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Aramaic Poetry in Qumran

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By

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Aramaic Poetry in Qumran

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The often fragmentary Aramaic texts preserved by the Qumran community represent a large collection of well edited texts, whose publications have triggered numerous contributions that have brought a significantly clearer understanding of them. Little attention, however, has been devoted to the poetic structure of these Aramaic texts, much less on Aramaic literature as a whole. This study presents a model for the analysis of Aramaic poetic texts as well as a detailed poetic discussion of six Aramaic texts within the Qumran collection. These texts are: 1) 4Q246, “The Son of God” text; 2) 4QLevi^a, a portion of the wisdom poem in the *Aramaic Levi Document*; 3) 4Q534, “The Elect of God” text; 4) 4Q542, *The Testament of Qahat*; 5) 4Q541, two fragments from the *Apocryphon of Levi*; 6) 1QapGen, the beauty of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. Three have been previously identified as poetic, namely 4Q246, the wisdom poem in *ALD*, and the beauty of Sarai. The poetic nature of the remaining three has not. Also included are the eight poetic passages from the Aramaic portions of the Book of Daniel: 2:20-23 (=4QDan^a), 3:33-4:2; 4:7b-14; 4:31-32; 6:27b-28; 7:9-10; 7: 13-14; 7:23-27. Combined, this study examines over 124 lines of poetry. These texts use literary features and devices that are characteristic of poetic texts,

specifically parallelism and terseness. It is the interrelationship between these two particular poetic devices that is the hallmark characteristic of Aramaic poetry. In addition to these is the use of imagery, strophic formations, and sound repetitions. The application of all these various techniques within any given text is what identifies it as poetic. It is what makes Aramaic poetry poetic.

This dissertation by Peter Y. Lee fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures approved by Edward M. Cook, Ph.D., as Director, and by Andrew D. Gross, Ph.D. and David A. Bosworth, Ph.D. as Readers.

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Dedication

I dedicate this study with great meekness, admiration, and affection to the ones who endured the most during the past ten years, to the ones I call “heroes” – my family.

To my parents – Sepoong and Soonsill Lee. Their support throughout these years reflects their love and care as seen throughout my entire lifetime.

To my children – Caleb, Jeremiah, Kara, Micah, Tabitha and Priscilla. When I began my studies, they were only infants and children. They have now grown to become mature and faithful young men and women. Although many events and hours were missed between us, their father is humbled that they never complained of it. He can only hope to have the heart of dedication and patience that they model to him every day of his life.

Also to my dearest and loving wife, Clara. She is a daily reminder to me of the richness and beauty of the grace and love that I do not deserve yet receive nonetheless.
רבות בנות עשו חיל ואף עליהם על-כללם.

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List of Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible commentary series
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i>
DJD	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
ICC	International Critical Commentary series
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTL	<i>Old Testament Library commentary series</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
REJ	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
SAIS	Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBS	<i>Stuttgarter Bibelstudien</i>
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha

<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>UT</i>	<i>Ugaritic Textbook</i>
<i>WBC</i>	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
frag.	fragment
col.	column
impf.	Imperfect
impv.	Imperative
ptc.	participle
m	masculine
f	feminine
[]	lacuna in a text
/	mid-pausal point between cola
//	end of a poetic line
< >	missing element in the text that needs to be inserted
{ }	removed element from the text due to scribal error

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CHAPTER ONE

CURRENT STATE OF STUDIES IN ARAMAIC POETRY

While Aramaic studies had been limited by a scarcity of materials, an ever growing number of well-edited texts are now being made available to the scholarly world. The often fragmentary Aramaic texts preserved by the Qumran community represent one such large collection. Their recent publications have triggered contributions that have brought significant clarity in our understanding on the nature of Aramaic as a language from a literary and linguistic perspective. Little attention, however, has been devoted to the poetic structure of these Aramaic texts. In the general area of Aramaic studies, there is a paucity of published materials by scholars in the area of Aramaic poetry. The few articles on this subject discuss various literary styles, but the work on the specific features and devices used with Aramaic poetry largely remains a needed area of scholarly discussion. This is the case with Qumran Aramaic as well as in other Aramaic dialects. To illustrate this point, the article on “Poetry” in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* provides a general description of poetic features found in Qumran texts that is reminiscent of the kind of poetry known from the Hebrew Scriptures.¹ The

¹ David A. Diewert, “Poetry,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; vol. 2; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 679-681.

focus of interest, however, is exclusively on the Hebrew poetry of the *Hodayot* and other extra-biblical psalms. The subject of Aramaic poetry is not addressed and completely absent from the purview of the article. It is also absent in a recent monograph that recorded discussions and presentations from a 2008 conference on these Aramaic texts.² The purpose of this opening chapter is intended to present a survey of the available publications that have analyzed or identified any Aramaic literary work as poetry. Since this study narrowly examines the various Aramaic texts in Qumran, publications that dealt with that specific corpus will not be included in this survey. Also, publications on the poetry in the Aramaic sections of the Book of Daniel are also not included in this survey since a chapter within this work is dedicated to that corpus. What is left is regrettably meager, but one must take full advantage of these available materials in order to grasp the prosodic nature within these Aramaic manuscripts.

When discussing the subject of Aramaic poetry, the work of Jonas C. Greenfield cannot be overestimated. His journal article, entitled “Early Aramaic Poetry,”³ was the first publication that attempted to identify several previously known Aramaic literary works as examples of poetry. His use of the term “early” is not meant to represent any particular dialect or time period. Instead, he spans a literary survey of documents from the Old Aramaic period of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C.E. to the Aramaic texts from Qumran.

² Devorah Dimant, “Themes and Genres in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran,” in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence* (ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl ben Ezra; *STDJ* 94; Leiden: Boston, 2010), 15-45.

³ Jonas C. Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” *JANES* 11 (1979), 45-51.

For the Old Aramaic period, he mentions that there are traces of poetic style in several well known inscriptions. He specifies the connection of the Zakkur inscription with the *Danklied*, or Thanksgiving psalm, and demonstrates how this inscription contains the component elements that are found in such psalms.⁴ He also cites an article by Hayim Tawil who comments on the literary elements that can be discerned in the introductory statements of the Hadad, Zakir and Nerab II inscriptions.⁵ This article, however, only provides a comparative analysis of various idioms and formulae attested in these Old Aramaic inscriptions and their correspondence with their Akkadian and North-West Semitic counterparts. There is no analysis of the more traditional features that identify texts as poetry (e.g. parallelism, terse lines, etc.). Rather, it only raises the identity of these texts as highly elevated literature.

