

# **In Search of a Purpose and Use of Qumran Lament Scrolls**

An Integrated Approach of Materiality,  
Content and Performativity of 3Q3, 4Q111,  
4Q179, 4Q501, 5Q6 and 5Q7

by

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A Thesis in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Research Master of

Theology and Religious Studies

at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies

of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

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Santa Marina de Valdéon, 23 August 2023

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## Abstract

This study examines the Qumran manuscripts of Lamentations (3Q3, 4Q111, 5Q6 & 5Q7) and the related Apocryphal Lamentations (4Q179 & 4Q501) in search for a possible purpose and use of these manuscripts. Previous investigations have studied these manuscripts by examining the content, context (*Sitz Im Leben*) and materiality of these manuscripts. However, these studies predominantly focused on a single or only two of these aspects. Rarely were all three aspects taken into account, even if this would likely result in a more accurate picture. Most importantly lost were the significance of the materiality and the particularity of the manuscripts.

This research addresses the above-mentioned issue through an integrated approach of content, context and materiality by combining paleography, intertextuality and Austin's theory of performativity. Intertextual and performative analyses pointed to a liturgical character of the manuscripts. In the case of 4Q111 it was unclear whether this concerned a personal or public liturgical setting. In light of its small size and low quality of handwriting a personal liturgical use seems most likely. 4Q179 and 4Q501 had a clearly public liturgical character, but the small size and handwriting quality of the scrolls seemed to contradict a public purpose and use of these scrolls. These results suggest that a better, more differentiated understanding of liturgical settings is needed.

# 1 Introduction

Four manuscripts, three caves and five chapters: the manuscripts containing the text of Lamentations found at Qumran (3Q3, 4Q111, 5Q6 & 7) are the oldest extant manuscripts of the poetic work we have. Among the many manuscripts found at Qumran were also other laments, particularly 4Q179 and 4Q501, also known as Apocryphal Lamentations A and B because of their assumed relationship with Lam.

Various scholars have written about, what I will provisionally call, i.e. without confining the individual manuscripts to any categorization, Qumran Lament Scrolls (QLS), either about the individual manuscripts, a larger selection or the whole. The first publications<sup>1</sup> focused on the reconstruction, description, transcription and translation of the manuscripts, and, to paraphrase Strugnell, 'left to others the pleasure to duly comment on these beautiful pieces.'<sup>2</sup> Perhaps not surprisingly, all of these commenters focused on the content of these manuscripts, while only a few were concerned with the historical context or the materiality of the manuscripts.

## 1.1 *Literature Review and Problem Analysis*

### 1.1.1 **Studies Focusing on Textual Criticism**

Textual criticism seems to be one of the most important focuses of studies of the manuscripts of Lamentations (3Q3, 4Q11, 5Q6 and 7). Particular readings of each manuscript and differences with other textual witnesses, especially the Masoretic Text (MT), were carefully

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<sup>1</sup> Baillet and Milik (1962) prepared the first publication of the manuscripts of the canonical Lamentations from the "smaller caves", respectively 3Q3 and 5Q6/5Q7, in the third volume of DJD. 4Q179 was first published by John Allegro (1968) in DJD 5. Initially, he designated the text "4QLamentations". Allegro's reading contained many errors and was followed by an improved reading by Strugnell (1970) in *Revue de Qumran*, who corrected many of these errors. 4Q501 was published by Baillet in 1982. 4Q111, first appeared in an article on the prosody of Lamentations by Frank Cross (1983). He also prepared the publication of 4Q111 in DJD 16 (2000).

<sup>2</sup> John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des « Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan »,» *Revue de Qumrân* 7.2 (1970): 250 writes, commenting on 4Q179: "En nous limitant à des questions de lecture, nous laissons à d'autres le plaisir de commenter dûment ce beau morceau."

mapped and explained, first in the DJD edition, but also in later contributions.

In his 2013 dissertation, Gideon Kotzé provides an extensive text-critical study of all the Qumran Lamentations manuscripts, not in order to reconstruct the "original" text, but to investigate how different readings in the textual witnesses were created during the transmission process and how these differences can be best understood.<sup>3</sup> The findings of these analyses were classified in four categories: 1. more original than MT, 2. a scribal error, 3. a (deliberate) change in wording introduced by a scribe, and 4. an interpretative insertion. Of particular importance are the variant readings in textual witnesses that are not the result of scribal errors, but deliberate changes by scribes.<sup>4</sup> The most important conclusion is that "4QLam and 5QLam exhibit the creative activity of the scribes who transmitted manuscripts of Lamentations during the Second Temple period and the modifications to the wordings of the chapters which these scribes brought about resulted in subtle, but noteworthy changes to their content."<sup>5</sup> Kotzé establishes the Qumran Lamentations manuscripts (QLamMss) in their own worth, as witnesses to the creativity of a scribe, not as subservient to establishing the "original" text.

### 1.1.2 Studies Focusing on the Content of 4Q179 and 4Q501

In the case of 4Q179 and 4Q501, intertextuality seems to be the most important scholarly focus. This means, on the one the hand, the presence and (re)use of so-called biblical

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<sup>3</sup> Methodologically, this is done through 1. a transcription of the manuscripts and an overview of their formal characteristics, 2. a comparison of the manuscripts with other textual witnesses, in order to determine textual differences and difficulties, 3. investigations into the most plausible ways to explain these differences and difficulties in relation to the process of transmission and philological information, and 4. examination of how these readings affect the content of the passages in question, Gideon Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations: A Text-Critical Study*, ed. K.A.D. Smelik, *Studia Semitica Neerlandica* 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 19.

<sup>4</sup> Kotzé is quick to note, however, that the emphasis on variant readings runs the risk of "obscuring the fact that [...] the wordings of the available textual representatives are free from quantitative and qualitative differences and are essentially identical [...]" *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 178–79.

material, on the other hand, the relationship of these manuscripts with Lamentations.

Maurya Horgan (1973) was the first to provide an extensive identification of biblical citations and allusions in 4Q179 and to make restorations to the highly fragmented manuscript in light of these passages. Jesper Høgenhaven (2002) and Adele Berlin (2003), in turn, focused on the use of these biblical materials. Høgenhaven (2002) argues that biblical allusions and imagery used in 4Q179 have been employed as a structuring principle. A biblical allusion or quotation does not merely function as a stylistic device, but continues to govern a passage or a larger textual unit and becomes an integral part of the text's own literary structure.<sup>6</sup> Like Berlin, Høgenhaven thinks that 4Q179 is not simply a paraphrase or *peshet* of biblical texts, "Rather we are dealing with the deliberate employment of biblical images and phrases, drawn from a specific biblical context, and organized into a new literary unit, exhibiting a structure that is in some ways clearer or more easily perceived than that of the biblical text [...]."<sup>7</sup>

Berlin focuses on compositional and exegetical techniques in 4Q179 and 4Q501 "in the hope of understanding more about their nature and their meaning."<sup>8</sup> She notes that a distinct feature of the use of biblical verses is the addition of words to a biblical verse, and to combine biblical verses, which corresponds to contemporary exegetical techniques,<sup>9</sup> even if these are not exegetical works as it is traditionally understood.<sup>10</sup> According to Berlin, the

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<sup>6</sup> One example is a direct quotation from Lam 1:1 in fragment 2, which serves as "a starting point for developing the metaphor of Jerusalem as a mourning, abandoned woman, a metaphor which governs the entire following description," see: Jesper Høgenhaven, "Biblical Quotations and Allusions in 4QApocryphal Lamentations (4Q179)," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: The British Library, 2002), 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>8</sup> Adele Berlin, "Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah XLVIII (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

most important exegetical technique used, is the conflation of biblical verses,<sup>11</sup> the purpose of which is not harmonization, but "a conflation through interpretation."<sup>12</sup> When two biblical texts are combined, text B does not simply repeat in different terms what A already said, but puts text A in a different light and reinterprets it.

A very different approach to the content of the manuscripts is made by Tal Ilan (2008). She draws attention to the role of gender in Lamentations and the scholarly neglect of this aspect in biblical texts, but also in "similar texts of a fragmented nature from Qumran",<sup>13</sup> such as 4Q179. According to Ilan, the Masoretic Lamentations was known at Qumran, but there is no evidence that its form was stable. Through a synoptic reading of Lam 1 and 4 in MT, 4Q111 and 4Q179, she draws attention to the ubiquity of female<sup>14</sup> terms and images in 4Q179 and argues that MT and 4Q111 have eliminated these and changed or replaced them by masculine ones. Thus, Ilan argues, 4Q179 is an "alternative version of Lamentations preserved in Qumran before the biblical text received its final form,"<sup>15</sup> providing a much more female friendly image than MT and 4Q111.

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<sup>11</sup> For her own interpretation of 4Q179 and 4Q501 Berlin is guided by "inner biblical exegesis", a concept put forward by Michael Fishbane (1985). He identified three exegetical techniques which are also found in 4Q179 and 4Q501: 1. The addition of an annotation unmarked by any deictic element, i.e. an addition to the original verse that explains an unexplained element, but without any indication that it is an explanation, e.g. "the great city" meaning "Jerusalem" 2. The substitution of a more common term for a less common one 3. Blending or conflation of biblical phrases. See: *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Tal Ilan, "Gender and Lamentations: 4Q179 and the Canonization of the Book of Lamentations," *Lectio Difficilior: European Electronic Journal for Feminist Exegesis* 2 (2008): 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ilan often uses the terms female/male, feminine/masculine rather imprecise, in my opinion. On page 8, e.g. she comments that "gates" are "male" in Hebrew, instead of grammatically masculine. On the next page, she writes that "virgins" have been replaced by the gender neutral word "children". By the same logic, "children" are, of course, also masculine in Hebrew, like "gates", or, reversedly, "gates" are also gender neutral.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

### 1.1.3 Studies Focusing on Historical Context and Possible Use of the Manuscripts

Historical context and a possible use of the manuscripts receive little to no attention in the works of Ilan and Kotzé. While Horgan and Høgenhaven offer some suggestions for a possible date and occasion for 4Q179, Berlin provides a more extensive reflection.

On the basis of a comparison with contemporary penitential prayers and the absence of public fasting practice at Qumran, Berlin is reluctant to regard 4Q179 as a poem that commemorates the historical destruction of Jerusalem, but prefers to see it as a hymn or penitential prayer. As 4Q501 does not mention the city nor the Temple, Berlin interprets it as a supplication or petition, rather than as a lament.

According to Berlin, 4Q179 and 4Q501 both accord with the Qumran religious worldview, but whether these texts were indeed composed at Qumran cannot be conclusively answered. Rather than asking where the text came from, Berlin reframes the question to: "why it was preserved at Qumran?" Her answer is that these texts were not preserved by accident, but because they had some significance for the Qumranites. While appearing neutral on the surface, they can be read in a way that corresponds with the religious agenda of Qumran. "Both texts are constructed on the scaffold of the book of Lamentations, not because they are lamenting the destruction of 586, but because by so doing they equate their own condition with what had become the stock model of suffering and divine rejection. These are not poems of mourning, they are poems of alienation."<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the above-mentioned studies, historical context and possible use of the manuscripts are at the forefront of the contributions of Philip Alexander (2013) and Corinna Körting (2017). Körting investigates a possible time and setting of Lamentations in the Second Temple period through a textual pragmatic analysis<sup>17</sup> of Ancient Near East (ANE)

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<sup>16</sup> Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 17.

<sup>17</sup> Textual pragmatics studies the role a text plays in communication.

city laments, Lamentations during and after the exile, and 4Q179 at Qumran. An examination of ANE–city laments shows that these were not only connected to destruction, but also to the rebuilding of cities and temples, and the continuation of the cult. They primarily served to appease divine anger and prevent future disasters. Lamentations shows many similarities with its ANE-cousins in its use of imagery and language. While later use of Lamentations connects the book to commemorations of past events, there is “no concrete link between any kind of service and a reading of the book of Lamentations in the Second Temple period, neither for mourning nor for commemoration.”<sup>18</sup> Körting, furthermore, sees Lam 1:18 as an answer to earlier prophetic warnings by combining it with lament and confession of guilt into one clear statement,<sup>19</sup> as well as a possible starting point for a later tradition of communal confession. Consequently, Lamentations and 4Q179 could be read as prayers of appeasement or penitence, rather than merely laments of mourning or commemoration of the Fall of Jerusalem and the Destruction of the Temple in 586 BCE.

If 4Q179 is a penitential prayer rather than a mourning ritual, “The question of setting has to be asked anew”.<sup>20</sup> Körting proposes that 4Q179 “may have served the function of a preparation for atonement of sins and forgiveness.”<sup>21</sup> Ultimately she concludes that, while 4Q179 shows the continuing importance of Lamentations during the Second Temple period, through recontextualisation and a similar use of language, that “[kept] those praying in a present state of distress,”<sup>22</sup> the question of time and setting for Lamentations remains unsolved, even in light of 4Q179.

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<sup>18</sup> Corinna Körting, “Lamentations: Time and Setting,” in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 486 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 143.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 149: “Influenced strongly by the book of Jeremiah, Lamentations 1:18 offers an answer to the prophetic warning, a final confession of guilt in the mouth of the personified city: “The LORD is in the right, for I have rebelled against his word; but hear, all you peoples, and behold my suffering; my young women and young men have gone into captivity.” Prophetic warning, lament, and confession of guilt coalesce into one clear statement.”

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.

Alexander provides a different angle to the historical context and possible use of QLS by seeking to answer the question whether the Ninth of Av was observed in the Second Temple period.<sup>23</sup> If it was observed before 70 CE, when the Temple was still standing and flourishing, it cannot have meant the same as after 70 CE, when it was destroyed for a second time. Different contexts would mean different liturgies, since "[i]n the performance of liturgy, context is all."<sup>24</sup> While the evidence for a post-538 BCE/pre-70 CE Ninth of Av is less clear and contradictory, Alexander thinks the Dead Sea Scrolls provide ample evidence for a continued observance of the Ninth of Av.

First, the, for such a small book, impressive presence of Lamentations at Qumran in four manuscripts, three caves and of five chapters in a form close to MT, suggest that the book was well established during the Second Temple period. Second, all manuscripts were copied during the Herodian or Post-Herodian period, "at a time the Jerusalem Temple was flourishing".<sup>25</sup> Copying texts was costly, and the text must, therefore, have had some purpose and meaning for the scribe or whoever commissioned the copy. Third, a number of aspects of QLamMss indicate that some of these scrolls served a liturgical purpose. Fourth, the division of the text of 4Q111 suggests that the first verse of Lam 1 started on another sheet. Since it seems unlikely that one sheet would have been used for one single line, 4Q111 must have contained other works, perhaps additional *Qinot* for the destruction of the Temple may have preceded Lamentations. Sixth, the very full orthography of 5Q6 is similar to that of characteristic sectarian documents. Even if the unicity of this orthography at Qumran is debatable, Alexander "see[s] no grounds for doubting that the Qumran copies of Lamentations were written there for use within the Qumran Community "Their orthography

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<sup>23</sup> The "Ninth of Av" is used symbolically for a day in the year that the destruction of the Temple was mourned.

<sup>24</sup> Philip S. Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed in the Second Temple Period? Reflections on the Concept of Continuing Exile in Early Judaism," in *Envisioning Judaism: Studies in Honor of Peter Schäfer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ra'anan S. Boustan et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 23.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.



is perfectly consonant with such an assumption."<sup>26</sup>

4Q179, 4Q501 and 4Q241 are also discussed, because of their supposed connection with Lamentations, but 4Q241 and 4Q501 are quickly set aside. 4Q179, on the other hand, has strong connections to Lamentations and its author must have known and used Lamentations. Whether 4Q179 was or was not composed at Qumran, the fact remains that it was copied at Qumran along with Lamentations, and with a purpose. For Alexander, the most obvious purpose would have been the commemoration of the destruction of the First Temple. Like the multitude of other liturgical texts, it is reasonable to assume that they reflect the actual liturgy of the Qumranites. These laments strengthen the idea that "Qumran Yahad went on commemorating the destruction of the First Temple right down to the destruction of the Second."<sup>27</sup> Alexander argues that these commemorations served to make a political point by those who did not see the Second Temple and the Jerusalem priesthood as legitimate and were of the opinion that, by deuteronomistic standards, Israel was still in exile.

#### 1.1.4 The General Neglect of the Materiality of the Manuscripts

Materiality hardly, if at all, plays a role in any of the aforementioned articles. Berlin almost immediately jumps to the content and interpretation of the texts. Horgan and Høgenhaven show some concern with the manuscript, but only to establish the correct reading. The particular dimensions or layout of the manuscript, for example, are not considered at all. More serious is Ilan's neglect of the materiality of the manuscripts, which, in some cases, could even undermine her argument.<sup>28</sup> Materiality of the manuscripts does play a role in Kotzé's investigation, but with a primarily text-critical focus. Material aspects such as size or the quality are of little relevance for his study. Nevertheless, two *excursus*, one

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. a misreading in 4Q111 3:9 – לנדוח בניהמה ("sending away of their sons"), Ilan, "Gender and Lamentations," 9. An inspection of the manuscript clearly shows a ח and not a ת, לנדוח instead of – instead of לנדוח. Thus, the verse reads: היתה צין לנדוח בניהם – "Zion has become like one banished among them".

on a scribal mark and another on a *vacat*, underline the importance of the materiality of the manuscripts (see:40). Alexander makes several comments on the material aspects of the manuscripts, e.g. the colometric layout of 3Q3 (and possibly 5Q7), the very full orthography, the distribution of the verses of 4Q111, his observations are often superficial and his conclusions always in favour of a continued observance of the Ninth of Av in the Second Temple period.<sup>29</sup> Also, a particular reading of Lamentations, such as that of 4Q111, is not considered at all. Instead, Alexander seems to rely on MT. Generally, due attention to materiality seems to be reserved to the DJD publications of the manuscripts.

### 1.1.5 Conclusion

In summary, when it comes to content, context (*Sitz im Leben*) and materiality of QLS, all these studies focus on one or two of these aspects, but rarely or only superficially on all three aspects together. Taking all three aspects into account would likely paint a more complete and accurate picture of QLS. What is lost, most importantly, is the significance 1. of the

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Another example is the correction in line 13 of 4Q179 f1i. The passage reads as follows: {היקרים} בנות ציון הרכות [ע]מם. It appears to cite from Lam 4:2. Ilan comments the following: "Note also the mistake made by the scribe of 4Q179, who began to write 'dear' in the masculine (יקרים) as referring to the sons of Jerusalem, and then corrected himself. This is probably an indication that this scribe was versed in the masoretic lamentations text." What she seems to imply, here, is that the scribe had written בנות ציון – "daughters of Zion" – and then, because he was familiar with the masoretic text, mistakenly added a masculine adjective יקרים to the feminine noun בנות. This is an interesting example, because Ilan's explanation allows her to uphold her claim and circumvent the possibility that 4Q179 did derive from Lamentations. A closer examination of the manuscript shows a different picture, and potentially undermines her claims, as I will demonstrate later (see: 54).

<sup>29</sup> A good example is his discussion of QLamMss. The number of manuscripts and the fact that all five chapters are attested at Qumran, all point to the importance of Lamentations at Qumran. Producing manuscripts was costly and must have been done with a purpose, "[...] the most obvious reason would have been the commemoration of the destruction of the First Temple," Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed?", 33. Even if this is perfectly possible, none of Alexander's evidence necessitates or requires such a conclusion.

Similarly, some QLamMss may have had a liturgical purpose and have been part of a Qumran liturgy. For Alexander, "[t]hey strengthen the view that at least the Qumran Yahad went on commemorating the destruction of the First Temple right down to the destruction of the Second, *Ibid.* Again, the Qumranites may have included Lamentations in their liturgy, but for very different reasons and not necessarily or primarily to commemorate 586. Alexander never considers this possibility.

materiality of a manuscript, and 2. of the particularity of a material version of a book or writing. The importance of the materiality and particularity of manuscripts are underlined by Mladen Popović, who, in a recent publication, asks the following question: "For whom was a manuscript copied?":

*Asking for whom a manuscript was copied invites looking anew at the material evidence and to study, for example, the variance in script styles, the quality of writing, and the level of writing skills. These allow us to better understand what kind of manuscript a specific specimen may have represented and what that may mean in terms of production and circulation in the context of the perceived group or movement behind the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>30</sup>*

This paper aims to address the above-mentioned issues by an integrated approach to the content, context and materiality of QLS that:

1. pays attention to the materiality and textuality of QLS, with
2. an intertextual reading of Lamentations with 4Q179 and 4Q501 that places Lamentations and 4Q111 in a broader historical context by paying attention to how Lamentations was interpreted in 4Q179 and 4Q501 in order to determine the nature of these texts, and to consider possible implication for 4Q111 as a contemporary version of Lamentations, and
3. an analysis of performative utterances based on Austin's theory of performativity which integrates material, textual and contextual aspects by looking at their

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<sup>30</sup> Mladen Popović, "Book Production and Circulation in Ancient Judaea: Evidenced by Writing Quality and Skills in the Dead Sea Scrolls Isaiah and Serekh Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Ancient Media Culture*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2023), 199–265. To clarify Popović's statement in relation to this study: he explicitly states that the question for whom a manuscript was copied is not exactly the same as question of a function of a manuscript (a question more in line with my purposes), "even though the question of a manuscript's function can intersect with the question for whom it was copied." His study, furthermore, focuses on manuscript production and circulation, mine does not, but we both emphasize the importance of the materiality and the particularity of manuscripts.

relationship and interplay.

## ***1.2 Research Question and Methodological Issues***

The research question of this study is: "*What was the purpose and use of the Qumran Lament Scrolls?*" In order to operationalize this question, it seems important to me to clarify and define my usage of terms and concepts.

I will, first, discuss the importance of the materiality of the manuscripts, and following from this, my usage of *purpose* and *use* in the title and research question. Second, I will justify my selection of manuscripts. Third, I will problematize the concept of lament and, fourth, the nomenclature of the manuscripts. Fifth, I will shortly define my usage of *personal* and *public liturgical use* (of the manuscripts). Finally, I will shortly explain how each chapter contributes to answering the research question.

### **1.2.1 The Importance of the Materiality of the Manuscripts**

*"My heart is sad and lonely*

*For you I sigh, for you dear only*

*Why haven't you seen it*

*I'm all for you body and soul"*<sup>31</sup>

A key tenet of this study is the importance of the materiality of manuscripts. In order to read and study the Bible and related writings, students and scholars of theology and biblical studies will generally use a critical edition, such as the BHS or the Nestle-Aland, often mediated through bible software. What these editions share is that they have separated the

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<sup>31</sup> This are the opening lyrics of the famous jazz standard "Body and Soul" written in 1930 Edward Heyman, Robert Sour and Frank Eyton.

letters and words of a manuscript, the text, from their material medium, e.g. the leather or papyrus, and neatly repackaged this text into a clear and accessible format. What is left is a disembodied text, a ghost without a shell. The idea of a disembodied text is explicitly contested in this study.<sup>32</sup> A manuscript is a historical artefact, a witness to a specific historical place and time. Its materiality has a story to tell and contributes, together with its text, to the meaning and significance of the manuscript. In this study, I will therefore use *manuscript* to refer to the totality of elements this historical written artefact exists of, i.e. its material parts (le.g. leather, ink) and its content, the words and letters, to which I will refer as the *text*. The notion of a manuscript, consisting of a material and textual part that both and inseparably from one another contribute to the meaning and significance of a manuscript, also serves as a starting point for a discussion on *purpose* and *use*, terms that are both present in the title and research question.

### 1.2.2 Purpose and Use

A manuscript is an object and its material properties can be observed, studied and compared to other manuscripts. Matthew Monger notes that, "[...] such material properties are the result of historical processes and can provide information on the context of the production and use of the manuscript."<sup>33</sup> These material properties, under which Monger also includes " the preparation of the manuscript (i.e. ruling, line spacing, and the number of lines on the page) and style of writing, and other scribal practices [...]" can help determine the purpose and use of

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<sup>32</sup> The idea in literary studies that "matter matters" emerged in the early 1990, in the so called "New Philology", see e.g.: Yager (2010:999–1006) and Nichols (1990:1–10). In relation to DSS-studies, Tigchelaar (2019:4) notes that it took a considerable time before the tenets of New Philology entered DSS-studies. Pioneers in the field worked with highly fragmented manuscripts that they first had to reconstruct. He writes: 'One might argue that [...] scrolls scholars were material [...] philologists avant la lettre. Often the concern for the artefact was a means, not an end. Scholars 'were more interested in variant readings [of biblical scrolls], than in the physical characteristics of the manuscript' (ibid.).

<sup>33</sup> Matthew P. Monger, "Material Philology and Jubilees Manuscripts from Qumran: Exploring Questions of Theory and Method," *Judaïsme Ancien - Ancient Judaism* 10 (2022): 7.

a certain text [...]."<sup>34</sup> A similar relationship, i.e. between material properties and the purpose and use of a manuscript, is also highlighted by Colette Sirat, who writes that, "The function of a written object is taken into account when the object is designed. [...] This function was planned from the outset. Thus, although documents and letters were written before they were folded and sealed, their purpose is part of the overall design."<sup>35</sup> Likewise, Eibert Tigchelaar writes that, "Most of the questions asked in earlier scholarship were historical and textual. Now that we have access to all fragments other queries become possible, such as how all these different manuscripts were used, and why they were produced in their particular way."<sup>36</sup>

Thus, these scholars point to the fact that materiality can provide clues about the purpose of a manuscript and the use of a manuscript. In this study, *purpose* will refer to the *intended use* a scribe had in mind when he produced a manuscript or wrote a text (the reason or reason(s) *why* it was produced in a certain way). *Use* will refer to *how* a manuscript or a text was used.<sup>37</sup> The concepts of *purpose* and *use*, however, are not without methodological problems.

First, purpose relates to intention(s), i.e. that of the maker and that of the user. However, as archeologists Jennifer A. Loughmiller-Cardinal and J. Scott Cardinal note: "We obviously cannot observe past intentions, so purpose and its associations (i.e., norms and practices) must always be inferred from other information,"<sup>38</sup> i.e. from empirical evidence, such as material aspects. They also note that "there is no direct link between mental states, such as intention, and their empirical expression in the archaeological record."<sup>39</sup> Similarly,

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Colette Sirat, *Writing as Handwork: A History of Handwriting in Mediterranean and Western Culture*, ed. Lenn. Schramm, *Bibliologia : Elementa Ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia* 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 168.

<sup>36</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, "The Material Variance of the Dead Sea Scrolls: On Texts and Artefacts: Original Research," *HTS : Theological Studies* 72.4 (2016): 5.

<sup>37</sup> For my definitions of use (*how?*) and purpose (*why?*) cf. also Tigchelaar's comment above.

<sup>38</sup> Jennifer A. Loughmiller-Cardinal and J. Scott Cardinal, "Use, Purpose, and Function—Letting the Artifacts Speak," *Heritage* 3.3 (2020): 599.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 598.

Monger writes that "[...] even though measurements of these physical properties are absolute (i.e., size, age, etc.) their interpretation is not."<sup>40</sup> In other words, physical properties do not self-evidently reveal purpose and use, but they always need to be interpreted.

Second, as noted above, a manuscript consists of materiality and text. Many of the observations made above also apply to the text of a manuscript (i.e. like material properties, a text is also the result of historical processes and can provide information on the context of the production and use of the manuscript, etc.). In other words, a manuscript consists not of one, but of two layers (i.e. a material layer and a textual layer) that can be analysed and help understand the purpose and use of a manuscript. As Monger writes, "the analysis of a manuscript should be seen on two axes, one material and one textual. That is, the manuscript will have features that are both similar to and different from other manuscripts. At the same time, the manuscript can be analysed as the bearer of a text. Likewise, the assessment of the text in its particular form should be shaped by the material attributes of the manuscript."<sup>41</sup>

### 1.2.3 The Selection of the Manuscripts

What is the rationale behind my selection of manuscripts? First, the combined Qumran Lament Scrolls are often mentioned together in the studies written about them (as can also be observed in the literature review). The relationship between 3Q3, 4Q111, 5Q6 and 5Q7 needs little explanation: they are all manuscripts exclusively containing parts of Lamentations. 4Q179 and 4Q501, however, are not. How do the two relate to one another? How do the two relate to QLamMss?

