘priority of the masculine.’

¹¹³² The pronoun refers to המצוה, “the commandment,” a feminine singular noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

¹¹³³ The MT lacks the preposition plus 2ms pronominal suffix, which is possibly a harmonisation with the phrase immediately preceding: לא נפלאה היא (!) ממך, “it is not too extraordinary for you.” The additional prepositional phrase is also reflected in the LXX.

¹¹³⁴ The independent pronoun in 4QDeut^b specifies the subject. The SP also reflects the reading in 4QDeut^b.

	4QDeut ^b I 18	ובידך	tional text in 4QDeut ^b . ¹¹³⁵
Q584	MT Deut 31:11 4QDeut ^b II 10	תקרא תקראו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹³⁶
Q585	MT Deut 31:15 4QDeut ^b II 15	על omits	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^b lacks the preposition.
Q586	MT Deut 31:26 4QDeut ^b III 2	התורה הזוה התורה הזאת	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹³⁷
Q587	MT Deut 32:3 4QDeut ^b III 5	omits [ושפטיכם]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^b has an expansive plus. ¹¹³⁸
Q588	MT Deut 32:3 4QDeut ^b III 13	גדל גדולן]	Not Counted – The fragment is too damaged to allow a certain reading. ¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁵ 4QDeut^b has an additional prepositional phrase that is also reflected in the LXX, but is lacking from the other witnesses. According to J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 22, the variant is significant as “there is no parallel reading which would have prompted it, suggesting that it may in fact have been original.”

¹¹³⁶ The subject is grammatically plural **זקני ישראל**, “all the elders of Israel.” The pronominal object suffix in Deut 31:10 that describes the subject of the verb in verse 11 is also plural (**אֹתָם**). It should be noted that *Numeruswechsel* is particularly prevalent in this passage (cf. the singular and plural pronominal suffixes referring to the **בני ישראל** in Deut 31:3-6, esp. verse 6 which uses both grammatical forms in the same clause). 4QDeut^b may have harmonised the forms in this pericope to correct obvious grammatical inconsistencies. On *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy in general see note above.

¹¹³⁷ Cf. the comments in note above. The form of the demonstrative pronoun in 4QDeut^b is grammatically correct.

¹¹³⁸ 4QDeut^b clearly has **ושבטיכם**, though the *peh* is somewhat damaged. Based on the LXX the text can be restored: **הקהילו אלי את כל זקני שבטיכם וזקניכם ושפטיכם ושמריכם**, “gather together to me all the elders of your tribes and your elders and your judges and your officials.” The LXX includes the phrase *και τους πρεσβυτερους υμων και τους κριτας υμων*, which would support the reconstruction in 4QDeut^b that includes the form **וזקניכם**, however only the second term **ושפטיכם** (*και τους κριτας υμων*) is preserved.

¹¹³⁹ If *waw* is read between *dalet* and *lamed* the form in 4QDeut^b appears to be adjectival against the nominal form in the MT. Against this reading we note that the form is read without *waw* in J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 28, and although the most recent reading in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 13, contains the *waw*, the doubtful nature of the text is evident from this disagreement. J.A. Duncan does not note her correction in the later publication, only providing a comment that “the head of *waw* is just visible on the edge of the leather, as is the top of *lamed*” (E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 14. This seems

Q589	MT Deut 4:14 4QDeut ^c 2-3 i 3	omits [ירדן]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁴⁰
Q590	MT Deut 7:4 4QDeut ^c 4 2	omits אלהין]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁴¹
Q591	MT Deut 8:2 4QDeut ^c 5 3	לנסתך נסותך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^c lacks the preposition ל.
Q592	MT Deut 8:2 4QDeut ^c 5 3	לדעת ולדעת	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q593	MT Deut 8:4 4QDeut ^c 5 6	שמלתך שלמתך	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹¹⁴²
Q594	MT Deut 10:1 4QDeut ^c 9 2	כראשנים הראשון]	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^c lacks the preposition כ. ¹¹⁴³
Q595	MT Deut 10:2 4QDeut ^c 9 3	omits יהוה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁴⁴
Q596	MT Deut 11:10 4QDeut ^c 12-15 3	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁴⁵
Q597	MT Deut 12:19	אדמתך	SV(2) – The MT has an explicit-

incompatible with the earlier remark concerning the last letter before the break: “If it is *lamed*, then only the hook remains. It may be that the upper portion is not seen due to the surface damage in this spot.”

¹¹⁴⁰ The name of the river is supplied in 4QDeut^c against all other witnesses.

¹¹⁴¹ The phrase in 4QDeut^c is restored יהוה אלהיכם, “Yahweh your god,” against the other witnesses that have only the Tetragrammaton.

¹¹⁴² See also Q178 above, and the comments in note . The lexemes שלמה and שמלה (with *sin*) are synonymous, both meaning “cloak, mantle.” Scribal error through metathesis of the second and third radical is also possible, but in light of Rule 1 lexical interchange is preferred.

¹¹⁴³ In the Massoretic pointing the MT lacks the definite article, but this is not evident in the consonantal text.

¹¹⁴⁴ The placement of the Tetragrammaton is uncertain, but it is clearly not present in the MT. See the discussion in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 20, for the possible readings of this variant.

¹¹⁴⁵ The pronoun refers to הארץ, “the land,” a feminine singular noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

	4QDeut ^c 17-18 3	מה[	ing plus. ¹¹⁴⁶
Q598	MT Deut 13:5 4QDeut ^c 21 1	הלכו תלכו]	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹¹⁴⁷
Q599	MT Deut 13:7 4QDeut ^c 22-23 1	omits אבך]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁴⁸
Q600	MT Deut 13:7 4QDeut ^c 22-23 1	או בתך omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁴⁹
Q601	MT Deut 15:2 4QDeut ^c 26-27 4	את רעהו ואת אחיו omits	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹¹⁵⁰
Q602	MT Deut 16:8 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 4	ששת בעת]	HV – Difference in cardinal number. ¹¹⁵¹
Q603	MT Deut 16:8 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 4	תאכל מצות מצות תאכלו	SV(3) – 4QDeut ^c has a different word order to the MT. ¹¹⁵²
Q604	MT Deut 16:8 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 4	תאכל תאכלו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁵³
Q605	MT Deut 16:8	omits	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expan-

¹¹⁴⁶ The noun אדמה, “the earth,” is specified with a possessive pronoun as אדמתך, “your earth.”

¹¹⁴⁷ See Q14 above, where 1QDeut^a agrees with 4QDeut^c. See also the references in note above.

¹¹⁴⁸ The phrase in 4QDeut^c is restored on the basis of the SP and the LXX: או בן אבך, “or the son of your father.”

¹¹⁴⁹ The phrase is lacking in 4QDeut^c against the other witnesses. Given the repetition of forms in this verse one may reasonably suspect haplography through homoioteleuton.

¹¹⁵⁰ The objects of the verb נגש, “exact, require payment,” are specified in the MT.

¹¹⁵¹ All of the other witnesses have the phrase: ששת ימים תאכל מצות, “six days you shall eat unleavened bread.” 4QDeut^c seems to have read seven days for this activity during Passover, perhaps harmonised with the similar statement in Deut 16:3, שבעת ימים תאכל עליו מצות, “seven days you shall eat unleavened bread.” The specification in verse 8 that follows the variant וביום שביעי עזרת, “and on the seventh day, a celebration,” is not preserved in 4QDeut^c.

¹¹⁵² 4QDeut^c has a rearranged word order, restored: שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו, “seven days unleavened bread you shall eat,” against the arrangement in the MT: ששת ימים תאכל מצות, “six days you shall eat unleavened bread.” See also Q602 and Q604.

¹¹⁵³ On *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy see note above.

	4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 5	בו כל	sive plus. ¹¹⁵⁴
Q606	MT Deut 16:10 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 8	מסת ת[	Not Counted – The text is too damaged to allow a certain reading. ¹¹⁵⁵
Q607	MT Deut 16:11 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 10	ובנדך נדך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q608	MT Deut 16:11 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 10-11	והלוי אשר בשעריך והגר והיתום [לוי והגר היתום	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has a different phraseology to the MT. ¹¹⁵⁶
Q609	MT Deut 16:11 4QDeut ^c 32 i, 33 10	והאלמנה ואלמנה	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^c lacks the conjunction.
Q610	MT Deut 17:19 4QDeut ^c 36-41 8	בו בה	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁵⁷
Q611	MT Deut 26:19	לתהלה ולשם ולתפארת	SV(3) – 4QDeut ^c has a different

¹¹⁵⁴ The reading in 4QDeut^c is supported by the LXX. The phrase in 4QDeut^c reads: לא תעשו בו כל מלאכה, “you shall not do any work in it (the seventh day).”

¹¹⁵⁵ 4QDeut^c would appear to have מהרה, “gift,” in place of מסה, “sufficiency,” in the MT, but the scroll is too damaged to be sure. Only a portion of the left edge of the second letter is preserved which seems to rule out samek, but the reading *taw* is not certain (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 25).

¹¹⁵⁶ 4QDeut^c seems to have originally been written to agree with the phrasing as found in the MT, however it was subsequently changed to reflect a different phrasing that finds support in the *Vorlage* underlying Codex Vaticanus. The MT reads: והלוי אשר בשעריך והגר והיתום והאלמנה בקרבך, “and the Levite who is within your gates, and the stranger, and the orphan, and the widow who are in your midst.” This is against the reading in 4QDeut^c: והלוי והגר והיתום ואלמנה בקרבך, “the Levite and the stranger, the orphan and widow, who are in your midst.” The phrasing in the MT separates the Levite “who is within your gates” from the three other entities “who are in your midst.” In contrast with this the phrasing in 4QDeut^c forms binary pairs of “the Levite and the stranger” and “the orphan and widow,” all of whom are “within your midst.” The lack of conjunction between “the stranger” and “the orphan” emphasises this pairing.

¹¹⁵⁷ 4QDeut^c has the grammatically correct form. The pronominal suffix refers to המשנה התורה הזאת, “this second law.” The SP supports the reading in 4QDeut^c.

	4QDeut ^c 42 1	לְתִהְיֶה וְלִתְפִּי	word order to the MT. ¹¹⁵⁸
Q612	MT Deut 27:1 4QDeut ^c 42 3	omits הַזֹּאת	SV(2) – The MT lacks the definite article plus demonstrative pronoun.
Q613	MT Deut 27:26 4QDeut ^c 43-45 i 4	וְאָמַר וְאָמְרוּ	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁵⁹
Q614	MT Deut 28:1 4QDeut ^c 43-45 i 5	לְשָׁמֵר omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus or a different phraseology to 4QDeut ^c . ¹¹⁶⁰
Q615	MT Deut 28:11	וּבְפִרְיָ בְהַמְתִּךְ	Not Counted – The text is too

¹¹⁵⁸ The restored phrase in 4QDeut^c is: לְשֵׁם וְלִתְהַלָּלָה וְלִתְפָאָרָה, “for renown, and for praise, and for glory.” The phrase is found only here in the Pentateuch, and the order of the terms in the MT is not repeated elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. By contrast the order of the terms in 4QDeut^c is reflected in Jeremiah 13:11 and 33:9. The LXX supports the reading in 4QDeut^c: *ονομαστον και καυχημα και δοξαστον*, “renowned, and a boast, and glorious.”

¹¹⁵⁹ The verb refers to עַם, “the people.” On *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy see note , and on the grammatical number of the term עַם specifically see note .

¹¹⁶⁰ The variant in the MT may be read as containing an additional infinitive construct, or as a difference in phrasing. In general this particular syntactical use of the infinitive construct is a recognised rhetorical construction which has the sense of “namely by *x*,” where *x* is typically translated with the gerund. Regarding this see I. Soisalon-Soininen, “Der Infinitivus constructus mit לִּי im Hebräisch,” *VT* 22, 1 (1972) 87: “Der gerundive Infinitiv verursacht dem Übersetzer oft Schwierigkeiten. Die Benennung geht von einer modalen Bedeutung aus. Dieser Infinitiv kann sehr oft mit dem französischen „en faisant” oder mit dem englischen „doing” übersetzt werden, im Deutschen würde dann „etwas tuend” die entsprechende Übersetzung sein. Dafür wird aber lieber der Ausdruck „indem ... ” gebraucht.” [The gerundive infinitive often causes trouble. This infinitive can often be translated with the French „en faisant” or with the English „doing,” for which in German the appropriate translation would be „doing something.” For this, though, the expression „by ... ” is preferably used]. Instances of the double use of preposition לִּי plus infinitive construct are more limited but still recognised: “The object of an infinitive may itself be an infinitive governing an object with לִּי” (B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 610 n. 37). This syntactic construction occurs some 14 times in the Pentateuch, with nine instances occurring in Deuteronomy, totalling 50 instances in the entire MT. Here the phrase לְשָׁמֵר לַעֲשׂוֹת is translated “to observe by doing.” The identical construction occurs also in Deut 15:15; 28:1, 15; 32:46. No other occurrences are preserved in 4QDeut^c for comparison, but by way of conjecture it could be suggested that the second preposition plus infinitive construct is syntactically redundant and so for this reason may have been dropped by the scribe. The regular occurrence of this type of construction in the MT would seem to count against taking the reading in 4QDeut^c as original.

	4QDeut ^c 46-47 5	]בפרי א[	damaged to allow a certain reading. ¹¹⁶¹
Q616	MT Deut 28:22 4QDeut ^c 45 ii 2	ורדפוך ירדפוך	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹¹⁶²
Q617	MT Deut 29:19 4QDeut ^c 53 5	ורבצה ודבקה	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹¹⁶³
Q618	MT Deut 31:16 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 2	ועזבני ועזבוני	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁶⁴
Q619	MT Deut 31:16 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 2	והפר והפרו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁶⁵
Q620	MT Deut 31:17 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 3	ועזבתך ועזבתים	SV(1) – Difference in person. ¹¹⁶⁶
Q621	MT Deut 31:17 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 4	ואמר ואמרו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁶⁷
Q622	MT Deut 31:17	omits	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expan-

¹¹⁶¹ The remains of the first letter, possibly *aleph*, are visible in the scroll but are too damaged to give a certain reading. 4QDeut^c is restored in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 29, to agree with the word order in Codex Vaticanus: ובפרי אדמתך ובפרי בהמתך, “in the offspring of your loins, and in the fruits of your land, and in the offspring of your cattle.” The difference in word order in 4QDeut^c agrees with the similar passage in 4QDeut^b (which likewise varies from Deut 30:9, for which see Q578 above).

¹¹⁶² The *waw* consecutive plus perfect in the MT is written as an imperfect verb in 4QDeut^c. The distinction between *waw* and *yod* is clear in this script, with the verticle stroke of the *waw* extending almost twice as far as that of the *yod*.

¹¹⁶³ The MT has רבץ, “to lay upon,” against 4QDeut^c דבק, “to cleave to.” The phrase is equivalent in each text: וכל האלה הכתובה בספר הזה / ורבצה / ודבקה בו, “And every curse that is written in this scroll will lay upon / cleave to him.” Cf. the similar phrase with דבק plus preposition ב in Deut 28:60.

¹¹⁶⁴ The verb refers to העם, “the people.” See also note and .

¹¹⁶⁵ The verb refers to העם, “the people.” See the previous note.

¹¹⁶⁶ In the MT the verb refers to Moses, who is the addressee, while in 4QDeut^c the verb refers to the people. All of the other witnesses support the reading in the MT.

¹¹⁶⁷ See note and above.

	4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 5	יהוה	sive plus. ¹¹⁶⁸
Q623	MT Deut 31:18 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 6	omits]ממנ]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an explicating plus. ¹¹⁶⁹
Q624	MT Deut 31:19 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 7	ועתה ה[	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹¹⁷⁰
Q625	MT Deut 31:19 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 7	omits ר[	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an explicating plus. ¹¹⁷¹
Q626	MT Deut 31:19 4QDeut ^c 54-55 i 8	שימה שימזה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁷²
Q627	MT Deut 2:25 4QDeut ^d I 6	omits]א	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker. ¹¹⁷³
Q628	MT Deut 2:34 4QDeut ^d I 15	ההוא ההי]	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁷⁴
Q629	MT Deut 3:16 4QDeut ^d II 2	ועד עד	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^d lacks the conjunction.
Q630	MT Deut 3:19 4QDeut ^d II 6	ומפכם מפ]	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^d lacks the conjunction.

¹¹⁶⁸ 4QDeut^c includes the Tetragrammaton in the phrase *הלא על כי אין יהוה אלי בקרבי*, “Did (it) not come up because Yahweh my god is not in my midst?” The LXX supports this reading.

¹¹⁶⁹ The phrase in 4QDeut^c is restored: *ואנכי הסתר אסתיר פני ממנו*, “and I will certainly hide my face *from them*.” The MT lacks the preposition plus the 3mpl dative pronominal suffix *ממנו*, in agreement with all of the other witnesses.

¹¹⁷⁰ The form in 4QDeut^c is best read as a short form of the adverbial particle *עתה*, “now, henceforth” (see *HALOT*, 901), as reading the form as the noun *עה*, “time” does not fit the context.

¹¹⁷¹ The phrase in 4QDeut^c is restored on the basis of the LXX: *דברי השירה*, “*the words of the song*.”

¹¹⁷² The plural imperative agrees with the first imperative in the verse, *כבהו*, “write.” In the MT the first imperative verb in the verse is plural but the second and third imperative verbs are both singular. On this see the references in note above.

¹¹⁷³ The object marker is restored in 4QDeut^d on the basis of the SP. See S.A. White, “Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts,” 31.

¹¹⁷⁴ The pronoun refers to *העה*, “the time,” a feminine noun. The MT *gere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

Q631	MT Deut 3:22 4QDeut ^d II 11	תִּירְאוּם תִּירְאֵם	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁷⁵
Q632	MT Deut 3:23 4QDeut ^d II 12	הָהוּא וְיֵא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁷⁶
Q633	MT Deut 3:26 4QDeut ^d II 15	וַיִּתְעַבֵּר וַיִּתְעַבֵּד	Not Counted – Scribal error is assumed. ¹¹⁷⁷
Q634	MT Deut 3:27 4QDeut ^d II 17	omits עַל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition עַל.
Q635	MT Deut 3:27 4QDeut ^d II 17	יְמָה יָם	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^d lacks the locative הָ.
Q636	MT Deut 3:27 4QDeut ^d II 17	וַתִּימְנָה תִּימְנָה	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^d lacks the conjunction.
Q637	MT Deut 7:23 4QDeut ^e 2 ii, 3 i, 4 11	לְפָנֶיךָ בְיָדְךָ	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^e has a different phraseology to the MT. ¹¹⁷⁸

¹¹⁷⁵ The plural form of the verb is expected because the following pronoun, which also refers to the subject, is plural: אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, “your god.” Some manuscripts of MT as well as the SP agree with the reading in 4QDeut^d (see S.A. White, “Three Deuteronomy Manuscripts,” 34).

¹¹⁷⁶ The pronoun refers to הַעֵת, “the time,” a feminine noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

¹¹⁷⁷ The MT has the *Hithpa‘el* of אָבַר, “to show oneself to be angry, excited,” against the *Hithpa‘el* of עָבַר, which does not occur in the MT. Thus the sense of the text as it is in 4QDeut^d is difficult, so Rule 1 cannot be applied. E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 38, assumes a scribal error where *dalet* was written instead of *resh*, and this reading is adopted here.