Where he only provides broad genre identification and the use of idioms and formulaic phrases within the aforementioned Aramaic inscriptions, in another article Greenfield provides more details in his analysis of the use of specific poetic devices in the Sefire Inscription.⁶ Within this he shows the uses of various types of parallelisms of lines. He specified the use of the following poetic techniques:

⁴ For his thorough treatment of the Zakkur Inscription as a *Danklied*, see his article "The Zakir Inscription and the *Danklied*," in *Al kanfei Yonah: collected studies by Jonas C. Greenfield in Semitic philology* (vol. 2; ed. Shalom Paul et al.; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 2001), 75-92. This article was first published in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. Avigdor Shinan; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1969), 174-191. Unfortunately, he makes no specific comments on the use of any poetic features (e.g. parallelism, word-pairs, etc.). After reading the inscription itself, it is difficult to discern the use of such devices. Although the contextual similarity with the *Danklied* is compelling, the lack of poetic features does raise the question on whether this inscription is truly poetry.

⁵ See Hayim Tawil, "Some Literary Elements in the Opening Sections of the Hadad, Zakir, and the Nerab II Inscriptions in the Light of East and West Semitic Royal Inscriptions," *Or* 43 (1974), 40-65.

⁶ Jonas C. Greenfield, "Stylistic Aspects of the Sefire Treaty Inscription," in *Al kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies by Jonas C. Greenfield in Semitic philology* (vol. 2; ed. Shalom Paul et al.; Jerusalem: Magness Press, 2001), 22-39. This article was originally published in *Acta Orientalia* 29 (1965), 1-18. For

- The use of a grouped line:

הן תאמר בנבשך ותעשת בלבבך (II.B.5)
If you say in your soul / and you think in your heart/mind //

לתמשל⁸ בי בזא ולתרשה⁷ לי עליה (III.9)
You shall not dominate me on this (fs) / Nor will you assert your authority over me concerning it //

הן יסק על לבבך ותשא על שפתיך (III.14-15)
If there should come to your mind / And you should express with your lips //

- A “tristich parallelism” in I.A.28-29:

ואל יפק חצר
 וליתחזה⁹ ירק
 ולי[שנה]¹⁰ אחזה

further studies in this inscription, see also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire* (Biblica et orientalia 19A; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1995); “The Aramaic Inscription of Sefire I and II,” *JAOS* 81 (1961), 178-222; “The Aramaic Suzerainty Treaty from Sefire in the Museum of Beirut,” *CBQ* 20 (1958), 444-476. See also André Dupont-Sommer, “Une inscription araméenne inédite de Sfiré,” *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 13 (1956), 23-42 (for Stele III); *Les Inscriptions Araméennes de Sfiré (Steles I et II)*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale), 1958.

⁷ לא + תרשה

⁸ לא + תמשל

⁹ לא + יתחזה

May the grass not come forth

Nor a green-thing be seen

Nor its vegetation [become great]

- Complimentary parallelism with the key words of the phrase broken up in 1.C.19-24:

אהפך טבתא ואשם ללחית ביום זי יעבד כן
יהפכו אלהן אשא הא וביתה וכל זי בה וישמו תחתיתה לעליתה

'I shall upset the good-things and I will turn (them) to evil-things'

On the day in which he will do thus

May the gods overturn that man and his house and all that is in it

And may they set his lower-part to be his upper-part

- Various repetitions of set phrases: for example, the formulaic phrase “seven X will suckle Y and he will not be sated” in I.A.21-24. Greenfield also mentions one other location that repeats a similar phrase using the number seven (I.A.27-28).

¹⁰לא + י[שגה]. Greenfield's restoration is based upon Job 8:11; see “Sefire,” 32. Fitzmyer restores the same verb as in the previous colon, י[תחזק]; see Fitzmyer, “Sefire I and II,” 181, 185.

The use of parallelism can be a diagnostic indicator on the identity of a text as poetry. However, we must also remember that parallelism is a literary feature that is also present in prose. Thus, it is not parallelism per se, but a high concentration of parallelism along with terse lines that marks a text as poetic. Greenfield points out sporadic occurrences of these corresponding lines, yet makes no comment to their meter. We must conclude, therefore, that the occasional use of these poetic devices along with the idiomatic and formulaic uses of phrases in these Old Aramaic inscriptions does not identify them as poetic, but they do seem to be associated with the literary Aramaic of that day.

In the period of Imperial Aramaic Greenfield refers to two Aramaic texts. The first is the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*. He points to a variety of forms within the proverbial section that he suggests are poetic: the fable (lines 118-120), the dispute (lines 165-166), courtly advice (lines 100-108), the numerical saying (line 92), and the praise of wisdom (line 94-95). Greenfield is not the first to suggest that there are poetic passages in these proverbs. Stanislav Segert, in his article on the Aramaic poetry of the Old Testament, also suggested that these proverbs were poetic.¹¹ James Lindenberger comments that the style of these Aramaic proverbs is far from homogeneous and he says that the task of distinguishing which proverbs are poetry and which are prose is difficult. He provides

¹¹ Stanislav Segert, "Aramaic Poetry in the Old Testament," *Archiv orientální, Quarterly Journal of Asian and African Studies* 70, vol. 1 (2002), 78.

the following conservative list as those proverbs that are poetic: #4-5, 12-13, 14a, 17, 21-22, 24-27, 29-30, 34, 37, 39-40, 44, 48, 50, 59, 61, 67, 76, and 90-91.¹²

The second text that Greenfield mentions is the funeral stele kept in the Carpentras museum. This is the epitaph of a young woman in poetic form. C. C. Torrey discussed the poetic nature of this inscription and points out the use of various poetic techniques and devices.¹³ His stichometric reconstruction of the text and his translation is provided below:

1	תמנחא זי אוסרי אלהא	בריכה תבא ברת תחפי
2	וכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה	מנדעם באיש לא עבדת
3	מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי	קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי
4	וכין חסיה[י הוי שלמה]	הוי פלחה נמעתי

- 1 *Blessed be Taba, daughter of Taḥapi / Devotee of the god Osiris //*
- 2 *She, who to none did aught of evil / By whom no slander whatever was spoken //*
- 3 *Before Osiris be thou blest / Before him take the gift of water //*
- 4 *Be thou (his) worshipper, my fair one / And among his saints [be thou complete]¹⁴ //*

¹² James M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). See also Ingo Kottsieper, "The Aramaic Tradition: Ahikar" in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean* (ed. Leo G. Perdue; Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 109-124, where Kottsieper makes several comments on correspondences between proverbs and even appears to group various proverbs into strophic units. He does not, however, consider this analysis as poetic.