First, the most frequently mentioned reason for the two manuscripts, 4Q179 and 4Q501, to appear with one another and with QLamMss is their (presumed) dependence on Lamentations. As such, they could be texts that are inspired by or wish to emulate

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<sup>40</sup> Monger, "Material Philology and Jubilees Manuscripts from Qumran," 7– 8.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

Lamentations. However, this dependence is not unequivocally clear. This raises the question whether 4Q179 and 4Q501 do indeed depend on Lamentations, and if so, how? As both texts also use materials from other biblical books, this raises the question why Lamentations is given priority over the other biblical books. In the case of 4Q179, one explanation could be that Lamentations is the most cited biblical book.<sup>42</sup>

Second, the presumed relationship of 4Q179 and 4Q501 with Lamentations is also visible in their designation as Apocryphal Lamentations. One possible implication of this nomenclature is that 4Q179 and 4Q501 are of similar nature or character as the biblical Lamentations, i.e. they are also "lamentations" or "laments", and hence, that 4Q179 and 4Q501 are also similar in nature. As we will see, this is far from clear, even if both should be dependent upon Lamentations. Part of the problem is what is meant by "lament", and the related "lamentation", the act of lamenting.

The question about the relationship of 4Q179 and 4Q501 with Lamentations and the nature and character of both texts will be taken up in the chapters on intertextuality and performativity. I will now turn to the question of what is meant by "lament". This is followed by a discussion of the nomenclature of the manuscripts.

#### 1.2.4 What is Lament?

It is often taken for granted that Lamentations laments the events of 586 BCE – the loss of the City and the Temple and the horrors of war and famine. In this context, lament is understood as a profound mourning and grieving over these events, often described with strong psychological and existential overtones.<sup>43</sup> A comparison with Mesopotamian city

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<sup>42</sup> Horgan's findings show that with ten occurrences, Lamentations is the most alluded to book in 4Q179, followed by Jeremiah and Isaiah, with respectively eight and six occurrences. See: Maurya P. Horgan, "A Lament Over Jerusalem ('4Q179')," *Journal of Semitic Studies* XVIII.2 (1973): 226–27.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Kathleen M. O'Connor, *Lamentations and the Tears of the World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), xiv writes: "Lamentations is about the collapse of a physical, emotional, and spiritual universe of an entire people [...]." She focuses on the "speaking voices [...]" in the text as they struggle to articulate their pain and to cope with the aftermath of trauma."



laments, with which Lamentations shares many similarities, problematizes this view.<sup>44</sup>

In the Laments for Ur, for example, we find vivid descriptions of corpses and blood filling the streets.<sup>45</sup> On the surface, these laments appear to be intended to mourn the events they are describing. Contemporary sources, however, reveal that they were used for the reinstallation of the cult, and during the rebuilding and rededication of the temple.<sup>46</sup>

One of the purposes of lamenting was to appease the deity whose house had been destroyed and whose worship had been interrupted, and to move it to return to its temple and its land.<sup>47</sup> Mirelman, furthermore, writes that, "in many cultures, the acts of confession and penitence are inherently cathartic acts, where the sincerity of the penitent is irrelevant (Aune 2005: 7755). In this connection, the evidence suggests that confession and penitential prayer in Mesopotamia were formalized ritual acts, not expressions of individual belief and emotion."<sup>48</sup>

My point here, is not that there is no relationship between these laments and the events they are describing, on the contrary, but rather to draw attention to the fact that the formal appearance (mourning a loss and wailing over catastrophic events) and the *use of*

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<sup>44</sup> See, e.g. W.C. Gwaltney Jr., "The Biblical Book of Lamentations in the Context of Near Eastern Lament Literature," in *More Essays on the Comparative Method II*, ed. William W. Hallo, James C. Moyer, and Leo G. Perdue, Scripture in Context (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 191–211.

<sup>45</sup> Victor Harold Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, *Old Testament Parallels: Laws and Stories From the Ancient Near East* (New York: Paulist Press, 2016), 253.

<sup>46</sup> Angelika Berlejung, "Notlösungen: Altorientalische Nachrichten über den Tempelkult in Nachkriegszeiten," in *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Hübner, Ernst Axel Knauf, and Manfred Weippert, Orbis biblicus et orientalis (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 2002), 197: "Die Mehrzahl dieser Quellen schildert die kultische Notlage aus der Gewißheit heraus, daß sie in absehbarer Zeit behoben sein wird bzw. soeben behoben wurde. Dies gilt in gewisser Weise auch für die Klagen, die im 1. Jt. nachweislich anläßlich des Wiederaufbaus einer Stadt oder der Restaurierung eines Tempels bzw. seines Inventars rezitiert wurden 4 und daher ebenfalls die Wiederaufnahme des Kults und das Ende der Krise vor Augen haben."

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 209: "Das theologische Hauptziel dieser Trauerbezeugungen war es, den Zorn der betroffenen Gottheit (über den Zustand ihres Bildes oder Tempels, ihre zeitweilige Heimatlosigkeit und die Kultunterbrechung sowie das Faktum, daß Menschen an ihren Leib (= die Kultstatue) als auch ihre Wohnung (= den Tempel) Hand angelegt hatten), zu beruhigen, und sie zur Rückkehr in ihren Tempel und ihr Land zu bewegen."

<sup>48</sup> Sam Mirelman, "Lament and Ritual Weeping in the "Negative Confession" of the Babylonian Akītu Festival," *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 21.1 (2021): 45 n 14.

lament for a specific purpose (e.g. the rededication of a temple) should not *a priori* be assumed to be one and the same. Also, the mourning of loss (e.g. of a temple) and a reorientation towards the future (e.g. by reinstalling the cult), could both be part of one and the same lament. In this study I will use the term *lament* to refer to the formal appearance, mourning a loss or wailing over an event, either as a noun or a verb.

### 1.2.5 Naming the Scrolls

4Q179 and 4Q501 are also known as 4QApocryphal Lamentations A and B.<sup>49</sup> In a preliminary survey, Najman and Tigchelaar create an overview of the naming process of the Dead Sea Scrolls and problematize the initial integration of the scrolls into biblical studies.<sup>50</sup> They point out the "inconsistency and sometimes haphazard nature of early scholarly nomenclature"<sup>51</sup> and the fact that names come loaded with assumptions about the content and character of the manuscripts. The question therefore is, whether these names do justice to the content and character of these manuscripts.

To begin with, one can already raise questions about the naming and nature of Lamentations itself. While its Hebrew name is *איכה* (*ēkah*), after the opening word of the book, Lamentations derives from the Greek name of the Septuagint, *θρῆνοι* (*threnoi*). It is often taken for granted that Lamentations has the *purpose* and *use* of mourning and commemorating the Fall and Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Temple in 586 BCE. However, this is not self-evident. Even if Lamentations was written to mourn and commemorate "586", it does not necessarily follow that QLamMss, most of which are written in the late first century BCE or around the beginning of the first century CE, were copied

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<sup>49</sup> 4Q179 was initially named "4QLamentations", J.M Allegro and A. A. Anderson, *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 75.

<sup>50</sup> Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar, "A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Revue de Qumrân* 26.3 (2014): 306.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 316.

with the same *purpose* and intended for the same *use*.<sup>52</sup>

Regarding 4Q179 and 4Q501, the designation "Lamentations" identifies these books as secondary and relating to the biblical book of Lamentations. Apart from the fact that this relationship is not necessarily clear, – Alexander, for example, sees no connection between 4Q501 and Lamentations<sup>53</sup>– this also creates problems for the nature and genre of the books.<sup>54</sup> It is far from clear that 4Q179 and 4Q501 are of similar character and nature as Lamentations. In the case of 4Q179, Horgan calls it "certainly misleading, since it implies a closer connection with the biblical book than is warranted by the allusions within the text. The work clearly belongs to the literary genre of the lament; however, the images are drawn not only from the book of Lamentations, but also from prophetic works, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah [...]."<sup>55</sup> Instead, she used the title "A Lament over Jerusalem",<sup>56</sup> but even here one can ask whether this title does justice to the text.

The adjective "apocryphal" – "obscure, hidden, not fit for public reading"<sup>57</sup> – is generally used by Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians to indicate that a text is less authoritative than its canonical counterpart. In my opinion, this term is the most problematic. Apart from the fact that this use is anachronistic in the case of the Qumran scrolls,<sup>58</sup> we simply do not know what authoritative status 4Q179 and 4Q501 held for the communities they belonged to.

Finally, whether one should or should not designate 4Q179 and 4Q501 as "laments"

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<sup>52</sup> Edward L. Greenstein, "The Book of Lamentations: Response to Destruction or Ritual of Rebuilding?," *Religious Responses to Political Crisis* (2008): for example, does not even think that Lamentations was originally written to commemorate "586". Rather, he argues that it served to rededicate the Second Temple.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed?," 31.

<sup>54</sup> Najman and Tigchelaar, "Nomenclature and Text Designation," 313, discuss this problem related to *pesharim* and commentaries, and, in my view, a similar reasoning can be applied here.

<sup>55</sup> Horgan, "Lament over Jerusalem," 223.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Douglas Harper, *Etymology of Apocryphal*, July 13, Online Etymology Dictionary.

<sup>58</sup> Najman and Tigchelaar, "Nomenclature and Text Designation," 315.

or "lamentations" depends, in my opinion, to a large extent on the assumptions one attaches to these terms. A text can have the form of a lament, but it does not necessarily follow that lament was also its *purpose* or *use*. As long as the distinction between form and function is clear, I see no problems. The designation "lamentations" is, perhaps, more problematic, but here again, much depends on the assumptions one attaches to this term. If it implies that a *text* is "inspired by" or "resembling" the poems of Lamentations, I see no problem, as a good case for both can be made. The use of the term "lamentations" becomes problematic when it implies that 4Q179 and 4Q501 are exactly similar in nature to, and/or somehow inferior or subordinate to the biblical Lamentations. But in this case, I would think, as noted above, that the adjective "apocryphal" is more problematic than the noun "lamentations", because it necessarily implies all kinds of things about the nature and hierarchical relationship of Lamentations, 4Q179 and 4Q501.

### 1.2.6 Liturgical Use, Personal and Public

Because the terms *personal liturgical use* and *public liturgical use* play an important role in my argument, and because hardly any of the literature I refer to defines *liturgy* or related terms,<sup>59</sup> my usage of these words deserve some explanation.

Generally, liturgy is used to denote "acts and scripts of worship", originally referring primarily to Christian contexts, but nowadays "widely used for similarly ritualized phenomena in other religions too."<sup>60</sup> In this sense, liturgy is confined to the formal and public

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<sup>59</sup> The only exceptions I could find where Judith H. Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2018), 8–11, who gives quite an extensive explanation of her understanding of the term *liturgical*, and Daniel K. Falk, "Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran," in *Literature or Liturgy?: Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr, *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. 2. Reihe* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33, who defines "scrolls of liturgical prayers" as "collections of prayers for corporate worship."

<sup>60</sup> Lawrence A. Hoffman, "Liturgy," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Lindsay Jones (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 5489–93.

service of gods in the temple. But, as Judith Newman rightly argued, "“liturgical” in [the Hellenistic-Roman period] should be broadened to include a constellation of practices, including prayers."<sup>61</sup> Referring to Stefan Reif, she writes that, "[...] beyond the Jerusalem Temple and its sacrificial system, it includes the “whole gamut of worship in and around the study of sacred texts, the acts of eating and fasting, and of course, benedictions, prayers and amulets ... Liturgy was expressed in many ways within Jewish society as a whole."<sup>62</sup>

In this study, I will, therefore, distinguish *personal liturgical use* and *public liturgical use*. Both refer to acts of worship, such as prayer, confession, reading of scriptures, chanting. The first refers to individual worship or a private pious setting, the second to communal settings. At times, the reader will also run into the term "liturgical use" (without exclamation marks and italics), but this will be in a context where I refer to the works of others and their usage of these terms.

### 1.2.7 How Does Each Chapter Contribute to the Research Question?

The contribution of the individual chapters to the research question is built on the assumption that a manuscript provides clues about its *purpose* and *use*, and that both are somehow reflected in the manuscript.

Chapter 2 pays attention to the materiality and textuality of QLS and discusses those aspects that I consider most relevant for the question of *purpose* and *use*.

Chapter 3 provides an account of the intertextuality of Lamentations in 4Q179 and 4Q501 in order to define the nature of the *texts* of 4Q179 and 4Q501 and to provide possible clues about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. The assumption, here, is that Lamentations (and other biblical materials) has been reapplied and reactualized in its historical context (represented by 4Q179 and 4Q501) and somehow provides clues about the *purpose* and *use*

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<sup>61</sup> Newman, *Before the Bible*, 8.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

of 4Q179 and 4Q501, but also of Lamentations itself. In turn, intertextuality could provide more information about the *purpose* and *use* of 4Q111 as a contemporary manuscript of Lamentations.

Chapter 4, finally, provides an analysis of performative utterances based on Austin's theory of performativity. While Austin's theory is a philosophy of language, it necessarily includes context and materiality.<sup>63</sup> Performativity, thus, provides possible clues about *purpose* and *use*, but could also integrate materiality, content and context of QLS.

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<sup>63</sup> James F. Harris, "Speech Acts and God Talk," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 11.3 (1980): 169: "The cornerstone of speech act analysis is that in order for an utterance to successfully be made, it must be made in the appropriate circumstances. We must, then, examine not only the utterance, but the time and place at which the utterance was made, the status, position and intentions of the speaker, as well as the prevailing linguistic and social conventions which are relevant."

## 2 The Materiality and Textuality of the Manuscripts

This chapter focuses on those aspects of materiality and textuality of QLS that I consider most relevant for the question about *purpose* and *use*. My own paleographic work (see: p. 101, Appendices) forms the basis for this chapter. I will, first, provide an explanation of the methodological assumptions underlying this chapter and define the usage of relevant terms. Second, I will give a description of the paleographic method I have used, the *petit guide* by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger. This is followed by a discussion of the most relevant aspects of materiality and textuality of the manuscript and a preliminary conclusion.

### 2.1 *Manuscript, Materiality and Text*

*"My heart is sad and lonely*

*For you I sigh, for you dear only*

*Why haven't you seen it*

*I'm all for you body and soul*<sup>64</sup>

To read and study the Bible and related writing, most students and scholars of theology and biblical studies will use a critical edition, such as the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) or the Nestle-Aland edition of the New Testament, often mediated through bible software. What these editions share, is that they have neatly repackaged hundreds of messy manuscripts into a clear and accessible format. By ridding the text of its messiness and by resolving its ambiguities, *content* is separated from matter. What is left is a disembodied text, a ghost without a shell. This idea, that the materiality and the text of a manuscript exist independently

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<sup>64</sup> This are the opening lyrics of the famous jazz standard "Body and Soul" written in 1930 Edward Heyman, Robert Sour and Frank Eyton.

from one another, is explicitly contested in this study.<sup>65</sup> The material evidence of a manuscript also has a story to tell. Apart from the "[...] the variance in script styles, the quality of writing, and the level of writing skills [...]," individual manuscripts have particular readings, intentional changes, markings and corrections that also contribute to a better understanding of "what kind of manuscript a specific specimen may have represented."<sup>66</sup> It is with this assumption that I will approach QLS in this chapter.

In order to not confuse the reader, *manuscript* refers to the whole of the written artefact, its material as well as its textual aspects. *Text* refers to the abstracted letters, phrases and sentences of a manuscript. *Matter* and *materiality* refer to the "stuff" a manuscript is composed of, for example, the leather it was written on, the ink it was written with, but also aspects such as graphic layout (writing block, columns) and handwriting quality, as these are inseparably part of the manuscript, and do not exist without material form or physical shape.

## 2.2 *A Paleographic Method*

For my own paleographic work, I have made use of the "*petit guide de description des écritures hébraïques: identifier la main du scribe*" developed by Judith Olszowy-Schlanger.<sup>67</sup> Her *petit guide* is based on a forensic paleographic method of Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn,<sup>68</sup> which Olszowy-Schlanger adapted for medieval Hebrew manuscripts. Most, but not all, of the

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<sup>65</sup> The idea in literary studies that "matter matters" emerged in the early 1990, in the so called "New Philology", see e.g.: Yager (2010:999–1006) and Nichols (1990:1–10). In relation to DSS-studies, Tigchelaar (2019:4) notes that it took a considerable time before the tenets of New Philology entered DSS-studies. Pioneers in the field worked with highly fragmented manuscripts that they first had to reconstruct. He writes: 'One might argue that [...] scrolls scholars were material [...] philologists avant la lettre. Often the concern for the artefact was a means, not an end. Scholars 'were more interested in variant readings [of biblical scrolls], than in the physical characteristics of the manuscript' (ibid.).

<sup>66</sup> Popović, "Book Production and Circulation in Ancient Judaea".

<sup>67</sup> Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Petit Guide de Description des Écritures Hébraïques: Identifier la Main du Scribe* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2013).

<sup>68</sup> Marie-Jeanne Sedeyn, *Introduction à l'examen objectif des écritures manuscrites = Standard handwriting objective examination: méthode "SHOE": à l'usage des médecins, sociologues, chercheurs, experts en écritures* (Meyreuil, France: Fovea, 1998).



categories of the guide are applicable to Qumran manuscripts.<sup>69</sup>

Sedeyn's original approach was intended for forensic handwriting examination of so-called Questioned Documents,<sup>70</sup> which is done by comparing a sample of a known, authentic handwriting with that of the suspected document. A scientific, objective approach to handwriting identification requires us to understand that "[...] we cannot compare two things without having first a complete description of each."<sup>71</sup> This complete understanding cannot be obtained by only observing individual letters and is not even necessary: "Because handwriting is a live thing: if you cut it into slices you take the life out of it."<sup>72</sup>

To illustrate her point, Sedeyn asks the reader to imagine that s/he was writing a novel, in which the hero has just received a letter. Rather than describing the shapes of individual letters, one will give a global impression, describing the size of the paper, the colour of the ink, the general appearance, etc. Similarly, the objective of her method is "to collect as many observations as possible, without ever forgetting what makes the general look. The sum of these observations could then be considered as an accurate description."<sup>73</sup>

While the aim of my study is not to distinguish one handwriting from the other, the

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<sup>69</sup> Aspects such as dimensions, writing block, layout, proportions of the letters, ligatures are applicable, but diacritical marks, "Vowels", for example, are not.

<sup>70</sup> For a methodological justification I would have liked to consult Sedeyn's work, but unfortunately it is out of print and out of stock. I have contacted the publisher, the author (who, unfortunately died in March of this year). The only library who has a copy does not want to lend the book through IBL.

This description is based on an earlier published article by Sedeyn in which she summarizes some of the key concepts of her approach, see: Idem, "Handwriting Examination: A Practical Approach," *Forensic Science International* 36.3 (1988): 169-71.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 170. Practically, the idea is to examine a number of characteristics. This must be done as detailed as possible, "because we do not know what will or will not be significant in the special handwriting we have to study." Sedeyn's list includes: "(a) paper and ink (format, colour, quality), (b) lay out: all vertical and horizontal margins; (c) size: lower case, capitals, trespassing strokes; (d) letter axis; (e) baseline; (f) connection degree and system; (g) pressure; (h) velocity; (i) spacement inside text; (j) punctuation, accentuation, i points, idiosyncrasies."

*petit guide*, provides a methodical way of examining handwriting and training the eye.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, in light of the repeated importance of the materiality of the manuscripts, it would have been logical to work with the original manuscripts, but this is, unfortunately, not possible. All the manuscripts of this study are also available as high-resolution images, in the Leon Levy Digital Library, as well as on the electronic platform of the *Scripta Qumranica Electronica*, and I have happily made use of these. All the transcriptions and translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

### ***2.3 Relevant Aspects of Materiality and Textuality***

In what follows, I will discuss those aspects of materiality and textuality of the manuscript that are considered most relevant for the question of *use* and *purpose*. First, I will discuss the significance of the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton of 3Q3. This is followed, second, by a discussion of the colometric division of 3Q3. As 5Q7 possibly also had a colometric division, this discussion also applies to this manuscript. Third, I will try and answer the question why some text were written with a special graphic layout and others were not. This is followed, fourth, by a discussion of what Kotzé refers to as deliberate changes made by the scribe of 4Q111, and, fifth, by summary and assessment of Kotzé's *excursus* on the *vacat* and scribal marking of 5Q6. A *vacat* also appears in 4Q179, but will not be treated in this chapter. Instead, I will undertake a more extensive discussion of the significance of this visual marker in the chapter on intertextuality (see: 79). A sixth and final aspect of materiality that applies to all the QLS and that will be discussed in this chapter is the possible significance of the small size of the scrolls.

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<sup>74</sup> For the description of the manuscripts in this study, I will only provide a summary of the findings that I obtained by working through the "petit guide" and not the whole report (see: Appendices, 101).



**IMAGE 1: 3Q3<sup>75</sup>**

### 2.3.1 The Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton in 3Q3

Only two tiny snippets is what is left of 3Q3. Both fragments contain the remains of three lines of texts. Despite their small size, the fragments do have some noteworthy features, the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton and the colometric division. Both features are possibly also relevant for the question of *purpose* and *use*. For example, the colometric division could be part of the intentional design of the manuscript, or that writing the divine name in paleo-Hebrew was part of the customs or conventions of a particular group.

One of the peculiarities of 3Q3 is that the divine name is written in paleo-Hebrew

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<sup>75</sup> All the images in this thesis are either from the Leon Levy Digital Library or from the DJD editions of the manuscripts.

(fragment 1), while the rest of the manuscript is written in square Hebrew script.<sup>76</sup> Siegel suggest that one reason for writing the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters may have been that it was too sacred to be pronounced and to be written normally.<sup>77</sup> Another, more probable reason, was to ensure the non-erasure (from the manuscript) of the divine name.<sup>78</sup>

According to Emanuel Tov, all of the twenty-eight manuscripts written in square script containing paleo-Hebrew characters for the divine name and large enough for analysis reflect the orthography and morphology of the Qumran scribal practice.<sup>79</sup> Together with the explicit prohibition in 1QS VI 27 –VII 1 of uttering the divine name under penalty of expulsion from the community, the writing of the divine name in paleo-Hebrew characters in manuscripts written in square scripts, seems to be strongly connected to the Qumran community.<sup>80</sup> Tov's claims, however, are contested by Tigchelaar, who points out a number of inconsistencies in Tov's selection of manuscripts reflecting the Qumran scribal practice and the application of his own criteria. He writes that, "It had been suggested previously that the use of paleo-Hebrew script for divine names was a typically sectarian or Qumran phenomenon, and Tov's list suggests that within the corpus it is also restricted (with the one

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<sup>76</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Peter W. Flint, and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 54 (Brill, 2004), 241–44. One possible explanation for the use of the paleo-hebrew Tetragrammaton in texts written in square scripts is provided by Siegel in

<sup>77</sup> Jonathan P. Siegel, "The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names At Qumran in the Light of Tannaitic Sources," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971): 172 n 41: "It is well-known that in certain Qumran texts (e. g., iQpHab and 1QM) there is a conscious tendency to avoid the Tetragrammaton in "non-Scriptural" contexts: thus 'el occurs for YHWH many times. At least in the case of the Tetragrammaton, I think it can be safely said that a distinction in writing has its basis in a distinction in pronunciation. What was too sacred to be pronounced was also too sacred to be written normally. But the evidence for the former is still inferential; for the latter, concrete."

<sup>78</sup> Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 225. Similarly, Siegel, "The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names At Qumran in the Light of Tannaitic Sources," 171 writes: "By approaching the problem in the way that we have [i.e. by studying Tannaitic sources], the occasional Qumran practice of writing the Divine Names in palaeo-Hebrew script emerges as the palaeographical reflection of a significant theological consideration which is also documented in the "normative" Jewish community. Thus, the permanence of the Divine Name, rather than the context in which such a Name occurs, is the basis for the Qumran practice."

<sup>79</sup> Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 229. He notes that the only exception is 4Q258.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

exception of 4Q258) to texts using the distinctive orthography and morphology."<sup>81</sup> In other words, the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton cannot be used as a marker to identify writings that are typically sectarian or connected to the Qumran community.

With regard to the other QLamMss containing the divine name (4Q111 2:2; 3:1 and 5Q6 1iii:4) it is worth mentioning that it is written in square Hebrew script and not in paleo-Hebrew. Here, Tov's conclusion is that, "It is unclear why certain scribes used paleo-Hebrew characters for the Tetragrammaton, while others wrote the Tetragrammaton in square characters."<sup>82</sup> In other words, the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton, noteworthy as it may be, does not seem to provide any usable information to further our search of a purpose and use of the manuscripts.

### 2.3.2 A Possible Colometric Division of the Verses (3Q3 and 5Q7)

The distribution of the words on both fragments of 3Q3 suggests, according to some scholars,<sup>83</sup> a colometric division of the verses on the original scroll. The words of fragment 1 all appear near the end of the acrostic verses they are part of. The words on fragment 2 appear in alphabetic order and correspond to the beginnings of the verses of Lam 3:53, 56, 59 and 62.<sup>84</sup> In Baillet's reconstruction of this fragment, each line would have corresponded to the subsequent letter of the alphabet and have consisted of three verses beginning with the same alphabetic letter.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's "Qumran Scribal Practice"," (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 200.

<sup>82</sup> Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 225.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Maurice Baillet, "Lamentations," in *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân : explorations de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre*, ed. M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan; 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 95 and Emanuel Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements of Poetry in the Judean Desert Scrolls," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 333–34. See also below.

<sup>84</sup> 5Q7 also seems to have a colometric division and many of the observation I make here, could also apply to 5Q7.

<sup>85</sup> Baillet, "DJD 3," 95.



**IMAGE 2: 5Q7**

Likewise, the lines of 5Q7 seem to have been arranged in alphabetic order. The words on the fragment are all at or near the beginning of the verses beginning, subsequently, with  $\gamma$   $\kappa$   $\rho$ . However, the second word of the *resh* verse appears directly under  $\kappa$   $\lambda$   $\mu$ , the first word of the *qof* verse.<sup>86</sup> The first word of the *resh* verse may have been written in the margin, but also at the end of the preceding verse, in which case the lines were not arranged alphabetically. In either case, there is too little material to draw definite conclusions.

Tov distinguishes a number of different colometric systems and suggests that 3Q3 may have used a system of two or three stichs per line.<sup>87</sup> However, from the scarce material that is left, we can only conclude that each line represented one separate verse of the acrostic, the actual layout of the verses will remain a mystery.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 34.

<sup>87</sup> Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements," 331.

Shem Miller argues that, "[...] stichography reflects an interface between the written tradition and the performative tradition of poetic songs."<sup>88</sup> On the one hand, stichographic representation functions as a writing practice reflecting scribal interpretation of parallelisms and cola. On the other hand, stichography represents scribal performance, graphically displaying a scribal understanding of the way in which compositions were read.<sup>89</sup> Miller concludes that:

*Stichographically arranged copies of biblical poetry were likely read in a variety of liturgical and pedagogical contexts within Judaism of the Second Temple period. In particular, the formatted reference point provided by stichographic arrangements would have been ideal for communal gatherings that centred on the public reading of Scripture.*

In other words, if we hypothetically assume that Baillet and Tov are right, and 3Q3 was indeed arranged colometrically, this would suggest that 3Q3 was perhaps used for public readings in communal gatherings and 4Q111, written continuously, was not. This raises the question, why one was written colometrically and the other was not.