¹¹⁷⁸ The phrase in 4QDeut^e is restored: וַנִּתְּנֵם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְיָדְךָ, “And Yahweh your god has delivered them into your hand,” against the MT: וַנִּתְּנֵם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְפָנֶיךָ, “And Yahweh your god has delivered them before you.” The different idioms seem to be equivalent, with the former occurring in the Pentateuch some six times (Exod 23:31; Deut 2:24, 30; 7:24; 20:13; 21:10) and the latter some eight times (Deut 1:21; 2:31; 7:2, 23; 23:15; 30:1, 15, 19). Notably the two forms of the idiom occur in the MT in close proximity here, in 7:23 and 24, so 4QDeut^e might be considered to be harmonising the two different expressions. The LXX could reflect a *Vorlage* like 4QDeut^e, where *εἰς τὰς χεῖρας* generally translates בְּיָד and *προσσωπον / ἐνωπιον* generally translates לְפָנַי, but there can be no certainty in this regard (see J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 46).

Q638	MT Deut 7:22 4QDeut ^f 2-3 1	האל האלה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹¹⁷⁹
Q639	MT Deut 7:24 4QDeut ^f 2-3 4	בפניך לן	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q640	MT Deut 8:7 4QDeut ^f 4-6 8	omits ורחבה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^f has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁸⁰
Q641	MT Deut 8:9 4QDeut ^f 4-6 10	omits ול	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q642	MT Deut 8:9 4QDeut ^f 4-6 11	ומהרריה ומהריה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹¹⁸¹
Q643	MT Deut 9:7 4QDeut ^f 7 3	עד ל	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q644	MT Deut 19:21 4QDeut ^f 13-16 4	ול ל	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^f lacks the conjunction.

¹¹⁷⁹ 4QDeut^f has the regular form of the demonstrative pronoun האל, which appears as the by-form אל in the MT some nine times (see HALOT, 50). The SP, which always has the longer spelling (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 109, §34b), supports the reading in 4QDeut^f. B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 307, suggest that the short form should be taken as an orthographic variant that is vocalised like the long form, but in light of Rule 1 the variant is counted as a possible difference in pronunciation.

¹¹⁸⁰ The phrase in 4QDeut^f is אל ארץ טובה ורחבה, “to a land good and broad.” The MT lacks the second adjective, whereas the SP and the LXX support the reading in 4QDeut^f, as does 4QDeut^f V 5 and 4QDeutⁿ I 3 (see Q694 and Q771 below). The same phrase appears in Exod 3:8 of the MT.

¹¹⁸¹ The spelling in 4QDeut^f is typical of Qumran orthography according to E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26-27. E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 531, suggests that reš had certainly taken on the characteristics of a guttural consonant in Qumran Hebrew, so the form in 4QDeut^f may be viewed as the later spelling. Against this E.Y. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 372, argues that the spelling of the absolute noun with the geminate consonant preserved, הררים, is the late form. The same view is expressed in E. Eshel, “4QDeutⁿ,” 136, where it is suggested the the late form in the MT is updated towards the more common (archaic) form in 4QDeut^f. It should be noted, though, that both spellings הרר and הר occur in personal names as early as the mid-second millennium B.C.E., for which see W.F. Albright, “The Names Shaddai and Abram,” *JBL* 54, 4 (1935) 191 n. 59. See also Q695 and Q772 below for the same reading in 4QDeut^f and 4QDeutⁿ, and Q847 for the same reading in 5QDeut.

Q645	MT Deut 20:1 4QDeut ^f 13-16 6	עם ועם	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q646	MT Deut 20:3 4QDeut ^f 13-16 8	שמע שמעה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹¹⁸²
Q647	MT Deut 21:4 4QDeut ^f 17-19 1	ההוא ההין	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁸³
Q648	MT Deut 21:7 4QDeut ^f 17-19 5	שפכה שפכו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁸⁴
Q649	MT Deut 21:9 4QDeut ^f 17-19 7	הדם הנקי דם הנקי	SV(2) – Difference in expression. ¹¹⁸⁵
Q650	MT Deut 22:15 4QDeut ^f 20-23 4	הנער הנערה	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹¹⁸⁶
Q651	MT Deut 26:18 4QDeut ^f 32-35 1	omits א	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q652	MT Deut 1:7 4QDeut ^h 1 6	ובנגב בנגב	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^h lacks the conjunction.

¹¹⁸² According to E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 46-47, two forms of the masculine imperative coexist in Qumran Hebrew, with and without the appended *heh*. See Q678, Q775 and Q812 for the same form at Deut 5:1. The long form of the imperative (with *paragogic* *heh*) is also known in Biblical Hebrew (see B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 568, 571), most commonly, amongst the books of the Pentateuch, in Genesis and Numbers.

¹¹⁸³ The pronoun refers to העיר, “the city,” a feminine noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

¹¹⁸⁴ The verb in 4QDeut^f agrees in form with the other verbs of the verse, which are all 3 cpl. The MT *qere* also has the correct form of the verb. On the possible reading of an archaic feminine plural verbal affirmative *h-*, known in Akkadian, see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 121-22 (§44*m*).

¹¹⁸⁵ The MT has a noun plus adjective הדם הנקי, “innocent blood,” against the construct chain in 4QDeut^f דם הנקי, “the blood of the innocent” (see also Deut 19:13 of the MT). All of the other witnesses agree with the MT.

¹¹⁸⁶ The MT *qere* has the correct form. On the gender of this term in the MT see J. Blau, *Topics in Hebrew and Semitic Linguistics* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998) 127.

Q653	MT Deut 1:33 4QDeut ^h 2-4 26	לראתכם להראות	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form or possible difference in pronunciation. ¹¹⁸⁷
Q654	MT Deut 1:33 4QDeut ^h 2-4 26	לראתכם להראות	SV(2) – The MT has an explicating plus. ¹¹⁸⁸
Q655	MT Deut 1:37 4QDeut ^h 2-4 29	שם שמה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה.
Q656	MT Deut 1:39 4QDeut ^h 2-4 30	ידעו ידע	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁸⁹
Q657	MT Deut 1:44 4QDeut ^h 5-6 5	חרמה החרמה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q658	MT Deut 2:3 4QDeut ^h 5-6 8	לכם לך	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁸⁷ The form in the MT could be *Qal*, though *Hiph'il* better suits the context. The *Hiph'il* is clearly written with affirmative *heh* in 4QDeut^h. On the elision of the affirmative *heh* on *Hiph'il* infinitives in the MT see the examples listed in W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 148, §53q.

¹¹⁸⁸ 4QDeut^h lacks the pronominal object suffix appended to the infinitive construct. The word stands at the extreme left margin of the column so it is impossible to ascertain if the pronoun was written with the preposition *l* marking the nota dative (see W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 381, §119s) preceding the direct object (*cf.* Deut 4:38; 5:5; 6:23).

¹¹⁸⁹ The MT reads: וּמַפְכֶם אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתֶּם לְבִנֵי יִהְיֶה וּבְנֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּ הַיּוֹם טוֹב וּרְעָה הֵמָּה יִבְאוּ שָׁמָּה, “And your toddler of whom you said, ‘he will be as plunder,’ and your sons who this day do not know good or evil, they will come therein.” Only the words לֹא יָדְעוּ הַיּוֹם טוֹב, “this day they do not know good” are preserved in 4QDeut^h, so it is possible to read an abbreviated text that is restored on the basis of LXX: וּמַפְכֶם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּ הַיּוֹם טוֹב וּרְעָה, “and your toddler who this day does not know good or evil.” Another alternative is to read the phrase in 4QDeut^h as a rearranged word order of that found in the MT, where the singular מַפְכֶם is paired with יָדְעוּ לֹא and the plural בְּנֵיכֶם is paired with יִהְיוּ לְבָנָיו. Seeing as the preserved text in 4QDeut^h does not clearly show a rearranged word order, the reading that assumes an abbreviated text is preferred in light of Rule 4.

¹¹⁹⁰ The MT switches from singular to plural address, whereas 4QDeut^h continues to use the singular. The audience for Yahweh’s speech here is ostensibly the people as is clear in the following verse, though 4QDeut^h appears to have Yahweh addressing Moses individually. The other witnesses agree with the MT. See note above for references to the literature on *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy.

Q659	MT Deut 31:9 4QDeut ^h 10 1	omits עלן	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^h has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁹¹
Q660	MT Deut 33:8 4QDeut ^h 11-15 1	omits הבו ללוי	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^h has an expansive plus. ¹¹⁹²
Q661	MT Deut 33:9 4QDeut ^h 11-15 2	ראיתיו ראיתך	SV(1) – Difference in person. ¹¹⁹³
Q662	MT Deut 33:9 4QDeut ^h 11-15 3	שמרו שמר	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁹⁴
Q663	MT Deut 33:9 4QDeut ^h 11-15 3	ובריתך בריתך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^h lacks the conjunction.

¹¹⁹¹ 4QDeut^h is restored on the basis of the LXX: ויכתב משה את התורה הזאת על ספר: “And Moses wrote this law upon a scroll.”

¹¹⁹² The phrase in the MT lacks a verb: תמיד ואוריך לאיש חסידך, “your Tumim and your Umim belong to your faithful man.” 4QDeut^h provides an imperative verb: הבו ללוי תמיד ואוריך לאיש חסידך, “give to Levi your Tumim, and your Umim to your faithful man,” which is supported by the reading in the LXX and in 4QTestimonia (4Q175) I 14. J.A. Duncan, “New Readings for the ‘Blessings of Moses’ from Qumran,” *JBL* 114, 2 (1995) 280, suggests that 4QDeut^h has the original reading with the LXX.

¹¹⁹³ The pronominal object suffix in 4QDeut^h refers to לאביו ולאמו, “to his father and to his mother,” here in the second person, while the MT refers to the same nouns in the third person. Among the witnesses the reading in 4QDeut^h is supported by the LXX, which has the second person accusative singular pronoun *σε*, while the SP lacks a pronominal object altogether. The parallel text in 4QTestimonia I 15-16 has no pronominal object in reference to אביו, but has a separate verb plus unusual pronominal object suffix in reference to אמו, written as ידעהיכהי, “I do not know you.” J.A. Duncan, “New Readings,” 280, assumes that confusion as to the grammatical function of the preposition ל led to the difference between our sources, where the tradition underlying 4QDeut^h and the LXX read the preposition as *nota dativi*, while that underlying the MT read the preposition as *specification*. In this sense the MT can be translated “Who says of his father and his mother I have not seen him” against 4QDeut^h “Who says to his father and his mother I have not seen you.” Both nouns are referred to with the masculine singular pronominal suffix, for which see note above on the ‘priority of the masculine.’

¹¹⁹⁴ The use of the singular throughout Deut 33 in 4QDeut^h is in contrast to the variation between singular and plural forms in the MT. Here the singular verb fits the context of verse 9, where the pronominal suffixes and other verb forms are generally in the singular. The LXX agrees with the reading in 4QDeut^h. J.A. Duncan notes that the “3pl is at variance with the poetic convention of the singular utilized throughout the blessings” (*Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 71, but see also n. 3 there).

Q664	MT Deut 33:10 4QDeut ^h 11-15 3	יורר יור	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁹⁵
Q665	MT Deut 33:10 4QDeut ^h 11-15 3	ישימו שם[	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹¹⁹⁶
Q666	MT Deut 33:11 4QDeut ^h 11-15 4	ופעל ופעלה	OV(I) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹¹⁹⁷
Q667	MT Deut 33:11 4QDeut ^h 11-15 4	מהנים]ני]	Not Counted – The reading in 4QDeut ^h is not certain. ¹¹⁹⁸
Q668	MT Deut 33:11 4QDeut ^h 11-15 4	מן בל	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹¹⁹⁹
Q669	MT Deut 33:12 4QDeut ^h 11-15 5	לבנימן ולבנימן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q670	MT Deut 33:12 4QDeut ^h 11-15 5	עליו אל	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁰⁰

¹¹⁹⁵ The form in 4QDeut^h is read as a defective writing for 3ms imperfect *Hiph'il* \sqrt{hry} , “to teach” (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 69, and W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A.E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar*, 218, §76f, for the apocopated form in the imperfect). J.A. Duncan, “New Readings,” 281-82, suggests that the apocopated form in 4QDeut^h should be read as jussive against the indicative in the MT (so P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 139, §47a-b: “The jussive tends to take a form shorter than that of the indicative ... In ה"ל verbs the shortening amounts to apocope”).

¹¹⁹⁶ See the references in the previous note regarding reading the short verbal forms in this section of 4QDeut^h as 3ms jussive against 3mpl indicative in the MT. The verbal forms in the blessings are consistently singular in 4QDeut^h.

¹¹⁹⁷ The form in 4QDeut^h is read as feminine singular construct of פעלה, “work,” in the phrase ידיו פעלה, “the work of his hands.” The possibility of reading the form as a defective feminine plural noun in 4QDeut^h is not taken up here, but see the comments in J.A. Duncan, “New Readings,” 283.

¹¹⁹⁸ The reading of a final *mem* in 4QDeut^h “slightly separated from the *yod* is not impossible” (E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 68).

¹¹⁹⁹ According to J.A. Duncan, “New Readings,” 283-84, one possible reading of this variant is that the privative use of the preposition מן was changed to the adverbial particle בל, “not” in 4QDeut^h. The reading in 4QDeut^h is also reflected in 4QTestimonia I 20.

¹²⁰⁰ The form in the MT is read as a corrupt form of the divine title עליו, following H.S. Nyberg, “Studien zum Religionskampf im Alten Testament,” *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 35 (1938). See also the references in J.A. Duncan, “New Readings,” 284 n. 40.

Q671	MT Deut 33:12 4QDeut ^h 11-15 5	חָפֵף מְחֹפֵף	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁰¹
Q672	MT Deut 33:13 4QDeut ^h 11-15 6	מִמְגֵד וּמִמְגֵד	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q673	MT Deut 33:15 4QDeut ^h 11-15 6	וּמִרְאֵשׁ מִמְגֵד[	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁰²
Q674	MT Deut 33:19 4QDeut ^h 11-15 9	הָרַר הָדָר	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^h has a different expression to the MT. ¹²⁰³
Q675	MT Deut 33:20 4QDeut ^h 11-15 11	וְאֵף וְאֵף	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q676	MT Deut 22:5 4QDeut ⁱ 3 i, 4 5 i 7	שְׁמַלְתָּ שְׁלֵמַתָּ	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁰⁴
Q678	MT Deut 5:1 4QDeut ^j I 1	שָׁמַעַ שָׁמַעַ [הַ]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation or grammatical form. ¹²⁰⁵
Q679	MT Deut 5:1 4QDeut ^j I 2	omits הַזֶּה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^j have an expansive plus. ¹²⁰⁶
Q680	MT Deut 5:22 4QDeut ^j III 1	וְהָעֵרְפֵל וְעֵרְפֵל	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^j lacks the definite article.

¹²⁰¹ 4QDeut^h appears to have the *Polel* participle מְחֹפֵף against the *Qal* participle, “shield,” in the MT, which is itself a *hapax legomenon*. According to J.A. Duncan, "New Readings," 285 n. 44, this substitution could be related to a tendency in Qumran Hebrew to infrequently substitute intensive stems for *Qal* stems.

¹²⁰² The form in 4QDeut^h may pre-empt the same form in the following colon (see J.A. Duncan, "New Readings," 285).

¹²⁰³ The phrase in the MT is difficult: עֲמִים הָרַר יִקְרְאוּ, “they shall call people to (the) mountain.” The phrase in 4QDeut^h is more readily understood syntactically and also has parallels elsewhere in the MT (see J.A. Duncan, "New Readings," 286 n. 49), restored: עֲמִים הָדָר יִקְרְאוּ, “people offered thanksgiving.”

¹²⁰⁴ See Q178 and Q593 above and the comments in note .

¹²⁰⁵ See Q775 and Q812 below for the same reading, and the comments in note above.

¹²⁰⁶ 4QDeut^j clarifies הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, “this day.”

Q681	MT Deut 5:24 4QDeut ^j III 4	הן הנה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q682	MT Deut 5:25 4QDeut ^j III 7	יספים [סיפים]	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁰⁷
Q683	MT Deut 5:27 4QDeut ^j III 10	omits אל יכן	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^j has an expansive plus. ¹²⁰⁸
Q684	MT Deut 5:27 4QDeut ^j III 10	אה אתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁰⁹
Q685	MT Deut 5:31 4QDeut ^j IV 4	והחקים הן [קים]	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^j lacks the conjunction.
Q686	MT Deut 5:33 4QDeut ^j IV 7	תלכו [ון]	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹²¹⁰
Q687	MT Deut 8:5 4QDeut ^j V 1	לבבך [כה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q688	MT Deut 8:5 4QDeut ^j V 2	omits כן	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^j has an expansive plus. ¹²¹¹
Q689	MT Deut 8:5	אלהיך	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹²⁰⁷ The lexeme in MT is a *Qal* participle of יסף, “to continue, add.” The form in 4QDeut^j is reconstructed on the basis of the supralinear *yod*, and the parallel form in 4QPhyl^{b, h, j} (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 83, and J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 98 n. 2), as a *Hiph’il* masculine plural participle מוסיפים, “do again, yet more.” On the phenomenon of *Qal* forms that appear as intensive or causative forms in Qumran Hebrew see the references in note above. The interchange of a basis stem for an intensive or causative stem is treated here and elsewhere as an interchange of lexemes.

¹²⁰⁸ 4QDeut^j includes a preposition plus dative pronominal suffix clarifying the secondary object in the phrase בל אשר יאמר יהוה אלהינו אליכה, “everything that Yahweh our god said to you.” A similar phrase, with the verb דבר replacing יאמר, appears in the second part of the verse in the MT. The reading in 4QDeut^j is supported by Codex Alexandrinus.

¹²⁰⁹ 4QDeut^j has a regular form of the 2ms independent pronoun, also in the SP, against the apocopated form in the MT. The short form appears three times in the MT: Num 11:15, Deut 5:27 and Ezek 28:14.

¹²¹⁰ On the form with and without paragogic nun see note above.

¹²¹¹ 4QDeut^j has an adverbial particle appended to the phrase, restored: בן יהוה אלהיכה מירסך, “thus Yahweh your god disciplines you.”

	4QDeut ^f V 2	[היכה	pronunciation.
Q690	MT Deut 8:6 4QDeut ^f V 2	ושמרת ושמרתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q691	MT Deut 8:6 4QDeut ^f V 3	אלהיך [היכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q692	MT Deut 8:6 4QDeut ^f V 3	בדרכיו [כול דרכיו	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^f has an expansive plus. ¹²¹²
Q693	MT Deut 8:7 4QDeut ^f V 4	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q694	MT Deut 8:7 4QDeut ^f V 5	omits ורן]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^f has an expansive plus. ¹²¹³
Q695	MT Deut 8:9 4QDeut ^f V 9	ומהרריה ומהרריה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²¹⁴
Q696	MT Deut 8:10 4QDeut ^f V 10	ושבעת ושבעתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q697	MT Deut 8:10 4QDeut ^f V 10	וברכת ון] [רכתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q698	MT Deut 11:6 4QDeut ^f VIII 2	בקרב מקרב	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.