¹³ C. C. Torrey, "A Specimen of Old Aramaic Verse," *JAOS* 46 (1926), 241-247.

¹⁴ Bezalel Portens translates this final line "Do serve the Lord of the Two Truths / and among the praiseworthy [forever be]." See "Funerary Stela (Carpentras)," translated by Bezalel Portens (*COS* 2.64.189-190).

Where the earlier inscriptions in the Old Aramaic period were only highly stylized literature, there is little doubt that this inscription is indeed in poetry. The poem is composed of four poetic lines, all of which are bicola. A brief glance demonstrates that they are also short, terse. The parallelism is also evident. In line 1 the two designations for the young lady Taba parallel each other, namely **זי אוסרי אלהא** and **ברת תחפי תמנחא**. In fact it is clear that the B-colon of line 1 has a longer title in word-count. This is due to the absence of the blessing formula **בריכה תבא**, which is only in the A-colon. Line 2 specifies her “work” in the A-colon and her speech in the B-colon. This is seen by the parallelism of the two finite verbs: **אמרת** and **עברת**. There is also an interesting play on the consonantal pattern *alef-yod-šin*. That cluster of consonants occurs in each colon, but their meanings are very different. The use in the A-colon is “prefixed” with the consonant *bet*, which is the word “evil” (**באיש**). In the B-colon it is the word “man” (**איש**). Visually, the repetition of those consonants ties the two together. Their visible similarity leads the reader to then see that they are radically different words. Line 3 also demonstrates parallelism between **קדם אוסרי** in the A-colon and **מן קדם אוסרי** in the B-colon. The repetition of the preposition along with the name of the god creates a phonologic correspondence as well. According to Torrey, this inscription dates from the fifth century B.C.E., thus making it the earliest known example of Aramaic verse.

Another major publication in the area of Aramaic poetry is the monograph by A. S. Rodrigues Pereira entitled *Studies in Aramaic Poetry*.¹⁵ Whereas the work of Greenfield stops with the collection of Aramaic texts in Qumran, so Pereira continues from there and examines various poetic texts until approximately 600 C.E.. The poetry that he discusses begins with the small portion in the *Genesis Apocryphon* on the beauty of Sarai (1QapGen 20.2-8a). He moves on to discuss 2 Sam. 22 from Targum Jonathan, a selection of ten Targumic poems preserved in the Cairo Geniza manuscripts, thirteen *madrashe* by Ephrem the Syrian, and finally three *piyyutim* by the Samaritan poet Marka. Together, he provides twenty-eight examples of Middle and Late Aramaic poetry.

After a lengthy and detailed analysis on each of the poetic passages mentioned above, he makes several final conclusions. Regarding the poetic style, he says that within these Aramaic poems “all stylistic elements of biblical poetry are represented.”¹⁶ He comments that the use of poetic devices, such as parallelism and chiasmus,¹⁷ sound rhymes, rhythm and meter, are clearly discernable in each Aramaic poem, but not to the same extent. The most helpful and insightful observation that Pereira makes is in regards to the strophic organizations. He says that in comparing these poems that cover a broad time period, it seems that the strophic structure becomes an ever more important feature to poetic authors. As one example of this, he refers to the work of the Geniza poems, where he says their acrostic organization into strophic units is their most outstanding

¹⁵ A. S. Rodrigues Pereira, *Studies in Aramaic Poetry* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 34; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997).

¹⁶ Pereira, *Studies*, 274.

¹⁷ Pereira places enormous weight into chiasmic structures as a poetic device, thus attempts to see them in the level of the line as well as in strophic structures.

structural aspect. As such, this acrostic device is used in six out of the nine Geniza poems as well as in all three of the Marka piyyutim. Literary markers such as an acrostic, however, are not the only way in which these strophic units are marked. More frequently, it is the content that plays a significant role in the structuring and formation of these strophes.

His comments in this area of strophic organization are helpful given the fact that discussions on the existence of strophes in Hebrew poetry have been dubious. Thus L. Alonso Schökel has said that past strophic identification and analysis revealed more of the “ingenuity” of scholars than any actual poetic devices and states, and “the strophe is in fact exceptional in Hebrew poetry.”¹⁸ Yet, it is interesting that the bulk of the publications in the area of Hebrew poetry in Qumran, specifically in the *Hodayot*, have included detailed and sophisticated treatments on strophic organizations,¹⁹ almost at the expense of identifying parallelism and terseness as the primary markers of Hebrew poetry.²⁰ Thus it is possible that one of the unique developments within both Aramaic

¹⁸ L. Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Subsidia Biblica 11; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), 40. See also Pieter Van der Lugt, *Cantos and Strophes in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: With Special reference to the First book of the Psalter* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1-68. The first chapter, entitled “A History of Research into the Strophic Structure of the Psalms,” provides a detailed historical survey of the promoters and skeptics of a strophic analysis of the Biblical psalter from the early nineteenth century to the current day.

¹⁹ This was the tendency even from the earliest publications on the *Hodayot*, the “Thanksgiving Psalms.” See Charles Kraft, “Poetic Structure in the Qumran Thanksgiving Psalms,” *BR* 2 (1957), 1-18. See also Barbara Thiering, “The Poetic Forms of the *Hodayot*,” *JSS* 8 (1963), 189-209. She believes that the main key to the formal structure of the hymns is found in the principle of *chiasmus*. Due to this commitment to chiasm, she often suggests very awkward coordination between lines and at the level of strophic correspondences.

²⁰ See Jean Carmignac, “Étude sur les Procédés Poétiques des Hymnes,” *RQ* 2 (1959-1960), 515-532. Although he makes a strong case for the integrity of the strophe as a poetic device within the *Hodayot*, he overstates his case when he says, “Pour l’auteur des *Hymnes*, l’élément essentiel est la strophe. C’est elle qui constitue la charpente de son *système* poétique.” He also says, “Ce *système* était connu par les scribes, qui, de copie en copie, continuaient à indiquer, au moins de temps en temps, les strophes et les

poetry and post-biblical Hebrew poetry may be the clearer identity of strophic units as an integral part of poetic structures.²¹

In summary the work of Pereira shows that apart from some specific characteristics (e.g. the isosyllabism in Syriac poetry), Aramaic poetry was generally a coherent phenomenon that extended beyond the boundaries of regions, dialects, or even religion.