### **2.3.2.1 Why Were Some Poetical Texts Written Colometrically and Others Not?**

Tov, in a revision of an earlier work in which he stated that it was "difficult to ascertain whether there is any pattern behind the different ways of presenting the text of poetical units, either with or without a stichographic arrangement," suggests four possible explanations for the differences in layouts:<sup>90</sup>

1. A chronological distinction between the different types of arrangements

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<sup>88</sup> Shem Miller, "The Oral-Written Textuality of Stichographic Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 22.2 (2015): 118.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements," 333–34 This is a revision of chapter 5 of Idem, *Scribal Practices*.

2. Texts without special layout were not considered Scripture, and served another purpose, e.g. a liturgical purpose<sup>91</sup>
3. Since Psalm 119 is always arranged stichographically, and is part of the later Jewish liturgy, it is possible that stichographic writing was reserved for liturgical use. The same reasoning may also apply to Lamentations.<sup>92</sup>
4. The choice of the presentation system was determined by the personal preference of scribes

Possibility 1 could explain the different layouts of 3Q3 and 4Q111. Since both manuscripts have similar dates (late first century BCE/early first century CE), this could (but does not have to) indicate that both manuscripts have a different genealogy and/or that 3Q3 displays a layout from an older manuscript.<sup>93</sup> This could be true, but because of the fragmentary nature of 3Q3, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to establish its genealogy.

Possibility 2 would imply that Lamentations was not regarded as Scripture, i.e. writings that were regarded as divinely authoritative by a community.<sup>94</sup> While this is not impossible, it seems very unlikely to me, given the presence of Lamentations at Qumran both as an independent work as well as in its reuse in e.g. 4Q179 and 4Q501. Tov himself also

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<sup>91</sup> Tov nowhere clearly defines "liturgical use", "liturgical purpose" or "liturgy" in this volume, but some of his examples make it clear that he refers to settings of communal worship in which texts were, for example, publically read (136) or chanted (166).

<sup>92</sup> Idem, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements," 333 n 17.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 333 n 15. The comparison between texts with and without a special layout may lead to the conclusion that "a stichographic arrangement was the rule, and that subsequently this layout was often abandoned."

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Newman, *Before the Bible*, 1–2 who writes: "Texts become scripture to the degree they are understood to be connected to divine revelation in the service of the formation of self and community. Claims to divine revelation, and in particular its mediation, were clearly disputed among various communities, however, so not all communities had the same scriptures."



notes the limits of this claim in relation to e.g. the Psalm,<sup>95</sup> and as such seems to lack a consistent application. Another problem is how to distinguish between what counted as Scripture and what did not.

Possibility 3 would suggest that 3Q3 served the *purpose* of a *public liturgical use* and 4Q111 did not. While 3Q3 is too fragmentary to comment on the quality of the original manuscript, the quality of 4Q111 does suggest that it did not have the *purpose of public liturgical use*.

Possibility 4 is certainly an option, but would also complicate matters. The question is how to discern between a lay out that was chosen because of personal preference and one that was not?

To conclude, in relation to the question about a possible *purpose and use* of 3Q3 (and the related QLamMss 4Q111, 5Q6 and 5Q7), it seems that a colometric layout (as well as the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton) is compatible with a *public liturgical use*, and possibly, but not necessarily, points to such a use. The absence of a colometric layout, however, does not necessarily indicate that a scroll did not have a liturgical purpose. Tov's Possibilities 1 and 4 suggest that the absence of a special layout might have been because it became out fashioned or because of the personal preferences of a scribe.

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<sup>95</sup> Tov, "The Background of the Stichometric Arrangements," 333 n 16: "However, this claim cannot be made for all the Psalm scrolls mentioned above. If the prose arrangement of the biblical Psalms in Psalms scrolls together with liturgical additions in some collections (especially 11QPsa) is an indication of their use in religious gatherings, several such collections are indeed fully or partly arranged stichographically (Table 1), but others are not (Table 2)." Mika S. Pajunen, "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran," in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts From Qumran*, ed. Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger, and Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, Materiality, Presence and Performance (De Gruyter, 2020), 58–59: "Whether a stichometric arrangement is connected with the intended usage of a particular manuscript cannot be established." He argues that the use of stichometry in certain psalms "relates most of all to preserving their traditional format that is related to their use of classic parallelism." While he admits that a stichometric layout would have improved the readability, he argues that "Perhaps the most important factor in the layout of a manuscript for arguing for or against its easy readability is the size of the script and the divisions between lines, letters, and words."



**IMAGE 3:** 4Q111:III

(H x W in mm: 86 x 164)

### 2.3.3 Spotlighting the Narrator (4Q111) instead of Jerusalem (MT)

4Q111 is the best preserved manuscript of Lamentations found at the Qumran site. It consists of four fragments. The largest three fragments contain almost the entire first chapter. A fourth, very small fragment contains part of a single line of the second chapter of Lamentations. One noteworthy feature of 4Q111 relevant for the question of a possible *purpose* and *use* of QLS, is that, in a number of places, the text of 4Q111 differs from MT.<sup>96</sup> Some of these differences are clearly scribal mistakes.<sup>97</sup> Other differences appear to be readings superior to MT,<sup>98</sup> (i.e. more original). But, there are also changes that, at least

<sup>96</sup> See: Frank M. Cross, “111.4QLam (Plates XXVII–XXVIII),” in *Qumrân Cave 4 XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, ed. Ulrich et al., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 230 table 1: Orthography for an extensive list of orthographic differences between 4Q111 and MT Lamentations. Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 23–28, provides an extensive description of formal differences between 4Q111 and MT Lamentations

<sup>97</sup> E.g. לוא לוא מצא ומרעה (col ii:1) is a clear example of dittography (לוא לוא) and wrong division of the words (מצאו מרעה).

<sup>98</sup> Cross, “DJD 16,” 230.

according to Kotzé, appear to be "deliberate changes made by the scribe".<sup>99</sup>

Two of these differences are, in my view, relevant for the question of a possible *purpose* and *use* of QLS. First, in ii:2, 4Q111 reads זכורה יהוה vs MT זכרה ירושלם (1:7), an imperative addressed to YHWH, instead of a qatal pertaining to Jerusalem. Second, in iii:3, 4Q111 reads כיא הייתי זולל vs כיא הייתי זוללה (1:11), a masculine instead of a feminine participle.

זכורה יהוה is one of the readings marked by Cross as superior to that of MT.<sup>100</sup> Cross comments that "The survival of these 'good' readings must be ascribed to the antiquity of the MS, not to the critical faculties of the scribe."<sup>101</sup> Kotzé, on the other hand, regards it as one of the deliberate changes the scribe made, exhibiting the creativity of ancient scribes.<sup>102</sup>

According to Kotzé, "זכורה" links up with the imperatives directed at YHWH in vv. 9 and 11 of Lam 1.<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, Lam 1:9 is largely missing from 4Q111, but the imperatives in both in ii:2 and iii:1 are followed by phrases containing differences that can be interpreted as deliberate, rather than unconscious or accommodating changes.<sup>104</sup>

זכורה יהוה is followed by the words כו[ל]ל מכאובנו אשר היו מימי קדם. Through a change of words and suffixes (מכאובנו replaces מחמדיה),<sup>105</sup> the third-person narrator voice, as found in MT, has now become a first person plural in 4Q111. The imperative זכורה calls YHWH to pay attention to "our suffering". According to Cross, both 4Q111 and MT are corrupted here.<sup>106</sup> Kotzé, on the other hand, argues that, "The shapes of the letters of these words are

<sup>99</sup> Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 175–76.

<sup>100</sup> Cross, "DJD 16," 230.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 45–48.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 47. The imperatives are found in the utterance ראה יהוה והיבטה

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> Cross, "DJD 16," 233 writes that: "4QLam for an original מרודיה reads מכאובנו (for מכאוביה), either as a revision of the rare word under the influence of מכאוב and מכאובי later in the lament (vv 12, 18), or much more likely, as a corrections, conscious or uncious, of the impossible מחמודיה in its manuscript tradition: כל מכאוביה > מחמודיה." כל מכאוביה > מחמודיה

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 232–33.

graphically too dissimilar for them to have been mistakenly interchanged by a scribe."<sup>107</sup>

The imperatives in iii:1 (Lam 1:11) – ראה יהוה והיבטה – are followed by ביא הייתי זולל. Instead of a feminine participle זוללה we now find the masculine זולל. An analogous difference can be found in Lam 1:13, where 4Q111 iii:4 reads נתנני שומם instead of MT נתנני שוממה. In place of Jerusalem, attention is drawn to the narrator. For some reason, neither זולל nor שומם are being discussed by Cross, despite the fact that he mentions them in his table of orthographic differences.<sup>108</sup> Kotzé, again, argues that these differences can be interpreted as deliberate changes. He concludes that:

*The change of ירושלם into יהוה and the concomitant presentation of the initial verb as an imperative would then form part of a scribe's ploy to make the narrator the focus in this verse. [...] it is the narrator, not personified Jerusalem, who beseeches YHWH to take his (and his community's) plight to heart in [...] 4QLam's version of Lam 1.*

In sum, in Kotzé's view, the changes related to זכורה יהוה and the imperatives in iii:1, seem to share a similar goal of deliberately shifting attention from Jerusalem to the narrator and his community.

In my opinion, Kotzé convincingly demonstrates that 4Q111 consistently, rather than accidentally, spotlights the narrator. However, it remains highly debatable whether these differences are indeed *deliberate changes made by the scribe of 4Q111* as Kotzé argues. How do we know it is deliberate? How can we measure this? How do we know these differences weren't already in the *Vorlage*? It seems therefore better, in my view, to speak of *intentional differences of attention*. 4Q111 consistently and intentionally spotlights the narrator, but we simply do not know whether this was a change made by the scribe of 4Q111, or whether it wasn't already in the *Vorlage*. These *intentional differences of attention* seem relevant for the

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<sup>107</sup>Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 47.

<sup>108</sup>See: Cross, "DJD 16," 230.

research question of this study, as they could point to a difference in *purpose* and *use* of 4Q111 and MT. I will discuss the possible implications of these differences in the chapter on performativity.

### 2.3.4 The Scribal Marking and the Vacat of 5Q6

The scribal marking in the bottom margin of col II and the *vacat* in line 2 of col VI in 5Q6 are the subjects of two *excursus* of Kotzé's dissertation.<sup>109</sup> I will summarize his observations here and comment shortly.

First, the scribal marking in the bottom margin of col II that looks like a truncated paleo-Hebrew *wav*.<sup>110</sup> While its meaning is unknown, Tov suggests that it might be intended to highlight certain details of a passage or to refer to a Qumran community's reading of certain passages.<sup>111</sup> The sign in 5Q6 appears near a verse that is concerned with ritual purity (Lam 4:15). As ritual purity is of major concern of many documents of the Qumran community (e.g., 1QS, 1QH), Kotzé suggests that the scribe may have wanted to draw attention to this text, perhaps as a kind of proof text.<sup>112</sup>

Second, the *vacat* after כשלו in col VI corresponds to an "open space" (*petucha*) in MT,<sup>113</sup> a visual marker that extends from the last word in a line to the end of that line and signifies a major sense unit, a section which is "thematically distinct from the section which immediately precedes it".<sup>114</sup> If this was indeed the intention of the scribe, the empty space is

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<sup>109</sup> Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 140–45, 170–175.

<sup>110</sup> Or, for someone less familiar with the paleo-hebrew script, it resembles a ך

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 140 n 98.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.

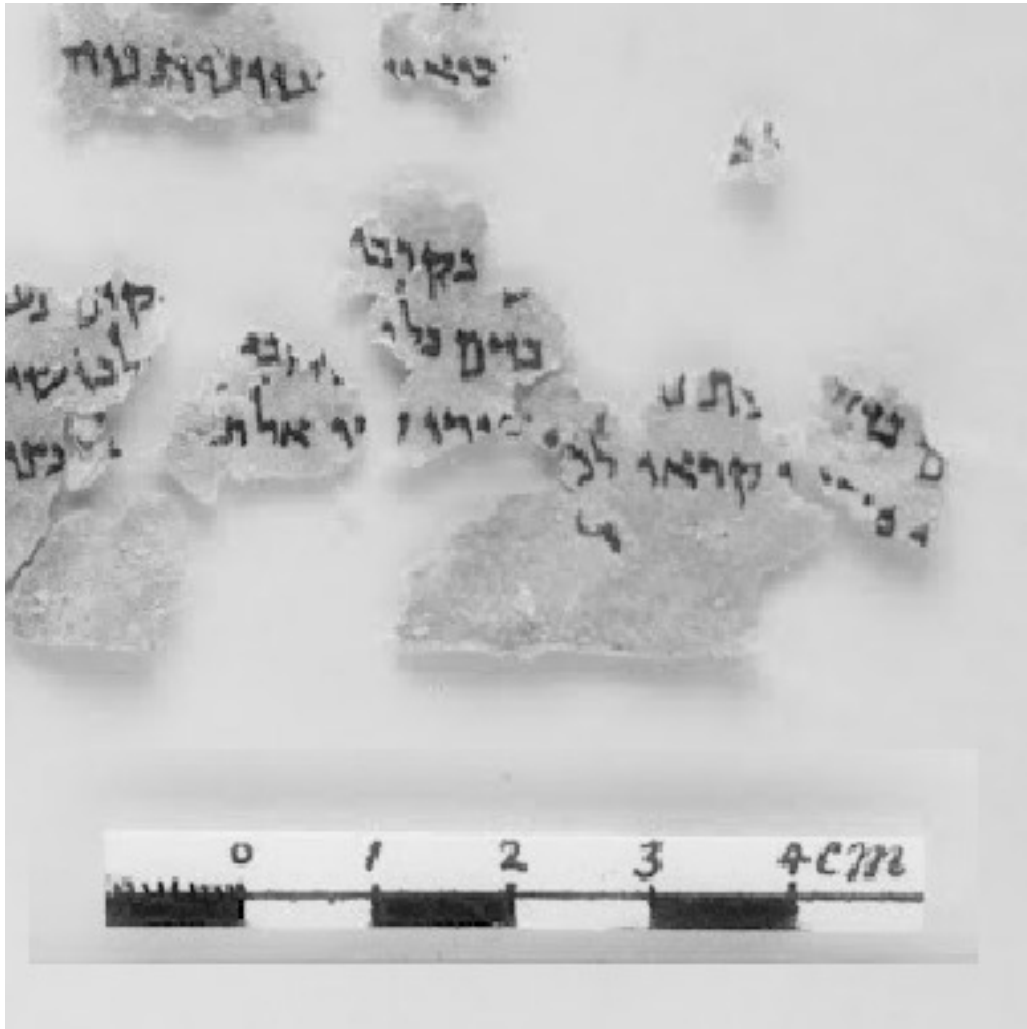
<sup>113</sup> Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 145: "In principle, a closed section is 'thematically related to what immediately precedes it' (thus Siegel, *Scribes of Qumran*, 73), but the vagueness of this definition leads to differences of opinion with regard to the interpretation of this relation. If this thematic relation was not recognized, scribes usually denoted the new section as an 'open section.' According to Perrot's definition, "Petuhot et setumot," 81, a closed section denotes a 'pause à l'intérieur d'un paragraphe,' that is, a subdivision of a larger unit, and an open section denotes the beginning of a 'long paragraph' (probably to be defined as the end of a 'long paragraph')."

<sup>114</sup> Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 170.

even more bewildering, according to Kotzé, because then one would expect the scribal marking to come after v14 (and not v13).<sup>115</sup> Verses 11–14 mark a switch from the emphasis on what has befallen "us", the first person plural in the previous verses to a depiction of what has befallen specific pairs of groups of people in the third person plural, and a return to the first person plural in vv. 15–18 again. Alternatively, Kotzé suggests that the scribe may have regarded vv. 14–16 as a distinct sense unit, and used the sign to indicate the beginning of this new unit.

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<sup>115</sup>*Ibid.*, 171.



**IMAGE 4: 5Q6 SCRIBAL MARKING**

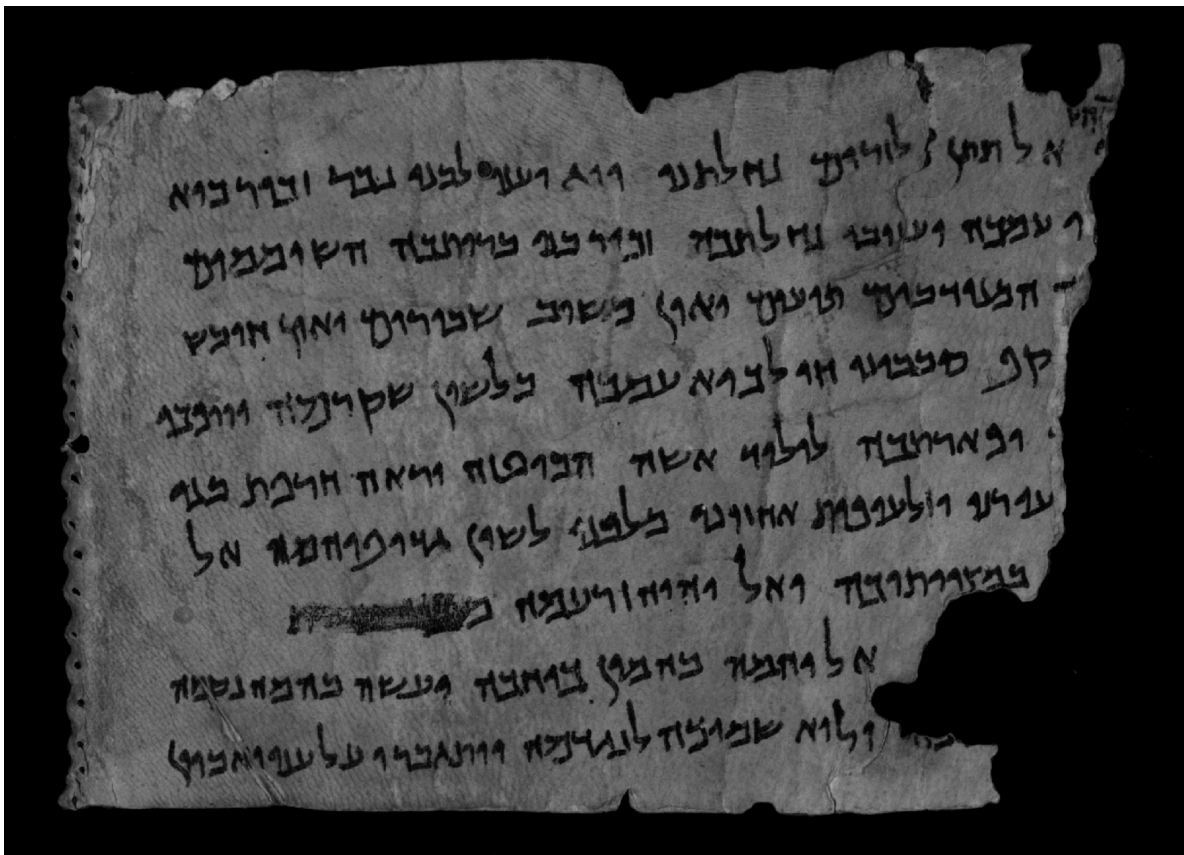
Even if Kotzé ultimately concludes that "these suggestions are, of course, no more than indemonstrable speculations and will probably remain so,"<sup>116</sup> they are, in my view important. First, they draw attention to the materiality of this manuscript, to aspects that distinguish this particular version of Lamentations from other versions. Second, Kotzé's speculations demonstrate how a small sign could radically change the understanding of the *purpose* of a text and challenges the, usually uncritically accepted, assumption that Lamentations only or primarily served to commemorate the events of 586.

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<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, 145.

### 2.3.5 What Is the Possible Significance of the Small Size of the Scrolls?

An important part of the materiality of the scrolls is their size. With a height of between 6 and 10 cm, all of the scrolls that are the subject of this study are rather small, excluding 3Q3 and 5Q7, for which there is too little material left for a reasonable analysis. Assuming that the scroll size was, in general, decided with a reason, and not haphazardly, this raises the question why this size was chosen for a particular manuscript.



**IMAGE 5:** 4Q501

(H x W in mm: 61 x 81)

Milik (1992) notes that many of the very small scrolls contain narratives, embedded in a historical framework, that have been reworked into Aramaic, but that there are also small



scrolls for other literary genres, e.g. commentaries, prayer recitals and community rules.<sup>117</sup>

Among these he mentions 4Q179 and 4Q501, the last being "d'origine essénienne sans doute".<sup>118</sup> His conclusions are that all the evidence points out that on scrolls this small, works of short length were copied.<sup>119</sup> The reduced format, furthermore, provided an advantage for the quick and broad distribution of informative texts, propaganda, consolation and piety. They were easier to handle and to transport, "cachés dans un pli de la robe", and rightly deserve to be called the "pocket editions of Antiquity".<sup>120</sup>

Tov, however, comments that, "Milik's suggestion certainly explains some data satisfactorily, but since his analysis is based on less than half of the scrolls of small size, his description is not complete. We notice a relatively large number of small liturgical scrolls; possibly the small copies of the Five Scrolls fit into this category."<sup>121</sup> Since Milik does mention two of the Five Scrolls, 2Q18 (Ruth) and 6Q6 (Canticles), and his description of "works of short length" could include the Five Scrolls, Tov's comment appears somewhat redundant. What he seems to be hinting at, I guess, is that the miniature format was not limited to sectarian and non-canonical works, which form the majority of Milik's list, but also included smaller canonical works.

Pfann (1994) writes, in relation to 4Q298, that its "unusually small height [...] places it among the portable scrolls intended to be carried during feasts or carried for a distance concealed,"<sup>122</sup> echoing Milik's words about the practicality of the small format. In a footnote, Pfann elaborates: "Most portable scrolls were owned by individuals and intended to be

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<sup>117</sup>J.T. Milik, "Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *Revue de Qumrân* 15.3 (59 (1992): 364.

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup>*Ibid.*, 365–365.

<sup>121</sup>Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 90.

<sup>122</sup>Stephen Pfann, "4Q298: The Maskil's Address to All Sons of Dawn," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 85.1/2 (1994): 213.

carried about and read during certain feasts."<sup>123</sup> (Of these portable scrolls, Pfann mentions, among others, 4Q111, 5Q6 and 4Q501). While Pfann could be right about the ownership and purpose of these scrolls, but the evidence for his claim remains unclear to me.

Tov (2004) provides an exhaustive list relating to the number of lines and the height of the leather for the well-preserved and/or easily reconstructible scrolls from the Judean Desert.<sup>124</sup> All the scrolls of this study for which there is enough material fall within Tov's categorization of "scrolls with a small writing block", meaning that they contain between 4 and 14 lines per writing block.<sup>125</sup> Noting that, "Conclusions regarding the correlation between the data in the above list and the content and nature of the compositions are tentative due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence," he divides the small scrolls into four categories: 1. Five Scrolls, 2. excerpted biblical books of various types, probably intended for liturgical purposes, 3. other small liturgical compositions, and, 4. further small compositions.<sup>126</sup> The distinction between the categories is not always clear, for example, 4Q448 (Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer) and 4Q501 are placed among "further small compositions", instead of among "other small liturgical compositions" like 4Q510.<sup>127</sup>

Pajunen (2017), in a study on Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran, observes that assessments of a possible use and setting of individual manuscripts have mostly been made by looking at the size of the manuscript in relation to its content. What has been neglected in overviews of psalm and prayer material from Qumran are "matters that are more directly related to the actual reading of a manuscript than its overall dimensions, i.e. script size and

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<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.* 213 n 14.

<sup>124</sup>Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 84–90.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, 83–85. 4Q111, 4Q179, 4Q501 and 5Q6 are explicitly mentioned.

<sup>126</sup>*Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>127</sup>Here, the discussion about the nomenclature of DSS seems relevant to me, see: Najman and Tigchelaar, "Nomenclature and Text Designation,".

spacing of lines, letters, and words."<sup>128</sup> Several of his observations and conclusions are relevant for this study and worth mentioning.

First, Pajunen lists four characteristics of psalm and prayer manuscripts,<sup>129</sup> but also notes that, "only limited conclusions can be drawn on the basis of these characteristics: "[...] it is possible to argue that some manuscripts were not formatted for public use whereas some may have been primarily intended for such practices, but whether or not the format completely excluded their use in other fashions cannot be demonstrated."<sup>130</sup>

Second, a similar thing seems to be true for the format and scale of manuscripts for which a typical norm could be established "by placing the manuscripts on a spectrum where the middle provides the most typical configuration[...]."<sup>131</sup> At the same time, "Most of the material falls in between these extremes and in these cases the height of the manuscript and its column width cannot be used to argue for or against a possible usage."<sup>132</sup>

Third, regarding a stichometric layout, he comments that the improved readability "would have helped with the recitation of the psalm in question [...] But, of course, this added readability would have been true for both public and private use of such manuscripts."<sup>133</sup> He suggests that the most important factor for easy readability is the size of the script and the divisions between lines, letters, and words.

Fourth, standard script size for these manuscripts is between 2.5–3 mm. Hence, "a script consistently 2 mm or smaller can be called small and a script of 3.5 mm or more can be called large."<sup>134</sup> But, again, he notes that, "[e]ven if the script and line divisions are larger

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<sup>128</sup>Pajunen, "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran," 55.

<sup>129</sup>*Ibid.*, 57–58. These characteristics are: 1. They are written in Hebrew, 2. the preferred writing material was animal skin, 3. Third, the use of vacats for demarcating the collected compositions, and 4. they are written in formal or semi-formal hand "which would have helped with their reading, both aloud and in private.

<sup>130</sup>*Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*

than normal but the words themselves are written practically without spacing, the manuscript would have been difficult to read [...]" and vice versa.<sup>135</sup> Especially where it concerns manuscripts that fall between the limits of standards of private and public use, one cannot argue simply on material grounds for an intended use and "content can at times provide some additional clarification about the intended usage of a manuscript."<sup>136</sup>

In as far as it is true that the size of a manuscript was usually carefully chosen in relation to its content and intended use, scholars should also take "matters related to readability [...] into account as providing additional important evidence for such intentions."<sup>137</sup>

To conclude, Milik and Tov both paid attention to the content of the small scrolls. Their lists with subdivided categories based on genre, canonical status, etc., intently or unintently, seem to suggest that content or, perhaps, a particular authoritative status of a work determined the size of a manuscript. If this were indeed the case, then the size of a scroll would also have particular significance, e.g. "small scroll = non-authoritative". On the other hand, their lists also showed that the small scrolls were used for works of a wide variety of genres: narratives, community rules, prayers, and (anachronistically) canonical and non-canonical books. This suggests that genre or status were not, or at least less decisive factors for determining scroll size, and, no special significance can be assigned to the size of the scroll.

Another aspect that comes to the fore as a determining factor for the choice of the small scrolls is practicality. Milik and Pfann both mention the ease of portability and concealment. Milik also mentions the aspect of quick and broad distribution. While none of these claims are backed up by historical accounts, they seem very plausible (at least from a practical point of view). Pajunen also underlines practicality as an important factor for choosing a format by drawing attention to aspects of readability. All things considered,

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 59–60.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

practicality seems to be the most important reason for choosing a small size scroll, but, as Pajunen also points out, content also plays a role.

### 2.3.6 Pajunen's Three Categories of Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts

Pajunen distinguishes three categories of psalm and prayer manuscripts, with overlap between the categories, that seem helpful in the context of this study, as well as the question of the possible significance of the size of the manuscripts:<sup>138</sup>

- 1. manuscripts not formatted for easy readability
- 2. manuscripts formatted for private piety not for public use
- 3. manuscripts formatted for public ritual use

Categories 2 and 3, thus, correspond with what I refer to in this study, as *personal liturgical use* and *public liturgical use* (see:23).