¹²¹² 4QDeut^f has an additional construct noun that is lacking in the MT and the other witnesses, excepting the Lucianic text. The phrase is restored בכול דרכיו, “in *all of* his ways.”

¹²¹³ See also Q640 above, where the same adjective appears in 4QDeut^f, and the references in note . See also Q771 below for the same variant in 4QDeut^f.

¹²¹⁴ See Q642 above for the same spelling in 4QDeut^f, and the reference in note .

Q699	MT Deut 11:7 4QDeut ^j VIII 3	הגדל הגדולים	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²¹⁵
Q700	MT Deut 11:8 4QDeut ^j VIII 4	omits [והמשפטים]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^j has an expansive plus. ¹²¹⁶
Q701	MT Deut 11:11 4QDeut ^j VIII 10	אתם מה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q702	MT Exod 12:46 4QDeut ^j X 1	חוצה לחוצן	SV(1) – Interchange of preposition ל and postposition locative ה.
Q703	MT Exod 12:48 4QDeut ^j X 2	אתך אתכמה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²¹⁷
Q704	MT Exod 13:4 4QDeut ^j X 11	אתם [אה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q705	MT Exod 13:5 4QDeut ^j X 12	ארץ [ה]	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q706	MT Exod 13:5 4QDeut ^j X 12-13	omits [רשי]	SV(2) – Difference in listed items. ¹²¹⁸
Q707	MT Exod 13:5	אשר	SV(1) – The MT lacks the prepo-

¹²¹⁵ 4QDeut^j is supported by the reading in 4QDeut^{k1}, which has defective הגדלים (see Q712 below). The verse in 4QDeut^j is restored: *כי עיניכם הראת את כל מעשה יהוה הגדולים אשר עשה*: “Because your eyes see all of Yahweh’s great works that he did,” where the noun *מעשה*, “work,” is taken as the plural construct *מעשי*, “works.” E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20 n. 9, notes the infrequent occurrence of the phonetic spelling *עושה* for plural *עושי*, and the same phonetic reading may underly the forms in 4QDeut^j and 4QDeut^{k1}. See further E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 87.

¹²¹⁶ 4QDeut^j is supported by the reading in 4QDeut^{k1} (see Q713 below). The phrase is reconstructed on the basis of the parallel in 4QDeut^{k1} 2 4: *כל המצוה החוקים והמשפטים*: “every commandment, the statutes and the judgements.” According to E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 87, the expansion in 4QDeut^j and 4QDeut^{k1} “is influenced by parallel passages such as Deut 5:31; 6:1; 7:11.”

¹²¹⁷ The pronominal suffix refers to Moses and Aaron, so the plural form in 4QDeut^j is expected. This reading is supported by the other witnesses, and also by some manuscripts of the MT (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 90).

¹²¹⁸ The list of nations in 4QDeut^j includes the Girgashites against the other other witnesses. See the comments in note above.

	4QDeut ^l X 13	כאש]	sition כ.
Q708	MT Exod 13:5 4QDeut ^l X 13	לאבתוך [תיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q709	MT Exod 13:5 4QDeut ^l X 14	ועבדת [עבדתה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q710	MT Deut 32:8 4QDeut ^l XII 14	בני ישראל בני אלהים	HV – Difference in indirect object. ¹²¹⁹
Q711	MT Deut 5:29 4QDeut ^{k1} 1 2	את כל omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²²⁰
Q712	MT Deut 5:31 4QDeut ^{k1} 1 4	אלך אל יכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q713	MT Deut 11:7 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 3	הגדל הגדולים	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²²¹
Q714	MT Deut 11:8 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 4	omits [החוק] [והמש]	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^{k1} has an expansive plus. ¹²²²

¹²¹⁹ The phrase in the MT reads: יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני ישראל, “he set up the borders of the peoples according to the number of the sons of Israel.” The reading in 4QDeut^l is supported by the LXX and is restored on that basis: יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני אלהים, “he set up the borders of the peoples according to the number of the sons of god” (the LXX has *αγγελων θεου*, “angels of god”). See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001²) 269, for a brief discussion of the issues surrounding the possible hermeneutic backgrounds to this variant, presented as an anti-polytheistic or theological correction. See also note 46 there for references to the relevant scholarly literature, and more recently see I. Himbaza, “Dt 32, 8, une correction tardive des scribes. Essai d’interprétation et de datation,” *Biblica* 83 (2002). For the suggestion that the original reading should be בני שר אל, “sons of Bull El,” based on a common cognate phrase in Ugaritic, see J. Joosten, “A Note on the Text of Deuteronomy xxxii 8,” *VT* 57, 4 (2007) 551-52. See also A.v.d. Kooij, “Ancient Emendations in MT,” *L’ Ecrit et l’ Esprit. Etudes d’histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (eds D. Böhler, I. Himbaza, and Ph. Hugo; OBO 214; Göttingen: Fribourg Academic Press, 2005).

¹²²⁰ The phrase in the MT reads: לשמר את כל מצותי, “to keep *all of* my commandments.” The SP has the object marker but lacks the construct noun כל.

¹²²¹ See Q699 above, and the comments in note .

¹²²² See Q700 above, and the comments in note .

Q715	MT Deut 11:8 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 5	omits ורביתם	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^{k1} has an expansive plus. ¹²²³
Q716	MT Deut 11:8 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 5	וירשתם וירשתמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q717	MT Deut 11:8 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 6	omits את הירדן	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^{k1} has an expansive plus. ¹²²⁴
Q718	MT Deut 11:9 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 6	תאריכו תאריכון	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹²²⁵
Q719	MT Deut 11:10 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 8	אתה אתמה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²²⁶
Q720	MT Deut 11:10 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 8	בא באים	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²²⁷
Q721	MT Deut 11:10 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 9	הוא היא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹²²⁸
Q722	MT Deut 11:10 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 10	והשקית והשקיתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q723	MT Deut 11:10	ברגלך	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹²²³ The phrase in 4QDeut^{k1} echoes Deut 8:1, תחיון רביתם, “you will live *and be increased*.” The reading in 4QDeut^{k1} is supported by the LXX, *να ζητε και πολλαπλασιασθητε*, “that you may live and be multiplied.”

¹²²⁴ The phrase in 4QDeut^{k1} is restored: אשר עוברים את הירדן שמה לרשתה, “(the land) which you cross over *the Jordan* towards (in order) to possess it.” The MT lacks the direct object of the verb ערב, “to cross over,” namely the Jordan river, but the LXX supports the reading in 4QDeut^{k1}. According to J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 144, the plus in 4QDeut^{k1} is an expansion influenced by parallel passages in Deut 30:18 and 31:13.

¹²²⁵ See note above on verbal forms with paragogic *nun* in Qumran Hebrew.

¹²²⁶ The plural pronoun and the following participle (see the following variant) maintain the plural subject indicated by the pronominal suffix in Deut 11:9, אבותיכם, “your fathers.” The present pericope in the MT contains numerous instances of *Numeruswechsel*, for which see note above, that appear regularly as plural forms in 4QDeut^{k1}.

¹²²⁷ The subject in this section is treated consistently as plural in 4QDeut^{k1}. See note above.

¹²²⁸ The pronoun refers to הארץ, “the land,” a feminine noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

	4QDeut ^{k1} 2 10	ברגליכה	pronunciation.
Q724	MT Deut 11:12 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 12	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q725	MT Deut 11:12 4QDeut ^{k1} 2 13	השנה שנה	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^{k1} lacks the conjunction.
Q726	MT Deut 19:9 4QDeut ^{k2} 1 3	מצוד כמה[	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²²⁹
Q727	MT Deut 19:10 4QDeut ^{k2} 1 5	עליך עליכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q728	MT Deut 19:11 4QDeut ^{k2} 1 6	omits מן	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition מן.
Q729	MT Deut 19:11 4QDeut ^{k2} 1 6	האל האלה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²³⁰
Q730	MT Deut 19:14 4QDeut ^{k2} 1 8	בנחלתך בנחלתכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q731	MT Deut 20:8 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 3	השמרים השופטים	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^{k2} has a clarifying plus. ¹²³¹
Q732	MT Deut 20:11 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 6	תענדך תענכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q733	MT Deut 20:11 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 6	לך לכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.

¹²²⁹ Both *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* read the plural pronominal suffix consistently in this verse. In the MT there is no confusion over grammatical number, which is treated consistently as singular throughout the passage. The SP and the LXX support the reading in the MT.

¹²³⁰ See Q638 above, and the comments in note .

¹²³¹ The form in 4QDeut^{k2} either replaces the term השמרים, “the officials,” in the MT, or is an additional term, although the lack of conjunction preceding the term would seem to argue against the latter. The two terms are not synonymous, as can be seen from Jos 8:33, 1 Chron 23:4 and 1 Chron 26:29, but the fact that the terms occur in close proximity in these passages may have prompted the addition of the second term in 4QDeut^{k2}.

Q734	MT Deut 20:13 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 8	והכית והכיתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q735	MT Deut 20:16 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 11	לך ה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q736	MT Deut 20:17 4QDeut ^{k2} 2-3 12	החוי והח[	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q737	MT Deut 23:24 4QDeut ^{k2} 4 3	בפיך ה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q738	MT Deut 23:25 4QDeut ^{k2} 4 4	כליך כליכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q739	MT Deut 24:3 4QDeut ^{k2} 4 8	omits ללו לאשה[	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^{k2} has an expansive plus. ¹²³²
Q740	MT Deut 26:1 4QDeut ^{k2} 5 2	אלהיך כה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q741	MT Deut 26:2 4QDeut ^{k2} 5 4	והלכת והלכתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q742	MT Deut 26:2 4QDeut ^{k2} 5 5	שם מה[	SV(1) – The MT lacks the locative ה. ¹²³³
Q743	MT Deut 26:3 4QDeut ^{k2} 5 6	ליהוה לפני יהוה	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.

¹²³² The phrase in 4QDeut^{k2} is harmonised with the same phrase in the following clause (so E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 103). All of the other witnesses support the reading in the MT.

¹²³³ The phrase in 4QDeut^{k2} is restored: אל המקום אשר יבחר יהוה אלהיך לשכן שמו שמה: literally “to the place that Yahweh your god will choose to put his name there.” The locative marker in 4QDeut^{k2} is difficult, and one should note that the force of the locative is largely lost in Qumran Hebrew (see the reference in note above). The phrase without the locative marker occurs commonly in the MT, but Deut 12:11 is the only close parallel to the phrase with locative, and even here the syntax is significantly different. In E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 100, the form in 4QDeut^{k2} is noted as an orthographic variant, but the reasons for this are unclear.

Q744	MT Deut 26:4 4QDeut ^{k2} 5 7	omits אָה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q745	MT Deut 26:18 4QDeut ^{k2} 6-7 1	לָךְ הַ	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q746	MT Deut 31:12 4QDeut ^l 6-7 1	אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הֵם	SV(1) – Difference in person. ¹²³⁴
Q747	MT Deut 34:6 4QDeut ^l 10 3	וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ קִבְּרוּ	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^l lacks the object marker. ¹²³⁵
Q748	MT Deut 3:19 4QDeut ^m 1-3 2	נְשִׁיכֶם נְשִׁיכֶמָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q749	MT Deut 3:19 4QDeut ^m 1-3 2	וּמַפְכֶם וּמַפְכֵי	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q750	MT Deut 3:19 4QDeut ^m 1-3 2 ^{sup}	וּמִקְנֵיכֶם וּמִקְנֵיכֶמָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q751	MT Deut 3:19 4QDeut ^m 1-3 3	לָכֶם לְכַנְיָה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q752	MT Deut 3:20	omits	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^m has an expan-

¹²³⁴ The reading in 4QDeut^l is restored אֱלֹהֵיהֶם on the basis of the SP, and is supported by some manuscripts of the MT and the LXX (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 111). In all probability nothing remains of the letter preceding the final *mem*, although it may be argued that some very minimal trace of the left stroke of *heh* may be preserved. If the form in 4QDeut^l was read in agreement with the MT one would expect to see traces of the lower stroke of *kaph* abutting the final *mem*. The phrase in 4QDeut^l is restored: אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הַקָּהָל אֶת הָעָם ... לְמַעַן יִלְמְדוּ וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת יְהוָה: “gather the people ... so that they may learn and fear Yahweh their god,” against the reading in the MT with the second person pronominal suffix, “gather the people ... so that they may learn and fear Yahweh your god.”

¹²³⁵ The pronominal object suffix is attached to the verb directly in 4QDeut^l, against the reading in the MT and the SP which appends the pronominal object to the object marker. The LXX has *καὶ ἐθαψαν αὐτον*, “And they buried him,” which would support reading the form in 4QDeut^l as a plural verb, presumably with the pronominal object suffix appended to the object marker in the lacuna (so J.A. Duncan, *Deuteronomy Manuscripts*, 168). Such a reading finds support in some manuscripts of the SP and in *Tg. Neof.* (the latter has וַיִּקְבְּרוּ יְהוָה), but the reading that is closest to the MT is preferred in light of Rule 4.

	4QDeut ^m 1-3 3 ^{sup}	אלהיכמה	sive plus. ¹²³⁶
Q753	MT Deut 3:20 4QDeut ^m 1-3 3	לאחיכם לאחיכמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q754	MT Deut 3:20 4QDeut ^m 1-3 3	ככם ככמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q755	MT Deut 3:20 4QDeut ^m 1-3 4	הם מה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q756	MT Deut 3:20 4QDeut ^m 1-3 4	אלהיכם אלוהיכמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q757	MT Deut 3:20 4QDeut ^m 1-3 4	להם להמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q758	MT Deut 3:21 4QDeut ^m 1-3 5	ההוא ההיא	SV(1) – Difference in gender. ¹²³⁷
Q759	MT Deut 3:21 4QDeut ^m 1-3 7	שמה ם[	SV(1) – 4QDeut ^m lacks the locative ה. ¹²³⁸
Q760	MT Deut 3:22 4QDeut ^m 1-3 7	לא ולוא	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q761	MT Deut 4:32 4QDeut ^m 4 1	לפניך כה[	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q762	MT Deut 4:33	שמעת	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²³⁹

¹²³⁶ 4QDeut^m has the supralinear addition of the noun plus possessive pronominal suffix, אלהיכמה, “your god,” after the Tetragrammaton. This reading is supported by the LXX, against the other witnesses including 4QDeut^d II 7. The same phrase, יהוה אלהיכם, “Yahweh your god,” appears in the following clause in the MT.

¹²³⁷ The pronoun refers to עת, “time,” read here as a feminine noun. The MT *qere* has the correct form of the pronoun.

¹²³⁸ The omission of the locative *heh* is not unusual in 4QDeut^m if, as suggested above, the affix had lost its syntactic function as a directional marker in Qumran Hebrew. See the reference in note above.

¹²³⁹ The verb refers to עם, “people.” On the treatment of this noun as singular or plural in the sources see note above. All of the other witnesses support the reading in the MT.

	4QDeut ^m 4 3	שמעתמה	
Q763	MT Deut 7:18 4QDeut ^m 5 1	אלהיך יכה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q764	MT Deut 7:19 4QDeut ^m 5 3	אלהיך אלוהיכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q765	MT Deut 7:20 4QDeut ^m 5 4	בם במה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q766	MT Deut 7:21 4QDeut ^m 5 5	בקרבך בקרבכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q767	MT Deut 7:22 4QDeut ^m 5 6	כלתם לכלותמה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ל.
Q768	MT Deut 7:22 4QDeut ^m 5 6	כלתם לכלותמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q769	MT Deut 8:6 4QDeut ⁿ I 1	ושמרת ושמרתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q770	MT Deut 8:6 4QDeut ⁿ I 3	וליראה ולאהבה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has a different phraseology to the MT. ¹²⁴⁰
Q771	MT Deut 8:7 4QDeut ⁿ I 3	omits ורחבה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has an expansive plus. ¹²⁴¹
Q772	MT Deut 8:9	ומהרריה	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹²⁴⁰ The phrase in the MT reads: ללכת בדרכיו וליראה אתו, “to walk in his ways, and to fear him,” against the phrase in 4QDeutⁿ: ללכת בדרכיו ולאבה אותו, “to walk in his ways, and to love him.” All of the other witnesses support the reading in the MT, against 4QDeutⁿ which reflects the language of Deut 11:13, 22; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20, for which see S.A. White, “4QDtⁿ: Biblical Manuscript or Excerpted Text?,” *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins* (eds H.W. Attridge, J.J. Collins, and T.H. Tobin; Maryland: University Press of America, 1990) 18, and E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 122.

¹²⁴¹ See Q640 and Q694 above for the same reading in 4QDeut^f and 4QDeut^l. See also the references in note above.

	4QDeut ⁿ I 7	ומהריה	pronunciation. ¹²⁴²
Q773	MT Deut 8:10 4QDeut ⁿ I 7	ושבעת ושבעתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q774	MT Deut 8:10 4QDeut ⁿ I 8	וברכת וברכתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q775	MT Deut 5:1 4QDeut ⁿ II 2	שמע שמעה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation or grammatical form. ¹²⁴³
Q776	MT Deut 5:3 4QDeut ⁿ II 7	omits היום	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has an expansive plus. ¹²⁴⁴
Q777	MT Deut 5:4 4QDeut ⁿ II 9	אנכי ואנוכי	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q778	MT Deut 5:5 4QDeut ⁿ II 10	דבר יהוה דברי יהוה	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁴⁵
Q779	MT Deut 5:5 4QDeut ⁿ II 11	omits אלוהיכם	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has an expansive plus. ¹²⁴⁶
Q780	MT Deut 5:8 4QDeut ⁿ III 2	כל וכול	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q781	MT Deut 5:10 4QDeut ⁿ III 6	ועל על	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.

¹²⁴² See Q642 and Q695 above for the same reading in 4QDeut^f and 4QDeut^l, and the references in note .

¹²⁴³ See Q678 and Q812 for the same reading in 4QDeut^l and 4QDeut^o, and the references in note above.

¹²⁴⁴ The phrase in 4QDeutⁿ reads: Mwy plus the article: מוּי פה היום כולנו חיים היום, “those of us here today, all of us alive *today*.” The MT lacks the second instance of the noun יום while the LXX lacks the first instance of the noun.

¹²⁴⁵ The phrase in 4QDeutⁿ reads: דברי יהוה אלוהיכם, “the words of Yahweh your god.” All of the other witnesses, excepting the Peshitta, agree with the reading in the MT: דבר יהוה, “the word of Yahweh.” Notably, Exod 24, in which the events to which Deut 5:5 refers are narrated, uses the phrase with the plural *nomens regens*: דברי יהוה, “the words of Yahweh” (see Exod 24:3-4).

¹²⁴⁶ 4QDeutⁿ is possibly influenced by the phrase יהוה אלוהיכם which occurs at the end of the pericope in the MT (see Deut 5:32-33).