The one Aramaic poetic text that neither Greenfield nor Pereira mentioned is the Aramaic text in Demotic script, which is number 63 in the Amherst Egyptian collection in the Pierpont Morgan Library.²² According to Richard Steiner, this is a largely poetic text, which is the liturgy of the New Year's festival of an Aramaic speaking community in Upper Egypt, possibly at the beginning of the third century B.C.E.²³ The study of this text progressed through the cooperative efforts of Egyptologist Charles F. Nims and Steiner. Three specific portions were presented in three separate publications as a result of their collaborative efforts: the Aramaic poem based upon Ps. 20:2-26,²⁴ a section

conclusions, alors qu'ils n'attachaient pas une importance spéciale aux stiques et aux couplets." He seems to suggest that the basic unit of poetry in Qumran has shifted from the bicolon (from Biblical Hebrew poetry) to the strophe (in Qumranic Hebrew poetry). He is persuasive in showing that the strophe is a significant part of the poetry in Qumran, but he does so by underappreciating the bicolon as the continued basic unit of poetry. The most balanced approach to the analysis of the *Hodayot* is the work of Bonnie Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1975), where she provides analysis of the parallelism as well as the strophe.

²¹ This will be a significant part of the poetic analysis of the Aramaic texts in Qumran.

²² For a full translation of this text, see "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script" translated by Richard C. Steiner (*COS* 1.99.309-327).

²³ Richard Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy of a New Year's Festival Imported from Bethel to Syrene by Exiles from Rash," *JAOS* 111 (1991), 362-363.

²⁴ C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, "A Paganized Version of Psalm 20:2-6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JAOS* 103 (1983), 261-274.

concerning sacrificial rituals,²⁵ and a narrative of two brothers – the king of Assyria Sarbanabal and his governor in Babylon, Sarmuge.²⁶ In regards to the poetry, Nims and Steiner make comments that identify the text as poetic and offer broad comments. In fact, they use word-pairs to often help with their restorations of certain missing portions of lines. Those same three passages were further analyzed by Stanislav Segert in a later publication, in which he presents a more detailed treatment of the poetic features.²⁷ In that article Segert comments on the following poetic devices used in this text:

1. Various types of parallelism (semantic, syntactic, phonologic,²⁸ and prosodic²⁹);
2. Various kinds of word-pairs:³⁰ he lists the following as the types of word-pairs found within this text –
 - a. Synonymous: this is when both components point to the same referent even if their semantic or lexical characteristics differ;

²⁵ C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, “You Can’t Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat it Too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *JNES* 43 (1984), 89-114.

²⁶ C. F. Nims and R. C. Steiner, “Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of Two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *RB* 92 (1985), 60-81.

²⁷ Stanislav Segert, “Preliminary Notes on the Structure of the Aramaic Poems in the Papyrus Amherst 63,” *UF* 18 (1986), 271-299.

²⁸ Regarding phonologic parallelism, Segert says that the use of the demotic script made this task difficult. He further comments that the work of Nims and Steiner “show that demotic script made it possible to distinguish some Aramaic consonantal phonemes more precisely than alphabetic script, but apparently the vocalic elements were disregarded even more than in the alphabetic texts;” see “Preliminary Notes,” 286.

²⁹ By “prosodic,” he means meter. In this section he says that poetic lines in the text “consist of corresponding number of main words, mostly three, which carry the word stress mostly on their last syllable and thus provide sufficient basis for formation of regular units suitable for recitation.” It is curious that he discusses this as a sub-classification of phonologic correspondences, which he says is a type of parallelism; “Preliminary Notes,” 287.

³⁰ Segert, “Preliminary Notes,” 289-298. Under word-pairs, he points to several characteristic word-pairs in the text that are also commonly used in Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry.

- b. Complementary: these pairs point to a common denominator (e.g. “eating” and “drinking” in 17.15c+15d; 17b+17c; “food” and “drink” in 17.15a+15b; 17b+18a; “meat” and “blood” in 6.6b+6c);
 - c. Contrastive: word pairs formed when opposite ends of the same scale are indicated (e.g. “heaven” and “earth” in 17:11b+11c and 17:12a+12b; he also considers the pair “king” and “governor” contrastive in 18.3a+4a; 19:2b+2c);
 - d. Paired divine names and epithets: e.g. *bl* “Bel” and *mrđk* “Marduk” in 20.7c+7d, 21:7c8a+8d; *mr* “Lord” and *ʔl* “god” in 6.12b; *mr(h)* “Marah” and *mr* “Mar” in 6.13a+13b;
 - e. Word pairs within one colon: this perhaps can be better understood as internal parallelism;
 - f. Use of identical words in parallelistic structures.
3. Discussion of cola and larger units: he presents a chart on the distribution of the occurrences of monocola, bicola, and tricola.

This text, therefore, is another example of Aramaic poetry and should continue to receive attention as such in order to further understand the intricacies and tools available for the writing of Aramaic verse.

Although in a separate article Segert mentions the influence of Aramaic poetry upon the New Testament Greek texts of the Christian Scriptures,³¹ there is still only a limited number of publications on this subject. This is exclusively due to the limited corpus of texts that is currently known as examples of Aramaic verse. As a result, it seems apparent that from the survey provided above the current state of studies in the area of Aramaic poetry remains a scholarly desideratum. One of the tasks that would prove beneficial is to determine which previously known texts are indeed poetic, then to offer detailed poetic analyses to comprehend the features, tools, and devices that were readily available to these ancient poets. The following chapters are an attempt to do just that.

I begin with a brief discussion on the methodology used in this work (Chapter Two). From there, I discuss the poetic passages in Biblical Aramaic, specifically the Book of Daniel (Chapter Three). It seems appropriate to include this corpus since copies of that corpus have also been discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls. There are eight poetic passages within the Book of Daniel that I will discuss: Dan. 2:20-23; 3:33-4:2; 4:7b-14; 4:31-32; 6:27b-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; and 7:23-27.³² I will quickly move on to discuss the Aramaic literary works within the Qumran corpus that contain extended passages of poetry. From my analysis, there are a total number of six poetic texts. Each will be given a detailed and meticulous poetic treatment.