If we apply Pajunen's categories to our manuscripts, they would on the basis of their material properties, either fall into the first or the second category. 4Q111, on the basis of its size, its very irregular handwriting and the absence of a special layout or visual markers, seems to fall into the first category. On the basis of its visual markers, 4Q179 seems to fall into the second category. Its handwriting is, like 4Q111, not very neat, and together with its small size, it does not seem to have been formatted for *public liturgical use*. Apart from a possible *vacat* at the end of line 7, 4Q501 does not seem to have any particular features that indicate that it was formatted for a *liturgical use*, either *private* or *public*. In contrast to 4Q111 and 4Q179, its handwriting seems very regular and neat, which would improve its readability<sup>139</sup> and make it more suitable for *liturgical use*.

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<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 62 ff.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, 68.

## 2.4 *Preliminary Conclusion*

This chapter served to describe aspects of materiality and content of the manuscripts with the purpose of drawing attention to the interplay of materiality and text, and drawing out and collecting aspects that seems relevant for answering the question of *purpose* and *use* of QLS.

While some of the aspects that came to the fore, e.g. the paleo-Hebrew, the colometric division, are likely highly relevant, the scarce material of the manuscripts and the lack of additional evidence hinders any conclusions with regard to their significance. Other aspects, such as the *intentional differences of attention* in 4Q111, are not only relevant, but also provide enough clues for a continued investigation in this study. In relation to the small size of the manuscripts, the possible *purpose* and *use* of a manuscript cannot be established solely on the basis of its dimension, and aspects other than size need to be considered as well. This will be done in the chapter on performativity. Finally, 3Q3 and 5Q7 contain too little material, and these will therefore be left out of further analyses.

### 3 The Intertextuality of Lamentations in 4Q179 and 4Q501

The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the intertextuality of Lamentations in 4Q179 and 4Q501 in order to define the nature of the *texts* of 4Q179 and 4Q501 and to provide possible clues about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. The assumption, here, is that Lamentations (as well as other biblical materials) has been reapplied and reactualized in its historical context (represented by 4Q179 and 4Q501) and somehow provides clues about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. In turn, this could provide more data about a possible *purpose* and *use* 4Q179 and 4Q501, i.e. the *manuscripts*, but also of 4Q111 as a contemporary manuscript containing Lamentations.

In his introductory book, Graham Allen writes that, "Intertextuality is one of the most commonly used and misused terms in contemporary critical vocabulary."<sup>140</sup> It seems, therefore, appropriate to say a few words about intertextuality and its usage in this study.

The term "*intertextualité*" was first introduced in the mid-1960s by the Bulgarian-French philosopher Julia Kristeva.<sup>141</sup> Building on the semiotic theories of De Saussure and Bakhtin, and in particular Bakhtin's dialogism, she writes that "tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte."<sup>142</sup> In other words, every text always consists, first of all, of other texts that it absorbs and transforms, and, second, every text is always in dialogue with other texts. Bakhtin's notion of intersubjectivity is replaced by "intertextuality", an intersubjectivity between texts.<sup>143</sup>

Second, a text is a "signifying practice", i.e. part of the larger linguistic structure of

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<sup>140</sup>Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, The New Critical Idiom (London: Routledge, [2000] 2010), 2.

<sup>141</sup>See: Julia Kristeva, *Semiotike: recherches pour une sémanalyse: extraits*, Collection points; 96 (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 113–142 and 143–173, esp. two essays, "Le texte clos" and "Le mot, le dialogue et le roman".

<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, 146: "A la place de la notion d'intersubjectivité s'installe celle d'intertextualité [...]."

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*

communication and sense making of a society.<sup>144</sup> This larger linguistic structure is sometimes called the *social text*.<sup>145</sup> A text never stands in isolation, but reflects the historical and ideological struggles of this social text, and "the intertextual dimensions of a text cannot be studied as mere 'sources' or 'influences' stemming from what traditionally has been styled 'background' or 'context'."<sup>146</sup> For Kristeva this means that a text does not represent a fixed meaning, but rather a structuring or a production of meaning, "comme un appareil qui produit et transforme le sens, avant que ce sens soit déjà fait et mis en circulation."<sup>147</sup>

Miller writes that within biblical studies, two basic methodological approaches to intertextuality can be discerned.<sup>148</sup> The first is a postmodern approach that relies on a purely synchronic approach of textual analysis, i.e. a text and all the texts that it has absorbed are all read together and at the same time in their new transformation. Meaning resides with the reader, who draws connections between texts, which are read without chronologically prioritizing one over the other, and regardless of the historical intentions of the author. The second approach is diachronic, i.e. a text and all the text that it has absorbed are read, "through time". Meaning resides with the author, and the reader focuses on identifying the specific connections that the author wanted the reader to perceive, as well as determining which text predates the others and, consequently, has influenced the others.

According to Miller, "For the purely synchronic approach, intertextuality helps readers explore the inexhaustible plurality of meaning that is inherent in all texts. For the more diachronic approach, intertextual connections contribute to an enhanced understanding

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<sup>144</sup>Julia Kristeva, "Problèmes de la structuration du texte," in *Théorie d'ensemble*, ed. Philippe Sollers, Tel Quel (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968), 299.

<sup>145</sup>Allen, *Intertextuality*, 35–36.

<sup>146</sup>*Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>147</sup>Kristeva, "Problèmes de la structuration du texte," 299–300. In a rather technical discussion, Kristeva makes a distinction between "*discours*" and "*texte*". Rather than "*discours*" as an "*objet d'échange [de sens]*" she prefers to use "*texte*" as "*production de sens*."

<sup>148</sup>Geoffrey D. Miller, "Intertextuality in Old Testament Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 9.3 (2011): 284. I am following Miller's description of the two main streams here.



of the alluding text, especially vis-à-vis its revision, abrogation or exegesis of the alluded text(s)."<sup>149</sup>

While the two approaches are often pitted against one another as if they were mutually exclusive, the diachronic approach being historical and objective and the synchronic approach being ahistorical and subjective, they have, in my opinion, a lot in common.

Kristeva's synchronic approach contains an explicit diachronic element in its assumption that a text always depends on other, prior texts<sup>150</sup> and is always part of a sociolinguistic dynamic with its own historical and ideological dimensions. In this sense a synchronic approach is not necessarily ahistorical. A synchronic approach, however, opposes the idea that once a text is written, its meaning is stable and fixed for ever, and is interested in the generative and transformative potential of a text, rather than letting prior texts dictate its meaning.

A diachronic approach explicitly wants to identify the historical pedigree (so to say) of a text and find out how it shapes and influences this newly generated text and trace the chronological development of meaning. Like the synchronic approach, a diachronic approach acknowledges that a text did not fall from the sky, but depends on prior texts. These prior texts, however, are not irrelevant, but can importantly shape a new text, even if it can be debated to what extent the new text is shaped by prior texts, whether its meaning is dictated by prior texts or whether it follows its own course.

Thus, synchronic and diachronic approaches both acknowledge the historical interdependence, but differ, in my view, on the importance they assign to, either, textual ancestry (diachronic) or generative potential (synchronic) of a text. In this sense they do not

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<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Cf. María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, "Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept," *Atlantis* 18.1/2 (1996): 268: "There are always other words in a word, other texts in a text. The concept of intertextuality requires, therefore, that we understand texts not as self-contained systems but as differential and historical, [...] they are shaped by the repetition and transformation of other textual structures."

necessarily stand in opposition, but could also complement one another.<sup>151</sup>

The research question of this study is concerned with the historical *purpose* and *use* of QLS, rather than exploring the infinite potential of the texts of these manuscripts. My approach to intertextuality will therefore be diachronic. As noted above, the purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the intertextuality of *Lamentations* in 4Q179 and 4Q501, in order to draw a clearer picture of how *Lamentations* was being recontextualized and reactualized in these texts. (This does indeed mean that the materiality of the manuscripts is momentarily left out of the analysis, but it will reappear and taken into account in the next chapter).

Thus, intertextuality serves to define the nature of the *texts* of 4Q179 and 4Q501 and to provide possible clues about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. In turn, this could provide more data about a possible *purpose* and *use* 4Q179 and 4Q501, i.e. the *manuscripts*, but also of 4Q111 as a manuscript that is contemporary with 4Q179 and 4Q501 and that contains *Lamentations*. I will first identify the presence of *Lamentations* in 4Q179 and, in turn analyse and describe how *Lamentations* has been absorbed into 4Q179 and produced new meaning in this text. I will do the same for 4Q501.

### ***3.1 The Intertextuality of 4Q179***

#### **3.1.1 The Presence of Lamentations in 4Q179**

An investigation into the intertextuality of 4Q179, will soon show the ubiquity of biblical references.<sup>152</sup> There is hardly a corner on which a voice of a prophet is not heard.

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<sup>151</sup>For an extended discussion of synchronic and diachronic approaches, see: Will Kynes, *My Psalm Has Turned into Weeping*, Job's Dialogue with the Psalms (De Gruyter, 2012), 21–27.

<sup>152</sup>Cf. Høgenhaven, "Biblical Quotations and Allusions in 4QApocryphal Lamentations (4Q179)," 116, who writes: "In fact, 4Q179 may give the impression of being more or less a conglomerate or pastiche of biblical phrases."

Lamentations, however, is the most cited book (10 times).<sup>153</sup> In fragment 1, references from Lamentations are predominantly from Lam 4, only two (of nine) are from Lam 1.<sup>154</sup> In fragment 2, references from Lamentations are exclusively from Lam 1.<sup>155</sup>

Apart from the many textual references of Lamentations in 4Q179, the material evidence provides additional support for the notion that 4Q179 depends on Lamentations, at least in the sense of borrowing and reusing material from it. The passage in line 13 of 4Q179 f1i reads as follows: בנות ציון {היקרים} הרכות [ע]מם. It appears to be citing from Lam 4:2. The scribe initially wrote down the words from Lam 4:2 בני ציון היקרים, and later changed this to בנות ציון הרכות. This suggestion is supported by the superscripted *tav*, which, in my opinion, gives an insight in the writing and thinking process of the scribe. The superscripted *tav* indicates that the scribe had not provisioned space for בנות, but changed his mind after he had already written down בני ציון and added the masculine adjective היקרים.

On second thoughts, the scribe changed בני ציון היקרים to בנות ציון הרכות. In order to do this he added cancellation dots around היקרים, a superscripted *tav* and the feminine הרכות. In changing בני to בנות, the scribe made clever use of the disambiguity between *yod* and *wav*.

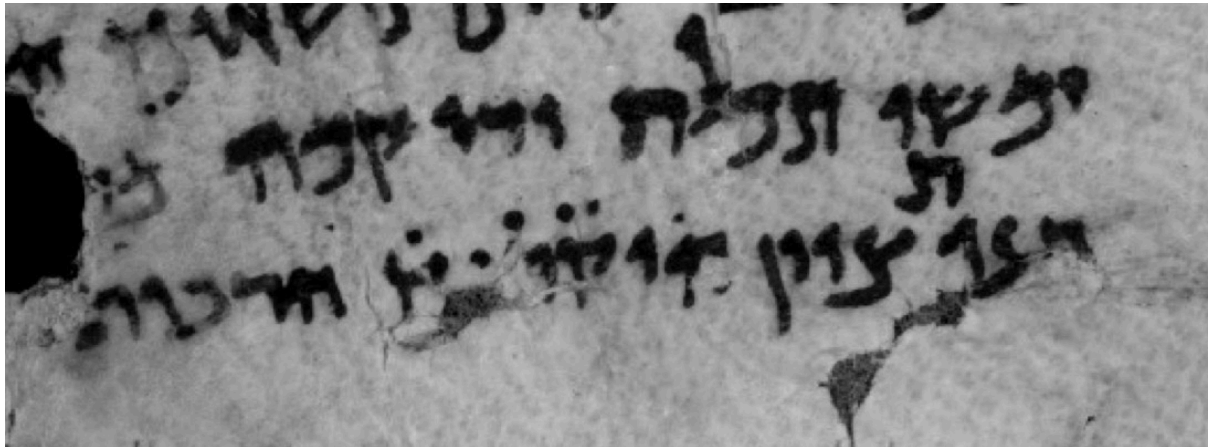
Even if this explanation is not watertight, it takes into account all the relevant material and textual evidence, for which it provides a simple and reasonable explanation. We will now turn to the question of how Lamentations was being *used* in its new context and with what *purpose*.

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<sup>153</sup>The exclamation אֵי לָנוּ in f1ii, 4 and f1ii, can be found in Lam 5:16 and could also count as references, which would result in a total of twelve references from Lamentations.

<sup>154</sup>For a detailed overview of the references to Lamentations in 4Q179 see: 130.

<sup>155</sup>Hypothetically, this could indicate that the scribe had a specific chapter of Lamentations in front of him (or, perhaps, in mind) serving as an inspiration when he composed his poem(s), e.g. Lam 1 when he was writing the text of fragment 2. The order of the fragments of 4Q179 is unknown, but if the scribe did "work his way through Lamentations", this may indicate that fragment 2 should come before fragment 1, and that 4Q179 originally contained other passages or poems inspired by Lam 2–3 and 5. But, for now this remains a hypothesis.



**IMAGE 6:** 4Q179 II:12–13

### 3.1.2 4Q179: Critique or Comfort?

In 4Q179, Lamentations is not used in isolation, but combined with other biblical material, often in such a way that the meaning of the original passage is changed by this juxtaposition.<sup>156</sup> An analysis of all the references of Lamentations in their immediate context reveals an interesting difference between fragment 1 and 2. In fragment 1, Lamentations occurs with references to prophetic judgment and divine punishment, whereas in fragment 2, Lamentations occurs with a reference to prophetic consolation. Two examples serve as an illustration.

First, to return to the example of Lam 4:2 in line 13 of fragment 1, this passage is preceded by references from Lam 4 (lines 10, 11 and 12). An expression similar to the one in line 12, *ומשי תכלת וריקמה* ("fine purper fabric and embroidery"), is also found in Ezekiel 16:13; 27:24. Where Lam 4 bewails the preciousness of the sons of Zion, worth their weight in gold (4:2) and contrasts their former state of welfare with their present state of despair (4:5), the passage from Ezekiel is part of a harsh judgment on Jerusalem, who is, in a parable, compared to an orphan, found and reared by God who adorned her with gold and silver [...],

<sup>156</sup>Or, as Berlin writes: "This [combining of verses] does not create a new text that is a conflation of two earlier texts; it is, rather, a conflation through interpretation." Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 7.

*fine fabric and embroidery* (16:13). The girl grew "exceedingly beautiful, fit to be a queen" (Eze 16:13), but then starting prostituting herself in these same beautiful garments (Eze 16:16–26). Read together, Eze 16 potentially turn the sympathy of Lam 4 into a devastating critique.<sup>157</sup> Additionally, the adjective רכות in ציון הרכות בנות ציון in 4Q179 1ii:13, can also be translated as "empty", "vain", or even "dumb",<sup>158</sup> instead of "tender". While the identity of those being criticized remains unclear, and assuming that the reference to Ezekiel was indeed intended as criticism, this would suggest an inner Jewish setting.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps, the "us" in 4Q179, were blaming others whom they considered to be more responsible for their demise than themselves.

Second, in fragment 2, references to Lamentations are exclusively from Lam 1:1–2. Jerusalem is compared to an abandoned woman and the desolation of the city is extensively bemoaned, but there are no signs of harsh criticism or judgment like in fragment 1. The paraphrased opening words of Lam 1:1–2 in lines 1–2 are followed by a reference from Isaiah 54:6 – "like a woman forsaken and grieved" –, which is part of a very hopeful and comforting prophecy (Isa 54:1–17). These prophetic words do remind Jerusalem of her past and present fate, but also mark a turning point by announcing a hopeful future through *restoration*, a term which I will use as a shorthand for:

- healing: from barrenness to multiplication and ingathering of Israel (Isa 54:1–3)
- reversal: of Jerusalem's shame of being like an abandoned woman, reacceptance by YHWH into a covenant of everlasting love (Isa 54:4–10)
- vindication: a prosperous and peaceful future as divine heritage (Isa 54:11–17)

Assuming that the scribe did indeed have the entire message of Isa 54 in mind, rather than the

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<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>158</sup>See: " רַךְ", Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and M. E. J. Richardson, eds, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Accordance electronic edition, version 3.7 ed., 5 vols. The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 3:1230.

<sup>159</sup>Comparable to Alexander's assessment of 4Q501, Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed?", 31.

isolated description of the forsaken woman, this suggests that this poem was not only a lament for Jerusalem, nor a mere critique, but also had the *purpose* of comforting its listeners with the prophetic promise of *restoration*.

The (apparently) contradicting characters of critique and comfort that come to the fore in both fragments, raises the question of what kind of text 4Q179 is. Given the state of the manuscript, it is difficult to say whether we're dealing with two parts of one continuous composition, or that these are two (or perhaps even more) distinct compositions. Either way, the two fragments and their content are part of the same manuscript and unless 4Q179 is a random collection of completely unrelated texts, we may assume that the content of the fragments is logically and purposely related. The fact that the texts of both fragments deal with the fate of Jerusalem seems to confirm this.

### 3.2 *The Intertextuality of 4Q501*

#### 3.2.1 The Presence of Lamentations in 4Q501

As with 4Q179, I will first try to identify possible references of Lamentations in 4Q501, e.g. direct quotes, allusions, paraphrases, etc. If the presence of Lamentations can be confirmed, an analysis of the *use* of Lamentations in 4Q501 will be undertaken.

**TABLE 1: THE PRESENCE OF LAMENTATIONS IN 4Q501**

	4Q501	Lamentations
A	1 אל תתן לזרים נחלתנו ויגיענו לבני נכר	5:2 נחלתנו נהפכה לזרים בתינו לנכרים
B	5 הביטה וראה חרפת בני	5:1 הביטה וראה את־חרפתנו (cf. 1:11, 12 and 2:20)
C	6 [ עורנו וזלעופות אחזינו מלפני לשון גדופיהמה	5:10 עורנו כתגור נכמרו מפני זלעפות רעב

(NB.: similar vocabulary has been underlined)

There are, in my view, three instances in 4Q501 where Lamentations resounds (see table 1) and I will discuss these in order of appearance. For every example, I will, first, establish that it is indeed a reference to Lamentations, and, second, analyse its function in its surrounding environment.

### 3.2.1.1 "Do not give our inheritance to strangers"

Part of the right side of the manuscript is damaged and missing. The first words in line 1 – אל תתן נחלתנו לזרים נחלתנו – seems to be a reference to Joel 2:17 – אל תתן נחלתכה לחרפה. But the vocabulary of line 1 also shows great similarity with that of Lam 5:2 (see: table 1). In one instance, 4Q501 uses a different construction for what is semantically similar – לבני נכר – instead of לנכרים. I will return to this phenomenon in the discussion of example B.

Apart from similarity in vocabulary, there also seems to be a thematic similarity. The voices of Lamentations lament the disgrace, הרפתנו, that has befallen them, while the petitioners of 4Q501 address YHWH to prevent this fate from befalling them. They call on YHWH to remember (זכור – cf. Lam 5:1 and 4Q501:1–2) that "we are the abandoned ones of your people, the children of your covenant", while Lam 5:3 laments the fact that "we have become orphans and fatherless", a result of violating the covenant. Both Lam 5 and 4Q501, thus, draw attention to YHWH's relationship with his people. In other words, 4Q501 may not contain exact citations of Lam, nevertheless, it employs many of the same vocabulary and themes of Lam.

If 4Q501 did indeed cite from Joel, the reference to Joel 2:17 is interesting for (at least) two reasons. First, because of the modification the author of 4Q501 made to Joel – אל תתן נחלתנו לחרפה vs. 4Q501 אל תתן נחלתכה לזרים. Apart from the different suffixes (נחלתכה / נו), 4Q501 has replaced לחרפה with לזרים. The "disgrace" of Joel are the "strangers" of 4Q501. Second, the reference from Joel is part of a prophetic call to Zion to return to YHWH

and to assemble the people, from the aged to even the infants at the breast (Joel 2:12–16), for a communal fast and repentance. It provides the words that should be prayed:

*Between the vestibule and the altar*

*let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep.*

*Let them say, "Spare your people, O LORD,*

*and do not make your heritage a mockery (אל תתן נחלתכה לחרפה)*

*a byword among the nations. (Joel 2:17 NRSV, emphasis mine)*

This is followed by the promise that YHWH will have compassion on his people and restore them, as well as the prospect of a hopeful future (Joel 2:12–3:8, cf. Isa 54). Similar to Isa 54, the concept of *restoration* consists of

- a reversal: of shame, "and I will no more make you a mockery among the nations (Joel 2:19), "my people shall never again be put to shame" (Joel 2:26, 27)
- vindication: a prosperous and peaceful future of abundance (Joel 2:19, 22, 24), repayment of suffered losses (Joel 2:25)
- covenant: "You shall know that I am in the midst of Israel" (Joel 2:27), pouring out of the Spirit (Joel 2:28ff)

This suggests that *restoration* through confession and repentance plays a role in the prayers of both 4Q501 and 4Q179.

### 3.2.1.2 "Look and See"

Example B is the clearest possible reference of Lamentations in 4Q501. Verbally, 4Q501 and Lam 5:1 are almost similar, formally they are slightly different. 4Q501 reads בני חרפת בני instead of את־חרפתנו. Instead of a (object marker + noun + suffix (נו), 4Q501 employs a (noun + בני). A similar phenomenon occurs in example A, where 4Q501 reads לבני נבר instead of לנברים.



Here, a plural noun becomes (בני + singular noun). It seems that the poet of 4Q501, somehow, had a preference for constructions with בני, perhaps to emphasize the "sonship" of the people. In both examples A and B, it is hard to escape the notion that Lamentations served as an inspiration for the scribe. Not only did he borrow its vocabulary, he also adapted it in a consistent way.

The word pair הביטה וראה also occurs in Lam 1:11, 12 (cf. also 2:20), although in a reversed order. הביטה is a long imperative and the added -a adds emphasis to the plea.<sup>160</sup> The utterance seems to serve a similar function as the imperative זכור, i.e. a call on YHWH to remember and regard his people. It is preceded by the expression ילוד אשא (one born of a woman, i.e. a human being) which is found twice in Job (15:14; 25:4), perhaps to bring the suffering and restoration of Job into remembrance. The preceding word יפארתכה makes it more difficult to establish the meaning of the expression. However, in its original context (Job), it is always used as a rhetorical question that emphasizes the fallible nature of human beings:

*Job 15,14      What are mortals, that they can be clean?*

*Or those לילוד אשא, that they can be righteous?*

*Job 25,4      How then can a mortal be righteous before God?*

*How can one לילוד אשא be pure?*

This expression could therefore fit the context of a prayer of repentance, such as 4Q501 seems to be, in order to move YHWH to overlook sins and be compassionate.

### 3.2.1.3 "Our skins are burning, hot rage seizes us"

In example C, the relationship between 4Q501 and Lamentations is less straightforward than in example B. The words עורנו and זלעופות could be a reference to Lam 5:10 where they both

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<sup>160</sup>T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Qumran Hebrew* (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), 74.

appear in the same verse as part of a synthetic parallelism. The first part of line 6 is missing and we cannot say with certainty what preceded עורנו. If the scribe did indeed use Lamentations, עורנו could have been preceded by a construction with the verb נכמרו and perhaps even the same כטנור – "our skins are burning like an oven". The subsequent phrase, זלעופות אחזינו, seems to be a conflation of Lam 5:10 with Psalm 119:53, as Berlin also points out,<sup>161</sup> where the same expression appears in the singular. In this passage, the psalmist speaks of the indignation that seizes him (זלעפה אחזתני) because of the wicked who forsake YHWH's Torah. Thematically, this passage from the Psalm resonates with 4Q501. The internal critique also seems to confirm the idea of an "inner Jewish setting", as Alexander commented.<sup>162</sup>

In the second part of line 6, 4Q501 and Lam 5:10 employ almost the same expressions, respectively מלפני and מפני ("because of"). If, again, we compare both sentences together with the possible reconstruction of 4Q501 based on Lam 5:10, an interesting similarity appears, that of cause and effect. By conflating Lam 5:10 and Ps 119:53, the effect of the reviling speech (4Q501) of the wicked who forsake the Torah (Ps 119:53) seems to be likened to the effect of the hot ragings of famine (Lam 5:10). Instead of

- Lam 5:10: "our skins are burning like an oven / because of the hot ragings of famine", we now have
- 4Q501: "our skins [are burning like an oven] and hot ragings are seizing us / because of their reviling speech".

Based on this comparison, my suggestion is that the scribe who composed the *text* of 4Q501 did indeed use material from Lam 5:10 to which he added material from Ps 119:53.

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<sup>161</sup>Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 13.

<sup>162</sup>Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed?," 31.

### 3.2.2 4Q501 and Lamentations 5

An intertextual analysis of 4Q501 has thus far shown that, first, Lamentations is present in 4Q501.<sup>163</sup> Where one weaker example would perhaps not be convincing for a connection between 4Q501 and Lamentations, the combined examples add up in such a way that it becomes hard to deny the presence of Lamentations in 4Q501. This presence does not seem to be accidental, rather the author of 4Q501 seems to have purposely adapted, borrowed and combined material of Lamentations, which he reactualized and recontextualized.

Second, on the stage of reception history, a text does not necessarily reappear in its former role, but can take on a new character with a new purpose. The intertextual analysis of Lamentations in 4Q501, where it interacts with material from Joel, Psalms and, possibly, Job, suggests that the author used Lamentations to write a prayer that could have been used in the context of fasting and repentance that aims at *restoration*. Lamentations 5, notably, has a similar character of supplication,<sup>164</sup> as well as a call to return to YHWH – השיבנו יהוה אליך (Lam 5:21), but one that is much less certain of the outcome than e.g. Joel 2 or Isaiah 54 (cf. 4Q179).<sup>165</sup>

### 3.3 Preliminary Conclusion

This chapter provided an account of the intertextuality of Lamentation in 4Q179 and 4Q501 in order to define the nature of the *texts* of 4Q179 and 4Q501 and to provide possible clues

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<sup>163</sup>Contrary to Alexander who argues that it "can [...] be set aside: the title "apocryphal Lamentations" is misleading. I can detect no echoes in it of the biblical Lamentations," (*Ibid.*) .A clue of what these echoes entail for Alexander, can be found in the subsequent sentence: "It does not seem to envisage the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple, but rather has an inner Jewish setting, in which one party complains to God about how it has been oppressed by another, and calls on God to avenge it," (*Ibid.*). In other words, Alexander has a very specific echo in mind: the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple. Thus, his narrowly defined criteria exclude the possibility that Lamentations might resound in 4Q501 in a different way, perhaps for a *purpose* other than the fall of Jerusalem and the Temple.

<sup>164</sup>Cf. Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 13.

<sup>165</sup>In this respect 4Q501 and Lamentations are not as far apart from one another as Alexander suggests, nor is the title Apocryphal Lamentations for 4Q501 necessarily misleading.

about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. In turn, this could provide more data about a possible *purpose* and *use* 4Q179 and 4Q501, i.e. the *manuscripts*, but also of 4Q111 as a contemporary manuscript containing Lamentations.

It was shown, first, that both 4Q179 and 4Q501 depend on Lamentations. In the case of 4Q179, the question of dependence also underlined the importance of material–textual aspects of the manuscript, i.e. the corrections made in f1i:13. Despite the absence of the City and the Temple,<sup>166</sup> Lamentations was also present in 4Q501.