Q782	MT Deut 5:10 4QDeut ⁿ III 7	מצותו מצוותי	Not Counted – The distinction between the graphemes is not certain. ¹²⁴⁷
Q783	MT Deut 5:13 4QDeut ⁿ III 10	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q784	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ III 11	ויום וביום	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ב.
Q785	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ III 11	omits בו	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has an expansive plus. ¹²⁴⁸
Q786	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ III 12	ובתך בתך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q787	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ III 12	ועדבך עבדך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q788	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ III 12	ושורך שורך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q789	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ IV 1	כל omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁴⁹
Q790	MT Deut 5:14 4QDeut ⁿ IV 1	וגרך גריך	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q791	MT Deut 5:15	וזכרת	OV(1) – Possible difference in

¹²⁴⁷ Although the text is transliterated in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 124, as מצותהי, the note to the text there states that “waw and yod are indistinguishable in this script, therefore the 4QDeutⁿ reading is materially uncertain.”

¹²⁴⁸ The phrase in 4QDeutⁿ reads: לא תעשה בו כל מלאכה, “you shall not do any work on it (the Sabbath day).”

¹²⁴⁹ The list of those forbidden to do work on the Sabbath in Deut 5:14 is somewhat apocopated in 4QDeutⁿ, both in terms of the use of the conjunction waw (see Q786, Q787 and Q788 above) and in the omission of the construct noun כל. For a discussion of the various forms of this list on Exodus and Deuteronomy throughout the sources see S.A. White, “The All Souls Deuteronomy and the Decalogue,” *JBL* 109, 2 (1990) 198-99.

	4QDeut ⁿ IV 2	וזכרתה	pronunciation.
Q792	MT Deut 5:15 4QDeut ⁿ IV 4	לעשות לשמור	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has a different phraseology to the MT. ¹²⁵⁰
Q793	MT Deut 5:15 4QDeut ⁿ IV 5-7	omits כי ששת ימים ... לקדשו	SV(2) – 4QDeut ⁿ has an expansive plus. ¹²⁵¹
Q794	MT Deut 5:18 4QDeut ⁿ IV 9	ולא לוא	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q795	MT Deut 5:19 4QDeut ⁿ IV 10	ולא לוא	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q796	MT Deut 5:20 4QDeut ⁿ IV 10	ולא לוא	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q797	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 10	ולא לוא	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q798	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 11	ולא לוא	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.

¹²⁵⁰ See the comments in note above concerning the phrase with both $\sqrt{\text{עשה}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{שמר}}$ in the infinitive construct. In Deuteronomy the two terms are generally used in combination when referring to the proper observation of מצוה, “commandments” (see Deut 13:19; 15:5; 24:8; 28:1, 15). The interchange of these terms in the present context, being in reference to the proper observation of the מצוה of Sabbath, may have been influenced by the use of both terms in related contexts. According to S.A. White, “All Souls Deuteronomy,” 200, the use of $\sqrt{\text{שמר}}$ in 4QDeutⁿ is “reminiscent of the first word of 5:12.”

¹²⁵¹ 4QDeutⁿ has additional text that is harmonised with the end of the fourth commandment in Exod 20:11, with minor differences. It is possible that 4QDeutⁿ contains the more original reading, but this view does give rise to problems concerning the mechanics of such haplography. Instead, the addition in 4QDeutⁿ is considered as a ‘reminiscence,’ or unintentional harmonisation, with Exod 20:11, for which view see the discussion in S.A. White, “All Souls Deuteronomy,” 200-201. See also the comments in E. Eshel, “4QDeutⁿ,” 146, regarding the placement of this plus in Codex Vaticanus and its relationship to the plus in 4QDeutⁿ.

Q799	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 11	תהאווה תחמוד	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁵²
Q800	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 11	ועבדו עבדו	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q801	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 11	ואמתו אמתו	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q802	MT Deut 5:21 4QDeut ⁿ IV 12	והמררו חמוררו	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the conjunction.
Q803	MT Deut 5:22 4QDeut ⁿ V 2	omits חושך	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^c has an expansive plus. ¹²⁵³
Q804	MT Deut 5:22 4QDeut ⁿ V 2	הענן ענן	SV(1) – 4Qdeunt lacks the definite article.
Q805	MT Deut 5:22 4QDeut ⁿ V 2	והערפל וערפל	SV(1) – 4QDeut ⁿ lacks the definite article.
Q806	MT Deut 5:24 4QDeut ⁿ V 6	היום ביום	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ב.
Q807	MT Deut 5:24 4QDeut ⁿ V 6	אלהים יהוה	SV(1) – Interchange of divine titles.

¹²⁵² The consistent use of the verb חמד/√, “desire passionately,” in 4QDeutⁿ contrasts with the use of חמד/√ followed by אודה/√, “crave, long for,” in the MT. The tenth commandment in Exodus 20:17 uses חמד/√ throughout, and it may be that 4QDeutⁿ is harmonised with that text (see E. Eshel, “4QDeutⁿ,” 143). S.A. White, “All Souls Deuteronomy,” 203-5, suggests that the difficult verb תהאווה in the MT was replaced with the more well known form in 4QDeutⁿ. There is much variation between the witnesses concerning the listed items in this commandment in Exodus and Deuteronomy, but it seems that the LXX supports the reading in 4QDeutⁿ.

¹²⁵³ 4QDeutⁿ has an extra noun in the description of the delivery of the commandments on Sinai, which reads: מתוך האש חושך ענן והערפל, “from the midst of the fire, darkness, cloud and murkiness.” The reading in 4QDeutⁿ is supported by the SP, and probably also reflects the *Vorlage* to the LXX. The same phrase is found in the MT in Deut 4:11.

Q808	MT Deut 5:26 4QDeut ⁿ V 9	חיים חי	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁵⁴
Q809	MT Deut 5:27 4QDeut ⁿ V 10	יאמר ידבר	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁵⁵
Q810	MT Deut 5:27 4QDeut ⁿ V 10	ואת ואתה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁵⁶
Q811	MT Deut 5:27 4QDeut ⁿ VI 3	להם להמה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q812	MT Deut 5:1 4QDeut ^o 5 1	שמע שמעה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation or grammatical form. ¹²⁵⁷
Q813	MT Deut 5:9 4QDeut ^o 6-7 2	העבדם ל]	Not Counted – The placement of the fragment is uncertain. ¹²⁵⁸
Q814	MT Deut 32:37 4QDeut ^q I 1	omits יהוה	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^q has an expansive plus. ¹²⁵⁹
Q815	MT Deut 32:37 4QDeut ^q I 2	omits אשר	SV(1) – The MT lacks the relative pronoun.

¹²⁵⁴ The phrase translated as “the living god” appears with both the singular and plural adjective $\sqrt{\text{חי}}$, “living,” in the MT. The phrase with the plural adjective occurs once in Deuteronomy, twice in Samuel (1Sam 17:26, 36) and once in Jeremiah (Jer 23:36). With the singular adjective the phrase occurs twice in Kings (2 Kgs 19:4, 16) and twice in Isaiah (Isa37:4, 17). According to E. Eshel, “4QDeutⁿ,” 141-42, the change from a plural adjective to a singular adjective is exegetical.

¹²⁵⁵ The use of the verb $\sqrt{\text{דבר}}$ in 4QDeutⁿ harmonises with the same verb in the next clause. All of the other witnesses support the reading in the MT.

¹²⁵⁶ See note above.

¹²⁵⁷ See the comments in note above, and the same reading in Q678 and Q775.

¹²⁵⁸ 4QDeuto may be restored: ולא תעבד להם , “and you shall not serve them,” against the reading in the MT ולא תעבדם , “and you shall not serve them.” In this reading the dative pronominal object suffix is marked with *nota dativi* ל in 4QDeut^o against being appended directly to the verbal predicate in the MT. However, as noted in E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 131-32, the placement of fragments 6 and 7 of 4QDeut^o is not certain, and it remains a possibility that the fragments preserve a text or texts that agree with the MT here.

¹²⁵⁹ The subject is clarified in 4QDeut^q: ויאמר יהוה , “And Yahweh will say.”

Q816	MT Deut 32:42 4QDeut ^q II 2	אשכיר ה[	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹²⁶⁰
Q817	MT Deut 32:42 4QDeut ^q II 5	מראש ומראש	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q818	MT Deut 32:43 4QDeut ^q II 6	גוים שמים	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^q has a different expression to the MT. ¹²⁶¹
Q819	MT Deut 32:43	omits	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^q has an expan-

¹²⁶⁰ The form in 4QDeut^q is restored: אשכירה. On the long form of the 1cs imperfect אשכירה in Qumran Hebrew see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 44, who notes that “It is a well known feature of DSS Hebrew that cohortative forms אשכירה denote the indicative alongside the forms אשכיר, as in the late books of the Bible and the Samaritan Pentateuch.” However, as Qimron also notes, the two forms are not simply in free variation, but rather the first person imperfect forms following *waw* consecutive or conjunctive are regularly long. Here, though, no *waw* precedes the verb, so it may properly be read as a cohortative, and thus represents a different grammatical form than the form in the MT. For other references concerning long forms with appended ה in Qumran Hebrew see note above.

¹²⁶¹ The colon in 4QDeut^q reads: הרנינו שמים עמו, “Rejoice, o heavens, (in) his people” (or “with him”). The LXX seems to have translated a similar *Vorlage*: εὐφρανθητε ουρανοι αμα αυτω, “Rejoice, o heavens, with him,” reading the final form as the preposition “with” rather than the noun “people”. The MT has a different subject in this colon: הרנינו גוים עמו, “Rejoice, o nations, (in) his people.” On the emendation of Deut 32:43 to include both versions of this colon, whereby parablepsis is assumed, see W.F. Albright, “Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII,” *VT* 9, 4 (1959) 340-341. For an alternative view that posits the variant in the MT as a theological correction see A. Rofe, “The End of the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32:43),” *Liebe und Gebot: Studien zum Deuteronomium: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Lothar Peritt* (eds R.G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) 167. Such a view would demand that the variant is read as a difference in hermeneutic, where the term שמים, read “heavenly beings” by Rofe, is replaced with the “nations,” which better suited the theological view of a later copyist. Indeed, graphical corruption is difficult to imagine in this context, and Albright’s suggestion of haplography seems to have little advantage over Rofe’s proposal of an ideological correction to the text that removed unwanted polytheistic material. However, in light of Rule 4 our methodology demands that we read here with Albright, and adopt the reading that supposes the least amount of intentional alteration to the text. The more obvious reading is, of course, to assume an exegetical concern behind the omission of the line in the MT, however the fact that the line is *omitted* rather than *changed*, necessitates the view that it is conceivably an *addition* in 4QDeut^q in light of Rule 4. This is perhaps a limitation of the methodology employed here that inhibits our ability to successfully describe very divergent texts. It should be noted, though, that the purpose of our methodology is to describe close parallel texts that diverge subtly, and not to deal robustly with very different sources.

	4QDeut ^q II 7	והשתחוּ לו כל אלהים	sive plus. ¹²⁶²
Q820	MT Deut 32:43 4QDeut ^q II 8	בניו עבדיו	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^q has a different expression to the MT. ¹²⁶³
Q821	MT Deut 32:43 4QDeut ^q II 10	omits ולמשנאיו ישלם	SV(2) – 4QDeut ^q has an expansive plus. ¹²⁶⁴
Q822	MT Deut 32:43 4QDeut ^q II 11	וכפר ויכפר	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹²⁶⁵
Q823	MT Deut 32:43 4QDeut ^q II 11	אדמתו אדמת	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁶⁶
Q824	MT Deut 12:3 4QpaleoDeut ^f 15 2	מצבתם מצבותיהם	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁶⁷
Q825	MT Deut 7:4 4QpaleoDeut ^f 5-6 6	ועבדו ועבד	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁶⁸

¹²⁶² See the discussion in the previous note, and see also A. Rofe, "The End of the Song of Moses," 169-70. The LXX supports the reading in 4QDeut^q.

¹²⁶³ The phrase in the MT is harmonised with the phrase in verse 36 (see W.F. Albright, "Some Remarks," 341).

¹²⁶⁴ 4QDeut^q is again supported by the reading in the LXX. See the references in note above.

¹²⁶⁵ The *waw* consecutive plus perfect in the MT is written as *waw* conjunctive plus imperfect in 4QDeut^q.

¹²⁶⁶ The object is specified in the MT as אדמתו, "his land." The reading in 4QDeut^q, which lacks the possessive pronominal suffix, is supported by the SP and the LXX (see E. Ulrich and F.M. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4. IX*, 142). The reading in 4QDeut^q renders the final phrase as a construct chain עמו אדמה, "the land of his people," against the difficult reading in the MT עמו אדמתו, "his land (and) his people." The LXX has an expansive plus not reflected in 4QDeut^q, but otherwise supports the reading in that scroll by its use of the genitive construction: *εκκαθαριει κυριος την γην λαου αυτου*, "the Lord will cleanse the land of his people." An alternative reading of the form in 4QDeut^q is to read the final *waw* on the *nomens regens* as an archaic case marker, however this view suffers in that the incorrect vowel is applied. If this were the case we would expect the accusative ending on the *nomens regens* rather than the nominative. On the difficulties in the evidence for proto-Hebrew case vowels preserved in Biblical Hebrew see R.C. Vern *The Relevance of Linguistic Evidence*, 11:1-24.

¹²⁶⁷ According to E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 63 n. 81, the short form of the 3mpl pronominal suffix following the *ʔl* marker *וה*- is more common in the Qumran non-Biblical literature, but "the biblical texts from Qumran as well as the Samaritan Pentateuch prefer the long form."

¹²⁶⁸ The verb refers to the masculine singular noun *בן*, so the form in 4QpaleoDeut^f is grammatically correct and is supported by the reading in the SP. On *Numeruswechsel* in Deuteronomy see note above.

Q826	MT Deut 7:19 4QpaleoDeut ^f 5-6 6	והארתת הא[נתות	SV(1) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f lacks the conjunction.
Q827	MT Deut 7:24 4QpaleoDeut ^f 7-10 5	בפניך לפניך	SV(1) – Interchange of prepositions.
Q828	MT Deut 7:25 4QpaleoDeut ^f 7-10 6	תחמד תחמדו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁶⁹
Q829	MT Deut 12:1 4QpaleoDeut ^f 13-14 5	אלה ואלה	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction.
Q830	MT Deut 13:19 4QpaleoDeut ^f 19 3	הישר [הטוב	SV(2) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f has an expansive plus. ¹²⁷⁰
Q831	MT Deut 14:19 4QpaleoDeut ^f 21 i, 22 1	יאכלו תאוכל	SV(2) – Difference in expression. ¹²⁷¹
Q832	MT Deut 15:8 4QpaleoDeut ^f 21 ii 1	את omits	SV(1) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f lacks the object marker.
Q833	MT Deut 23:14 4QpaleoDeut ^f 31-32 3	חון החון	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.

¹²⁶⁹ In the MT the first verb in the verse is the 2mpl form השרפון, “you shall burn,” but the following verbs and pronouns are singular. 4QpaleoDeut^f maintains the plural subject throughout. In this instance the LXX supports the reading with *Numeruswechsel* in the MT.

¹²⁷⁰ The phrase in 4QpaleoDeut^f is restored: לעשות הישר והטוב בעיני יהוה, “to do the right and the good (thing) in the eyes of Yahweh.” The MT lacks the second adjective. The idiom is known in Deuteronomy usually with only the first adjective ישר (see Deut 12:25; 21:9), or with both (Deut 6:18, or Deut 12:28 in reverse order). The LXX reads: *το καλον και το απεστον*, “the right and the pleasing (thing),” which supports the reading in 4QpaleoDeut^f.

¹²⁷¹ The phrase in 4QpaleoDeut^f reads: טמא הוא לכם לא יאכלו, “it is unclean to you, you shall not eat (it).” In contrast the MT constructs the phrase thus: טמא הוא לכם לא יאכלו, “it is unclean to you, they shall not be eaten.” The form in 4QpaleoDeut^f is read as a *Qal* 2ms of אכל, “to eat,” against the *Niph'al* 3mpl in the MT.

Q834	MT Deut 23:14 4QpaleoDeut ^f 31-32 3	ושבת [בות	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹²⁷²
Q835	MT Deut 28:15 4QpaleoDeut ^f 33 2	תשמע תשמעו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁷³
Q836	MT Deut 28:15 4QpaleoDeut ^f 33 3-4	האלה אלה	SV(1) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f lacks the definite article.
Q837	MT Deut 28:19 4QpaleoDeut ^f 33 6	ארור אתה בבאך ... בצאתך omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁷⁴
Q838	MT Deut 33:3 4QpaleoDeut ^f 42-43 2	תכו תכון	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹²⁷⁵
Q839	MT Deut 33:7 4QpaleoDeut ^f 42-43 5	קול לקול	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ל.
Q840	MT Deut 33:7 4QpaleoDeut ^f 42-43 6	omits לו	SV(2) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f has an explicating plus. ¹²⁷⁶
Q841	MT Deut 33:29	ויכחשו	SV(1) – 4QpaleoDeut ^f lacks the

¹²⁷² The *Qal* of שוב, “to return,” is written as *Hiph’il* in 4QpaleoDeut^f. The tendency for intensive or causative stems to replace some basic stem roots in Qumran Hebrew has already been observed. See note and above, and also E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 49. For this spelling of the 2ms perfect *Hiph’il* of שוב cf. Ps 85:4.

¹²⁷³ The singular verb in the MT fits the context and is supported by the SP and the LXX. The *Tgs.* support the reading in 4QpaleoDeut^f.

¹²⁷⁴ The phrase in the MT is ארור אתה בבאך וארור אתה בצאתך, “cursed are you in your coming in and curse are you in your going out.” This curse follows similar clauses in the three previous verses that use the same formula: ... וארור אתה ב ... וארור אתה ב. The lack of the fourth repetition of this curse formula may be due to haplography in 4QpaleoDeut^f.

¹²⁷⁵ See the comments on the forms with paragogic *nun* in note above.

¹²⁷⁶ 4QpaleoDeut^f clarifies the subject by adding the *nota dativi* plus pronominal suffix, perhaps to harmonise the phrase with the phrase preceding: ידיו רב לו עזר מצריו תהיה לו, “(with) his hands he has contended for him, and you will be a help for him from his enemies.”

	4QpaleoDeut ^f 44 1	יבחן]	conjunction.
Q842	MT Deut 7:15 5QDeut 1 i 1	omits ראיתה ואשר	SV(2) – 5QDeut has an expansive plus. ¹²⁷⁷
Q843	MT Deut 7:17 5QDeut 1 i 3	האלה האל	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁷⁸
Q844	MT Deut 7:19 5QDeut 1 i 4	omits היום	SV(2) – 5QDeut has an expansive plus. ¹²⁷⁹
Q845	MT Deut 7:19 5QDeut 1 i 4	והאתת הע]	SV(1) – 5QDeut lacks the conjunction.
Q846	MT Deut 7:19 5QDeut 1 i 4	והאתת הע]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁸⁰
Q847	MT Deut 8:9 5QDeut 1 ii 4	ומהרריה הרריה]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁸¹
Q848	MT Deut 8:12 5QDeut 1 ii 6	omits בם	SV(2) – 5QDeut has an expansive plus. ¹²⁸²
Q849	MT Deut 8:13 5QDeut 1 ii 6	ובקרד בקרד	SV(1) – 5QDeut lacks the conjunction.