Chapter Four covers the clearest example of Aramaic verse within the Qumran corpus. It is the well-known “son of God” text (4Q246). The majority of scholarly

³¹ Stanislav Segert, “Semitic Poetic Structures in the New Testament,” *ANRW* 2/25, 1433-1462.

³² Regretfully, only one of these nine passages is extant in any of the Qumran copies.

thought on this text has focused on the identity of the figure of the “son of God.” Few, however, have examined the poetic features within it. Although the text is fragmentary, there are clear uses of poetic devices in the extant materials that identify it as poetry.

Chapter Five focuses on the fragments from the *Aramaic Levi Document* (ALD). The existence of this text was known prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls since a form of it was part of the cache of manuscripts discovered in the Cairo Geniza (CTL). Several copies were also discovered in Qumran – 1QTL^{ar} (1Q21), and 4QLevi^{a-f} (4Q213, 213a, 214, 214a-b). Reconstructions of this text have been offered based on the Qumran manuscripts where they exist, supplemented from the Cairo Geniza fragments. An examination of this reconstructed text reveals that the final address of Levi to his sons is essentially poetic in form.

Chapter Six is on another well known Qumran manuscript, known as the “Elect of God” text (4Q534). In the same way that the “son of God” has dominated discussions in 4Q246, so the same has taken place with the “elect of God” figure in this text. As a result, the poetic character of the text has been largely missed.

Chapters Seven and Eight are on two other texts that are often associated with the *Aramaic Levi Document*, namely the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542) and the *Apocryphon of Levi* (4Q541). Virtually no work has been done on either of these Aramaic texts, much less a poetic analysis.

Chapter Nine brings this survey of Qumran Aramaic poetry to a close with an analysis on the description of the “beauty of Sarai” in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen ar 20.2-8, 1Q20). Scholars have suggested that this is the only extant Jewish example of

a *wasf*, a description of the beauty of a bride. More work has been done on this as poetry than any other Aramaic text from Qumran.³³

Of these six Qumran manuscripts, only three have been previously recognized as poetry – the “son of God” text 4Q246, the wisdom poem at the end of *ALD*, and the “beauty of Sarai” in the *Genesis Apocryphon*. This study is the first to propose a poetic identification for the remaining three texts.

It is my hope that the materials within the current work can serve as a contribution, and even stimulation, to further future studies in this field. The words of James Lindenberg ring true when he states that the main difficulty in discerning poetic passages (specifically for him in the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*) is due to the fact that “we have no corpus of Aramaic poetry which we might compare and from which we might derive a more detailed knowledge of poetic conventions in that language.”³⁴ With that I offer the following chapters for consideration as further examples of Aramaic poetry specifically within the Qumran collection.

³³ Both Greenfield and Pereira offer comments regarding the poetry of this passage in their respective publications cited above. See Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” 49-50; see also Pereira, *Studies in Aramaic Poetry*, 11-26.

³⁴ Lindenberg, *Ahiqar*, 24.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPLANATION OF THE MODEL OF POETIC ANALYSIS

Two obstacles stand in the way of a poetic analysis of these Qumran texts. The first is due to the physical condition of these documents. Ideally, the desire would be to work with manuscripts that are whole and not damaged. Unfortunately, this is not the condition in which these manuscripts were found. Without exception, every known Aramaic text discovered within the Qumran caves is only partially in tact. Several of these extant manuscripts are fragmented and faded with many incomplete and obscure lines, which makes the simple task of even reading the texts a challenge. Nonetheless, the extant lines for each literary work provide ample readable texts so that a reasonable poetic analysis can be accomplished. The approach taken in this study is not to delve into any speculative ventures of restoration of lost lines. Therefore, no such proposals will be presented to “fill in the blanks” of the missing portions of these broken texts. Rather, the goal is to engage in a thorough poetic analysis of their extant sections in order to identify poetic texts and to understand their prosodic peculiarities.

The second obstacle is the more significant of the two. It is natural to begin a study of this kind with a characterization of Aramaic poetry. To do so, however, would lead one into highly disputed areas in Semitic research and discussion. These

disagreements are largely in the area of Hebrew poetics, with which Aramaic poetry shares a strong affinity.¹ The purpose of this study is not to offer a definitive answer to this area of dispute. One must establish, nonetheless, the model of poetic analysis that will be applied to the various Aramaic texts in question. The aim of this chapter is to provide the details of that model. Aramaic poetry is the implementation of various poetic features and devices that were readily available to the ancient poet. These various poetic tools range from the correspondence of short poetic lines, groupings of these lines into larger strophic units, to rich descriptions of images. It is the interlacing of these various poetic devices to a highly concentrated degree within a literary work that makes Aramaic poetry poetic. These various poetic techniques will be articulated below.

2.1 PARALLELISM

The first of these poetic features is parallelism. This is the most prominent device in Aramaic (and Hebrew) poetry. One would be remiss if discussions on parallelism did not begin with the works of Robert Lowth. Although he was not the first to recognize parallelism, he was the one who promoted it to a place of prominence within scholarship.² In his 1753 lecture series entitled *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the*

¹ In the survey of known Aramaic poetic texts from the previous chapter it was evident that the features used to analyze Aramaic poetry are also the same ones used to understand Hebrew poetry. This fact has been an unchallenged and accepted presumption for those who have done research in the area of Aramaic poetry. In fact, the application of Hebrew poetics to Aramaic poetic texts is done without dispute, defense, or question. This presumption is understandable and agreeable given the obvious linguistic relationship between the two languages.

² For a description of work in Hebrew poetry prior to Lowth, see James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1981), 96-286.

*Hebrews*³ Lowth described parallelism as a technique which “expresses in many different ways the same thing in different words; when equals refer to equals, and opposites to opposites.”⁴ He also says it is when “a proposition is delivered and a second is subjoined to it....equivalent or contrasted with it.” From this definition he proposed three types of parallelism. “Synonymous” is the repetition of the same thought in two different phrases using two different, yet closely related, sets of words. Although there is obvious similarity in this type of correspondence, there are slight and often subtle differences as well. Both the similarities and differences are meaningful and are part of the intricacies of this type of parallelism. A second is “antithetic,” where the meaning in the first colon of a poetic line is in contrast, or antithesis, with the meaning of the second colon. Lowth also suggested that there is a third category – “synthetic” – which refers to those many poetic lines where the second colon does not really function synonymously or antithetically. Rather, it simply completes, supplements or adds a new element to the first. The weakness of this third category opened the door for newer models to be proposed after the days of Lowth. Consequently, in addition to synonymous and antithetic we also hear of an endless list of proposed categories – complete/incomplete parallelism, staircase parallelism, janus parallelism, etc. It is this apparently endless list of categorizes that led Michael O’Connor to say that parallelism is a “congeries of phenomena.”⁵

³ Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (London: Thomas Tegg and Son, 1839 [Orig. pub. 1753]).