An analysis of the *use* of Lamentations in 4Q179 and 4Q501, first, suggests that both 4Q179 and 4Q501 contain internal criticism, i.e. criticism that concerns an inner Jewish setting, rather than being aimed at those outside the Jewish community. On the other hand, the reference to Isa 54 in 4Q179 could be read as a consolation, rather than a critique. Second, *restoration* through confession and repentance seems to play an important role in the prayers of both 4Q179 and 4Q501. It was also noted that Lam 5 shares with 4Q501 the character of a prayer of confession and repentance.

The notion of critique seems to confirm Berlin's assessment of 4Q179 and 4Q501 as "poems of alienation" rather than "poems of mourning".<sup>167</sup> However, the notion of comfort and consolation apparent in these texts through their reference to prophetic messages of a hopeful future and *restoration*, seems to contradict this.

Here, I would like to mention the work of Hindi Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future* (2014), in which she applies Jonathan Lear's concept of *Radical Hope* to 4 Ezra. Referring to Knibb, she writes that many Qumran texts suggest that the Babylonian exile and the destruction of the First Temple were never fully overcome,<sup>168</sup> and continued to

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<sup>166</sup>Cf. Alexander, "Was the Ninth of Av Observed?", 31, who establishes the absence of Lamentations in 4Q501 on the basis of the absence of the City and the Temple.

<sup>167</sup>Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 17.

<sup>168</sup>Hindy Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 97, 6.

be mourned.<sup>169</sup> Many texts from the Second Temple period show an ambivalent and critical stance towards the Second Temple, even texts that celebrate the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>170</sup>

The destruction and exile also meant that the divine intimacy experienced under the covenant, and divine encounter, i.e. "[...] ritual, prayer, song, and visionary ascent, as well as sacred writing and sacred reading," all suffered rupture.<sup>171</sup> In answer to the question how the fragments of divine encounter were retrieved under the conditions of a devastating destruction and exile that were never overcome, Najman argues that, "Ancient texts that express a loss of intimacy with the divine are not merely indicators that something died and, perhaps, that something else was born. The texts are doing the work of returning a culture to its life,"<sup>172</sup> and are thus anticipating hope and redemption. Najman sees 4Q179 and 4Q501 as examples of the fact that the *Yahad* community continued to mourn the loss of the First Temple and offered hopeful prayers for redemption.<sup>173</sup>

In other words, where Berlin seems to treat mourning and criticism as mutually exclusive, Najman shows that mourning (the destruction of the First Temple and the exile), and criticism (of the Second Temple) can be part and parcel of an anticipated hope of redemption. This explanation would account for all the observations made in relation to the characters of 4Q179 and 4Q501, that lament, critique and comfort at the same time. This would also place 4Q179 and 4Q501 in the vicinity of writings such as apocryphal Baruch, 4 Ezra and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, of which Michael Knibb has argued that they "all

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<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 11.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 6. One example of a text that expresses a loss of intimacy with the divine that Najman gives, is Psalm 137. "In this psalm, the refusal to sing is an expression of silence or even paralysis. To say that one cannot sing is to say that one cannot pray and cannot communicate with the divine. But there is a response that transcends the darkness and paralysis, which itself captures what is tragic: the lament. In the second part of the psalm [vv5–7] a lament is performed, but it is not obviously one of the "songs of Zion." But perhaps it is what can be sung after destruction. [...] The impossible song creates a new space for lament in Psalm 137. [...] The role of lament can itself become a new song or a new hope, or perhaps what Jonathan Lear has called, albeit in a different but analogous cultural context, "radical hope." *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 97–98.

seem to share the view that Israel remained in a state of exile long after the sixth century, and that the exile would only be brought to an end when God intervened in this world in order to establish his rule."<sup>174</sup> This also seems to resonate with the idea that Lamentations was reused in 4Q179 and 4Q501, *texts* that do not only or primarily to lament "586", but in which *restoration* through prayers of confession and repentance played an important, and perhaps even primary role. This could indicate that the *purpose* of these prayers was *restoration*, that the manuscripts were *used* for petitionary prayers seeking to bring about *restoration*.

This raises the question whether, in the Second Temple period, Lamentations (as an independent work) wasn't also recontextualized and reactualized for *use* as a prayer (or prayers) or as part of prayers that aimed at *restoration*. The *intentional differences of attention* in 4Q111 perhaps point to such a reuse. Unfortunately, as noted above, there is no way of telling when these differences were first introduced, whether these were changes made by the scribe of 4Q111 (as Kotzé argued), or already part of the *Vorlage*, perhaps as an alternative reading, rather than a change of MT. The question, whether Lamentations as an independent work was recontextualized and reactualized in the Second Temple period, must therefore remain hypothetical.

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<sup>174</sup>Michael A. Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *The Heythrop Journal* 17.3 (1976): 271–72.

## 4 A Performative Approach to the Qumran Lament Scrolls

The purpose of this chapter to provide an integrated approach to the question of *purpose* and *use* of QLS by combining aspects of materiality, content and context of the manuscripts, through a performative approach based on Austin's theory of performativity.<sup>175</sup>

### 4.1 Austin's Theory of Performativity

Austin argued that not all utterances *describe* reality, but that there are utterances for which "to say it, is to do it".<sup>176</sup> These utterances are not *descriptive*, but *performative*, or *performatives*, sometimes also called *speech-acts*.<sup>177</sup> An often used example to illustrate a performative are the words "I do" [take this woman to be my lawful wedded wife], as uttered in a marriage ceremony.<sup>178</sup> These words are not describing the fact that the person is marrying the woman, but by saying these words he is, in fact, marrying the woman. Similarly, the words, "I hereby pronounce you husband and wife", uttered by the wedding official, are not a description of reality, but an action changing the legal reality of the couple. Other examples of performative utterances are "I bet, I swear, I promise, etc."

Since its first appearance, Austin's speech-act theory has been taken up by others, who have criticized, embraced, further developed, modified and expanded it, for example, by

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<sup>175</sup>One of the first to pick up Austin's theory for biblical studies was Thiselton, see: A.C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), VIII. For a more recent approach, see e.g.: Elizabeth Stell, "Beyond Oral and Written Prophecy Prophetic Performance and Performativity," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 29.3 (2022) .

<sup>176</sup>J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 5–6.

<sup>177</sup>*Ibid.*, 3: "To overlook these possibilities in the way once common is called the 'descriptive' fallacy; but perhaps this is not a good name, as 'descriptive' itself is special. Not all true or false statements are descriptions, and for this reason I prefer to use the word 'Constative'."

<sup>178</sup>*Ibid.*, 5 n 2 notes that "Austin realized that the expression 'I do' is not used in the marriage ceremony too late to correct his mistake. We have let it remain in the text as it is philosophically unimportant that it is a mistake."

his students Searle and Cavell, Derrida, de Man and Butler.<sup>179</sup> Despite criticism, Austin's basic idea –the significance of language beyond semantics, and words as actions – still remains valid.

Austin's theory is a philosophy of language.<sup>180</sup> In the context of this study, this raises the question of whether content (*text*) is not again made dominant over against context and materiality. This could indeed be a problem. Austin himself, however, noted that

*it is always necessary that the **circumstances** in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, **appropriate**, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should **also** perform certain **other** actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words.<sup>181</sup>*

In other words, for an utterance to be a performative, certain criteria and conditions need to be fulfilled. Not every "I do", for example, automatically results in two people being married. These words need to be spoken by the right persons, in the right context. Appropriate documents need to be presented and signed for the utterance to take legal force. In other words, performativity is not merely constituted by words, but also by the historical circumstances and material aspects that are part of the performative context. Austin speech-act theory, therefore, seems particularly suitable to reconstruct a possible (and probably partial) context that could provide answers to the question of *purpose* and *use* of QLS of this

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<sup>179</sup>For an excellent introduction of Austin's theory of performativity as well as an overview of its further historical development, see: James Loxley, *Performativity*, 1st ed., The New Critical Idiom (London: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>180</sup>To be more precise, Austin's is a theory of ordinary language. *Ibid.*, 23 notes that, "For Austin, the core of any profitable philosophical method had to be the attempt to make explicit the ways in which language was deployed in ordinary usage, 'what we should say when, and so why and what we should mean by it' (Austin 1979: 181). Thus, his explorations of excuses, or pretending, or of more traditionally philosophical topics such as perception, truth and meaning, were grounded in painstaking attention to the kinds of discriminations that we make when we use the relevant words in appropriate, ordinary ways."

<sup>181</sup>Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, 8 emphasis is original, but originally in italics and not in bold type.



study.

## 4.2 *Connecting Text-Internal and Material Aspects*

An important question is, how to connect text-internal aspects (i.e. the performative utterances) to material aspects of the manuscripts. As noted above, a successful performance requires the appropriate circumstances, part of these circumstances could be the appropriate, written artefacts, such as our manuscripts.

In order to assess the appropriateness of the manuscripts, I will make use of Pajunen's categories of psalm and prayer manuscripts, discussed above (see: 48). I will compare the results of the performative analysis of each text against the earlier made assessment of the manuscripts based on Pajunen's categories, in search for alignment. My assumption here is, the greater the degree of alignment between a performative analysis of a text and a particular manuscript category, the greater the possibility that a manuscript was formatted (or not formatted) for a particular use and thus part of the appropriate circumstances of a particular performance.

For example, if the performative analysis of a text indicates that a text was intended for public liturgical use and the material properties indicate the same, I assume that this increases the possibility that the manuscript was indeed intended, i.e. *purposed* for public liturgical use and appropriate for the performance.

As we will see, the performative analysis of a text and the categorization of the manuscript it belongs to, will, more often than not, return contradicting results. In reality, any assessment of the purpose and use of a manuscript will therefore be more complicated than finding matching pairs (so to say) of performative characteristics and material properties. As the materiality and the text of a manuscript together contribute to the meaning and significance of a manuscript, so the performative characteristics of a text and material properties of a manuscript need to be interpreted and weighed together. To cite Monger again,

"The analysis of a manuscript should be seen on two axes, one material and one textual. [...] the manuscript can be analysed as the bearer of a text. Likewise, the assessment of the text in its particular form should be shaped by the material attributes of the manuscript."<sup>182</sup> We will now turn to the criteria and conditions defined by Austin for an utterance to qualify as a performative.

### 4.3 *Austin's Criteria and Conditions for Performatives*

#### 4.3.1 **How to Identify a Performative?**

First, Austin defined two basic criteria for an utterance to qualify as a performative:

1. It does not describe, report or constatae anything at all, is not true or false, and
2. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as saying something.<sup>183</sup>

He also described examples of grammatical forms these performatives could take (and very often take), e.g. the first person present indicative, the second person imperative and the third person jussive.<sup>184</sup> Performatives can also take the passive form, e.g. "You are hereby sentenced to death".

However, he also noted that a performative does not necessarily have to take a specific grammatical form or mood or to contain operative words, but can function without these, e.g. "watch out for the dangerous bull" can be shortened to "dangerous bull" and even to the exclamation "bull!".<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, what looks like a performative could also be a constative, e.g. "I shall be there" is not necessarily "I promise to be there". Austin therefore distinguished between explicit performatives and inexplicit or implicit performatives, for

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<sup>182</sup>Monger, "Material Philology and Jubilees Manuscripts from Qumran," 8.

<sup>183</sup>Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, 5.

<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*, 56–58.

<sup>185</sup>Austin noted that the reversed is also true, the use of an operative does not necessarily make an utterance performative, e.g. you were guilty, you promised, you swore etc. *Ibid.*, 59.

which he preferred the term "primary performatives".<sup>186</sup> In terms of communication theory, the meaning of what someone says does not only depend on the utterance of the literal words, the *locution*—the act *of* saying something. It also depends on what way are we using the locution, e.g. do we want to inform someone or issue a warning? For this Austin coined the term *illocution*—the act *in* saying something. Saying something also produces certain effects upon the audience and this may be done intentionally. In turn, someone can act upon an utterance. This is called the *perlocution*.<sup>187</sup>

The last point is relevant for this study. What to do, for example, with exclamations like *איכה* or *אוי לנו*? These utterances do not have a verbal form, they are not operatives, nor do we learn much from their literal meaning (*locution*). Laments often abound in descriptions, but does this mean they are (primarily) descriptive, or is their main purpose rather to express sorrow, to grieve and bewail the fact that something terrible has happened? Perhaps, a closer look at the intention of these utterances and the effect they are trying to produce, shows that these are also performative.

### 4.3.2 What Makes a Performative Successful?

Second, Austin laid down four conditions<sup>188</sup> for performatives to be successful:

1. There must exist an accepted conventional procedure, which
2. must be executed by the appropriate persons
3. correctly and completely.
4. If the procedure is designed for use by persons "having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those

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<sup>186</sup>*Ibid.*, 69. See chapter 6 for Austin's treatment of explicit and primary performatives.

<sup>187</sup>See: *Ibid.*, 98–107 for Austin's complete discussion on locution, illocution and perlocution.

<sup>188</sup>*Ibid.*, 14–15. Austin actually structured these as six conditions A1 and 2 (1,2), B1 and 2 (3) and Γ1 and 2 (4).

thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves [...] and must actually so conduct themselves subsequently."

Austin noted that "if we sin against any one (or more) of these six rules, our performative utterance will be (in one way or another) unhappy".<sup>189</sup> He called these unhappy utterances *Infelicities*, of which he distinguished two types:

1. Misfires: the act is purported, but void. Austin distinguished three categories:<sup>190</sup>
  1. Misinvocations: the procedure does not exist
  2. Misapplications: the procedure does exist, but cannot be applied as purported
  3. Misexecutions: the procedure does exist and can be applied, but the purported act is compromised by a flaw or problem in the conduct of the ceremony
2. Abuses: the act *is* achieved, but the utterance is professed insincerely, e.g. when someone says "I promise", but does not have the intention to keep the promise.

One could, for example, imagine that a prayer-like text like 4Q501 contains performatives, which would fail if the person or persons praying them were praying insincerely (Abuse), or, that laments required a certain ritual order and hierarchy, which, when violated, would result in a Misfire.

I intend to apply Austin's theory of performativity to QLS to reconstruct their (possible) performative dimensions. I will do this by asking the following questions:

1. Are there utterances in the lament that could qualify as a performative?
  1. Austin described a number of characteristics of performative utterances and these will serve as my guide.
  2. If an utterance does not immediately qualify as a performance, I will probe further

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<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

and consider its purpose or intent, the *illocution*, the act *in* saying the words.

2. If an utterance identifies as a performative, what could be the necessary conditions for this performative to be successful (rather than misfire)?
  1. Austin described a number of conditions and these will serve as my guide.
  2. Others have written about aspects relating to the use and context of texts found at Qumran, I will draw from their works to reconstruct possible conditions necessary for the performative to be successful.

In a final step, I will connect the findings of the performative analyses with the earlier made classification of the manuscripts based on Pajunen's categories (see: 48). I will compare these against one another in order to assess the possible purpose and use of the manuscripts.

## 4.4 *Performative Utterances*

### 4.4.1 4Q111

The most obvious place in Lamentations to begin an investigation of performative utterances would be **איכה** itself. Unfortunately, the part of the manuscripts containing this expression is missing. The same is true for 4Q179 f2:4, which seems to be a direct citation of Lam 1:1.

Here, the part of the manuscript that would have contained **איכה** is also missing. I think it is safe to assume that **איכה** originally was part of both manuscripts. A treatment of this expression seems highly relevant to the discussion of the performativity of both texts and I will discuss it here, even if it is absent from the text. Two utterances present in the manuscript and possibly qualifying as performatives are found column ii:2 – **זכורה יהוה** – and column iii:1 – **ראה יהוה והיבטה**. These will also be discussed.

#### 4.4.1.1 **איכה**

איכה is an interrogative adverb with the basic meaning of "how?" or "where?".<sup>191</sup> Some commentators hold that the term is almost untranslatable.<sup>192</sup> In the context of Lamentations it is usually translated as an exclamation or interjection of bewilderment or despair:

- JPS Alas! Lonely sits the city
- NRSV How lonely sits the city
- BasisBibel Ach, wie einsam ist sie geworden
- Louis Segond 1910 Eh quoi! elle est assise solitaire
- NBV 21 Ach, hoe eenzaam zit zij neer

Many commentaries, furthermore, will mention that איכה traditionally belonged to the funeral dirge and expressed the utmost grief.<sup>193</sup> As such, איכה would perfectly fulfil Austin's conditions for a performative: it does not describe anything and the uttering of איכה is an action, i.e. the act of lamenting. A liturgical lament, alluding to and borrowing from the tradition funeral dirge, would, as "an accepted procedure" provide the appropriate context for this performative.

In a recent paper, Adina Moshavi challenges the idea of איכה doubling as an exclamative adverb. She argues "that "exclamative" איד and איכה are none other than the familiar interrogative adverbs, and the clauses they appear in are not exclamations of degree but rhetorical questions of manner."<sup>194</sup> The majority of the biblical "exclamative" verses

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<sup>191</sup> "איכה" Koehler, *HALOT*, 1:39-40.

<sup>192</sup> Paul M. Joyce and Diana Lipton, *Lamentations Through the Centuries*, Wiley-Blackwell Bible commentaries (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 29.

<sup>193</sup> Leslie C. Allen, *A Liturgy of Grief: A Pastoral Commentary on Lamentations* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2011), 35 e.g. writes: "It is a shriek, a scream [...] the kind that comes from the deepest grief imaginable [...]."

<sup>194</sup> Adina Moshavi, "How *Have* the Mighty Fallen? On Supposedly Exclamative איד and איכה in Biblical Hebrew," in *Semitic, Biblical, and Jewish Studies: in Honor of Richard C. Steiner*, ed. Aaron J. Koller, Mordechai Z. Cohen, and Adina Moshavi (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 2020), 157. I, hereby, also want to thank dr. Moshavi for kindly providing me with a copy of her article. Her argument can serve "as a guide for more accurate biblical translation and exegesis of sentences containing these grammatical words" (161). In my opinion, it also challenges the earlier mentioned notions of uniqueness and untranslatableability of איכה.

"describe a dramatic, unexpected, reversal of a former state of affairs."<sup>195</sup> She, furthermore, notes that "'exclamative" אִיכָה/אִיךָ clauses resemble the expressive rhetorical question, which does not seek to persuade but to express emotion."<sup>196</sup>

If she is right, we should not only focus on the isolated expression אִיכָה, but take the whole question it introduces into consideration: אִיכָה יִשְׁבֶּה בְּדָד הָעִיר רַבְתִּי עִם. Moshavi translates this verse as "How can the city that once was full of people now sit alone?"<sup>197</sup> On the other hand, even if אִיכָה is functioning as an interrogative adverb, rather than an exclamative, this does not diminish the performative quality of the utterance אִיכָה is part of. As noted above, the rhetorical question introduced by אִיכָה "does not seek to persuade, but to express emotion."<sup>198</sup> To say the question is to lament/grieve/be bewildered, and as such the utterance could be regarded as a performative, rather than a descriptive or constative.<sup>199</sup>

#### 4.4.1.2 ראה יהוה והיבטה and זכורה יהוה

Two utterances present in the manuscript and possibly qualifying as performatives are found column ii:2 – זכורה יהוה – and column iii:1 – ראה יהוה והיבטה. The first one is a call to YHWH to remember "our suffering" מִכְּאֻבֵּנוּ. The second is a call to YHWH to look and see "for I became nothing" – כִּי אֲנִי הָיִיתִי זָלִל – and "Is there any suffering like my sufferings?" – אִם יֵשׁ מִכְּאֻב כַּמְּכֻבִּי.

As noted before, the *text* of 4Q111 differs from MT. In both cases, the attention is focused, not on Jerusalem, but on the community ("her poverty – "our suffering") and on the narrator (I [Jerusalem] have become nothing – זָלִלָה vs I [narrator] have become nothing –

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>199</sup> Tentatively, I would say that אִיכָה/אִיךָ does not fulfill a function similar to the *šigû* of Babylonian *šigû* prayers. These laments are called after the recurrent injunction to call *šigû*, a "nearly magical cry to regain the deities' favour." K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 86.

זולל). I have called these *intentional differences of attention*, rather than designating them "deliberate changes made by the scribe of 4Q111", as Kotzé does. Both utterances satisfy the first of Austin's two basic conditions. As imperatives, they do not describe, report, or constate anything at all, and are neither true nor false. As volitionals they express a will – and here things become less clear–, which could range from an advice or wish (which could ultimately remain without any effect) to a command accompanied with the authority and power to enforce it (in which case "to say it, is to do it"). To utter the words "Remember!" or "Look!" could both be a performative, but whether they succeed or fail depends on their effect, i.e. the appropriateness of the context in which it was said and whether all the participants execute the procedure correctly. For now, I will assume that these are indeed performatives, for which the person uttering them has some confidence that they will have the intended effect.

The utterance זכור יהוה [בן]ל מכובנו אשר היו מימי קדם in 4Q111 differs from MT in such a way that, where MT reads that "Jerusalem remembers, while suffering and homeless, all the precious things that were hers from the days of old," 4Q111 instead reads, "Remember, YHWH, our sufferings that were from the days of old."

First, instead of a description of Jerusalem's state, we find, in 4Q111, an invocation of YHWH. Second, instead of Jerusalem suffering, there is a "we" who are suffering. Third, while she was suffering, MT's Jerusalem remembered the "good old days", but in the words of 4Q111 we can find no such reminiscence. Rather, the "we" implied in 4Q111 were suffering and are still suffering.

In an article on poetic prayer texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, Schuller writes that, "[i]n studying these texts over the last twenty years, scholars have come to general agreement on criteria for recognizing liturgical texts."<sup>200</sup> One of these criteria is the use of set formulae. One of these formulae is זכור אדוני,<sup>201</sup> similar to wording of 4Q111. Two other criteria she

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<sup>200</sup>Eileen M. Schuller, "Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 174.

<sup>201</sup>*Ibid.*, 174 n 6.



mentions, are the use of a dialogical element implying two or more voices and that they are formulated in the first person plural.<sup>202</sup> Both of these elements are also found in 4Q111. And, although the first person plural is not used consistently throughout the text, it is interesting to note that the first person plural is also one of the *intentional differences of attention* of 4Q111.

To return to זְכוּר אֲדוֹנָי, according to a study by Nitzan on Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry, this and similar formulae, are part of a "fixed structure of supplication" found in the *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504–506) and the *Prayers for the Festivals* (4Q507–509).<sup>203</sup> She notes that, in these prayers, God is not initially addressed with praises or blessing, but in phrases of petition such as "Remember, Oh Lord". These phrases are "not intended as such to present the requests of the worshippers, but to introduce remembrances entailing God's praises, such as the remembrance of "His miracles of old" (4Q504 8 1-3)[...].<sup>204</sup> The actual petition, appearing later on, follows from these remembrances, and, according to Nitzan, "we thus find a structure tending consistently toward remembrances which pave the way for petitions. The combination of the two stresses those elements which form the main burden of these supplications – the remembrance of God's mercies to Israel, and requests for the manifestation of His kindness to the worshipper."<sup>205</sup>

An important difference in 4Q111 is that the phrase "Remember, Oh God" does not introduce historical memories of God's mercies to Israel, but rather Israel's suffering inflicted by God. A concrete request is also missing, at least from the manuscript. Assuming that 4Q111 contained the complete book of Lamentations, Lam 1:21–22 could fulfill this function. This is a call for revenge on Jerusalem's enemies, rather than a request for the manifestation of His kindness, but such a request could be found near the end, in Lam 5:21, "Restore us to yourself".

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<sup>202</sup>*Ibid.*, 174.

<sup>203</sup>Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. Jonathan Chapman (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 90

<sup>204</sup>*Ibid.*, 89, see also pp. 91 and 104.

<sup>205</sup>*Ibid.*, 90.

These differences, however, do not necessarily rule out the possibility that 4Q111 had a liturgical function similar to that of the *Words of the Luminaries* and the *Prayers for the Festivals*, but they certainly make it more difficult to draw definite conclusions based on the comparison between these texts.

The utterance *ראה יהוה והיבטה* draws attention to the supplicant who has become "worthless", *זולל*, a term strongly connected to sin and disobedience of Torah.<sup>206</sup> This is followed by a lament of the sufferings inflicted upon him by YHWH "because of my transgression" (4Q111 3:2–6). This way, the passage can not only be read as a lament, but also as an admission or confession of sin. The importance of the confession of sin in the Second Temple period can be observed in the *Words of the Luminaries*, in the confessions and petitions of the prayers of the consecutive days of the week, as well as in the *Prayers for the Festivals*. In 4Q507, for example, we find the sentence *ואנו בעולה מרחם ומשדים* ("we are unrighteous from the womb and from the breast") resonating with "I have become worthless".<sup>207</sup> Confession of sin also was an important part of the annual covenant ceremony of the *Yahad* (cf. 1QS 1:18–26). Daniel Falk notes that this confession of sin "lacks the usual petition for mercy."<sup>208</sup>

Even if it remains debatable whether 4Q111 contained a petition for mercy, judging from the evidence it is clear that the confession of sin was an "accepted conventional

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<sup>206</sup>In the biblical corpus, this expression is most often used in the context of someone who is unwise and living in disobedience to Torah, e.g. the rebellious son of Deut 21:18–21 (cf. 11Q19 64,5) is also called *זולל*. See also: Proverbs 23:20–21; 28:7. The root *זלל* also has connotations of "the refusal of *kabodh* ("honor, glory"), the "disdain" that is shown for someone who is contaminated by sin (Lam 1:8)." *זלל* "Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament" (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2006), 3:15.

<sup>207</sup>In the biblical corpus we find e.g. Jer 2:35, where YHWH brings judgement on Judah for saying, "I have not sinned". Cf. 2 Esd 16,53 Sinners must not say that they have not sinned; for God will burn coals of fire on the head of everyone who says, "I have not sinned before God and his glory." In the New Testament, a similar line of thought is found in 1 John 1,10 "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us."

<sup>208</sup>Daniel K. Falk, "Prayer in the Qumran Texts," in *The Early Roman Period*, ed. John Sturdy, W. D. Davies, and William Horbury, The Cambridge History of Judaism 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 864. However, the confession of sin is followed by explicit references to God's mercy. Implicitly, the blessing formula (1QS2:1) also contains references to mercy.

procedure" (see:70), or at least part of it, as were petitionary prayers. Hence, petitionary prayers could provide a context for the use of the performative utterances of 4Q111 and satisfy Austin's conditions for successful performatives, presuming that the procedure was executed correctly, completely, sincerely and by the appropriate persons.

#### 4.4.2 4Q179

The only utterance in 4Q179 that possibly qualifies as an explicit performative is **אוי לנו** – Woe to us! It occurs twice (1i:4 and 1ii:1), once after a *vacat*, once at the beginning of a new column.<sup>209</sup>

##### 4.4.2.1 **אוי לנו** – Woe to Us!

The interjection **אוי** (or **הוי**) is usually translated as 'Woe!'. It is a general expression of misfortune. Sometimes it is followed by **ל** + suffix, as is the case in 4Q179, 'a motivating clause that is usually added makes it clear that the person concerned is undone.'<sup>210</sup> It is used to lament one's own dismay or to announce someone else's disaster, e.g. in prophetic threats and curses.<sup>211</sup> In the biblical corpus **אוי** is almost always linked to either a substantive, proper noun, adjective or participle that describes the conduct or state of the person.<sup>212</sup> In twelve instances it is followed by a clause introduced by **כי**, either an independent clause, a question or an infinitive construction. "In other words, **אוי** acquires its specific meaning in each case from the clause that follows it, without which it would be meaningless."<sup>213</sup> However, "No

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Lam 1:4. Allegro reads **הוי** here, a variant of **אוי**. In my view, it could also be read as **היו**, a qatal third person plural of **היה**. First, there is no morphological distinction between **וַיִּוָּד**, or at least no consistent morphological distinction. Second, earlier on the scribe used **אוי**. This does not necessarily mean that he couldn't have used another form here, but it does at least raise the question why the author would use **הוי** here. Third, syntactically, **היו** could be the verb of the sentence that follows it (cf. Lam 1:16 - **היו בני שוממים** - **היו בני שוממים**)

<sup>210</sup> **הוי** "TDOT, 3:360.