¹²⁷⁷ The expanded phrase in 5QDeut is restored: אשר ידעתה ואשר ראיתה אשר ראיתם הרעים אשר ראיתם ואשר ידעתם, “all the wicked sicknesses of Egypt which you have seen and which you have known.” The reading is supported by the LXX which has: *και πασας νοσους Αιγυπτου τας πονηρας ας εωρακας και οσα εγνως*, “and all of the wicked diseases of Egypt which you have seen, and all that you have known.”

¹²⁷⁸ See the discussion in note above.

¹²⁷⁹ The phrase in 5QDeut is restored: אשר ראוי עיניך הגדלת היום אשר ראוי עיניך, “the great trials *this day* which your eyes saw.”

¹²⁸⁰ The spelling of the noun with *‘ayin* in 5QDeut is treated as an orthographic variant (see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25-26), but in light of Rule 1 is counted here as OV(1).

¹²⁸¹ See also Q642, Q695 and Q772 above for the same reading, and see the discussion in note .

¹²⁸² 5QDeut clarifies the dative in the phrase: בתיים טובים תבנה וישבת בם, “and you will build good houses and you will dwell *in them*.” The addition in 5QDeut is supralinear and agrees with the reading in the LXX, which has the dative preposition plus dative plural pronoun: *εν αυταις*, “in them.”

Q850	MT Deut 8:17 5QDeut 1 ii 9	בל בכך בל בבכם	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁸³
Q851	MT Deut 8:19 5QDeut 1 ii 12	omits ואת	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunction plus object marker.
Q852	MT Gen 6:19 6QpaleoGen 8	אתך אתכה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation.
Q853	MT Gen 6:20 6QpaleoGen 9	למינהו [ניהם]	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹²⁸⁴
Q854	MT Lev 4:25 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. A 3	ואת דמו omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁸⁵
Q855	MT Lev 4:26 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. A 4	כחלב זבח השלמים omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁸⁶
Q856	MT Lev 10:7 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. B 5	ומפתח ופתח	SV(1) – 11QpaleoLev ^a lacks the preposition מן.

¹²⁸³ 5QDeut reads: [ואת]תאמרת בלבבכם, “[and] you said in your heart.” The singular pronominal suffix fits the context, so the MT has the grammatically correct form. Both *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Neof.* support the reading in 5QDeut, though with the plural verb at the beginning of the phrase: והאמרון בל בביכון / תימרון בל יבבכון.

¹²⁸⁴ The form with the singular possessive pronominal suffix is more frequent in the MT, occurring eight times in Genesis (see Gen 1:12^{bis}, 21, 25; 6:20^{bis}, 7:14^{bis}) against only one occurrence with the plural suffix (see Gen 1:21).

¹²⁸⁵ The precise placement of fragment A of 11QpaleoLev^a is uncertain. According to D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985) 26, the fragment may represent Lev 4:25-26, 30-31 or 34-35, with the first passage being the most likely. If any of these placements are accepted the fragment still represents a variant reading. The most likely reading is of a change in word order, where the phrase ואת דמו ישפך, “he shall pour out its blood,” in the MT is written as דמו וישפך in 11QpaleoLev^a. The full phrase is not preserved, however, so reading a change in word order relies on the reconstruction of a variant reading in breach of Rule 2. Therefore the variant is counted as a plus in the MT that includes the phrase ואת דמו, “its blood,” which is lacking in 11QpaleoLev^a.

¹²⁸⁶ See the reference in the note above. The most likely reading is that the phrase כחלב זבח השלמים, “like the fat of the sacrifice of the peace offering,” is lacking in 11QpaleoLev^a.

Q857	MT Lev 11:27 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. C 1	על כפיו	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has a different expression to the MT. ¹²⁸⁷
Q858	MT Lev 13:42 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. E 3	בקרחה בקרחתו	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has an expansive plus. ¹²⁸⁸
Q859	MT Lev 14:16 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. F 2	באצבעו omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁸⁹
Q860	MT Lev 14:17 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. F 3	תנוך רִאֲהֵן [ך]	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has a different expression to the MT. ¹²⁹⁰
Q861	MT Lev 14:20 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. F 7	עליו [לי]	Not Counted – The form in 11QpaleoLev ^a is considered erroneous. ¹²⁹¹
Q862	MT Lev 15:3	omits	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has an ex-

¹²⁸⁷ The phrase in 11QpaleoLev^a is restored: בל הולך על גחון, “all that go upon the belly,” perhaps influenced by the similar phrase in verse 42.

¹²⁸⁸ The possessive pronominal suffix clarifies the subject, and the same form appears in the latter part of the verse in the MT. The reading in 11QpaleoLev^a is supported by the same reading in the SP, and by the reading in the LXX.

¹²⁸⁹ The noun is repeated in the MT from an occurrence earlier in the verse, clarifying the object of the verb $\sqrt{\text{טבל}}$, “dip,” and the instrument of the verb $\sqrt{\text{הזה}}$, “spatter.” The SP supports the reading in 11QpaleoLev^a, while the LXX supports the reading in the MT.

¹²⁹⁰ D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, assume that a scribal error lead to the inclusion of the letters *res* and *aleph* being introduced into the scroll, but are unable to explain the mechanical process by which this would have occurred. , M. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1438, has the root רִאֲהֵן, “a certain skin disease,” but this makes no sense of the following *kaph*. In light of Rule 1 this variant must be considered as a legitimate reading on the basis that no reasonable explanation for error can be determined.

¹²⁹¹ The form in 11QpaleoLev^a is עליו for עליו in the MT. The 1cs pronominal object suffix does not fit the context, and in this script there can be no graphical confusion between the letters *yod* and *waw*, so a defective 3ms pronominal suffix is also ruled out. Reading the form in 11QpaleoLev^a as a scribal error for עליו is the most likely explanation of this variant (so D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 31).

	11QpaleoLev ^a frg. G 7	[בו כל ימי ז]	pansive plus. ¹²⁹²
Q863	MT Lev 17:2 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. H 2	ואל בניו omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹²⁹³
Q864	MT Lev 17:5 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. H 7	זבחהם [היהם]	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁹⁴
Q865	MT Lev 18:27 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. I 1	האל האלה	OV(1) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹²⁹⁵
Q866	MT Lev 18:27 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. I 1-2	omits [תם תירשו] [את אד] [תם]	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has an expansive plus. ¹²⁹⁶
Q867	MT Lev 18:30 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. I 6	omits כי	SV(1) – The MT lacks the conjunctive particle כי.
Q868	MT Lev 20:2	מבני ישראל	SV(2) – Difference in expres-

¹²⁹² The final phrase of Lev 15:3 in the MT reads: טמאתו הוא, “it (is) his uncleanness.” 11QpaleoLev^a has the longer phrase, restored: בו כל ימי ז, “It (is) his uncleanness all the days that it flows.” The reading in the LXX agrees with the reading in 11QpaleoLev^a, for which see D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 32-33.

¹²⁹³ The sons of Aaron are not mentioned in 11QpaleoLev^a, which may have been due to homioarchton (so D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 34), or to some theological or exegetical reason (*cf.* note above).

¹²⁹⁴ The scribe of 11QpaleoLev^a appears to confuse the phones [h] and [ħ]. There is some evidence for the commutation of certain laryngeals in this scroll, for which see D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 80.

¹²⁹⁵ See the comments in note above.

¹²⁹⁶ The reading in 11QpaleoLev^a is restored: אתם תירשו את אדמתם, “you shall inherit their land.” Both the SP and the LXX support the shorted reading in the MT. 11QpaleoLev^a may be influenced by the similar phrase in Lev 20:24 (see D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 36).

	11QpaleoLev ^a frg. J 1	מבית]	sion. ¹²⁹⁷
Q869	MT Lev 20:3 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. J 4	וחלל ולחלל	SV(1) – The MT lacks the preposition ל.
Q870	MT Lev 21:6 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. K 2	קדש י]	Not Counted – The remains of the <i>yod</i> in 11QpaleoLev ^a are uncertain.
Q871	MT Lev 21:8 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. K 4	את omits	SV(1) – 11QpaleoLev ^a lacks the object marker.
Q872	MT Lev 21:8 11QpaleoLev ^a frg. K 5	מקדשכם מקדשם	SV(1) – Difference in person. ¹²⁹⁸
Q873	MT Lev 22:22 11QpaleoLev ^a I 3	יבלת או גרב או ילפת ילפת או גרב או יבלת	SV(3) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has a different word order to the MT. ¹²⁹⁹
Q874	MT Lev 22:25 11QpaleoLev ^a I 7	משחתם בהם [תים הם	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has a different phraseology to the MT. ¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁹⁷ The phrase in 11QpaleoLev^a reads: **איש איש מבית ישראל**, “any man from among the house Israel,” against the MT: **איש איש מבני ישראל**, “any man from among the sons of Israel.” The idiom selected in 11QpaleoLev^a is semantically identical but stylistically different from that selected in the MT. That in 11QpaleoLev^a occurs four times in the Pentateuch, all of which occur in Leviticus (see Lev 17:3, 8, 10; 22:18), while the idiom in the MT occurs only twice in Leviticus (see Lev 17:13 and here), and also in Numbers (see Num 16:2; 25:6). The scribe of 11QpaleoLev^a may then have harmonised the idiom in Lev 20:2 with that which was more familiar.

¹²⁹⁸ 11QpaleoLev^a is restored: **כי קדוש אני יהוה מקדשם**, “because I, Yahweh, am holy (who) sanctifies them,” against the MT: **כי קדוש אני יהוה מקדשכם**, “because I, Yahweh, am holy (who) sanctifies you.” The LXX supports the reading in 11QpaleoLev^a.

¹²⁹⁹ On the list of defects that render offering unsuitable, the fourth and sixth items are reversed in 11QpaleoLev^a. All of the other witnesses agree with the order of items in the MT.

¹³⁰⁰ The phrase in appears to have the masculine plural noun followed by the 3mpl independent pronoun, restored: **הם**, “they (are) corruptions.” This is against the reading in the MT that has the the pronominal subject suffix appended to the singular noun followed by the preposition **ב** plus 3mpl pronominal suffix: **משחתם בהם**, “their corruption (is) in them.”

Q875	MT Lev 24:10 11QpaleoLev ^a III 5	ואיש והאיש	SV(1) – The MT lacks the definite article.
Q876	MT Lev 24:12 11QpaleoLev ^a III 7-8	ויניחהו ויניחו אותו	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker. ¹³⁰¹
Q877	MT Lev 25:30 11QpaleoLev ^a IV 3	אשר omits	SV(1) – 11QpaleoLev ^a lacks the relative pronoun.
Q878	MT Lev 25:31 11QpaleoLev ^a IV 5	יחשב יחשבו	SV(1) – Difference in number. ¹³⁰²
Q879	MT Lev 25:31 11QpaleoLev ^a IV 5	וביבל ביובל	SV(1) – 11QpaleoLev ^a lacks the conjunction.
Q880	MT Lev 25:32 11QpaleoLev ^a IV 6	אחזתם אזתם	OV(I) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹³⁰³
Q881	MT Lev 25:34 11QpaleoLev ^a IV 7	מגרש מגש	OV(I) – Possible difference in pronunciation. ¹³⁰⁴
Q882	MT Lev 26:19 11QpaleoLev ^a V 2	את omits	SV(1) – 11QpaleoLev ^a lacks the object marker.
Q883	MT Lev 26:22	והשלחתי	SV(1) – Lexical interchange. ¹³⁰⁵

¹³⁰¹ The pronominal object suffix is appended to the verb directly in the MT, against the reading in 11QpaleoLev^a which appends the pronominal object to the object marker.

¹³⁰² The verb refers to a plural subject, בתי החצרים, “village houses,” so the form in 11QpaleoLev^a is grammatically correct. The SP and the LXX support the reading in 11QpaleoLev^a.

¹³⁰³ On the elision of *heth* in 11QpaleoLev^a see D.N. Freedman and K.A. Mathews, 45, 55, and E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 25-26. See also Q864 and note above.

¹³⁰⁴ On the weakening of *reš* in pronunciation in Qumran Hebrew E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 26-27.

¹³⁰⁵ The form in 11QpaleoLev^a is read as *Pi‘el*, against the *Hiph‘il* in the MT. Alternatively, if the form in 11QpaleoLev^a is read as *Qal*, this variant would appear to go against the observed tendency for some basic stem roots to be written as intensive or causative stems in Qumran Hebrew (see E. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 48-49), a phenomenon also observed in Samaritan Hebrew (see Z. Ben-Hayyim, *Grammar*, 222-23). The variation between different stemmed roots is here treated as a lexical interchange.

	11QpaleoLev ^a V 7	ושלחתי	
Q884	MT Lev 26:22 11QpaleoLev ^a V 7	אף אני omits	SV(2) – The MT has an expansive plus. ¹³⁰⁶
Q885	MT Lev 26:24 11QpaleoLev ^a V 7	omits בחמת	SV(2) – 11QpaleoLev ^a has an expansive plus. ¹³⁰⁷
Q886	MT Lev 27:19 11QpaleoLev ^a VI 9	omits את	SV(1) – The MT lacks the object marker.
Q887	MT Lev 9:23 11QLev ^b 2 1	omits כונל	SV(2) – 11QLev ^b has an expansive plus. ¹³⁰⁸
Q888	MT Lev 9:24 11QLev ^b 2 3	החלבים החלב השלמן	SV(2) – 11QLev ^b has a different direct object to the MT. ¹³⁰⁹
Q889	MT Lev 10:1 11QLev ^b 2 4	omits ש]	SV(2) – 11QLev ^b has an expansive plus. ¹³¹⁰
Q890	MT Lev 10:1 11QLev ^b 2 7	omits ה[	SV(2) – 11QLev ^b has an expansive plus. ¹³¹¹
Q891	MT Lev 13:59 11QLev ^b 3 4	הצמר צמר	SV(1) – 11QLev ^b lacks the definite article.
Q892	MT Lev 13:59	הפשתים	SV(1) – 11QLev ^b lacks the defi-

¹³⁰⁶ The phrase in the MT reads: והלכתי אף אני עמכם בקרי, “I, even I, shall walk with you in hostility.” The emphatic particle plus independent pronoun is lacking in 11QpaleoLev^a. In the SP the phrase contains a different emphatic construction: והלכתי גם אני עמכם בקרי, “I, also I, shall walk with you in hostility” while the LXX has: *πορευσμαι καγω μεθ υμων θυμω πλαγιο*, “I shall walk, even with you, with crooked wrath”. See the following variant for the full phrase in 11QpaleoLev^a.

¹³⁰⁷ The phrase in 11QpaleoLev^a reads: והלכתי עמכם בחמת בקרי, “and I shall walk with you in fierce hostility.” The phrase is possibly influenced by the same construction in Lev 26:28.

¹³⁰⁸ 11QLev^b specifies כל העם, “all the people.”

¹³⁰⁹ 11QLev^b has the phrase restored as: החלב השלמים, “the peace offering fat,” or perhaps “the fat, the peace offering.” The MT lacks the second term, having only the noun החבלים, “the fat.”

¹³¹⁰ 11QLev^b clarifies the number of sons of Aaron, restored on the basis of the LXX: שני בני אהרן, “the two sons of Aaron.”

¹³¹¹ The reading in 11QLev^b clarifies the subject, namely Yahweh.

	11QLev ^b 3 4	פושתיים	nite article.
Q893	MT Lev 13:59 11QLev ^b 3 5	לטהרו לטהרתו	OV(1) – Difference in grammatical form. ¹³¹²
Q894	MT Lev 25:33 11QLev ^b 7 3	ביתו ען בית ועיר	Not Counted – The reading in 11QLev ^b is not certain. ¹³¹³
Q895	MT Gen 46:7 MasGen 1	מצרימה מצרים	SV(1) – MasGen lacks the locative ה. ¹³¹⁴
Q896	MT Gen 46:8 MasGen 2	מצרימה מצרי[ם]	SV(1) – MasGen lacks the locative ה.
Q897	MT Gen 46:8 MasGen 2	מצרימה יעקב מצרי[ם] את יעקב	SV(1) – MasGen has extra particle את, lacking in MT. ¹³¹⁵

¹³¹² The form in the MT is read as a preposition ל plus *Pi'el* infinitive construct with an appended pronominal object suffix: לטהרו, “to pronounce it clean,” against the preposition plus feminine noun with appended pronominal object suffix in 11QLev^b: לטהרתו, “for its cleanness.” The form in the MT appears only here, while the form in 11QLev^b appears also in MT Lev 13:7; 14:23 and 15:13. The form in 11QLev^b may therefore be seen as a harmonisation towards a more common form.

¹³¹³ The form in 11QLev^b appears to be an error in letter spacing rather than an alternative reading. The reading in the MT is admittedly difficult, but the reading in 11QLev^b does not make sense in the context. It is perceivable that the word division in 11QLev^b or its textual predecessor may have become confused due to the difficult placement of the *waw* conjunction. None of the versions support the reading in 11QLev^b.

¹³¹⁴ See S. Talmon, *Masada VI*, 32, esp. n. 6, where this variant is analysed as a spelling difference. However, in this analysis the final *heh* is read as locative in agreement with the modern translations. For example, see NIV: “he took with him *to Egypt*,” and RSV: “he brought with him *into Egypt*.”

¹³¹⁵ S. Talmon, *Masada VI*, 33, reads this as the particle “with,” which is lacking in the other witnesses.

Discussion of Variants

Orthographic Variants

Although not represented in the preceding list of variants, the proportion of orthographic variants to other types of variation in the sources is significant, comprising about 55% of the total number of variants.¹³¹⁶ By far the most common variations between the orthography of the sources and that of the MT involve the use of *matres lectionis* to represent the long and short ‘*i*’ and ‘*o*’ class vowels. Also relatively frequent is the writing of the digraph **ס** to represent [ī]; the defective writing of some suffixes, such as the marker of mpl nouns **ם**-, and the marker of fpl nouns **ם**-. In general it is fair to state that the majority of Torah scrolls from Qumran reflect a *plene* orthography as compared to the generally defective style of the MT, but this is by no means a universal rule that applies to all of the sources uncovered along the western shore of the Dead Sea.¹³¹⁷ By contrast the scrolls from find-sites other than Qumran show a distinct alignment with the orthographic style of the MT.

¹³¹⁶ The total number of variants in the Dead Sea Torah scrolls relative to the MT is 1,985. Of these 1,089 are orthographic variants.

¹³¹⁷ On the use of the terms ‘*plene*’ and ‘defective’ see the useful description in W. Weinberg, *The History of Hebrew Plene Spelling* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1985) 3-7. Weinberg designates as *plene* an orthographic style that employs *matres lectionis* more frequently than the MT, while the MT is seen as a kind of benchmark for defective texts, though the MT itself is not as defective as the Hebrew inscriptions. This must remain an essentially relative definition, as Weinberg himself admits that *plene* never means that every long vowel is rendered by a *mater lectionis*, nor does defective mean that no *matres lectionis* are used at all. Indeed, certain scrolls, such as 11QpaleoLev, display a defective orthographic style relative to the MT (see J. Cook, "Orthographic Peculiarities in the Dead Sea Biblical Scrolls," *RevQ* 14 [1989] 299-300). For a full discussion of the evidence see D.N. Freedman, "The Masoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography," *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (eds F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975) 196-211.