⁴ Quoted in A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 1.

⁵ Michael O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake; Eisenbrauns, 1997), 5.

The majority of modern scholars have abandoned the tripartite Lowthian model and replaced it with one that is rooted in the study of linguistics. The most obvious linguistic feature, however, is not in the area of semantics, which was the basis of analysis largely for Lowth. Rather, syntax has risen as the linguistic feature that has drawn the attention of recent works in Hebrew poetry. Provided below is a brief description of some of the more significant works in the area of syntactic analysis as the basis of poetic analysis.

The work of Terence Collins⁶ examines the constituents of a sentence and finds that these occur in four basic line-types: 1) the line contains only one basic sentence; 2) the line contains two basic sentences all of whose constituents parallel each other syntactically – though without reference to order; 3) the line contains two basic sentences of the same kind, but not all the constituents present in the A-colon are represented in the B-colon; 4) the line contains two different basic sentences. Collins uses the term “Line-Forms” to represent the various derivatives from the specific Line-Types by specifying the order of constituents. In spite of his insightful syntactic observations about the poetic line, Collins apparently continued to see parallelism as a semantic phenomenon. He states that “semantic parallelism appears at its best”⁷ in his type 2 Line-Type. Thus, he is able to offer an analysis of grammatical structure while not seeing its significance as a model of parallelism.

⁶ Terence Collins, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry* (Studia Pohl, series maior 7; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978).

⁷ Collins, *Line-Forms*, 93.

Another major monograph that takes a syntactic analysis on the study of Hebrew poetry is the work of Stephen Geller.⁸ Geller suggests that he is able to analyze parallelism by reducing the couplet (bicolon) to a “hypothetical unitary statement.” He says “in all cases of strict parallelism (and repetition) it should be possible to reduce the couplet to a single statement which has been restated binarily.”⁹ He calls this underlying sequence a “reconstructed sentence.” Parallel terms are aligned with each other and displayed according to the order of the terms in the A-colon. As an example he points to 2 Sam. 22:14, which states:

ירעם מן שמים יה

ועליון יתן קולו

YHWH thundered from heaven;

Elyon sent forth his voice

In the above example Geller says that the terms ירעם and יתן קולו are grammatically compatible since they serve the same function in the reconstructed sentence, which Geller diagrams as follows:

⁸ Stephen Geller, *Parallelism in Early Poetry* (Harvard Semitic Monograph 20; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

⁹ Geller, *Parallelism*, 17.

יהוה		ירעם
	מן שמים	
עליון		יתן קולו

Geller sees both clauses as different manifestations of the same underlying sentence. “From heaven” then for Geller belongs to both lines where it is gapped in the second. What this shows is that Geller accounts for syntax as a form of parallelism, something that Collins was not able to do.

Syntactic parallelism takes its highest place in the work of Michael O’Connor. In his monograph *Hebrew Verse Structure* O’Connor shows a rich comprehension of modern linguistic theory and recent literature on poetics that crosses numerous cultural boundaries. Perhaps the single outstanding feature of his poetic analysis is his proposed identity of the basic unit of poetry as the colon, whereas his predecessors gave primacy to the bicolon and offered various insights on the syntactic correspondences between cola. For that reason, his use of the term “line” is equivalent to the term “colon.” He says that a line (colon) consists in a series of syntactic constraints with limits on the number of clause predicators, phrasal constituents, and units that it may contain. In other words O’Connor uses syntactic categories to define the length of a line.

We will say more in regard to his system of syntactic constraints below under the subject heading “Terseness.” Our interest at this point is in his understanding of parallelism, or “troping” as he calls it. O’Connor’s system of poetic analysis has often been misrepresented as the denial of parallelism, which is understandable given certain

comments that he often makes regarding it.¹⁰ A more accurate assessment would be to describe his position as one that observes parallelism as a secondary level of analysis to syntactic constraints and includes syntactic aspects of “troping,” not only semantic.¹¹

He offers six ways in which colon are “troped”: 1) the word-level trope of repetition; 2) the word-level trope of coloration (by this he seems to refer to semantic and syntactic word pairs and phrases); 3) the line-level trope of matching (one line of given constituents is followed by one or more of identical structure – the order of these constituents do not need to be identical); 4) the line-level trope of gapping (although verb is the most common there are examples of other constituents also being gapped); 5) supralinear-level trope of syntactic dependence (a clause is tied to lines around it because they consist of phrases or clauses dependent on it); 6) the supralinear-level trope of mixing (lines that are syntactically dependent on a main clause are not in direct contiguity with them).¹² It is significant to point out that through class lectures and personal correspondences prior to his passing in the summer of 2007 it was clear that O’Connor had come to modify his own system of tropes and only saw the three syntactic types of matching, syntactic dependency, and gapping as representative of the types used in Hebrew poetry. One could say that this developed position of O’Connor was to analyze

¹⁰ See above for his statement that parallelism is a “congeries of phenomena” (*Hebrew Verse Structure*, 5). O’Connor also makes the following three statements: “Numerous objections to the treatment of parallelism have been made...the most obvious objection is that there is no adequate nomenclature for parallelism;” 50; “In almost all cases in which parallelism is defined, scholars define it in relation to non-verbal realities....this would be suitable in the description of non-verbal poems; there are none. A poem is made up of words; to describe a construct of words, terminology which refers to words must be used;” 51; “Parallelism cannot cover the field of Hebrew poetry unless it is not only left undefined, but allowed to cover so many phenomena that it is undefinable;” 51.

¹¹ His use of the term “dyad” and “word pairs” seem to have a semantic aspect to them; see O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 96-109.

¹² O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 361-422.

poetry as purely syntax at both the level of the constraints as well as tropes (i.e. parallelism), where he offered little to no semantic correspondences as a factor in poetic analyses.