<sup>211</sup> See: "אוי" *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2011), 1:150 and "אוי" *HALOT*, 1:21

<sup>212</sup> **הוי** "TDOT, 3:360.

<sup>213</sup> **הוי** "Ibid.

motivating clause [...] is needed to determine the meaning of *hōy*. Its meaning is defined by its use as an interjection in laments for the dead."<sup>214</sup> As such, *אוי לנו* and *אוי* can already be identified as performatives, as they are actions similar to e.g. crying or weeping, expressing emotions, rather than describing it (cf. "I am undone"). The additional clause functions to define the motivation for the speech-act.

Because of lacunae in the manuscript, it is not exactly clear what *אוי לנו* refers to, i.e. why the persons uttering "woe" are undone. The remainder of line 5 reads: *היה לשרפת אש* {כה} – [it] has become burned by fire and overturned. This is probably a reference to Isa 64:10, where it reads *היה לשרפת אש* [...] – Our holy and beautiful house [...] has been burned by fire. The direct context of this reference and *אוי לנו* is also concerned with the Temple and the City – the absence of sacrifices and festival-goers – and the deplorable state of the whole land.

The second occurrence of *אוי לנו* (1ii:1) precedes an independent clause introduced by *כיא* – *אוי לנו כיא אף אל עלינו* ("Woe to us for the anger of God is upon [us]"). The section that the "woe" introduces, relates to the exile of Lady Zion and the cruel fate of her children.

To determine a possible function of 4Q179, I will now turn to the relationship between the "woes" and the visual demarcations of the text, particularly the *vacat*.

#### 4.4.2.2 Cycles of Lament and Confession for *Public Liturgical Use*

The *vacat* in 1i:4, preceding the first woe, corresponds to the "closed section" described by Emanuel Tov, "a space in the middle of the line [...] that usually denotes a segmentation of a larger unit [...] into one or more smaller units."<sup>215</sup> Referring to Siegel, he writes that "In principle, a closed section is 'thematically related to what immediately precedes it," but also notes that "the vagueness of this definition leads to differences of opinion with regard to the

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<sup>214</sup>Ibid. "הוי" 214.

<sup>215</sup>Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 136.

interpretation of this relation."<sup>216</sup> In the case of 4Q179, the definition seems to make sense, though.

The lines preceding the *vacat* in 1i:4, i.e. the final lines of the preceding section, contain, what I would call, a confession of sin that explains the cause of the misfortune of the worshippers:

2 עונותינו ואין לאל ידנו כי לוא שמע[נו]

3 ] דה לקרותנו כל אלה ברוע ]

4 ] את בריתו [vacat] אוי לנו ]

*2 our sins, and we are powerless for we did not listen*

*3 all these things befall us through wickedness*

*4 his covenant [vacat] Woe unto us!*

A similar phenomenon is observable in lines 1i:14–15. Again, a confession of sin - פשעינו and הטאותינו – concludes the section introduced by the first woe (1i:4) and precedes the woe of a new section (1ii:1), visually demarcated by a new column. My suggestion is that these thematically related sections were recurring cycles of lament with the following, similar structure: woe – lamentation – confession of sin, (see: table 2).

**TABLE 2: CYCLES OF LAMENT**

	<b>Section 0</b>	<b>Section 1</b>	<b>Section 2</b>
	<b>incomplete cycle</b>	<b>complete cycle</b>	<b>incomplete cycle</b>
Woe (introduction)	x	1i:4b – 1st Woe	1ii:1 – 2nd Woe
Lamentation	x	1i:5–13	1ii:2–13

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

Confession (refrain)	1i:2–4a	1i:14–15	x
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The *vacat* as a division marker is, according to Pajunen, one of four typical characteristics of psalm and prayer manuscripts from Qumran.<sup>217</sup> The other characteristics are 1. written in Hebrew, 2. the preferred writing material was animal skin, 3. written in formal or semi-formal hand, "which would have helped with their reading, both aloud and in private."<sup>218</sup> 4Q179 also exhibits the other three typical features, making it possible that it is indeed a prayer text. Pajunen, furthermore, notes that the absence of a clear division "would have hindered the easy use of these manuscripts in both public reading and in private use [...]. This feature can hence be used together with other criteria to argue that a specific manuscript was not formatted for use in a public gathering."<sup>219</sup> While the reversal is not automatically true, i.e. the presence of a *vacat* does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that a manuscript was formatted for use in a public gathering, 4Q179 is, additionally, written in the first person plural, which, according to Schuller, is one of the features of prayer texts that points to a *public liturgical use*.<sup>220</sup> Taken together, these elements (i.e. the visual layout of the text, the

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<sup>217</sup>Pajunen, "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran," 57: "Nearly all of the collections, containing enough material to establish this, use *vacats* for demarcating the collected compositions. Some of the manuscripts provide even more minute sense divisions into strophes, but already an empty space just between separate compositions would have helped potential readers in locating specific compositions." Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 69 notes something similar in relation to the *Words of the Luminaries* and *Prayers for the Festivals*. She writes: "Despite the fact that the complete texts are not available, one can nevertheless utilize two characteristics of the material for purposes of our present discussion: 1) the authors indicated the dividing line between the various units by means of an empty space (*vacat*), and at times even by use of a special sign of division 2) on the basis of the cumulative evidence, it is possible to observe the fixity of the structure of the prayers which were arranged in any given scroll."

<sup>218</sup>Pajunen, "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran," 57–58.

<sup>219</sup>*Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>220</sup>Schuller, "Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 174: "Yet all share certain features that point to a public and communal *Sitz im Leben*, that is, to liturgical usage. In studying these texts over the last twenty years, scholars have come to general agreement on criteria for recognizing liturgical texts: the individual prayers are relatively short; they contain set formulae, particularly at the opening and conclusion; they employ rubrics or titles specifying when the prayers are to be recited, and sometimes by whom/ they utilize a dialogical element implying two or more voices; they are formulated in the first person plural; their content is communal and/or cosmological (not individualistic and specific)."

use of the first person plural, the cyclical nature of the laments) provide a decent explanation for thinking that 4Q179 was indeed intended for a *public liturgical use*.

### 4.4.3 4Q501

4Q501 contains at least six utterances that possibly qualify as performatives.<sup>221</sup> These could be clustered together into three different groups:

1. Request on behalf of in-group: אל תתן (line 1)
2. Petitionary phrases: זכור כיא [אנחנ]ו עמכה (line 2); זכור בני בריתכה (line 3); הביטה וראה; חרפת בני (line 5)
3. Call for revenge on out-group: ואל יהיה זרעמה (line 7); ועשה בהמה נקמה (line 8)

#### 4.4.3.1 Supplication

The utterance אל תתן לזרים נחלתנו ויגיענו לבני נכר could be a performative, but whether it effectively is one depends on the context it was used in and the intent it was used with.<sup>222</sup> אל תתן is a jussive 2ms. It does not express a command ("Don't you give our inheritance to foreigners!"), but a will, "May you not give our inheritance to foreigners!".<sup>223</sup> Syntactically, it can also be used in a subjunctive clause, denoting purpose or result. The preceding (part of the) sentence is missing, but we could imagine something like, "We are weeping loudly, [please] do not give our inheritance to foreigners" (jussive). Or, "We are weeping loudly, so that you will not give our inheritance to foreigners" (subjunctive). In any case, the utterance clearly has a petitionary character, an illocutionary act of "[requesting] for the manifestation

<sup>221</sup>Or six, if אל תתן, which does double duty, is counted twice. But this concerns a parallelism and the two requests are actually one and the same thing.

<sup>222</sup>Something I also noted in the discussion of the performativity of 4Q111 (see:75).

<sup>223</sup>Russell T. Fuller and Kyoungwon. Choi, *Invitation to Biblical Hebrew Syntax: an Intermediate Grammar*, Invitation to Theological Studies (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2017), §41.B.ο–q.

of [YHWH's] kindness to the worshipper.<sup>224</sup>

If we (speculatively) assume that 4Q501 depends on Joel 2:17, we could even go a step further. As noted earlier on (see: 58), the passage of Joel is part of a prophetic call to Zion to return to YHWH "with all your hearts" in communal fasting and repentance (Joel 2:12–17), and it provides the words that should be prayed:

*Spare your people, O LORD,*

*and do not make your heritage a mockery (אל תתן נחלתכה לחרפה)*

*a byword among the nations." (Joel 2:17 NRSV, emphasis mine)*

The prospect given, is that if the people return (שבו) to YHWH, "[w]ho knows whether he will not turn (ישוב) and relent." If 4Q501 did indeed follow this line of reasoning, then saying the words אל תתן was not merely a request to not give away the inheritance, but an illocutionary act of returning to YHWH. By saying these words, those praying returned to YHWH in the spirit of Joel 2:17.

#### 4.4.3.2 Petitionary Phrases

The utterances זכור בני בריתכה (line 2) and זכור בני בריתכה (line 3) are similar to the זכור אדוני phrases that are mentioned by Schuller as one of the criteria for liturgical texts (see: 75), except that they do not mention the divine name. 4Q501 in its entirety never mentions the divine name, but consistently addresses YHWH in the second person. From everything it is clear that YHWH is addressed, and I will therefore consider these phrases as petitionary phrases equal to זכור אדוני. The prayer also makes use of two other liturgical elements mentioned by Schuller. First, a dialogical element implying two or more voices. Second, it is

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<sup>224</sup>Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 90.



formulated in the first person plural.<sup>225</sup> As such, 4Q501 can be considered a liturgical text. The petitionary phrases do not introduce historical remembrances of God's mercies to Israel, but appeal to the relationship between those praying and YHWH, and emphasize the pity state that those praying find themselves in – "Remember that [we] are your people and the abandoned ones of your inheritance, Remember the desolate children of your covenant" (lines 1–3). The petitionary phrases (זכור) can thus be regarded as "requests for the manifestation of His kindness to the worshipper[s],"<sup>226</sup> where the concrete request is found in אל תתן לזרים נחלתנו etc., i.e. to not give away their inheritance to strangers and, in the spirit of Joel, "to turn to them and relent."

The expression הביטה וראה (line 5) calls YHWH to pay attention to "the reproach of the children of [ ]" – הרפת בני – . The nomen regens of the construction is missing from the manuscript, but it is clear that these "children of [ ]" is referring to the same group as עמכה and בני בריתכה in line 2. Similar to 4Q111 and Lamentations, the utterance calls YHWH to pay attention to the suffering of those praying, but this time not because of the suffering inflicted by YHWH, but because of the oppression inflicted by the עמכה - the wretched ones of your people (line 4).

Here, one could ask whether the utterance "Look and see" is a constative, describing reality, rather than a performative act. In a way, it is a descriptive, but if we look at the purpose or intent of the utterance, it could well be a performative act. The call to "look and see the reproach of your children" introduces a request, not for mercy, but for divine vengeance upon these "wretched ones". The *locution* "look and see the reproach of your children" could have the *illocutionary* force of "stop them!" which, in turn, could result in divine vengeance (*perlocution*).

A similar question could be asked about the negative descriptions of the out-group. In

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<sup>225</sup>Schuller, "Some Reflections on the Function and Use of Poetical Texts Among the Dead Sea Scrolls," 174.

<sup>226</sup>Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 90.

a way they describe the out-group, and as such they are constatives, but one could ask whether the real purpose (*illocution*) of these utterances is not to draw attention to the righteous state of the supplicants who contrast themselves with the wretched ones, i.e. by "othering" their opponents. To go one step further, one could even ask whether the calls for vengeance are really requests. We will turn to these now.

#### 4.4.3.3 Vengeance – Curses

The utterances { } ואל יהיה זרעמה ב (line 7) and ועשה בהמה נקמה (line 8) could be taken as a request – "will you please not let their offspring be { }, and will you please execute vengeance upon them?" Qualitatively, however, these requests have characteristics curses, even if an explicit curse formula (e.g. with ארר) is absent. Nitzan notes that blessings and curses in the Qumran corpus were often based on biblical phrases. These phrases could be borrowed or reworked, but also lead to the formulation of new texts.<sup>227</sup> Blessings could be reformulated as curses. Curses could take the form of a negation.<sup>228</sup> In this case, for example, one can imagine that ואל יהיה זרעמה ב could have been a reworking of a curse pertaining to someone offspring (e.g. Psalm 37:28) or reformulation of a blessing entailing someone's offspring (e.g. Gen. 12:7, 13:15; Isa 61:9). Whatever their provenance, the utterances { } ואל יהיה זרעמה ב and ועשה בהמה נקמה can both be considered curses and thus as performative acts: "saying these words = cursing the opponents."

### 4.5 *Performativity and the Small Scrolls*

In this final step, I will connect the findings of the performative analyses with the earlier made classification of the manuscripts based on Pajunen's categories (see: 48 and 68). I will compare these against one another in order to assess the manuscript for a possible purpose

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<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

and use. To reiterate Pajunen's categories of psalm and prayer manuscripts:

- 1. manuscripts not formatted for easy readability
- 2. manuscripts formatted for private piety not for public use
- 3. manuscripts formatted for public ritual use

Categories 2 and 3, thus, correspond with what I refer to in this study, as *personal liturgical use* and *public liturgical use* (see:23). On the basis of their material properties, the manuscripts would either fall into Pajunen's first or the second category.

#### 4.5.1 4Q111

On the basis of its dimensions, its very irregular handwriting, script size and the absence of a special layout or visual markers, 4Q111 seems to fall into Pajunen's first category of manuscripts not formatted for easy readability.

The performative analysis suggests that the scroll could have had a *liturgical use*. The *intentional differences of attention*, could also be an indication that 4Q111 served in a liturgical context, especially that of petitionary prayers, rather than having commemoration as its sole or primary *purpose*. This also resonates with the intertextual analysis of 4Q179 and 4Q501, which suggested that, in these texts, Lamentations was recontextualized and reactualized for *purposes* other than commemoration.

Because the *intentional differences of attention* drew attention to the individual "narrator" (the first person singular) and not undividedly to the community (the first person plural), it did not become clear whether 4Q111 had a *private* or a *public liturgical purpose*. Both *uses* seem to be possible. On the basis of the material properties of the manuscript, a *personal liturgical use*, seems most plausible, even if the scroll was not especially formatted for such *use*.

#### 4.5.2 4Q179

On the basis of its visual layout, particularly the *vacat* and the column introducing a new section, 4Q179 seems to fall into the second category. Its handwriting is, like 4Q111, not very neat, and together with the small size of the manuscript, this would be an indication that it was not especially formatted for *public liturgical use*.

The performative analysis provided a possible explanation for the *vacat* in 4Q179 1i:4. By regarding the *vacat* and the new column as visual markers, which divided two separate, but also thematically connected sections, it was suggested that 4Q179 contains "cycles of lament" (woe – lament – confession of sin), that, because of structural employment of the first person plural, were intended for *public liturgical use*.

In other words, the performative analysis of the text and the classification of the manuscript based on Pajunen's categories apparently contradict one another. What could explain this contradiction?

A possible explanation could be that a particular *use* of a scroll cannot be excluded merely because it is not formatted for this *use*. Another possibility is that the consistent use of the first person does not necessarily imply that a manuscript was used in a public liturgical setting. Perhaps an individual used these prayers privately, but in the spirit of belonging to a certain group whose beliefs and purposes he shared. A third possibility is that the *purpose* of a text does not necessarily align with the purpose of a manuscript. For example, a text may originally have been composed for public liturgical purposes, but eventually been copied and used for the purpose of private study. The material properties of the scroll may well align with this new purpose, while the original text does not.

#### 4.5.3 4Q501

Apart from a possible *vacat* at the end of line 7, 4Q501 does not seem to have any particular material features that indicate that it was formatted for a *liturgical use*, either *private* or

*public*. However, in contrast to 4Q111 and 4Q179, its handwriting seems very regular and neat, which would improve its readability and make it more suitable for a *liturgical use*.<sup>229</sup>

The performative utterances in 4Q501 seemed to have a petitionary character, but in light of the intertextual relation with Joel 2:17, it could also be argued that 4Q501 is an act of repentance, of "returning to YHWH" in order for YHWH to return to those repenting. The rather hostile utterance in line 8, "execute vengeance upon them", could be regarded as a curse. In light of the consistent use of the first person plural, a public liturgical setting, in which the three elements of petition, repentance, curse are combined seems most likely.

Thus, the performative analysis of 4Q501 seems to suggest a *public liturgical use*, while the small format of the scroll suggests something different. Here, I refer back to the possible explanations made in relation to 4Q179.

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<sup>229</sup>Cf. Pajunen, "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran," 68.

## 5 Conclusion

In this study I have attempted to answer the question, "what was the *purpose* and *use* of the Qumran Lament Scrolls?" by integrating material, contextual and performative aspects of these manuscripts. A key tenet of this study was the importance of the materiality of a manuscript. Rather than a disembodied text, matter and text inseparably belong together. Together they contribute to the meaning and significance of the manuscript.

Attention to the materiality and textuality of the QLS returned a number of material features relevant for the question of *purpose* and *use*. Some aspects that came to the fore, such as the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton in 3Q3 and the possible colometric division of 3Q3 and 5Q7, seemed very valuable for the research question, but the scarce material of the manuscripts and the lack of supporting evidence prevented any conclusions with regard to their significance. Other aspects, such as the *intentional differences of attention* in 4Q111, the *vacat* in 4Q179, provided enough clues for a continued investigation in the chapters on Intertextuality and Performativity.

An intertextual analysis of the use of Lamentations in 4Q179 and 4Q501 served to define the nature of the *texts* of 4Q179 and 4Q501 with the aim of providing possible clues about the *purpose* and *use* of these *texts*. The expectation was that this would, in turn, provide more clues about a possible *purpose* and *use* 4Q179 and 4Q501 (i.e. the *manuscripts*), but also of 4Q111 as a manuscript contemporary with 4Q179 and 4Q501 and a manuscript containing (part of) Lamentations.

This analysis, first, suggested that both 4Q179 and 4Q501 contain internal criticism, i.e. criticism concerning an inner Jewish setting, rather than being aimed at those outside the Jewish community. On the other hand, the reference to Isa 54 in 4Q179 could be read as a consolation, rather than a critique. Second, *restoration* through confession and repentance seemed to play an important role in the prayers of both 4Q179 and 4Q501. It was also noted that Lam 5 shared with 4Q501 the characteristics of a prayer of confession and repentance.

The contradicting notions of criticism and consolation observed in 4Q179, brought us to a discussion of Berlin's and Najman's qualification of both 4Q179 and 4Q501. Where Berlin concluded that, "These are not poems of mourning, they are poems of alienation,"<sup>230</sup> and seemed to treat mourning and criticism as mutually exclusive, Najman showed that mourning, and criticism can be part and parcel of an anticipated hope of redemption. Najman's explanation also accounted for all the observations made in relation to the characters of 4Q179 and 4Q501 as texts that lament, critique and comfort at the same time. This would also place 4Q179 and 4Q501 in the vicinity of writings such as apocryphal Baruch, 4 Ezra and the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, of which Michael Knibb has argued that they "all seem to share the view that Israel remained in a state of exile long after the sixth century, and that the exile would only be brought to an end when God intervened in this world in order to establish his rule."<sup>231</sup> This resonates with the idea that Lamentations was reused in 4Q179 and 4Q501, in *texts* that do not only or primarily to commemorate "586", but in which *restoration* through prayers of confession and repentance played an important, and perhaps even primary role. This could indicate that the *purpose* of these prayers was *restoration*, and consequently, that the *purpose* of these manuscripts, their intended *use*, was petitionary prayer that sought to bring about *restoration*.

The final chapter offered an integrated approach to the quest of *purpose* and *use* of QLS by combining aspects of materiality, content and context of the manuscripts, through a performative approach based on Austin's theory of performativity. While Austin's theory is a philosophy of language, Austin emphasized the need of the appropriate context for utterances to be successful as performatives, part of this context could be appropriate, written artefacts, such as our manuscripts.

Pajunen's categories of psalm and prayer manuscripts were used to connect text-

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<sup>230</sup>Berlin, "Qumran Laments," 17.

<sup>231</sup>Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," 271–72.

internal elements to material elements (i.e. the performative analysis of the *texts* to the material properties of the *manuscripts*), in order to assess the possible *purpose* and *use* of the manuscripts. In all instances the results turned out to be contradictory, rather than a simple and straightforward addition of matching pairs (of the performative analysis and the categorization of the manuscripts).

The performative analysis returned a liturgical character of all three texts. In the case of 4Q111, the material evidence, especially the small dimensions of the scroll, the quality of handwriting and the fact that it is written in continuous script and without special layout, indicated that it had not been formatted for easy readability, which would make a *liturgical use* more likely. In the case of 4Q179, the performative analysis indicated a *public liturgical use*, the material evidence, on the other hand, suggested that the manuscript was rather formatted for *personal liturgical use*. Similarly, 4Q501, showed no particular material features indicating that it was formatted for *liturgical use*, either *private* or *public*. The performative analysis, on the other hand, suggested a *public liturgical use*.

In other words, the performative analysis of the text and the classification of the manuscript according to Pajunen's categories apparently contradict one another. In the final chapter, I provided several possible explanations for these apparent contradictions (see:87).

Here, the observations of Loughmiller-Cardinal and Cardinal seem fitting. To paraphrase: "We can [...] assume that the ancient [Israelites] knew exactly what they meant by the text, used the manuscripts in just the manner they intended, and that the [scrolls] functioned in precisely that manner. It is only the interpretation of text, [manuscripts], and intentions that are conflicted."<sup>232</sup>

To take their advice to heart, this suggests, in my opinion, that we need to gain a better, more differentiated, understanding of liturgical settings. One could, for example, imagine that a larger, formal public setting required a different quality of manuscripts than a

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<sup>232</sup>Loughmiller-Cardinal and Cardinal, "Use, Purpose, and Function—Letting the Artifacts Speak," 591.



smaller, more informal public setting. Or, perhaps smaller liturgical scrolls were, despite being less readable, used in larger, public liturgical settings, but, for example, only as an *aide-mémoire* for a liturgical leader.<sup>233</sup> But these are all matters for future research.

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<sup>233</sup>Tentatively, I would like to suggest a possible analogy with cuneiform tablets of similar size as the QLS. Löhnert writes that, "Many first-millennium manuscripts are one-column tablets some 10 x 20–25 cm in size, roughly the length of a forearm. This could indicate that they rested in the crook of the lamenter's elbow as an aide-memoire during performance" see: Anne Löhnert, "Manipulating The Gods: Lamenting in Context," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 408. If Löhnert is right, this also raises the question about the argument of readability, as small cuneiform writing is equally badly readable, so to say, as a small Qumran scroll.

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## Appendices

### **A Paleographic Report of 4Q501 based on the *Petit Guide***

This paleographic report of 4Q501 is based on: Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Petit Guide de Description des Écritures Hébraïques: Identifier la Main du Scribe* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2013). I have left the original French headings and terminology in many places.

#### ***Fiche d'identité du document et la description de ces aspects matériels***

Numéro de catalogue (s'il existe): 4Q501 – 4QApocryphal Lamentations B

Bibliographie: Baillet 1982. DJD 7: 79-80.

Identification de son contenu textuel: a complaint of one group who considers themselves righteous about another group that they consider as unrighteous, addressed to God with the petition to act in favour of the first group and not of the second.

Support matériel: leather sheet.

Encres et pigment: black ink

Instrument d'écriture: pen

État de conservation: Right side is damaged. Top, bottom and left margin are intact.

Stitch markings on the left side, indicating that the scroll contained other writings.

Dimensions du document (h x w in mm): 61 x 85

Dimensions du bloc du texte écrit (h x w in mm): 54 x > 72 (right side of manuscript damaged)

### **Qualité, style et type de l'écriture**

Qualité: informal

Style (ou genre): semi-formal

Type de l'écriture: Herodian

### **Examen de la main du scribe**

### **Mise en page et mise en texte**

Only written on recto. There are no paragraphic or colometric divisions.

## **Justification**

Right side of the manuscript is damaged and the right margin is missing.

Left margin: equal end of lines, except lines 2 and 3 which are a bit shorter, and line 7, which is much shorter, about 10 mm or 17 mm if one does neglect the erased last word.

## **Densité du texte écrit**

### **1. Stable ou variable à travers la page**

Variable spacing

### **2. Nombre de lignes dans 50 mm (verticalement)**

From the top: 7 lines/50 mm. From the bottom, 9 lines/50mm. The writing block is only 54mm.

### **3. Nombre de caractères (+espaces) dans 50 mm (horizontalement)**

From the right: 25 characters / 6 spaces

From the left: 25 characters / 4 spaces

### **4. Espaces entre les lignes**

- irregular (2–4mm)

- greater than the height of the writing line (ca. 2 mm)

### **5. Espaces entre les mots**

- irregular, sometimes greater, sometimes smaller than the average height of the  $\eta$

### **6. Espaces entre les lettres dans un mot**

- irregular. Sometimes no space ("ligatures"), sometimes a lot of space, but always smaller than the width of the average  $\tau$

## **Rapidité du texte écrit**

1. Impression générale:

My general impression is that the text is rapidly/fluidly written.

2. Nombre de traits pour écrire une lettre donnée (exemples de aleph, he et tav):

א: seems to be written in two strokes. One stroke, an upside down "v" starting at the bottom of the left leg. A second stroke starting at the top right for the right arm

ה: often seems to be written in two strokes, one for the roof en right leg, another for the right leg

ת: is often written cursively, i.e. in one stroke. The left leg is a loop that curves upward from the bottom left towards the right to become the right leg. When not written cursively, the tav is made up of two strokes: one for the left leg, another for the roof and right leg.

Another indication could be the kap sofit in line 6 that should be a medial kap.

## Lignes du texte

*L'aspect et la régularité des lignes dépendent de la présence ou non de la réglure. Il convient donc d'abord de constater si le document est réglé.*

### Documents contenant la réglure :

#### 1. Piqûres

- no ruling visible (go to 3.5.2)

#### 2. Réglure

#### 3. Nombre de lignes écrites versus nombre de lignes réglées

#### 4. Position de la ligne écrite entre les lignes réglées

### Documents sans réglure :

- la ligne d'écriture est:

- always descends towards the end

## Lettres et la ligne d'écriture

The roofs of letters are not parallel to the upper writing line, but slightly inclined towards the left. The bases of the letters are not parallel to the upper writing line, but slightly inclined towards the left. Vertical strokes are not perpendicular to the base line, but incline towards the left.