Orthographic (linguistic) Variants

There are 197 variations in the sources classified as OV(I). Of these 42 involve possible differences in dialect or pronunciation and 155 involve differences in grammatical form. The most common variations categorised as possible differences in pronunciation are those that involve terminal ׀- on various forms, such as on pronominal suffixes, independent pronouns, 2ms, 2mpl and 2fpl verbal affirmatives, and cohortative forms in the indicative mood. See note above for a complete description of these forms and the relevant literature.

Other less frequent variations that may relate to pronunciation or dialect include the elision of guttural consonants (Q166, Q642), assimilated or non-assimilated *nun* in first position (see specifically variant Q230, Q232, Q234 and Q237 in 4QExod-Lev^f), and the elision of III *heh* in 4QGen^g and 4QGen^k (Q93 and Q103 respectively).

Regarding the variant grammatical forms the most common types encountered are changes in the tense or aspect of verbs. These typically involve the interchange of durative and perfective (e.g. Q10, Q447), or *waw* consecutive plus imperfect and *waw* conjunctive plus perfect (e.g. Q132, Q220), but can include the presence or absence of paragogic *nun* (e.g. Q14, Q171, Q686), though the function of this latter feature is debated – see note above. More rarely one finds the use of *waw* to mark *qames̄ ḥāṭuf* or *shewa* (for which see note), different genitive constructions for numerals (Q8) or infinitive constructs (Q153), and infinitive constructs with and without prepositions (Q24).

There are also infrequent examples of differences between passive and active constructions (*e.g.* Q892).

Stylistic Variants (Type 1)

A total of 393 variants between the sources and the MT are categorised as SV(1). Stylistic variants of the most minor category present a rather broad range of differences. The most important variants of this type are those that involve the interchange of single lexemes. There are 46 instances of such variations relative to the MT in the sources. The highest concentration is found in 4QNum^b, which has a total of six such interchanges (Q489, Q465, Q501, Q505, Q517, Q519), and 4QpaleoExod^m, which also has a total of six interchanges (Q266, Q284, Q299, Q311, Q317, Q342). Both of these scrolls also display a particular affinity with what is called the pre-Samaritan or harmonistic textual tradition.¹³¹⁸ Another of the pre-Samaritan scrolls, 4QDeutⁿ, has two such interchanges, neither of which agree with the wording of the SP (Q799, Q809).

There are 16 instances of interchanged prepositions. Again 4QpaleoExod^m has the highest concentration of variations, totalling six (Q264, Q269, Q286, Q292, Q296, Q305). 4QExod^b has the next highest number of interchanged prepositions, totalling three (Q154, Q158, Q159).

Also considered among the minor stylistic variants are differences in the grammatical person, gender or number of forms. The latter is the most frequently occurring difference,

¹³¹⁸ See the description in E. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 97-98.

with 64 instances in all. 4QNum^b has the highest number of differences from the MT in this respect with 11 variants (Q526, Q426, Q443, Q444, Q463, Q464, Q460, Q530, Q538, Q541, Q564). In terms of gender there are 34 instances of variation, with 4QpaleoExod^m showing a total of four (Q272, Q315, Q316, Q323), and 4QLev-Num^a totalling three (Q417, Q350, Q355).

Differences in the grammatical person of forms are much less frequent, with only seven occurrences throughout the parallel sources relative to the MT. Only 4QpaleoExod^m has two such variations (Q289, Q328). Other single occurrences are: Q369, Q871, Q620, Q661, Q746.

Very frequent in occurrence are omissions or additions of conjunctions (87 times in all, 15 of which occur in 4QDeutⁿ), prepositions (54 times, 7 times in 4QpaleoExod^m [Q264, Q269, Q286, Q292, Q296, Q305, Q349]), the definite article (35 times, 7 times in 4QNum^b [Q458, Q422, Q431, Q479, Q480, Q515, Q514]), and the definite direct object marker (30 times, 5 times in 4QNum^b [Q452, Q454, Q468, Q475, Q543]). Less frequently added or omitted are the locative marker (16 times, twice in each of 4QNum^b [Q441, Q565], 4QpaleoExod^m [Q279, Q309] and 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l [Q261, Q262]), adverbial particles (10 times), and the relative particle (only twice [Q815, Q876]).

Stylistic Variants (Type 2)

There are 255 variants from the MT classified under this category. These can be further divided into three sub-groups, namely expansive pluses, explicating pluses, or differences

in expression. As each sub-group contains variants that are essentially unique, given that each variant contributes to its own unique context, only some of the most significant pluses and differences in expression will be presented in this section.

There is a total of 166 expansive pluses, ranging from long interpolations to short adverbial or adjectival additions and omissions. The highest concentration of expansive pluses is found in 4QNum^b, which has a total of 36 instances. This figure includes four extensive interpolations (Q466, Q470, Q471, Q472), which are in agreement with the SP, and one (Q562) which is in agreement with the LXX. Similarly 4QpaleoExod^m has a total of 24 expansive pluses, of which seven are extensive interpolations that appear to agree with the text of the SP where they are preserved (Q270, Q271, Q275, Q281, Q308, Q338, Q341).

In terms of explicating pluses the highest concentration is again found in 4QNum^b, which has a total of 11 such variations relative to the MT (Q427, Q428, Q436, Q453, Q455, Q476, Q485, Q492, Q520, Q522, Q544). 4QNum^b also has three differences in expression relative to the MT (Q440, Q513, Q570), superseded only by 11QpaleoLev^a which has four such differences (Q856, Q859, Q867, Q873).

Finally there are 15 variants categorised as SV(2) in which the grammatical object (direct or dative) is clarified by way of an additional pronominal suffix. These are scattered over a range of scrolls, and might more properly be considered among the variants listed above under expansive or explicating pluses but for the fact that the common feature of

each of these cases is the presence or absence of the pronominal object (e.g. Q9, Q29, Q200, Q254, Q343, Q395, Q887).

Stylistic Variants (Type 3)

Instances in which the sequence of words or verses is changed occur far less frequently in the sources than any of the previously mentioned variant types. In all there are 29 such variations, and the vast majority of these involve minor re-arrangements of words across short phrases or single verses. Of interest among these minor changes in sequence are Q110 and Q205 which represent different orders of the list of nations that occurs frequently throughout the Pentateuch (see the discussion in note above).

Significant alterations to the order of verses can be found in three instances. One of these, Q202, probably occurs in a liturgical scroll rather than a variant edition of Exodus (4QExod^d, for which see note above). The two remaining instances, however, occur in the well preserved Exodus scroll 4QpaleoExod^m, and reflect the same ordering of the text as is found in the SP (Q326, Q332). This scroll therefore displays variants of multiple characteristics that align it with the same textual tradition from which the SP has developed.

Hermeneutic Variants

There are only four variants between the sources and the MT that can be categorised as HV. Three of these variations involve differences in cardinal numbers. One such difference, Q602 in 4QDeut^c, possibly represents a harmonisation with an immediately preced-

ing verse and so is perhaps not to be considered as an exegetical change but rather a clarifying plus. However, the fact that it shows a difference in definitive information dictates that it must be categorised as a possible difference in hermeneutic.

Two sources preserve the same variant relative to MT Exod 1:5. Q106 (4QGen-Exod^a) and Q122 (4QExod^b) both record the number of Jacob's sons that lived in Egypt as 75, although the numeric construction is reversed in each source. For a discussion of this variation see note .

The final variation that is classified as HV appears to be of particular exegetical significance. Q710 reflects a difference between the reading in 4QDeutⁱ and the reading in MT Deut 32:43 which mentions "sons of God" and "sons of Israel" respectively. The reading in 4QDeutⁱ is supported by the LXX, and it is possible that 4QDeutⁱ represents a textual tradition that is apparently related to that of the *Vorlage* for the LXX. The exegetical problems associated with the concept of "sons of God" are obvious and significant, so the reading in 4QDeutⁱ represents a clear case of variation at the hermeneutic level (see the comments in note). This is perhaps the only clear case of hermeneutic variation among the entire collection of the Dead Sea Torah scrolls.

CHAPTER 10 – CONCLUSION

Issues in the Statistical Analysis

A detailed summary of all of the variants that have been presented in the preceding chapters that takes every facet of this study into account is impossible. One can only make informed and qualified generalisations, and try to capture some overarching pattern that may be found in the variations that occur throughout the sources discussed. Where there are specific findings that can be inferred from the evidence we must be mindful of distortions that result from the methodology we have constructed for this study. Similarly, while we may speculate that our findings could reflect overarching trends in the greater textual corpus, we must avoid the notion that they are valid in any direct sense beyond the particular texts examined here.

The preceding analysis remains a study of individual representative texts from a selected range of genres, which, for our present purposes, provides more than enough material for consideration. However the present study can only nominate some directions for future research that seem, from this small sampling, to warrant further investigation. A more comprehensive study of the ancient sources would determine if the conclusions presented here are truly born out by the data.

A hazard to be avoided in summarising a study such as this is the application of proscriptive conclusions that attempt to define too narrow a view as to what types of variation may or may not be expected in a given textual genre. In particular one should be pru-

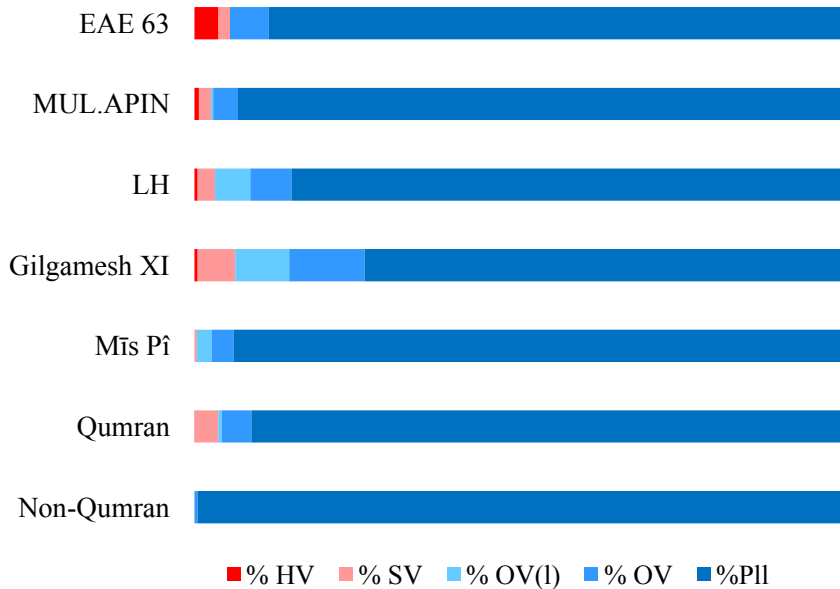
dently aware that historical accident, in large part reflected in the random and fragmentary preservation of the sources, plays a significant role in the emergence of statistical trends. Equally, we must recognise that, when dealing with historical evidence, the apparent results of statistical analyses may be quickly overturned as new and contradictory evidence comes to light at some future date. In the present endeavour, then, one must remain mindful of counsel against the application of statistical results to questions of history, as was so well expressed by G.E. Elton:

“Those determined to put their faith in ‘sophisticated’ mathematical methods and to apply ‘general laws’ to the pitifully meagre and very uncertain detail that historical evidence often provides for the answering of interesting and important questions, are either to be pitied because they will be sinking in quicksand while believing themselves to be standing on solid earth, or to be combated because they darken counsel with their errors.”¹³¹⁹

With these preliminary remarks in mind, we will proceed to outline some of the more prominent features that are apparent from the presentation of the data, and to show graphically how some of this data may be statistically interpreted. What follows is a series of bar graphs that give a horizontal representation of the total number of parallel SU between all of the sources for a given text. Each bar is divided into colours that indicate whether the parallel SU found in those sources is either in perfect agreement, or varies in terms of orthography, linguistic perspective, style, or hermeneutic.

¹³¹⁹ G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967) 34.

Figure - Average Variation Of All Sources



Concluding Remarks on the Cuneiform Sources

EAE63

Tablets of EAE63 can show major variations between sources, even if those sources have similarities in terms of format and geographical provenience. For example, tablet A+M is close to tablet C in respect to its format, with each sharing similar dimensions and marginal rulings. Both tablets were ostensibly excavated from the collections at Kuyunjik in Nineveh. A+M is written in Neo-Babylonian script and, while C is written in a Neo-Assyrian script, its colophon indicates that it is a copy of a Babylonian original.

Yet, despite these similarities, A+M and C differ from each other significantly at V23, where the same protasis is followed by contradictory apodoses. Tablets D (a Neo-Assyrian copy also from Nineveh) and F+H+J (a sixth century B.C.E. Late Babylonian

copy) both support the reading in A+M. Critically, tablet C is the only tablet of the four that shows evidence that it was carefully baked in antiquity.¹³²⁰ Such signs of careful preparation for creating a durable text might be taken as an indication that the tablet was authoritative. If this is so, how can such a significant divergence between an authoritative copy of the text and three other sources for that text be explained?

In this instance tablet C is unlikely to be simply erroneous in respect of this reading. Rather, the possibility arises that this variation reflects the reality that omen apodoses could be changed according to other extraneous circumstances, whether this involves political, observational, or otherwise mitigating factors. Indeed, this phenomenon is prevalent in the astronomical reports to Neo-Assyrian kings.¹³²¹ This shows that although factors such as tablet sequence or the sequence of individual omens may have been rela-

¹³²⁰ S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts," 330, notes that holes are generally bored into carefully prepared tablets to ensure that these tablets do not explode during the firing process.

¹³²¹ The following examples are cited using the tablet numbers as found in H. Hunger, *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992). Minor changes in these texts include reference to Venus as ^{mul}Dili-bat in text nos. 51, 145, 156, 175, 338, 451, 538 and 539, against the title ^dNinsiana in the tablets; additional phonetic complements in text no. 51 (BM 81-2-4, 86) 5, which has ŠE-am (še'a^{am}) versus ŠE in C r.17; and a lexical interchange in line 3 of text no. 175 (K121) and no. 247 (K1342), which both have the word "LÚ.KÚR," *nukurtu*, in place of "ERIN ma-at-ti," *ummani matti*, as it appears in A, F+H+J and VAT11253. More significantly, the dates given for the heliacal rising and setting of Venus often stray considerably from the generalised dates given in EAE63. For example, see text no. 145 (K725) line 5 against C 31. This phenomenon is most easily explained as relating to the observed movements of Venus as against the formulaic movements unrealistically predicted in EAE63. Other letters give only broad date ranges for risings that are dated specifically in EAE63. For example, text no. 451 (K13087+82-5-22, 85) 1 gives the broad range "ina ITI.BÁR UD.1.KÁM EN UD.30.KÁM," "between the 1st and the 30th day of Nisanu," where C 31 has "ina ITI.BÁR UD.2.KÁM," "on the second of Nisanu." Text nos. 538 and 539 (K8407 and 83-1-18, 319, respectively) lack a date entirely for the omen that appears at C r.25, giving just the month name.

tively fixed within the textual traditions reflected by these fragments, the textual details themselves were yet open to interpretation, abbreviation or conflation, and even contradiction, by the scribes that reproduced these texts.

MUL.APIN

Certain copies of *MUL.APIN* show significant agreement where overlaps are preserved. For example, tablet A (a third century Neo-Babylonian tablet “written and checked” according to its colophon) is in complete agreement with tablet Y (a Neo-Babylonian tablet from Kuyunjik), and is also in full agreement with tablet GG (from the Southwest Palace at Kuyunjik). Similarly tablet C (a Neo-Babylonian tablet from southern Iraq) agrees fully with tablet X (a Neo-Babylonian tablet of uncertain provenience) in the places that these tablets overlap.

While these examples show that significant agreement between copies is indeed possible between geographically and temporally distant sources within this series, it is not a common feature. For example, in many of the other sources we find that there is a high likelihood that cardinal numbers will vary, due to either textual corruption or adjustment according to observed reality. Sometimes the sequence of the taxonomy varies, as is the case with tablet T (from a temple context in either Babylon or Borsippa) which appears to be in error against tablets A, O (a Neo-Assyrian tablet from Kuyunjik) and AA (from a private library in Ashur).

Tablet AA affords a special opportunity to compare the form of a copy of MUL.APIN in a private library against sources from the Kuyunjik collections and Babylonian temple contexts. As noted immediately above, the particular taxonomy, common to most sources including the private text AA, varies in tablet T, a temple affiliated text. The close agreement between AA and X, Y and DD (from Nimrud *ca.* eighth century B.C.E.) in other respects shows that the privately owned text, AA, is closer to earlier Neo-Babylonian sources than it is to Neo-Assyrian Kuyunjik and later Neo-Babylonian sources. By extension, the close agreement between AA and C may therefore indicate that C is also based on an earlier southern source.

It is important to note that agreement between two sources where they overlap does not imply that these sources would be in complete agreement were they more fully preserved. For example, the agreement between C and A, and C and AA, may be considered to imply that A and AA would necessarily agree with each other. However, the truth is that A and AA are significantly different, and so it is a fact that at some point, no longer preserved in the fragments, C must have significantly differed from either A, or AA, or perhaps both.

The Laws of Hammurabi

Only tablet W, and to a lesser extent tablet Z (both Late Babylonian texts of unknown provenience), can be said to agree closely with the stele in the places in which they are preserved. The colophon of tablet W suggests it was one tablet in a series that contained the full text of the stele. Among the other sources, tablets T and b exhibit a text also close

to that of the stele, but include some indications that they differed linguistically from the Old Babylonian *Haupttext*.

The majority of the variations that exist in the first millennium sources occur in the preserved portions of the prologue and epilogue. The sources for these sections constitute slightly more than half the total number of parallel SU, but they contain more than double the number of variations compared to the sources for the law section. Further to this, there are no large-scale interpolations or hermeneutic variations attested in the law section, whereas the poetic sections show significant variations of these types.

For example, tablet B (a Neo-Babylonian text of unknown provenience) and possibly tablet D (a Neo-Assyrian text from Kuyunjik) may preserve a textual tradition that is in closer agreement with a variant Old Babylonian source. This variant source has been determined to come from another stele identical in material and antiquity to the *Haupttext*. In addition, significant exegetical variations indicate that variation could occur between sources for the poetic sections due to regional or theological considerations.

In contrast, the sources that preserve the legal section of the stele show a much closer agreement with the *Haupttext*. There are very few differences in style, and those that do occur are relatively minor. They include enclitic particles, conjunctions and redundant pronouns. Hermeneutic variations are entirely lacking in the sources for the legal section. This could be indicative of some distinction in the way the different sections were transmitted. There is perhaps some connection to be made between the agreement of the

sources for the legal section of LH and those of EAE63, in that rather codified language may be less prone to variation. It certainly appears from the evidence presented here that manuscripts of LH which contain the codified legal material are more likely to agree than manuscripts that contain the poetic material.