Of the three that are specified above O'Connor's comments on "gapping" are the most significant. He defines it as the removal of a verb of the second clause, provided it is identical to that of the first.¹³ For O'Connor, "verb gapping only occurs in poetry."¹⁴ Although this comment specifies the gapping of a verb, he includes the gapping of other parts of speech (particles, adjectives, prepositions, etc.) in his fuller treatment on it.¹⁵ This genre specificity of gapping is challenged by Kugel.¹⁶ He says that if indeed verb gapping is limited to the context of poetry only, then he would have very awkward two-line "poems" such as:

ונתן לי לחם לאכל ובגד ללבש (Gen. 28:20)

And give me bread to eat and (give me) clothing to wear

ונתתי את שמיכם כברזל ואת ארצכם כנחשה (Lev. 26:19)

And I shall make your skies as iron and (I shall make) your land as brass

¹³ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 123.

¹⁴ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 124.

¹⁵ For his fuller treatment of gapping, see *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 401-407

¹⁶ Kugel, *Idea*, 322. The claim that gapping does not occur in prose would support the clear distinction between prose and poetry, something which Kugel denies.

Kugel also cites Deut. 17:1 and 1 Kgs. 8:50 as awkward two-line poems. The weakness of these examples is evident since we need not understand them as occurrences of gapping. In both examples (as well as Deut. 17:1 and 1 Kgs. 8:50) instead of verb gapping the conjunction *waw* can be seen as joining together two noun phrases.

This use of gapping as being diagnostic of poetry is the case for Hebrew, but what about other surrounding languages? According to O'Connor, the limited research of the occurrences of gapping in Egyptian and Akkadian makes it difficult to determine whether these languages also limit it to a poetic context. He suspects that this is the case, but does so with a level of uncertainty.¹⁷ O'Connor does say that gapping is used in highly formal context in both languages. Concerning Canannite poetry, he cites a study of gapping by E. Greenstein¹⁸ that has produced similar findings in Hebrew.¹⁹

Unfortunately, he makes no comment on Aramaic. Within the small corpus of Aramaic texts under examination in this study there are eleven undisputed occurrences of gapping (see below for a few illustrations). Every Qumran text attests at least one occurrence each. Given this practically high concentration of occurrences in a limited corpus, in addition to the clear linguistic similarities between Hebrew and Aramaic, plus the unchallenged presumption by scholars that Aramaic poetry is comparable to Hebrew, it seems reasonable to presume that gapping, as it is in Hebrew, can be seen as a

¹⁷ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 125-126.

¹⁸ E. L. Greenstein, "Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and their Psycholinguistic Background," *JANES* 6 (1974), 87-105. Greenstein attempts to associate syntactic gapping with psycholinguistics, a theory which O'Connor finds misleading.

¹⁹ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 126.

diagnostic marker for poetry. Any text therefore that has an example of gapping is to be classified as poetic.

The commonality of each model described above is the consistent manner in which syntax is taken as a legitimate and meaningful form of parallelism. The original Lowthian categories of synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic apparently focused on the semantic correspondences between cola. Through the work of these scholars, it became evident that parallelism can occur at a sophisticated syntactic level as well. This is the case in Aramaic poetry. Syntactic parallelism as demonstrated in the Aramaic poetry in Qumran incorporates wide ranging aspects. Often, the two cola can parallel their respective grammatical constituents, whether they are finite verbs, subjects, prepositional phrases, direct objects, etc. This type of syntactic parallelism is prevalent. Just a few examples are provided to illustrate:

ואחדין בקושטא / ואזלין בישרותא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9)

And holding onto truth / And walking in honesty //

The two participles – אזלין / אחדין – and the two prepositional phrases – בקושטא / בישרותא – correspond syntactically. Both cola also follow the same order of constituents – participle then prepositional phrase.

מאמרה כמאמר שמין / ואלפונה כרעות אל (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3)

*His word is like the word of heaven / And his teaching is according to the will of
God //*

The parallelism here is between the opening nouns, both of which are with a 3ms possessive suffix, followed by a preposition (same preposition) which governs a construct chain composed of two nouns.

There are also many occurrences of inflectional-morphologic parallelism. In the example below the verb in the A-colon (יתאמר) is singular while its corresponding element (יקרונה) is plural. The example also illustrates a derivational morphological type of correspondence where יתאמר is in the Gt-stem and יקרונה is in the G-stem:

ברה די אל יתאמר / ובר עליון יקרונה (4Q246 col. 2.1)

*He shall be called the son of God / And they shall call him the son of the Most
High //*

There is also the paralleling of verb forms, where the A-colon may use a perfect while its corresponding verb in the B-colon is an imperfect, or even a participle. In the example below the verb in the B-colon is either the perfect or the participle. The imperfect would be ינרע, which is seen earlier in that manuscript (col. 1.4):

עֲמָה לְהוּוֹן מַלְכָּה וְעֲרֻמוֹמְ[תָּה] / [וְ]יָדַע רִזִּי אֲנִשָּׂא (4Q534 col. 1.7-8).

*With him there will be his counsel and his pruden[ce] / [And] he knows the
mysteries of humanity //*

As mentioned above, verb gapping is another feature of syntactic parallelism.

אֲדִין יַעֲרָה חֲשׁוּכָא⁵ מִן אַרְעָא / וְעֲרַפְלָא מִן יְבִישְׁתָּא (4Q541 frag. 9.1.4-5)

*Then darkness will depart from the earth / And gloom (will depart) from the
dryland //*

וְאַל תַּתְּנוּ יְרוֹתְתִכּוֹן לְנִכְרָאִין / וְאַחֲסִנוֹתִכּוֹן⁶ לְכִילָאִין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.5-6)

*And do not give your inheritance to strangers / Nor (give) your heritage⁶ to
assimilation //*

Syntactic parallelism is not limited to the level of individual words. Often entire phrases within cola can be the point of comparison. In the first example below the parallelism is between the objects in the two cola, which are a construct chain of three words each. In the second example it is between two relative clauses:

שמעו למאמר לוי אבוכון / ואציתו לפקדי ידיד אל (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5)

Hear the word of Levi, your father / And pay attention to the instructions of the friend of God //

דזרע טב טב מעל / [ודי זרע ביש עלוהי חאב זרע]ה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.8-9)

*He who sows good brings in good / And he who sows evil, his sowing turns unto him //*²⁰

The order of the individual component parts of a colon can also be a point of correspondence. In the example below there is no correspondence between the elements from a semantic viewpoint. One must analyze this poetic line syntactically in order to appreciate the parallelism. When this is done it becomes evident that the elements in each colon mirror each other chiastically. Each colon contains a preposition, where the B-colon is an entire prepositional phrase (מן חרב and עד), a finite verb (יניח and יקום), and a subject for the verb (כלא and עם אל). Thus the order is preposition – verb – subject / subject – verb – preposition:

²⁰ The relative clause in the B-colon – די זרע ביש – is a preposed topic, resumed by the 3ms suffix on the preposition עלוהי.