## Taille et proportions d'une lettre

### 1. La largeur des lettres

(en choisissant trois exemples de la même lettre dans les endroits différents du document)

- régulière

- irrégulière

### 2. Proportions d'une lettre

– hauteur inférieure à la largeur (<)

– égale à la largeur (=)

– hauteur supérieure à la largeur (>)

**TABLE 3: PROPORTIONS OF A LETTER**

	Three samples from entire document (height)	proportions (h:w)	Additional comments
א	3, 2, 2	=	
ב	2, 2.5, 2	>	
ג	2.5, 2.5, 3	=	
ד	2, 2, 2	=	
ה	2, 3, 2	>	
ו/ו	2.5, 2, 2	>	
ז	2, 2, 2	>	
ח	3, 1.5, 2	>	width consistently 1.5
ט	3	<	only one
כ	2.5, 3, 3	>	
ל	6, 4.5, 3.5	>	
מ	2, 3, 2	=	

ם	2.5, 3, 4	>	
נ	2.5, 2, 2	>	
ן	4.5, 4, 4	>	
ס	2.5		only one
ע	2, 2, 2	<	
פ	3, 3, 3	>	
ף	4, 3	<	large, leftward angled downstroke. Medial pe written as sofit?
ק	3.5, 4, 3	<	
צ	3	>	only one
ך	2, 2, 1.5	=	
ש	2, 2, 2	<	width consistently 3
ת	2, 3, 3	>	

### 3. Proportions des dépassements supérieurs et inférieurs

Of letters extending upwards, e.g. ל the extension is longer than the height of the average letter ה (ca. 2mm)

Of letters extending downwards, e.g. ם ת ף , ק , ן the extension is equal to or shorter than the height of the average ה

### 4. Le rapport de longueur entre traits verticaux d'une lettre

ה right leg longer than left leg

ח vertical strokes equally long

ת left leg longer than right leg

### 5. Le rapport de longueur entre traits horizontaux d'une lettre

ב base is longer than roof

כ base is longer than roof

מ base is longer than roof

## Rapports entre les lettres

### 1. Les traits verticaux sont parallèles/ne sont pas parallèles

- within a letter the vertical lines run mostly parallel
- within a word the vertical lines run mostly parallel
- within a line the vertical lines run mostly parallel
- within a page the vertical lines run mostly parallel

### 2. Les dépassements supérieurs/ inférieurs sont parallèles/ne sont pas parallèles aux traits verticaux

### 3. Les dépassements supérieurs/ inférieurs sont parallèles entre eux

- ל The upper extensions of the lameds generally run parallel to one another within the same word, within adjacent words and are generally also parallel to other vertical strokes
- ם The right vertical stroke of the mem sofit runs roughly parallel to other vertical strokes, the left vertical stroke does not, but fans out towards the bottom

## 4. Rapports entre les lettres dans un mot

### Ligatures

### Puzzles des lettres

(This part describes how letters are written to economise writing space, e.g. nesting letters)

- ן/ו are often nested and/or connected to the preceding letters. Standard "ligatures" are made with ן, ׃.
- Suffix כה-: the base of the כ extends to connect and support the right leg of the ה
- ן are almost always connected to following letter through extension of the base
- כ are almost always connected to following letter through extension of the base
- Medial ן is often connected to following letter. The diagonal extension of the roof is connected to the the bottom of the vertical stroke of the following letter
- ל sometimes connects to following letter through extension of the hook
- ׃ are almost always connected to following letter through extension of the diagonal stroke

- Medial **ɔ** often connects to following letter through extension of the base
- **ɳ** is often connected to following letter through extending left foot of the letter

## **Morphologie des lettres**

(Summarized in table at 3.6.9)

### **1. Traits verticaux**

- droits

E : resh : le trait vertical est droit, presque perpendiculaire à la ligne de base/de crête

- penchés (à gauche/à droite)

M : lettre he : le trait vertical de droite est penché vers le gauche et le trait vertical de gauche – vers la droite

- arrondis (ouverts à gauche/ouverts à droite)

### **2. Bases horizontales - droites**

- penchées (à gauche/à droite)

- convexes

- concaves

- épaissies au bout

- le bout du trait soulevé vers le haut

- en ‘queue de poisson’

### **3. Barres horizontales**

- droites



- penchées

#### 4. La largeur des traits

- épais (tracé avec pleine épaisseur du calame, de la plume)

- fins (tracé avec le côté du calame, de la plume)

- différences de largeur entre traits, ex. entre traits verticaux et horizontaux

#### 5. Traits additionnels

- serifs

- épaisseur relative

- longueur relative

- forme (comme un trait droit, trait oblique, triangle, crochet, diamant)

#### 6. le point de rencontre entre les traits dans une lettre

**TABLE 4: CONNECTION BETWEEN STROKES OF A LETTER**

	traits verticaux	bases horizontales	barres horizontales	traits add.
⌘	left leg curves inward			
⌚	left stroke curves slightly inward (R-L)	convex base	concave roof	
λ	left leg often curves inward			
τ	sometimes left horn not parallel to right horn, but angled sharply backwards			

ה	left leg always shorter, horn on right side		roof extends to left beyond "base". roof slopes downward (R-L)	
ו/י				Sometimes sharp angle at the top. top sometimes thick. Sometimes an additional stroke to shape the nose
ז	straight vertical line, no embellishments			
ח	Two legs, horns run parallel			
ט				
כ				
ל	thicker toward top			
מ		mostly convex, sometimes, concave base	concave roof	diagonal downwards extension of roof
ם	Left vertical stroke extends above roof, but generally does not extend below base	concave base		Roof has a distinctive horn on left side
נ				
י	bottom 2/3 usually curves under previous letter			
ס	vertical stroke slightly above base			
ע	left vert. stroke runs parallel to vertical strokes of other letters			Diagonal stroke sometimes almost parallel to baseline

פ		convex base	diagonal roof ("nose") that is shorter than base	
ף	Downstroke curves sharply to the left			nose curves inward
ק	downstroke extend above roof			
צ	downstroke not parallel to other letters, but inclines to the left			
ך	horn not parallel to right vertical stroke, but angled sharply backwards		sharp angle between horn and (concave) roof	
ש	downstroke often curves slightly inward (L-R). Sometimes downstroke extend beyond right arm			ends of 3 arms all at roof of writingline
ת	tav is often written cursively. i.e. with a looped left leg that begins above the roof and that becomes the roof and right leg. Right curves outward (L-R)		often a convex roof	

## **Voyelles**

( This part is not relevant for Qumran manuscripts)

## **Éléments paratextuels**

### **1. Ponctuation**

### **2. Abréviations**

### **3. Corrections**

- Line 1, before the first word. A correction seems to be made by way of a superscripted ן
- Line 7, the last word/s is wiped out

### **4. Signes personnels**

## 3Q3

### Description of the Manuscript

Contents: fragment 1: Lam 1:10–12. fragment 2: Lam 3:53–62

Dimensions (H x W in mm): fragment 1: ca. 11 x 11 / fragment 2: ca. 9 x 12

Interlinear space<sup>234</sup> (in mm): fragment 1: 2.9 / fragment 2: 0.4

Script style: Square, Herodian, size ca. 0.8–2 mm. Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton

Layout: Only written on recto. Colometric division

Only two tiny snippets are what is left of 3Q3. Both fragments contain the remains of three lines of texts. Despite their small size, the fragments do have some noteworthy features, notably the paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton and the colometric division. Both features are also relevant for the question of a possible *purpose* and *use* of QLS.

### Transcription and Translation

#### Fragment 1 (Lam 1:10–12)

1 בק]הל [לד

2 ראה] 1א1 1א1 [והביטה

3 אשר] הו]גה 1א1 1א1

#### Translation

1 in her] sanctuary [

2 look] YHWH [and see

3 which YHWH] inflicted [

---

<sup>234</sup>There is too little material to for commenting on the quality of writing, writing block dimensions, margins etc. so I will leave this out for 3Q3. Instead I mention the interlinear space here.

**Fragment 2 (Lam 3:53, 56, 59, 62)****Transcription**

צמתו ב]בור [ 1

קולי שמ]עת [ 2

ראי]תה ׀ 191 [ 3

ש]פתי קמי [ 4

**Translation**

- 1 They flung me into [a pit  
 2 you heard] my voice  
 3 you have seen [YHWH  
 4 lips [standing up

**4Q111****Description of the Manuscript**

General state of the manuscript: leather with cracks and wrinkles, damage (holes) at several places. Stitching and stitching marks on left side (col 2) and right side (col 3). Fragment 1: top margin visible. Fragment 2: top and left margin largely intact. Fragment 3: Top and right margin largely intact, bottom and left margin damaged, but visible.

Contents: Lamentations 1:1b–9c;10c–18a; 2:5

Dimensions of Manuscript (H x W in mm): fragment 1: 78 x 41; fragment 2: 82 x 85;  
 fragment 3: 86 x 164; fragment 4: 29 x 24

Writing Block (H x W in mm): col 1: 65 x > 38, 10 (11) lines; col 2: 71 x 73, 10 (11) lines;  
 col 3: 55 x 126, 10 lines; col 4: too fragmentary

Writing quality: informal, not very careful, irregular. The dimensions of the letters are irregular and differ in size in relation to the size of the column. Letters in col 2 are, with a few exceptions, consistently larger than col 1 and 3. The letters in column 3 are

consistently smaller than the other columns. E.g. א in col 1, 2 and 3 (in mm), resp.: 3, 4, 2. ה in col 1, 2 and 3, resp.: 2.5, 4 and 2. Inking is irregular

Script style: square, early herodian.<sup>235</sup>

Layout: Text is only written on recto, continuously and without any colometric division.

Unruled.

Scribal marks, corrections: erasures, superscripted letters

4Q111 is the best preserved manuscript of Lamentations found at the Qumran site. It consists of four fragments. The largest three fragments contain almost the entire first chapter. A fourth, very small fragment contains part of a single line of the second chapter of Lamentations. One noteworthy features of 4Q111 that is relevant for the question of a possible *purpose* and *use* of QLS, is that, in a number of places, the text of 4Q111 differs from MT.<sup>236</sup> Some of these differences are clearly scribal mistakes.<sup>237</sup> Other differences appear to be readings superior to MT,<sup>238</sup> (i.e. more original), but there are, at least according to Kotzé, also deliberate changes made by the scribe.<sup>239</sup>

## Transcription and Translation

### Column 1 (Lam 1:1b–6a)

1 כא[למנה רבתי בגוים ש]רתי במדינות

<sup>235</sup>Based on the descriptions and script charts of Cross and Yardeni. See: Frank M. Cross, *Leaves From an Epigrapher's Notebook : Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*, Harvard Semitic Museum publications (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 8–43 and Ada Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997), 174–76. In contrast to e.g. 5Q6 and 5Q7, there are no looped *tavs*, no serifs, hardly any ligatures.

<sup>236</sup>See: Cross, “DJD 16,” 230 table 1: Orthography for an extensive list of orthographic differences between 4Q111 and MT Lamentations. Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 23–28 provides an extensive description of formal differences between 4Q111 and MT Lamentations

<sup>237</sup>E.g. לוא לוא (col ii:1) is a clear example of dittography (לוא לוא) and wrong division of the words (מצאו מרעה).

<sup>238</sup>Cross, “DJD 16,” 230

<sup>239</sup>Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 175–76

- 2 היתה למס בכות[בכה בלילה וד]מעתה על  
 3 לחיה אין־לה מנחם מ[כול א[ה]הבי[ה]ה כול רעיה  
 4 בגדו בה היו לה[ לאיבים גלת]יהודה מעני  
 5 ומרב עבדה היא[ה]יש[בה בג]ויס לא מצאה  
 6 מנוח כול רדפיה השיגוה[ בין ]המצרים דרכי  
 7 ציון אבלות מבלי בא[י מ]ועד כול שעריה  
 8 שוממין כהניה נאנח[זם]בתולתיה נוגות  
 9 והיא מר־לה היו צרי[ה לראו]ש איביה שלו  
 10 כי יהוה הוגה על ר[ב פש]עיה עולליה הלכו  
 11 שבי לפני־צר ויצ[א מבת ]ציון כול הדרה

### Translation

- 1 ] like a widow great among nations, q[ueen among cities, she became like a forced labourer  
 2 Bitterly she] weeps in the night, her t[ears on her cheeks  
 3 There is no rest among all her lovers] all her friends [have betrayed her  
 4 They became] her enemies / into exile went [Judah, into poverty and into hard slavery  
 5 She] sits among the nat[ions and finds no rest  
 6 All who hunted her down, overtook her] between [narrow straits  
 7 the streets of Zion are mourning the asse]mbly ent[ered into oblivion / Her gates are  
 8 desolate, her priest groaning, her young girls grieving, and bitterness is hers  
 9 [Her oppressors be] came her [head, her enemies were undisturbed,  
 10 because YHWH burdened her because of her m]any trans [gressions, her children  
 11 went captive before the oppressor] From the Daughter [of Zion departed all her dignity]

### Notes

- 3: The parchment is damaged between the alef and he of [ה]הבי[ה]ה. The spacing between these two letters seems too large to have been left empty, a mater is probable.  
 11: PAM: M43.220 taken January 1960 shows an additional 11th line is lacking in the 2014 images (B-482319/B-482320).



**Column 2 (Lam 1:6b–9c)**

- 1 ה]יו שריה כאילים לוא לוא מצא ומרעה ]  
 2 ו]ילכו בלי כוח לפני [רוד]ף זכורה יהוה ]  
 3 כ]ל מכאובנו אשר היו מימי קדם בנפל ]  
 4 ע]מ]ה ביד צר ואין עוזר צריה שחקו על ]  
 5 ל]משבריה חטוא חטאה ירושלים על ]  
 6 כ]ן לניד הית[ה כול מכבדיה הזי]לו כיא ראו ]  
 7 ע]ר]ותה גם [היא נאנחה ותשב א]ח]ור ]  
 8 ט]מאתה בש[וליה לא זכרה אחריתה ותרד ]  
 9 פ]ל]אות ואין [מנחם לה ראה יהוה את־עניי ]  
 10 כ]י הגדיל [אויב ידו פרש צר על כול מחמדיה  
 11 מ]ק]ד]שה

**Translation**

- 1 ] Her princes became like deer, without, without finding pasture  
 2 And] they went without strength before the face of the pursuer / Remember, YHWH  
 3 ] all our sufferings that were from the days of old in the fall of  
 4 ]her people in the hand of the enemy. And there is no helper / Her enemies laugh  
 5 ]at her downfall / Surely Jerusalem sinned, because  
 6 of this] as menstruation she became [they des]pise her because they see her  
 7 naked]ness also [  
 8 ] Her uncleanness is in [her skirt  
 9 ]in terrible ways. There is no [rest  
 10 For] he magnifies himself [the enemy  
 11 sanc]t [uary

**Notes**

3 Because of the disambiguity of wav/yod מכאובנו could also be read as מכאובני, but in light of the consequent sentence אשר היו מימי קדם בנפל a first person plural suffix makes more sense

5: חטוא חטוא suggests that חטוא should be read as a prepositive inf. abs. of affirmation (see Jouon § 123e) "Surely she sinned", cf. Gn 2:17 מות תמות

**Column 3 (Lam 1:10c-18a)**

- 1 אשר צייתה לוא יבואו מהמדיה ב[קהל לך לה]שׁב[ב]נפשה ראה יהוה וה'בטה

- 2 כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ יִשְׁעֵי זֶה אֲשֶׁר לֹא אֵלֶיךָ כָּל עֲבָרֵי דָרְךָ הַבֵּיטוּ וְרַחֵם אֶת־אֵם יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּאֲבֹב ]  
 3 כִּמְכַאֲבֵי אֲשֶׁר עֹלְלוּ לִי אֲשֶׁר הוֹגִיֵּאֲנִי יְיָ הִוָּה בְּיוֹם חֲרוֹן אַפָּי מִמְרוֹם שְׁלַח אֶשׁ ]  
 4 בְּעֲצָמוֹתַי וַיִּוְרֵדְנִי פֶרֶשׁ רַחֵם לְרַגְלֵי הַשִּׁיב [בְּיָמַי אַחֲזֵר] נִתְנַנְנִי שׁוֹמֵם כֹּל ]  
 5 הַיּוֹם יְדֵי נִקְשְׁרָה עָלַי פֶּשַׁע עֵינַי בִּידְיָי יִשְׁתַּרְגַּע עָלַי עַל [צוּאֲרֵי הַכֹּחַ] שִׁילַח כֹּחֵי נִתְנַנְנִי ]  
 6 יְהוָה בִּיד לֹא אוֹכַל לִקְוֹם סִלָּה כֹּל אֲבִידִי אֲדַנִּי [בְּקֶרֶב] בִּי קִרְא עָלַי [מוֹעֵד  
 7 לְשֹׁבוֹר בַּח [וְרִי] גִּתְךָ [יְהוָה] לְבָבְךָ לֵת בַּת יְהוָה וְדָה פֶּרְשָׁה { צִיּוֹן בִּידְךָ אֵין  
 8 מִנְחָם לָח מְכוּל אוֹהֲבֵיהָ צְדִיק אֶת [א] יְהוָה צוּה אֲדוֹנִי לִיעֲקֹב סִבִּיב [וְצִיּוֹן צְרִי  
 9 הִיטָה צִיּוֹן לְנִדּוּחַ בְּנֵיהֶם עַל אֵלֶּא בְּכִיָּה] עֵינַי יִרְדָּה דַּמְעָתַי [כִּי] אֵין רַחֵם מִמֶּנִּי  
 10 מִנְחָם מְשִׁיב נַפְשִׁי הִיוּ בְנֵי [י] שׁוֹמְמִים [כִּי] אֵין גִּבּוֹר אוֹיֵב צְדִיק הוּא אֲדַנִּי

### Translation

- 1 of which you commanded: they will not enter/ her desires into [your assembly to revive] her soul. See, YHWH, and look  
 2 For I became nothing. Don't you who are passing by on [the road look and see? Is there any suffering  
 3 like my sufferings that were inflicted upon me, that YHWH tormented me with on the day of his burning anger? From heaven he sent [fire  
 4 into my bones, he brought me down, spread out a net for my feet, he made me turn back, he gave me desolation the whole [land]  
 5 day, my hands are being bound because of my transgression, by his hands my yoke upon [my neck], he caused [my strength] to fail, he gave me [desolation]  
 6 YHWH in a (?) hand / I am not able to stand up / The Lord rejected all my strong-ones from [my midst], he summoned against me an [assembly  
 7 to shatter my young men, a winepress YHWH trod for the maidens of the Daughter of Judah, Zion stretches out her hands [there is no  
 8 rest for her among all her lovers, righteous are you YHWH, you watched, oh Lord, over Jacob surrounded [by his enemies?  
 9 Zion became like impurity among them. Because of these things my eyes weep and my tears go down, because a comforter remains far from me,  
 10 a restorer of my life, my sons are desolate [for] the enemy is mighty / Righteous are you, oh Lord

## Notes

- 1: A spelling mistake erroneously corrected: והביטה instead of והיבטה. The form is a long imperative.<sup>240</sup>
- 4: הוגיאני - Cross reads הוגירני a resh instead of aleph. However, the tip of the roof of the resh always points upwards, never downwards. The aleph of 4Q111 has a typical form also presented here. Perhaps הוגיאני < הוגיעני because of the weakening of the gutturals א - ע.<sup>241</sup>
- 5: MT: דוה (illness). Accordance transcribes the word as וד[ן]י. There is a vertical crack in the leather just after the ד, but I find it hard to see how an extra ו would fit here. My suggestion is ידי (my hands - a feminine dual + suff 1cs). Its predicate would then be נקשרה. This reading would not require a sudden change of subject, i.e. from "her" to "me", and is grammatically also defensible.<sup>242</sup>
- 7: The scribe kept an alphabetic order "pe-ayin", instead of "ayin-pe" (MT). A similar order can also be found in MT Lam 2–4. 5QLamB also follows "pe-ayin". The changed order does not significantly affect the flow of thought, and is thus perfectly possible. This raises the question whether pe-ayin is not the original order instead of ayin-pe of MT.

## Column 4 (Lam 2:5)

1 ב[לע כל ארמנת]ה

## Translation

1 de]voured all [her] fortresses

<sup>240</sup>Muraoka, *A Syntax of Qumran Hebrew*, 74

<sup>241</sup>See: Eric D. Raymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), §4.3 for an extensive treatment of the weakening of the gutturals.

<sup>242</sup>Cf. Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (1991; repr., Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2016), §150b–c and Wilhelm Gesenius, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch and A. E. Cowley, 2nd, Accordance electronic edition, version 3.2. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), §145n

**5Q6****Description of the Manuscript**

General state of the manuscript: Highly fragmented. Scale on leather. In various places, the leather is wrinkled. In some places a top/bottom/right/left margin (ca.: 9–14 mm) is visible.

Contents: Lam 4:5–8, 11–16, 19–22; 5:7–18

Dimensions of Manuscript (H x W in mm): Digital measurements were not possible.<sup>243</sup> Tov mentions the following number (height of leather in cm): "7 [lines] (6.2–7.2 cm); J. T. Milik, DJD III, 174–5, pls. XXXVIIXXXVIII: I and II (7.0+ cm), III (6.5+ cm), IV (6.2+ cm), V (7.0+ cm)."<sup>244</sup>

Writing Block (H x W in mm): Measurements of the writing block not possible. 7 lines per column. Interlinear space: ca. 2.5–4.3 mm. Space between letters: ca. 0.5–2.5 mm. Size of  $\eta$   $\eta$   $\eta$   $\varkappa$ : ca. 1.6–2.7 mm

Writing quality: Based on observations possible, regular. In some places the lines seem very curvy, but this is perhaps because of wrinkles in the leather and the layout of fragments on the plate?

Script style: Square, middle/late herodian.<sup>245</sup>

Layout: Text is only written on recto, continuously and without any colometric division.

Perhaps a *vacat* in VI:2.

Scribal marks: There is a scribal marking in the bottom margin of column II.

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<sup>243</sup>Measurements of columns were not possible, neither on the site of the LLDL, nor on SQE. A digital workaround (GIMP) partially solves this problem, but an additional obstacle is the unclear layout of the fragments in all the plates, i.e. it is unclear whether the distance between fragments of the same column is accurate or approximate.

<sup>244</sup>Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 79

<sup>245</sup>On the basis of the serif on, e.g. the right arm of the  $\varkappa$

## Column I (Lam 4:5–8)

[top margin]

1 האוכלים] למעדנים נ] שמו בחו] צות ]

2 הב] קו אשפתות ויגדל ע] וון בת עמי

3 סדם ההפ] זכה כמו רגע ]

4 ע] צם מפני] נים ספיר]

5 חשך] משחור תארם לא ] נכרו בחוצות

**Translation**

1 Those that ate] delicacies [are desolate in the stre]ets

2 em]brace dunghills and greater became the s[in of the daughter of my people

3 Sodom, which was over] thrown like in a moment

4 their bodies like the surf[aces of sapphire

5 Darker] than coal is their form they are not [recognized in the streets

**Notes**

1 A top margin is visible

**Column II (Lam 4:11–15)**

3 ותאכל יסוד]ת]יה לא האמינו מלכי ארץ וכל יושבי] תב]ל

4 כיא יבוא] צר ו]אויב בשערי ירושלם מחטאת נ]ביאי]ה]

5 עוונות כוה]ניה השופכי]ם בקרבה ]דם צדי]קים נעו

6 עורי]ם בח'צות נ]גאלו] בדם בל]י]וכ]לו יבג]עו ב]לבושיהם]

7 סורו] ט]מ]ו קראו למו סורו ]סור]ו אל ת]גאו כיא] נצו

"ר" [bottom margin]

**Translation**

- 3 devoured her foundations. The kings of the earth did not believe it, neither did all the inhabitants of the] world
- 4 that] the adversary and [the enemy would enter the gates of Jerusalem. Because of the sins of her pr]ophets
- 5 the iniquities of [her] priests [who shed] in her midst [the blood of the righteous] ones  
They wander
- 6 [blinded] in the streets [polluted] by blood, never [being able to touch] their clothes
- 7 Depart! Unclean! they cried to them. Depart! D[epart!] Do not [touch! For when they wandered]

**Notes**

- 6 In the bottom margin, a scribal mark resembling a *resh* is visible

**Column III (Lam 4:15–16, 19–20)**

1 לא יוסיף לג]ור פ]ני יהוה

2 כהנים לוא נ]שאו ]

6 מלאו] היוזם [כי בא קצינו ... קלים היו רדפינו מנשרי ש]מים [ ]

7 במדבר] ארב[ו] לנו רון[ת] אפ]ינו מש]יח יהוה [נלכד בשחיתות]ם

[bottom margin]

**6.0.0.1 Translation**

- 1 They will no longer dwell here / The [face of YHWH
- 2 Their priests they did not] honor
- 6 Fullfilled are] the days [for we have come to an end...our pursuers were swifter than the eagles of] heaven
- 7 In the desert they] ambushed us The brea[th] of [our] nostrils, the anointed of YHWH [was

caputered in] their [pits

### **6.0.0.2 Notes**

1 The remains of a top margin of ca. 14 mm are visible in the fragment of the first line

7 The fragment containing the end of line 7 is attached to col iv. the columns are separated by a margin of ca. 7.5–15 mm.

**Column IV (Lam 4:20–22; 5:1-3)**

[top margin]

- 1 [ ] [נחיה בגו]ים ש[ישי ושמחי] בת אד[ום]
- 2 [ גם] עֵלִיד תע[בר כו]ס תש[כרי ותתערי]
- 3 [ ] בת צ[יון לוא יז[ס]יף לה[גלותך]
- 4 [ ] עוונ[ך] בת א[דום ג]ל[ה] על ח[טאתך]
- 5 [ ] הַבִּיטָה [וראה את]
- 6 [ ] חרפותי[נו נהפכה לזרי]ם בתינ[ו לנכר]ים
- 7 [ ] יתומים [היינו אין] אב אמ[תי]נו[כא]למ[נו]ת [ ]
- [bottom margin]

**6.0.0.3 Translation**

- 1 [ ] [To live among the nation]s re[joyce and be glad] Daughter of Ed[om]
- 2 [ also] upon you [the cup will] pass / [Become drunk, get naked!]
- 3 [ ] [Daughter of] Zion he [will no longer let you go] into [exile
- 4 [ ] your [iniquity Daughter of E]dom / He will uncover [your sin
- 5 [ ] Look and see
- 6 our] reproaches [our inheritance has been turned over] to [strangers our] houses to  
foreigners
- 7 Orphans [we have become without] father / Our mothers have no daughters and have  
become widows

**6.0.0.4 Notes**

- 1 A top margin is perhaps visible in the last fragment of line 1 – [ום]אד – בת אד[ום]
- 7 The plates in DJD 3 show a fragment of the last line and bottom margin of col IV attached to that of col III. This suggests that the columns were written on a single sheet of leather.



**Column V (Lam 5:7–12)<sup>246</sup>**

- 3 א[שור ל]שבע לחם  
 4 אנהנו] עונות[הם סבל]נו עב[דים משלו בנו פורק  
 5 אין] מידם בנ[פ]שנו נב[י]א לחמ[נו מפני חרב  
 6 עורינו] כתנור נכמ[רו מפני זלפות] רעב נשׁם [בציון  
 7 ענו] בתולות בע[רי יהודה ש]רׁים ב[יד]ם נתלו  
 [bottom margin]

**Translation**

- 3 Ass]yria to [be satisfied with bread  
 4 [we] have [borne their] sins / Servants [rule over us / Deliverance  
 5 There is no (deliverance) from their power for our lives We get [our] bread [at the peril of  
 the sword  
 6 Our skins] are black like an oven [in the face the burning ] famine / Women [in Zion  
 7 they raped] Daughters in the [cities of Judah P]rinces by [their hands] were hanged

**Notes**

- 7 a bottom margin is clearly visible

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<sup>246</sup>NB: this is column VI in “Lamentations (Premier Exemplaire),” in *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân : explorations de la falaise, les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, le rouleau de cuivre*, ed. M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, 2 vols., Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan; 3 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), plate XXXVII. This seems to be an editorial mistake. All the columns are depicted and numbered from right to left (so to say), the numbering of columns V and VI is reversed (L-R).

**Column VI (Lam 5:12–18)<sup>247</sup>**

1 פני זקנים לא] נהדרו בת[ורים ט]חון נשא

2 ונערים בעץ] כשלו] [*vacat*]

5] אוי] נא לנו כי חטאנו

6] על ה[ר ציון ששם

**Translation**

1 The elders were not] honored the young [men] working the mill

2 The children under (the load) of wood] stumbled

5] Woe [unto us, for we have sinned!