From this we may be inclined to conclude that the poetic sections of LH were more likely to be transmitted by scribes with some degree of stylistic freedom, while the actual laws were copied with relatively more precision. However, there is no solid indication that the laws themselves were always copied with a very high degree of exactitude. Rather, the syntactical structure and sequence of the laws were transmitted relatively intact, but the linguistic and orthographic style of the scribe could still have an impact on the final form of the reproduction. Indeed, the *Haupttext* and AO10237, a contemporary exemplar, can be shown to disagree in stylistic, linguistic and orthographic aspects, and so we may expect that similar types of variation between the first millennium sources would have been quite common.

In reality we lack any significant overlap between the poetic and legal sections in the first millennium manuscripts, and so it is currently impossible to say definitively whether or not the law section was transmitted differently to the prologue and epilogue. It may be that our sources for the poetic sections would be found to vary in the legal section too if it was also preserved. The only manuscript to preserve such an overlap is tablet e, which holds a significant portion of the epilogue as well as the last two lines of the preceding legal section. This source shows comparable levels of variation between the legal and po-

etic sections in terms of orthographic and linguistic features. Minor variations in style occur slightly more frequently in the laws than in the epilogue. The complete absence of major stylistic changes and hermeneutic variations in the legal section of tablet e is perhaps significant, however there remains too little of the actual laws preserved to allow any substantial comment.

Gilgamesh XI

Gilgamesh XI shows a far greater proportion of minor variations in the sources, reflecting differences in dialect, pronunciation, lexical preferences, and the sequence of words and phrases. However, there is in general a smaller number of significant variations in style and hermeneutic between the first millennium sources compared to some other textual genres. Significant differences in hermeneutic that are preserved included some possible exegetical changes, particularly in tablet J (a Neo-Assyrian text from Kuyunjik). Other significant variations relate to cardinal numbers and limited expansions to the narrative.

Close agreement between the sources may to some extent be related to geographical distribution. For example, tablet C (a text excavated from Kuyunjik but probably not written there) shows greater agreement with texts from outside Nineveh, such as tablet b (a Neo-Assyrian text from Ashur) and tablet j (a Late Babylonian text from Babylon), than with texts from Kuyunjik proper (tablets J and W). With this said, tablet C does show some agreement with one text from Kuyunjik (tablet T, similar in format and script to tablet J), so there is no absolute determination that can be made in this respect. Certain tablets os-

tensibly copied at Kuyunjik are in disagreement with most of the parallel sources and also with each other (J and W).

Mīs Pī

All of the tablets from Nineveh for this text agree in almost all respects. While the nature of the preserved fragments means that less parallel text is preserved in these sources as compared to some of the other texts examined here, it remains significant that there are no variations in hermeneutic between the sources, and very few major stylistic variants. The small number of differences between the sources relates to orthographic or linguistic style, and occasionally to minor stylistic adaptations. Tablet A agrees with tablets G and O in their entirety, and with H, M and N in all aspects except orthography. Tablet A also agrees with tablet I in almost all respects except for one abbreviation to the text of A (and K) where a dittography is indicated by two vertical marks in place of the full text as given in I.

The majority of the variations between the sources, and indeed all of the major stylistic variants, that do exist are to be found in the three Late Babylonian school texts (S, T and U) that preserve only small excerpts of the ritual. These differences are primarily connected with pronunciation, which is a phenomenon probably to be expected in sources written by apprentice scribes in later centuries. One tablet from Kuyunjik (I) shows differences from other Kuyunjik texts (such as A and H), which indicates that not all copies of this ritual text that were geographically proximate were necessarily in total agreement with each other. However, it is of particular significance that almost all of the sources

show very close agreement with each other, and that even excerpts found in the school texts from the Late Babylonian period are closer to the Kuyunjik sources for this ritual than many of the geographically proximate sources for the other textual genres examined above. The significance of this finding concerning ritual texts in relation to the transmission of the biblical scrolls will be discussed further below.

Concluding Remarks on The Dead Sea Torah Scrolls

The documents from Qumran show a wide range of variations relative to the MT. Even so, it must be said that there are surprisingly few major stylistic variations. Only 12 out of the 1,985 variations are hermeneutic in nature. A significant proportion of the major stylistic variants exist in 4QNum^b and 4QExod^m, both of which may be tentatively associated with the same tradition that eventually produced the SP. Another scroll that has a significant number of major stylistic variations is 4QExod^b, which has close associations with the textual tradition underlying the LXX. In this way scrolls that show major stylistic variations or hermeneutic variations relative to the MT are close, in terms of these major stylistic and hermeneutic differences, to known textual editions, and do not *a priori* constitute independent textual traditions in themselves.

It should be noted, though, that this observation does not extend to include the multitude of minor variations that exist between the scrolls and the MT. Seeing as we lack any significant overlap between the ancient manuscripts themselves, it is very difficult to know what would result if we were to compare the manuscripts with each other, were they more completely preserved. One may guess that the emergent picture would be substan-

tially less crisp if we did not nominate a *Haupttext* to provide a textual ‘yard-stick’ against which to compare such fragmentary data. It seems fair to say that, were we to approach the evidence without prior knowledge of the recensions that eventually emerged, we would be absolutely unable to predict the shape of any of the recensions based on these disparate fragments. In this sense, descriptions of variations in terms of ‘additions,’ ‘omissions,’ and the like, are really projections that we ourselves cast onto the data, derived from the methodology here employed, rather than reflecting the objective nature of the evidence.

With this said, it has often been observed that some Torah scrolls from Qumran can be classed as ‘independent’ of any of the later recensions. For example, 11QpaleoLev^a may be said to have an orthographic style that is close to the MT, but also reflects some confusion of gutturals that seems out of place in that orthographic tradition. 4QDeut^c reflects several differences in grammatical gender and number, and has some short additions or omissions relative to the MT that are not known in the other witnesses. Even 4QNum^b, though in agreement with the SP in several of its interpolations, has a distinct orthographic style common to many of the Qumran sectarian documents, while also reflecting some features known from the LXX *Vorlage* (against the SP), and some unique features.

Some of the Torah scrolls counted in the present analysis may not be scriptural manuscripts in the strict sense, instead being identified as short excerpts or abbreviated

texts.¹³²² Recalculating the types and frequency of variation without taking these texts into account would certainly result in a decrease in the number of major stylistic variations overall. However, all scrolls designated as ‘biblical’ scrolls by their sigla are included to represent as broad a picture as possible of the shape of the Torah at Qumran.

A small number of Torah scrolls from Qumran reflects a text that is identical or extremely close to the MT. 4QDeut^g has a total of 156 SU preserved in exact agreement with the MT, while 4QGen^b disagrees with the MT in the writing of a single vowel letter by employing *mater lectionis* in a total of 447 SU.¹³²³ 4QLev^c has 127 SU preserved in which only two variations occur relative to the MT – one read as a difference in morphology and the other in agreement with the MT *qere perpetuum* קִרְיָהּ (for *ketib* קִרְיָהּ). Of these three scrolls 4QGen^b stands alone in being of slightly doubtful provenience, and may in fact have originally been discovered in clandestine excavations in one of the second century C.E. caves further towards the southern end of the Dead Sea, and later mixed with the Qumran fragments.

The scrolls from sites other than Qumran tell a significantly different story. As has been outlined in chapter nine, I. Young has shown convincingly that the scrolls from Masada, Murabba‘at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir all have a much closer textual affiliation with

¹³²² Examples are 4QGen^d, 4QExod^d, 4QDeut^{k1, j, n, q}, and possibly 2QExod^b. See E. Tov "A Categorized List of All the 'Biblical Texts' Found in the Judaean Desert," *DSD* 8, 1 (2001) 69, and also "Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts From Qumran," *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008) 32-40, first appearing in *RevQ* 16, 4 (1995) 581-600.

¹³²³ The variation is orthographic and so not presented in the list of variants. See 4QGen^b 1 i 17 לְמִצְרָהּ versus MT Gen 1:15 לְמִצְרָהּ.

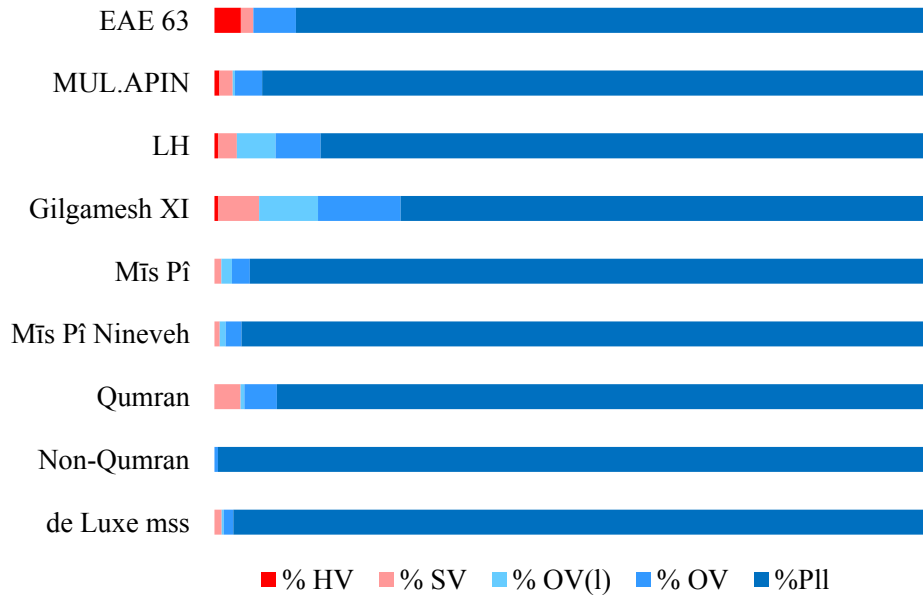
the MT than do the vast majority of scrolls from Qumran.¹³²⁴ Though Young's arguments extend to the entire corpus of biblical scrolls, this is especially true of the scrolls of the Torah uncovered at these sites. As can be easily seen in the list of variants, the number of variations relative to the MT in the Qumran Torah scrolls is overwhelmingly superior to the number of variations relative to the MT in those from Masada, Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir. Only three out of the total of 1,985 variants from the MT are found in scrolls that are not assumed to have come from Qumran.¹³²⁵

Moreover, the type and frequency of variation relative to the MT in the scrolls from Qumran is significantly lower if we limit our analysis to those scrolls designated by Tov as 'de luxe,' or *ἡκριβωμένα* in the language of Lieberman. The following bar graphs show the level of variation in all texts including those scrolls termed 'de luxe' by Tov.

¹³²⁴ See above, page 288-90.

¹³²⁵ See Q895, Q896 and Q897, all occurring in scrolls from Masada. This number may be extended to four if 4QGen^b is presumed to have been originally discovered at a site other than Qumran. On the other hand, this figure can be reduced to one if we consider 4QGen^b to be a legitimate Qumran scroll, and also consider MurGen to in fact be a copy of Jubilees, or some other retelling of Genesis (see I. Young "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text," 371, and *cf.* I. Young "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran," 121-22).

Figure - Average Variation Including Nineveh Ritual Tablets and 'de Luxe' mss



The Significance of Ritual Texts

Among the representative texts of the five textual genres examined here, the genres of ritual and, to a lesser extent, law appear to reflect a high level of exactitude in transmission. The type and frequency of variation found in the ritual texts most closely reflects the type and frequency of variation found in the most stable biblical texts. In fact, most of the variations between copies of *mīs pī* stem from copies of the ritual that have been classed as Late Babylonian school texts. The copies of *mīs pī* that stem from the royal collections at Nineveh in particular exhibit a very high degree of textual constancy. Significant amounts of variation between the Nineveh manuscripts of the *mīs pī* ritual are limited to matters of orthography and, as has been shown in the above analysis, orthographic variation is especially prevalent in the cuneiform writing system.

From this we can make the preliminary observation that, based on the *mīs pī* sources from Nineveh in the first millennium BCE, ritual texts may have been more likely to attain and maintain a level of stabilisation throughout their transmission than some other types of texts. The same may be said of legal texts based on LH, but the extent to which this is an effect of the accidental preservation of the tablets is unclear. Our samples of ritual texts stemming from a centralised locus reflect the highest levels of stabilisation among the cuneiform sources encountered in this examination. As will be discussed below, this finding is supported by recent scholarship on the history of the transmission of the biblical text in its ritual context.

In a recent publication D.M. Carr put forward a theory for the transmission of the biblical text in the first millennium B.C.E. that emphasised the role of education mechanisms in the propagation and stabilisation of what he called ‘long-duration texts.’¹³²⁶ Carr’s idea is that the process of educating scribes in various ancient Near Eastern cultures was focused on the memorisation of culturally significant texts. This process, by which scribes were trained to commit whole texts to memory, instilled apprentice scribes with an arsenal of established structures, phrases and motifs that could be utilised to reproduce culturally significant texts, or, at more advanced levels of training and aptitude, to produce new texts based on the skeletal structures and motifs acquired through the earlier memorisa-

¹³²⁶ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005) 4. Carr’s term ‘long-duration texts’ describes “texts that have been used over a long period of time,” quite often in multiple editions and recensions, and that have been copied and transmitted by generations of scribes within a given textual tradition. This definition naturally precludes ‘one-off’ texts such as mathematical tablets, autographed correspondence, astronomical diaries, accounting texts, *etc.* Such texts have also been precluded from the present study, for which see above, page 55.

tion-driven learning process. Carr calls this process “education-enculturation.”¹³²⁷ In this view of the ancient scribal craft, the memory of the scribe is the most important tool in the composition and propagation of long-duration texts.

According to Carr the formalisation of education in the Old Babylonian period meant that scribes were inducted into their profession through the memorisation of a standardised set of texts. From around the Kassite period, and extending into the first millennium B.C.E., access to specialised literature, such as divination and magical texts, beyond the standardised curriculum used in the early stages of education became increasingly restricted through the specialisation of extended curricula for different scribal professions.¹³²⁸

As a result, the transmission of specialised texts became the task of a more selective body of professional scribes. Specific form and content became important aspects of these specialised texts. This is indicated by the appearance in the first millennium of colophons that claim that a given tablet was “written and checked according to its original.”¹³²⁹ Such evidence indicates that written texts had begun to serve as “authoritative reference points for the checking of scribal memory.”¹³³⁰ The ongoing training of scribes under this pro-

¹³²⁷ See the description in D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 12.

¹³²⁸ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 20-26.

¹³²⁹ Several indications contribute to this view. Aside from the colophons that claim review according to an original exemplar, we also see evidence of counting lines, notation of breaks or damage in *Vorlagen*, and the extent of such damage. Occasionally variants are noted, or the older script of the *Vorlage* is imitated and glossed. On this see S.J. Lieberman, "Canonical and Official Cuneiform Texts," 330. These types of variation in the manuscripts were already noted in C. Bezold, L.W. King, and E.A.W. Budge, *Catalogue*, 5.xxvi-xxix.

¹³³⁰ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 38.

gramme reinforced the use of increasingly standardised textual forms in building a scribe's stock of culturally significant material.¹³³¹

Despite this trend towards standardisation, the idea that written texts were somehow 'canonised' in this period must be rejected. As can be seen from the number of variants recorded for the majority of textual forms examined in this study, it is clear that, although there is a recognisable integrity to the general forms of our sources, the specific details of those written forms remained quite fluid in the first millennium B.C.E. This is true even of texts that are ostensibly part of the same localised collection, such as is the case with many of the tablets recovered from Kuyunjik. This would seem to support Carr's model of a principally memory-driven mode of textual transmission, for which written forms of the text served as authoritative reference points to aid a scribe's recollection, but were ultimately not the primary source for the reproduction of long-duration texts. The primary sources that a scribe dealt with, even in the first millennium B.C.E., were those that had been committed to memory.

This point has been well discussed in the scholarly literature. In an important paper F. Rochberg-Halton argued that the concept of 'canonisation,' as it relates to first millennium B.C.E. cuneiform literature, can only apply to very generalised conceptions of textual stability and fixed tablet sequence.¹³³² Beneath these generally standardised forms of

¹³³¹ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 46.

¹³³² Rochberg-Halton notes that by the seventh century B.C.E. some cuneiform 'scientific' series (particular divinatory, medical and magical texts) had "attained a kind of literary stabilization in the sense that old material was conscientiously maintained in its traditional form and new material was no longer being incorporated ... [but] a degree of flexibility remained permissible in the content, in terms of exactly what a

cuneiform texts were a series of ‘streams of tradition’ that included the authoritative written form, extrinsic materials that adjoined and informed the primary texts, and orally communicated traditions that supplemented each of these components.¹³³³ Again, Carr’s view of the primacy of memorisation in textual transmission explains the general tendency for standardisation that seems to co-exist with instances of specific fluidity in the various sources examined here.

While processes of textual transmission by memorisation allowed for divergence in specific forms of texts in many cases, from the evidence we have presented it would seem that such was not the case regarding the ritual and legal texts presented here. In particular the *mīs pī* ritual at Nineveh appears to have been transmitted with a degree of attention given to a specific written form that is not paralleled in the other textual genres. Instead we find that scribes copying an epic, an observational scientific text and part of an omen series did so with a much diminished degree of exactitude than did scribes copying a ritual instruction text. In the case of the legal text, the legal material itself may adhere to a relatively rigid form, but the poetic sections that bookend the laws show levels of variation on par with the majority of texts examined.

particular tablet was to include and in what order, thus resulting in only a relative stabilization of the wording of the text ... Exact wording does not seem to have been an essential ingredient in textual transmission” (F. Rochberg-Halton, "Canonicity in Cuneiform Texts," *JCS* 36 [1984] 127-28).

¹³³³ The phrase ‘streams of tradition’ is borrowed from A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) 13. Rochberg-Halton also mentions a possible fourth stream constituting scholarly commentaries, explanatory word lists, excerpts, and “other forms of scholia” (“Canonicity,” 130).

From this we may make a tentative observation regarding the texts that do not fall under the genres of 'ritual' or 'law.' Much of the minor levels of fluidity that are evidenced in the parallel copies of these texts could be attributed to subtle changes in form that resulted from the imperfect processes of memory recall. It is conceivable that, during the regular course of transmission as posited by Carr, texts recalled from a scribe's memory would have been especially susceptible to unconscious variations in orthography, language, and even minor changes in style.

Certainly, greater differences in style and hermeneutic would likely be due to the scribe's conscious reworking of the text using literary motifs memorised from other sources, or supplanting certain details with others that served an exegetical motive. It seems clear, though, that when a scribe was applied to "copying and checking" a text "according to its original," which had a relatively fixed format and an established place in a literary series, the memorised version seems to have had primacy over its textual counterpart. In the light of this observation we can ask what qualities of the *mīs pî* ritual text at Nineveh allowed it to remain relatively impervious to the vicissitudes that are so apparent in the other texts examined here.

Two recent studies may be invoked to elucidate this phenomenon. Firstly, it has been observed by M. Worthington that it is a characteristic of Assyrian priests to use relatively few Babylonianisms in their correspondence to Assyrian kings, in particular when compared to the relatively extensive use of Babylonian technical and dialect forms by Assyr-

ian scholars in similar correspondence.¹³³⁴ The tendency of priests to restrict their language to a particular form may reflect limitations imposed by an education-enculturation programme that focused narrowly on literature of a singular purpose, namely texts that were utilised only by those who specialised in matters associated with the temple. Thus it may be inferred that the narrow specialisation of scribes trained for proficiency in ritual matters may have meant that they had a decreased likelihood of adjusting the form of long-duration ritual texts during transmission simply because they had a more narrowly defined stock of memorised texts from which to draw. Scribes who specialised in other textual genres may have had a greater cache of textual frames and motifs upon which to draw when reproducing memorised texts in their given field.