6] Because of [Mount Zion, which lies desolate

---

<sup>247</sup>NB: this is column V in *Ibid.*

**5Q7****Description of the Manuscript**

General state of the manuscript: Only one fragment is left. Damage on all sides. Scale on the leather.

Contents: Lam 4:17–19

Dimensions of Manuscript (H x W in mm): ca. 25 x 18

Interlinear space: 1–3 mm

Writing quality: (too little material)

Script style: Square, middle/late herodian.<sup>248</sup> ך ף ם are all ca. 2.2 mm

Layout: possibly colometric

The fact that 5Q6 and 5Q7 are indeed different manuscripts can be established on the basis of the overlap in content of the two manuscripts. Both contain fragments of Lam 4:20, but these fragments are not compatible with one another.

According to Milik, "L'écriture est contemporaine de celle de 5QThr<sup>a</sup>, mais la main semble être différente."<sup>249</sup> However, other than stating that the handwriting seems to be different, Milik does not make the difference concrete, e.g. by pointing out examples. Many of the letters of both manuscript look very similar,<sup>250</sup> but the scarce material of 5Q7 and the highly fragmented state of 5Q6 make a fruitful comparison impossible.

The verses seem to have been arranged colometrically, i.e. in one verse and two hemistich per line. The words on the fragment are all at or near the beginning of the verses ע צ ק ר.

However, the second word of the *resh* verse appears directly under קלים, the first word of the

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<sup>248</sup>On the basis of the serif on, e.g. the right arm of the ם

<sup>249</sup>*Ibid.*, 177

<sup>250</sup>E.g. typical feature of 5Q6 is the ם, which has a serif on the right arm. The same feature is also found in the ם of 5Q7. Differences can perhaps be observed in the ן and ף. The ן's of 5Q6 generally have a very sharply angled top, whereas the ן's of 5Q7 are more rounded. The ף of 5Q7 seems to have a different nose than that of 5Q6, but this could also be caused by the quality of the image.

*qof* verse.<sup>251</sup>The first word of the *resh* verse may have been written in the margin, but also at the end of the preceding verse. In either case, there is too little material to draw definite conclusions.

### Fragment 1 (Lam 4:17–19)

1 עוד[ינה תכלינה עינינו  
 2 צ[דו צ]עדינו  
 3 [קלים ה]יו רדפינו מנשרי שמים  
 4 [רוח] אפינו [משיח יהוה]

### Translation

- 1 Still [our eyes have failed
- 2 They hun]ted [our] s[teps
- 3 Swifter [then the eagles of heaven] be[came our pursuers
- 4 The breath] of our nostrils [The anointed of YHWH

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<sup>251</sup>Cf. Kotzé, *The Qumran Manuscripts of Lamentations*, 34

4Q179

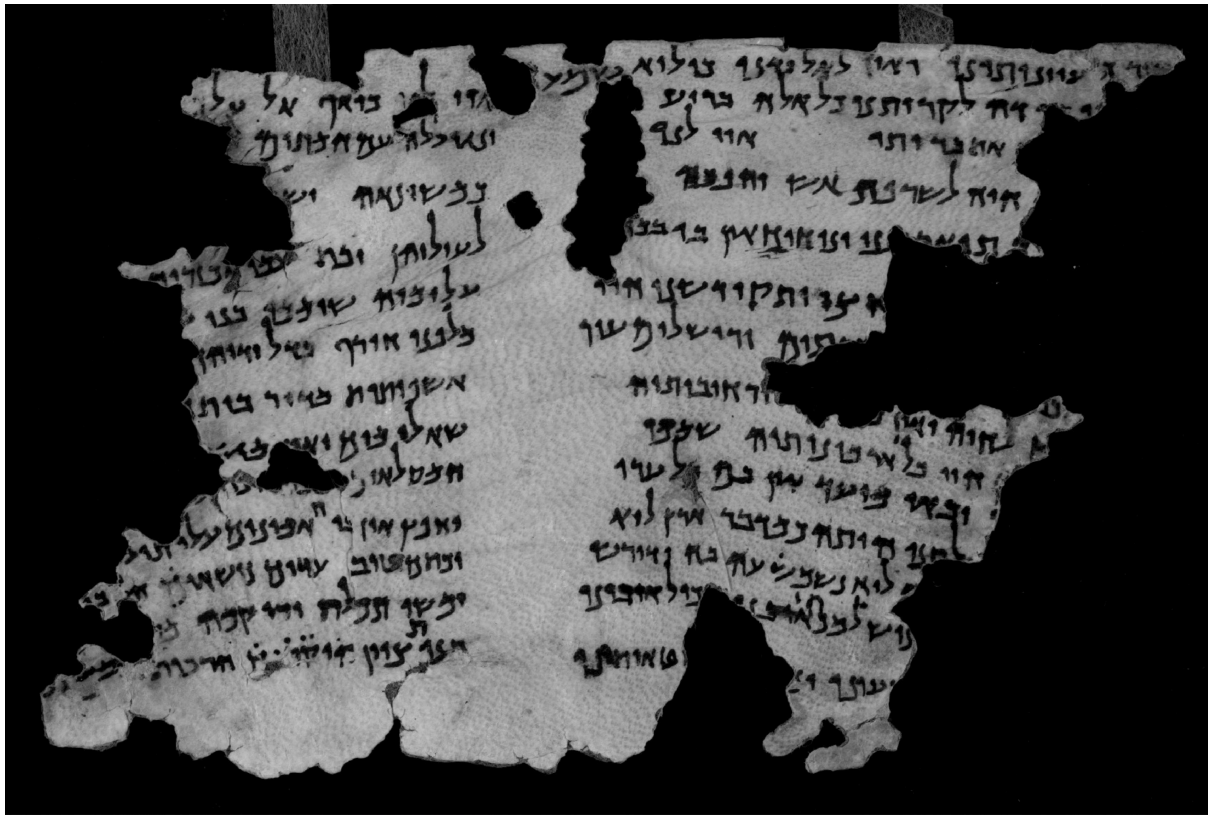
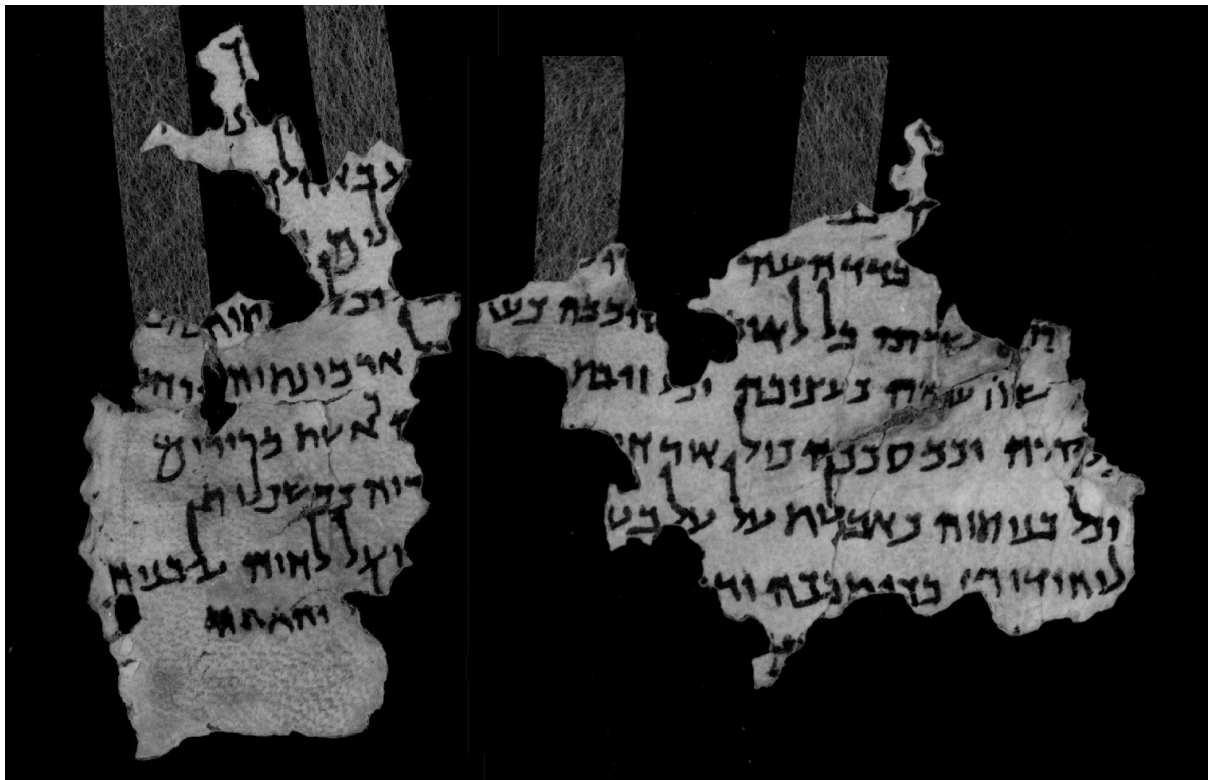


IMAGE 7: 4Q179 I-II



**IMAGE 8: 4Q179 III****Description of the Manuscript**

General state of the manuscript: Fragmentary. The manuscript consists of one larger and two medium sized fragments as well as five snippets. The larger fragments are damaged on all sides and contain holes. The bottom margins of fragments 1 and 2 are clearly visible. The left side of fragment two has some stitch markings near the bottom left.

Contents: a poetic text that laments the state of Jerusalem, drawing heavily from Lamentations, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel

Dimensions of Manuscript (H x W in mm): fragment 1: 80 x 115 fragment 2: 55 x 28  
fragment 3: 39 x 47 fragment 4: 9 x 7 fragment 5: 11 x 6 fragment 6: 10 x 8 fragment 7: 6  
x 4 fragment 8: 9 x 8

Writing Block (H x W in mm): fragment 1i: 71 x >56 (15 lines). fragment 1ii: 65 x > 47 (13 lines).<sup>252</sup>

Writing quality: Not very neat. Inking is irregular

Script style: semicursive, herodian

Layout: Only written on recto. Fragment 1 has two columns that are divided by a margin of 10–15 mm. Vacat in 1i:4. Unruled. (The *vacat* will be discussed in the chapter on Performativity, see: 79).

Scribal marks, corrections: correction dots, superscripted letters, unfinished letters

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<sup>252</sup>I have only taken measurements of fragment 1, as the rest of the fragments are too small.

**4Q179: Transcription and Translation****Fragment 1, i**

1  
 2 [ עוונתינו ואין לאל ידנו כי לוא שמע]נו  
 3 [דה לקרותנו כל אלה ברוע  
 4 [ את בריתו [vacat] אוי לנו ]  
 5 [ היה לשרפת אש וחפ] {כה}  
 6 [ תפֹּאֲרַתְנוּ וּנְיָחוּחַ בּוּ בַמֶֹּ ]  
 7 [חצרות קודשנו היו  
 8 [ תּוֹם יְרוּשָׁלַיִם עִיר  
 9 [ לחיה ואין ] [רחובותיה  
 10 [ היו כל ארמונותיה שממו  
 11 [ ובאי מועד אין במ כל ערי  
 12 [ לתנו היתה כמדבר ארץ לוא  
 13 [ לוא נשמ] {ש} עה בה ודורש  
 14 [ל] {מכ} {אוב} תינו כול איבינו  
 15 [פ] שְׁעֵינוּ יִי [ה] טאותינו

**Translation**

1  
 2 our sins, and we are powerless for [we] did not listen  
 3 to befall us all these things through wickedness  
 4 his covenant [vacat] woe to us  
 5 has been burned by fire and has been overthrown  
 6 our glory and appeasement there is not in it  
 7 the courtyards of our holiness became  
 8 ... Jerusalem, city  
 9 For the living creatures and there was no [ ] her squares  
 10 All her palaces became desolate  
 11 And the festival-goers, there are none in all the cities of  
 12 our [ ] became like a wilderness [the] land not  
 13 was not heard in her and a an interpreter  
 14 [incurable?] our wound all our enemies  
 15 our transgressions [ ] our sins

## Notes

- 2: אֵין לְאֵל יִדְנוּ cf. Ne 5:5, Dt. 28:32, Pr 3:27
- 4: The nota accusativi implies that a verb preceded this clause, probably something in the spirit of "transgressing, breaking, despising" the covenant, cf. 2 Kgs 17:15; 18:12
- 5: Cf. Is 64:10
- 9: לַחַיָּה can be vocalized as לַחַיָּה (for the life/living creatures) or לְחַיָּה (on her cheeks, cf. Lam 1:2).
- 10: Cf. Lam 1:4. Allegro reads הוּי here,<sup>253</sup> which is a variant of אוּי. In my view, it could also be read as הוּי, a qatal third person plural of היה. First, there is no morphological distinction between wav/yod. Second, earlier the scribe used אוּי, why would scribe use הוּי here? Third, grammatically הוּי could be the verb of the sentence that follows it (cf. Lam 1:16 - הוּי בְנֵי שׁוֹמְמִים)
- 13: An unfinished ש with cancellation dots<sup>254</sup> gives an idea of how the ש was written. The left vertical stroke is missing, but not the right and middle arm.  
נשמעה a long imperative 1 cp.
- 14: Accordance reads איש here, and specifically an א for the remains of the letter at the beginning of the line. I find it hard to read an א here, a נ or ת seems more probable. A possibility could be אנוש (incurable), cf. Jer 30:15 אנוש מכאבך, also because the scribe initially used מכוב, even if he later corrected this.

## Fragment 1, ii

- 1 אוּי לְנוּ כִי אֵף אֵל עֵלְיָנוּ  
 2 וּנְגִילָה עִם הַמַּתִּים ]  
 3 כַּמְשׁוֹנָאָה יֵשׁ ]  
 4 לְעוֹלִיָּהֶן וּבַת עַמִּי אֲבֹרִיָּהּ]  
 5 עֲלוּמִיָּה שׁוֹמְמוֹ בְנֵי בְנֵי?  
 6 מִלְפָּנֵי חוֹרֵף בְּדֹל יִדְיָהֶן]  
 7 אֲשַׁפּוֹתֶיהָ מִדּוֹר בֵּיתָהּ]  
 8 שְׁאֵלוּ מִיָּם וְאֵין מְגִיָּר  
 9 הַמְּסֻלָּאִים [...]נִי  
 10 וְחַפֵּץ אֵין בּוֹ אֲמוֹנִים עֲלֵי תוֹלְעָה  
 11 וְכַתְּמָם טוֹב עֲדִים נוֹשְׂאֵי {ם} הַלְּבוּ  
 12 וּמְשֵׁי תַכְלֵת וְרִיקְמָה מ]  
 13 בְּנוֹ צִיּוֹן {הַיְקָרִים} הַרְכוּת [ע]מָם

<sup>253</sup> Allegro and Anderson, *DJD* 5, 178.

<sup>254</sup> See: Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 187ff.



### Translation

- 1 Woe to us, for the anger of God is upon us
- 2 And she was exiled with the dead ones
- 3 Like one who is hated
- 4 To their infants and the cruel daughter of my people
- 5 Her youthfulness desolated were the sons of ...
- 6 in the face of winter by the weakness of their hands
- 7 her dungheaps [are] the dwelling-place of her house
- 8 They ask for water but there is no one pouring [it]
- 9 Those who are valued
- 10 And desire is not in it, the faithful
- 11 And pure gold [are] their ornaments / they are wearing
- 12 fine purple and embroidery
- 13 The {precious} tender {sons of} daughters of Zion with them

### Notes

- 1: Cf. 2 Chronicles 28,11.
- 2: כאשר עשיתם - עם could be vocalized as עם (people) or preposition עם, cf. Ruth 1:8 - כאשר עשיתם ועמדי Poal cohortative 1cp or Niphal qatal 3fs
- 3: משונאה cf. Deut 22:13; 24:3
- 4: ובת עמי אכזריה cf. Lam 4:3
- 5: Cf. Lam 1:16
- 7: Cf. Lam 4:5
- 8: Cf. Lam 4:4 - שאלו לחם -
- 9: Cf. Lam 4:2
- 10: האמונים עלי תולע is a direct quote from Lam 4:5
- 11: cf. Lam 4:1 הכתם הטוב [מ]לבושיהנה. Perhaps - their clothes? Cf. Ezekiel 16:10, 13
- 13: The author clearly drew material from Lamentations, in this case Lam 4:2 - בְּגֵי צִיּוֹן הַיְקָרִים - which he changed to בנות הרכות

### Fragment 2

- 1 [ ] ד[ ]
- 2 [ ] נו[ ]
- 3 [ ] ° [ ] ע באהלד[ ]
- 4 בדד העיר [ ] ה' [ ] לים [ ]
- 5 שרתי כל לאומ[ים] [ ] שוממה כע[ ] וכל [ ] תיה

- 6 [כא]שה עזובה כעצובה ו[° °]עזובת [ ] כל ארמונתיה [ ] רחו  
 7 עקרה כמסככה כול אורח[תי]ה אשת מרודים  
 8 וכל בנותיה כאבלות על עלבע [ ] יה כמשכלות  
 9 ליחידיהן בכו תבכה ור[ושלים] ועל לחיה עלבניה  
 10 [ ] [°] [ ] [ ] להגתה

### Translation

- 1  
 2  
 3 [ ] In your tent  
 4 sits lonely the city  
 5 a princess of all the nations / desolate like [ ] and all her [ ]  
 6 Like a woman abandoned and grieved [ ] all her fortresses  
 7 Like an infertile woman and as it intertwines all her paths, a woman of wanderings  
 8 And all her daughters are as women mourning over over their husbands  
 9 And for their only sons Jerusalem weeps bitterly and on her cheeks because of her sons  
 10 [ ] [ ] [ ] And she moans

### Notes

- 3: באהלך cf. Ps 15:1; 61:5; 91:10  
 The preceding ayin is the last letter of a word, perhaps תקע (cf. Gen 31:25), נסע (cf. Num 2:17) or נטע (cf. Dan 11:45), all verbs that have to do with pitching a tent. Psalm 91:10b reads ונגע לא־יקרב באהלך, but one could also change the word order and read  
 4: Cf. Lam 1:1  
 5: כעפר perhaps כע. שרתי במדינות cf. Lam 1:1 שרתי כל לאומים  
 6: Cf. Isa 54:6 and Lam 2:5  
 7: Cf. Lam 1:7. אשת מרודים is incongruent  
 9: Cf. Lam 1:2

### Fragment 3

- [ ] [ ] 1  
 [ ] [ ] 2

### Translation

- 2 [ ] destroy

**Notes**

2 The correction suggests that the scribe initially had שלל (to plunder, rob) instead of חלל (to profane) in mind

**Fragment 4**

[ ] של[ ] 1

[ ] מאנו[ ] 2

**Fragment 5**

[ ] אימ[ ] 1

4Q501

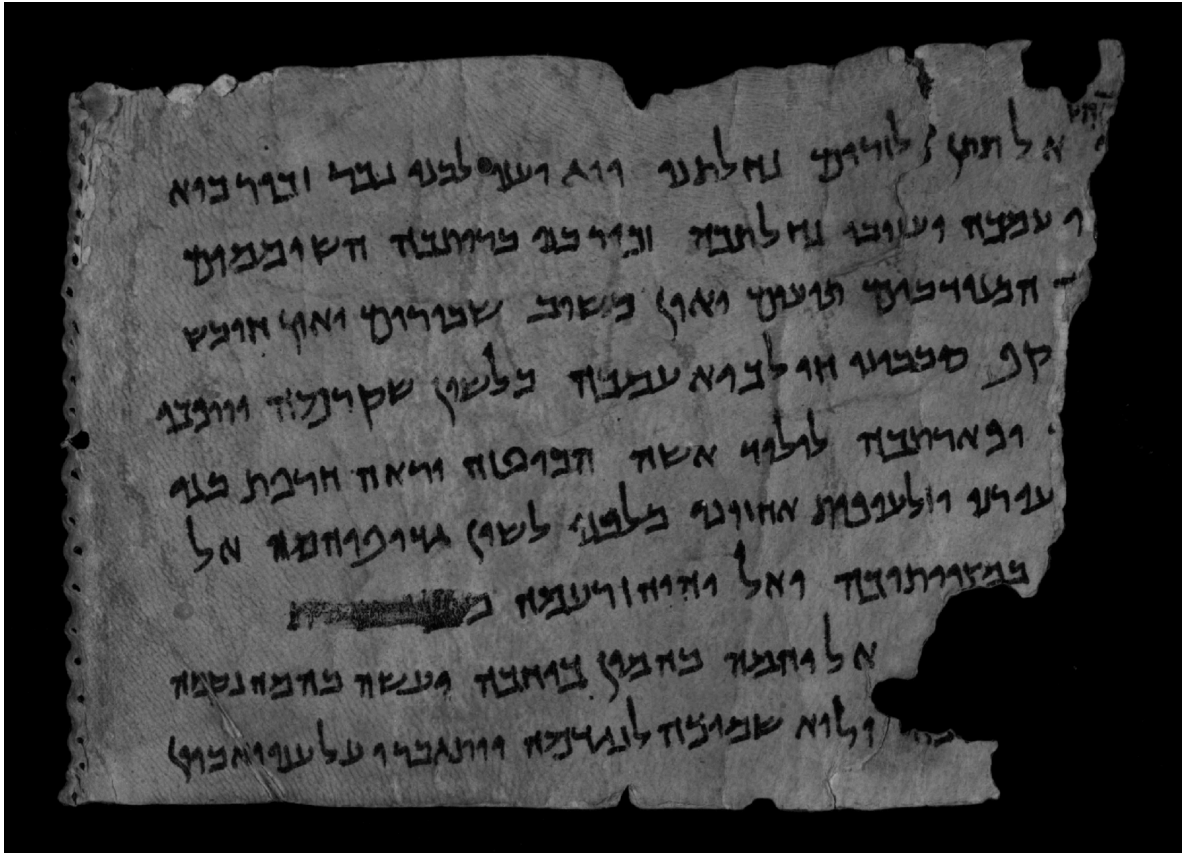


IMAGE 9: 4Q501

### Description of the Manuscript

General state of the manuscript: Right side is damaged. Top-, bottom- and left margin are intact.

Contents: a complaint of one group against another group, addressed to God with the petition to act in favour of the first group and punish the second.

Dimensions of Manuscript (H x W in mm): 61 x 85

Writing Block (H x W in mm): 54 x > 72 (9 lines)

Writing quality: fluid, regular. Inking is consistent.

Script style: semi-cursive,<sup>255</sup> herodian

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<sup>255</sup>On the basis of rounded forms, looped *tavs*, many ligatures.

Layout: only written on recto. No paragraphic or colometric divisions. Perhaps a *vacat* at the end of line 7? Unruled.

Scribal marks, corrections: erasure

## Transcription and Translation

- 1] אל תתן לזרים נחלתנו ויגיענו לבני נכר זכור כיא  
 2] וְעַמְכָּה וְעִזּוּבֵי נַחֲלַתְכָּה זְכוּר בְּנֵי בְרִיתְכָּה הַשּׁוֹמְמִים  
 3] הַמְּנוּדָבִים תּוֹעִים וְאִין מְשׁוּב שְׂכוּרִים וְאִין חֹבֵשׁ  
 4] קָף סַבּוֹנו חִילְכִיא עַמְכָּה בְּלִשׁוֹן שְׂקֵרְמָה וַיִּפְכוּ  
 5] וּפְאָרְתְכָּה לִילּוּד אִשָּׁה הַבִּיטָה וְרָאָה חֶרְפַּת בְּנֵי  
 6] עוֹרְנוּ וּזְלַעּוֹפּוֹת אַחְזִינוּ מִלְּפָנֵי לִשׁוֹן גְּדוּפִיהֶמָּה אֵל  
 7] בְּמִצּוּוֹתֶיכָּה וְאֵל יִהְיֶה זְרַעְמָה בִּ.....  
 8] [...] אֵלֶיהֶמָּה בַּהֲמוֹן כּוֹחֲכָה וְעִשָּׂה בַּהֲמָה נִקְמָה  
 9] [ ° ° ° ולוא שמוכה לנגדמה ויתגברו על עני ואביון ° °

## Translation

- 1] Do not give to strangers our inheritance and the fruit of our labour to the children of foreigners / remember that  
 2 we are] your people and the abandoned ones of your inheritance remember the children of your covenant, the desolate ones  
 3 ] those who were freely devoted are wandering and there is no restoration of the broken ones and there is no healer  
 4 ] the wretched ones of your people surround us with their deceitful tongue and they have turned  
 5 ] And your branch to one born of woman / Look favourably and see the reproach of the sons of  
 6 ] our skin and hot ragings are seizing us because of the speech of their reviles, not  
 7 ] by your commandments and let not be their offspring among  
 8 ] to them by the tumult of your power / and execute vengeance on them  
 9 ] and they did not set you before themselves / for they acted violently towards the poor and the needy

## Notes

- 1: Chiastic parallelism: "do not give to strangers (A) our inheritance (B) / and the fruit of our hands (B') to the children of foreigners (A')". The negated verb **תתן** does double duty.
- 2: Synonymous parallelism: "Your people (A) and the abandoned ones of your inheritance (B) / [...] the children of your covenant (A'), the desolate ones (B')". On the basis of this parallelism, it could be argued that the imperatives **זכור** in lines 1-2 also form a parallel with one another.
- 3: **המנודבים** is a participle of the Pual and hapax for the DSS-corpus. It usually occurs as a Hithpael, e.g. 1 QS 5:1, 6, 8. **תועים** is a participle  $\sqrt{\text{תעה/טעה}}$ . || A synonymous parallelism in the second part of the line seems probable: "And there is no restoration (A) of the broken ones (B) and there is no binding (A') of [B']". The synonyms **שוב** and **חבש** occur together in Ezekiel 34:4 and 16, passages containing similar themes to the text at hand. Cf. Isa 1:6, 3:7 – **לא־אהיה חבש**
- 4: **חילכיא** (from **חלכה**) is irregular spelling of **חילכאי**. Qimron notes that "the plural of some words, mainly words ending in the gentilic suffix, is spelled with an additional alef written before the sounds i and e".<sup>256</sup> The explanation for this feature is not clear, but spellings of similar words in which this alef is dropped, suggest that it was doubtful that this intervocalic alef was pronounced at all in Qumran Hebrew.<sup>257</sup>
- חילכיא** could be translated in the sense of "helpless ones", cf. Ps 10:8, 14 – "They surround us, the helpless ones of your people" - or "wicked ones", cf. 1QHa 11:27; 12:26) – "The wicked ones of your people surround us". In the context (**בלשון**) "wicked ones" seems most logical.
- שקִרְמָה** consists of the noun **שקר** + the pron. suffix 3mp **מה**.<sup>258</sup> Reymond notes that the verb **ויופכו** is from a root pair **אפך/הפך** (to turn, change) that is not found in MT. "Even though the latter is not attested clearly it can be assumed based on forms like **יופך** (4Q422 III, 7) and **ויופכו** (4Q501 1, 4) since the imperfect of **הפך** ordinarily takes an /a/ vowel with the prefix in the MT and presumably also in the DSS (e.g., **יהפכו**) while the root **אפך** in the Mishnah takes an /o/ vowel with the prefix.<sup>259</sup>
- 8: **אליהמה** could also be read **עליהמה** "upon, against them", as a result of a misspelling because of the weakening of gutturals.<sup>260</sup> Other possibilities are **אליהמה** "their leaders/pillars", e.g. as a counterpart of the preceding **זרעמה** or **אלוהמה** "their god" (cf. 1QpHab

<sup>256</sup>Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1986), §200.17.

<sup>257</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>258</sup>*Ibid.*, §322.18.

<sup>259</sup>Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, 188–89.

<sup>260</sup>Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (IQIsa A)*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah; V. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 57–58, 507.

4:10, 13) if a waw instead of a yod is read.  
9: Cf. Ps 86:14