The second study is that of J. Watts, and concerns the propensity for ritual texts to begin to function as ritual objects after extended periods of textual authoritativeness.¹³³⁵ Watts determined that the process of textual centralisation under a curriculum engendered towards education-enculturation, as envisioned by Carr, could explain the process through which texts were collated into officially sanctioned collections, but could not satisfactorily explain why some texts, in particular the Hebrew Torah, appear to have adhered to a precise written form.

¹³³⁴ See M. Worthington, "Dialect Admixture," 80. Worthington suggests that the disparity may be partially due to differences in the subject-matter of the letters. It is also "possible that scholars' learning earned them a greater active knowledge of Babylonian than the priests, and the scholars may have been more inclined than the priests to use elevated language because intellectual prestige in the eyes of the king meant possible career advancement for them."

¹³³⁵ The initial study by J. Watts, "Ritual Legitimacy and Scriptural Authority," *JBL* 124, 3 (2005) 401-17, was reprinted with some expansions in J. Watts, "The Rhetoric of Scripture," *Ritual and Rhetoric in Leviticus: From Sacrifice to Scripture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 193-217.

In Watts's view the tendency for written texts to develop precise forms in transmission was a result of the ritualisation of those texts. This process of ritualisation was in turn due to the fact that these texts were known in temple circles because of their prominence in the process of education. According to this view, the use of specific texts in ritual contexts explains the origin and development of the phenomenon of sacred texts. A concern with absolute accuracy in the execution of ritual promoted a strict adherence to the particular codification of that ritual in an exact written form.¹³³⁶ In Watts' view this process was to some extent self-perpetuating: the ritualisation of texts increased the concern for the text's accuracy in transmission, and the perceived fidelity to an ancient textual ancestor increased a text's status as a ritual object.

“... texts were used in a variety of cultures to establish correct ritual performance and to legitimize the ritual practices of priests, kings, and temples. Thus the idea of enacting ritual instructions, that is, ‘doing it by the book,’ involved first of all doing rituals. There is also some evidence that texts began to be manipulated and read as part of the rituals themselves. Therefore as texts validated the accuracy and efficacy of rituals, rituals elevated the authority of certain texts to iconic status.”¹³³⁷

This proclivity for ritual texts to become ritual objects, and to thereby become stabilised on account of their iconic status, fed into a secondary process in which other texts that were not originally ritual instructions also became included into the ritualised textual objects and so entered the same process of stabilisation. By the second century B.C.E. “the

¹³³⁶ J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 198-99.

¹³³⁷ J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 208.

ritual authority of the Torah was extended beyond the temple to other aspects of daily life that, by falling under the Torah's precepts, were ritualized as well."¹³³⁸ The authority of the Mosaic Torah seems to have been elevated in this period from the ritualised context of the temple to broader areas of social and legal discourse.¹³³⁹

The prestige of the Torah as an increasingly fixed text was established on the authority of the temple's ritual traditions, which themselves derived authority from the perception that the temple priests practiced ancient authoritative rites. In effect, "the prestige of the temple elevated the status of the book, which in turn guaranteed the legitimacy of the temple's rites."¹³⁴⁰ Moreover, Watts finds that periods of social or political tension provided a platform for authoritative texts to function as tools for the validation of ritual practices.¹³⁴¹ Threats to Jewish national identity served to elevate the status of texts that were seen to somehow embody that identity.

Two aspects of this discussion give rise to legitimate objections. Firstly, Watts claims that several textual genres became amalgamated into one fixed textual tradition through a process of textual ritualisation. While this may be understandable for texts of a ritual nature, it is less clear why this process would have operated on texts of other genres. Sec-

¹³³⁸ J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 213 (italics in original).

¹³³⁹ See the discussion in J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 212-13. According to G. Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, From Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 137-39, the value of the Mosaic Torah in sapiential Jewish circles was greatly increased in the beginning of the second century B.C.E., as is reflected in the attitude towards Torah as the main source of wisdom in Ben Sira.

¹³⁴⁰ J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 215.

¹³⁴¹ J. Watts, "Rhetoric of Scripture," 203.

only, the self-perpetuating process of textual ritualisation Watts proposes leaves unanswered the question of how the process actually began. We are left with something of a ‘chicken-and-egg’ causality dilemma in which the exact form of a text in transmission is driven by that text’s ritual status, yet the ritual status of that same text is simultaneously driven by its exact form in transmission. One cannot help but ask the question: which came first – the ritual status of the text, or its exact form?

In answer to the first objection, we can look to the development of the Hebrew scriptural texts proposed by Carr. His view of the process through which the Torah became a largely invariant long-duration text proposes a significant role of priestly transmission and textual ritualisation – both mechanisms that feature prominently in the model proposed by Watts. While the process of education-enculturation in pre-exilic Israel is envisioned as effectively mirroring that of the larger empires of Assyria and Babylon in the first millennium B.C.E., Carr sees a shift in the centralisation of education-enculturation from the context of the palace towards the context of the temple in late pre-exilic times.¹³⁴² This shift is evident in the Deuteronomistic History, especially in the Book of Deuteronomy itself, which was “shaped and used for education.”¹³⁴³ Deuteronomy positions itself as the only material to be used for education-enculturation, refocusing the educational curriculum on a text which imparts commandments, statutes and laws that claim singular authority.

¹³⁴² D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 117-19. See also G. Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 56-57, who sees the re-alignment of political power being complete in the post-exilic period.

¹³⁴³ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 142.

In the post-exilic period the curriculum in ancient Israel was transferred to the temple authority following the cessation of the monarchy as a real political force. If social and political authority became the domain of the temple priests at this time, it is conceivable that texts that were traditionally in the domain of the royal court would have come under the control of the temple. In this view previously disparate textual collections were formed into a national curriculum under the authority of the Jerusalem temple.

At the centre of this singularly authoritative scribal curriculum were Leviticus and Numbers, priestly literature which originally comprised cultic instructions that are themselves still visible through the superscriptions that define their composite character.¹³⁴⁴ Such texts would generally have been reserved for higher scribal circles, but were repackaged in the late pre-exilic period with earlier education-enculturation texts such as cosmological narratives, legal discourse, and poetic compositions. This occurred as part of the Deuteronomistic ideal of an encompassing curriculum that promoted education-enculturation via its singularly authoritative text. This process, which proceeded with greater influence on the part of the priestly class during the exilic period, in effect drew the priestly materials out of the circles of the educated temple elites and into the wider scribal milieu. By the time of the early post-exilic period the Mosaic Torah emerged as a conflation of priestly and non-priestly parts, possibly a “compromise between remnants of royal groups in early post-exilic Judah and the newly dominant priests.”¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴⁴ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 152-53.

¹³⁴⁵ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 169-71, and see also G. Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 44-54.

In response to the second objection raised above, it can be suggested from the evidence presented here that ritual texts, and to some extent also law texts, were likely to have been relatively fixed in terms of content and form independent of the textual ritualisation process. The causality dilemma of ritual status or exact form can be averted on the grounds that particular texts may have tended towards fixed states, only later becoming objects of ritual veneration due to their relatively precise forms. While it is important to note that a great deal of additional research needs to be done to confirm or deny this position, the cuneiform evidence presented above does indicate that this area of investigation is worth pursuing.

During the last centuries of the Second Temple period the various recensional streams through which the text of the Torah was transmitted had become largely solidified. “For the bulk of Judaism, it appears that the highly complex process of formation of the Torah had come to an end. This relatively fixed Mosaic Torah instruction now stands at the center of a temple-centered community headed by priests.”¹³⁴⁶ In response to the cultural dominance of Hellenism, which threatened to eclipse much of Egyptian and Palestinian Jewish cultural identity, the focus in Jewish education-enculturation under the Has-monean leadership hardened around the authority of the priests and the absolute primacy of the Torah.

¹³⁴⁶ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 172.

This picture is confirmed by indications in the pseudepigraphic literature of the third and second century B.C.E.¹³⁴⁷ It is in this context that we find Watts' model of the ritualisation of temple affiliated texts most at home. Jewish society at the outbreak of the Hasmonean revolt has in place all of the requirements for the ritualisation of priestly textual traditions that Watts has outlined in his model, namely the centralisation of the cult and the cultic texts, veneration of those texts producing a form that is singularly authoritative, and a real and present threat to the political and social world that effectively hardens the cultic structure.

If we accept the propositions of Carr and Watts that Judaism in the Second Temple period essentially produced stabilised sacred texts through particular external influences and internal processes, we must also explain the varied forms of the Torah scrolls from the Dead Sea area. In particular we must describe the differences between the Qumran Torah scrolls and the broadly contemporary Torah scrolls from Masada.¹³⁴⁸

¹³⁴⁷ See D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 202-6. Carr points to early indications that education-enculturation was the specific domain of the priests in such pre-Hasmonean texts as Enoch and Aramaic Levi, and in early Hasmonean texts such as Jubilees. According to Carr all of these pseudepigraphic texts show signs that the priestly conception of controlling education through small genealogical circles was prevalent in the society in which this literature was produced.

¹³⁴⁸ In reference to the arguments for an early deposit of the scrolls at Qumran recently put forward by G. Doudna and I. Young, see the discussion of the evidence from archaeology on pages 302-9 above. As has been discussed there, the material culture from Qumran and the nearby caves very strongly suggests a link between the Qumran scrolls and the second phase of occupation at the site itself. It was reasonably established by R. de Vaux that the site of Qumran was destroyed by a Roman force, probably the Xth legion, in around 68 C.E. This dating puts the Qumran scroll deposit in very close temporal proximity to the destruction of Masada, which in turn makes a strong case for seeing the scrolls at both sites as being contemporary manuscripts that were in use at essentially the same time. The arguments put forward by Doudna and Young on the basis of textual evidence do not satisfactorily address the facts that arise from the archae-

We have already gone some way to addressing this question by adopting Tov's view that distinguishes between 'de luxe' temple affiliated editions and manuscripts that do not fit this category. The scrolls from Masada, Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever and Wadi Sdeir all show similar qualities in formatting and content that connect them with this 'de luxe' group of temple affiliated texts.¹³⁴⁹ In contrast, many of the scrolls from the caves near Qumran can be viewed as reflecting different, perhaps sub-standard, production values.¹³⁵⁰

ology. I. Hutchesson, "63 B.C.E.," 186, has raised doubts about the numismatic evidence used by de Vaux in his conclusions, but his argument amounts to special pleading. At any rate, the date of 63 B.C.E. supported by Hutchesson's proposal has been abandoned by Doudna in favour of a later date of 40 B.C.E. Doudna's argument on the basis of the radiocarbon analyses similarly provides no solid evidence that contradicts the archaeological evidence. The strongest evidence in favour of the earlier dating remains the lack of historical references that post-date 40 B.C.E., which may be a result of the period during which certain texts were brought into the library, rather than a reflection of the date in which the entire collection was deposited in the caves. In this case the view of the majority of scholarship is adopted in lieu of further evidence that supports Doudna and Young's minority position and, more importantly, casts doubt on the accepted archaeological interpretations of the sites. It follows that if the differences between the collections at Masada and Qumran cannot be explained in terms of chronology, another explanation must be sought. The view adopted here, to be discussed below, sees the differences as relating to the divergent social settings that lie behind each of these collections.

¹³⁴⁹ E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 91, notes that "the large format was used mainly or only for authoritative texts, since this distinctive format gave the scroll prestige, as in the case of luxury scrolls ... If indeed the large size of a scroll was an indication of its authoritative status, this assumption would have to be linked with a certain center or period, since many small scrolls contained equally authoritative texts." This view is echoed by D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 269: "such exact textual standardization [of the proto-rabbinic texts] is only possible with reference to single exemplars of the relevant texts, exemplars almost certainly kept in the temple."

¹³⁵⁰ D.M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 221, has suggested that a number of the less professionally executed scrolls from Qumran could be exercise texts. Similarly M.O. Wise, "Accidents and Accidence: A Scribal View of Linguistic Dating of the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran," *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield:

The idea that the scrolls at Qumran were associated with a differently aligned Jewish group to those found at Masada is well established in modern scholarship.¹³⁵¹ In recent decades F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude have put forward a theory of Qumran origins that can perhaps lay claim to being the consensus position among a slim majority of scholars.¹³⁵² This view holds that the sectarian occupants of Qumran should be associated with the scrolls that were found in the nearby caves, but also that many of the scrolls that were in the possession of this sect represent works that stemmed from a period preceding its formation. The scrolls therefore reflect a collection composed during several stages. Some of the documents represent common Essenism, while others belonged to the formative group that directly preceded the sect, or to the sect itself. Yet others reflect works that belonged to the apocalyptic tradition from which the Essene movement arose and which were considered as part of their common heritage.¹³⁵³ This implies that “all of works found in Qumran that cannot be classified as strictly sectarian must have been composed before the split that gave rise to the Qumran group.”¹³⁵⁴

Sheffield Academic Press, 1994) 103-51, provides a basis for differentiating between various qualities of Aramaic scrolls in the Qumran collection, with a view to extending the model to include the Hebrew manuscripts.

¹³⁵¹ See primarily M. Greenberg, "The Stabilization of the Text of the Hebrew Bible," 165-66.

¹³⁵² See the outline of this theory in F. Garcia-Martinez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Gröningen Hypothesis," *The First International Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Mogilany Near Cracow, May 31-Jun 2, 1987* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; Folia Orientalia 25; Wrocław: Załad narodowy imienia Ossolinkich, wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1989) 113-36, and F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14, 4 (1990) 521-41.

¹³⁵³ F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis'," 525.

¹³⁵⁴ F. Garcia-Martinez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Gröningen' Hypothesis'," 526.

More recently G. Boccaccini has suggested that the settlement at Qumran represents a splinter group that grew out of a greater divide in Judaism in the Second Temple period. According to this view Judaism in the Second Temple period was divided between temple affiliated Zadokite and dissenting Enochic traditions. Other competing divisions, such as Tobiad landowners and non-priestly groups more aligned with sapiential world views, also formed significant opposing factions that allied and diversified throughout the Second Temple period.¹³⁵⁵ In this context it is certainly conceivable that different socio-religious groups lie behind the diverse collections at Qumran and the other sites along the south-western shore of the Dead Sea. Judaism in the late-Second Temple period is diversified to such an extent under Boccaccini's model that supposing a single unified group, wholly aligned with the institution in Jerusalem, to be responsible for such a large and disparate corpus of manuscripts is more improbable than it is likely. The weight of probability instead seems to fall on the likelihood that more than one socially and politically defined group must be responsible for the manuscripts in question.

In this way, the alignment of the Masada Torah scrolls with the MT would indicate that these scrolls were affiliated with a group that was different from those that concealed the

¹³⁵⁵ Boccaccini's assertion is that, upon the return from exile, Judaism was effectively dominated by a Zadokite line of priests that controlled the authoritative centre of the Jerusalem temple. A group that Boccaccini defines as 'Enochic Judaism,' initially a non-separatist aristocratic opposition to the Zadokites that eventually became a more rigidly opposed identity, positioned itself against the authority of the Zadokites and their powerbase at the Jerusalem temple (see G. Boccaccini, *Rabbinic Judaism*, 90-102). The subsequent rift materialised in the texts as a divergent doctrine on the origins of evil, which was particularly prominent at Qumran. Boccaccini agrees with Garcia-Martinez that the Qumran library is not the literature of a single group, but rather a historical collection outlining the development of a narrow group from a broader socio-religious context (G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998] 53-67).

scrolls near Qumran. The Masada scrolls ostensibly had some genetic connection to the texts affiliated with the ritual centre in Jerusalem. The scrolls found at Qumran, on the other hand, stemmed from a diverse social context that had no singular affinity with the scrolls in the Jerusalem temple. While the collection at Qumran does exhibit some manuscripts that closely resembled the temple exemplars, others clearly vary from the ‘standard’ text kept at the temple. The key difference between the collections at Masada and Qumran seems to be that the scrolls at Qumran do not necessarily reflect one particular textual tradition, while those at Masada do reflect a single textual tradition.

We can therefore support the notion that ritually significant texts became fixed in the late Second Temple period. This occurred through a combination of education-enculturation processes, centred in the Jerusalem temple in the post-exilic period, which led to a singular, officially sanctioned set of documents being associated with the temple. The ritualisation of this text inevitably prevailed in an environment where text and ritual practice was brought into closer and closer proximity, until finally the distinction between ritual text and ritual object was lost. What emerged from this process was a fixed, sacred text.¹³⁵⁶

It is in this same context that we can best explain the unique stability that appears to pertain to the ritual and legal cuneiform texts examined from the first millennium B.C.E. In

¹³⁵⁶ Implicit in this discussion is the assumption that other texts of the Hebrew Bible would come to be considered as ritual objects as well, and thus be included in a growing body of sacred literature. It is in this light that rabbinic discussions of texts that “defile the hands,” such as Esther, the Song of Songs and Qohelet, can be seen (for example *m. Yad.* 3:5). That is, these discussions relate to the ritual functions of such texts, or their status as ritual objects, due to their containing ritually significant material (as is the case, for example, with the storing of texts that contained the Tetragrammaton in *genizot* in later periods). I owe this observation to I. Young.

particular, the centre of scribal activity at Nineveh produced a ritual text that shows comparable levels of standardisation to the ritualised texts associated with the centre at Jerusalem. While this observation is accurate for manuscripts that were affiliated with scribal centres, whether in Nineveh or in Jerusalem, it is not necessarily true for those manuscripts that did not share such an affiliation with a centre of scribal activity, such as those exemplified by the cuneiform literature from diverse areas and the disparate biblical scrolls in the collection at Qumran. Further, the failure of this process of stabilisation to apply to texts of other genres is exemplified by the variation in the manuscripts examined from Nineveh that represent the genres of epic, astronomical observations and omens. As has been discussed above, the evidence from the law text examined here is suggestive but ultimately inconclusive.

In this sense it seems justifiable to talk of ritual texts, and more specifically ritualised texts, as being objects that pertain in an almost exact form to the localised centres of ritual at which they were copied. The evidence from the first millennium cuneiform sources would appear to support the view that, with regard to the biblical text in the late Second Temple period, we can to some extent talk in terms of 'one temple, one text.' Certainly this is a terminology that can in part be supported by the ancient Near Eastern cuneiform evidence at Nineveh, where a ritual text is the only text-type found to conform to a level of standardisation that is comparable to the Torah scrolls of the late Second Temple period.

The link between the fixity of long-duration ritual texts in Mesopotamia in the first millennium B.C.E., and the ritualisation of the biblical text that arguably led to its relatively fixed form in the late Second Temple period, supports this terminology. Early indications are that ritual instructions and law codes were noticeably more stable than other text-types in the first millennium B.C.E., but it would be up to a much broader investigation to determine if this is born out by the data. Certainly a more comprehensive study that takes into account a greater array of texts, from a wider selection of genres and stemming from different scribal centres, is called for on the basis of the evidence presented here.

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