עד יקום עם אל / וכלא יניח מן חרב (4Q246 col. 2.4)

Until the people of God arise / And they will bring rest to everything from the sword //

More so than the individual parts, syntactic parallelism can correspond to the entire colon as a whole. There are abundant examples where two verbal clauses parallel, but there are also several cases where two verbless clauses can correspond:

כמא יאא לה חדיה / וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא (1QapGen col. 20.4)

How fair is her breast / And how beautiful is all her whiteness //

It is not uncommon for a verbal clause (with a finite verb) to parallel a verbless clause:

אל רבא באילה / ⁸הוא יעבד לה קרב (4Q246 col. 2.7-8)

The great god will be his/their strength / He himself will make war for them //

Another example of colon-level syntactic parallelism is when there is a continuation of a single clausal constituent from one colon to the next. This is not an uncommon type of colon-level syntactic parallelism:

[ועל כרסי די יקר לה מותבי] / למשמע מלי חכמתה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.19)

And they seat him upon the throne of honor / To hear his words of wisdom //

ושליט³ בכולא / למעבר בהון כרעותה (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3)

And he is ruler over all / To do with them according to his will //

The combination of syntactic elements forms the surface structure of any given colon. It is uncommon to have a perfect correspondence between the surface structures of two adjacent, paralleling cola. In fact, it would be safe to say that such a pristine form of syntactic parallelism is rare in Aramaic poetry.

The syntactic appreciation of parallelism adds a new layer of correspondence to the previously accepted semantic approach of the poetic line. Adele Berlin describes the interrelationship between syntactic and semantic aspects of parallelism vividly when she says, “If the grammatical aspect provides the skeleton of the parallelism then the lexical and semantic aspects are its flesh and blood. It is, after all, the words and what they signify that give meaning to a verse or phrase.”²¹ For that reason, semantic parallelism has historically received the bulk of scholarly attention. Seeing the inadequacies of his third category of “synthetic” of his tripartite model, the successors of Lowth categorized

²¹ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 64.

numerous other types of semantic parallelisms. James Kugel offers the strongest critique of the tripartite Lowthian model and disabuses us of any notion that parallelism means saying the same thing in different words. Kugel sees parallelism as an application of the principle “A, what’s more B” – that is, the second colon goes beyond the meaning of the first. He says that “Biblical parallelism is of one sort, ‘A, and what’s more B,’ or a hundred sorts; but it is not three.”²² Thus Kugel does not suggest that there are a set number of precise categories. Rather, he says there is only one, “A, what’s more B.” Before discussing any further the analysis of this macro, colon-level parallelism, the subject of the individual words and phrases within a colon will be addressed.

Often, semantic parallelism is seen in the pairing of words. The existence of word-pairs had been a long standing observation in the study of Hebrew poetry. Yet, it was not until the discovery of the Ugaritic epic texts that the study of word pairs had a significant impact in poetic analysis. It was observed that Hebrew and Ugaritic had a strong linguistic affinity with each other.²³ In poetry it was observed that both not only used parallelism extensively, but it was found that the two even used the very same parallel terms. This led to the development of the collection of fixed word pairs. Perhaps the scholar most associated with this area of work is Mitchell Dahood.²⁴ Many began to believe the notion that fixed word pairs existed within the literary milieu of Canaan,

²² Kugel, *Idea*, 58.

²³ See the work of P. C. Craigie, “Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic: A Critical Evaluation of their Relevance for Ps. 29,” *UF* 11 (1979), 135-140. In this article Craigie argues that the similarity between the word pairs in Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry does not necessarily support the position that there is an interrelation between them.

²⁴ Mitchell Dahood, “Ugaritic-Hebrew Parallel Pairs,” *Ras Shamra Parallels I* (ed. L. Fisher; AnOr 49; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972), 71-382; *Ras Shamra Parallels II* (ed. L. Fisher; AnOr 50; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1975), 3-39; *Ras Shamra Parallels III* (ed. S. Rummell; AnOr 51; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1981), 1-206.

which were utilized for the composition of poetry. Such claims are now rejected by scholars. Thus Berlin says “Moreover, the same pairs that occur in poetic parallelism also occur in prose.....If these pairs were indeed reserved for poets, then they threaten to leave the ordinary speaker without a vocabulary.”²⁵ The explanation, according to Berlin, for these word pairs is not to be found in a literary substructure. Rather it is in the area of psycholinguistics that studies the process of word associations. Kugel says something similar: “Hebrew and Ugaritic, like most languages, had their stock of conventionally *associated* terms” [italics mine].²⁶ O’Connor goes further by saying, “the psychotherapeutic exercise of free association reveals, if it is not obvious, that any single word in a language can be paired with any other.”²⁷

The work of H. Clark and J. E. Deese in the area of word association games has aided greatly in explaining this process.²⁸ Their work demonstrated that these general relations can be divided into paradigmatic and syntagmatic types. Word associations where one member of the pair can occur in place of the other is paradigmatic. Syntagmatic – which are more difficult to define – is where the pairings are made between words associated at a broader linguistic level (several illustrations of various types are provided below).

Although the research of Clark and Deese was done on the English language, its application to Hebrew shows that Hebrew word-pairs are the result of the same process of

²⁵ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 66.

²⁶ Kugel, *Idea*, 33.

²⁷ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 96.

²⁸ H. H. Clark, “Word Associations and Linguistic Theory,” in *New Horizons in Linguistics* (ed. J. Lyons; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 271-286; J. E. Deese, *The Structure of Associations in Language and Thought* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965).

linguistic association. The same observation can also be said of Aramaic word-pairs in Qumran poetry. Paradigmatic pairs – where one member of a pair can occur for the other – is prevalent in Aramaic poetry. It is likened to other lexical-semantic paradigms, such as synonyms: **עם** and **מדינה** (4Q246 col. 2.3); **שג[ן]אין** and **רברבין** (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.18); **אחדו** and **אתקפו** (4Q542 frag. 1.1.7-8); and antonyms: **טב** and **ביש** (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.8-9); **מהערה** and **מהקים** (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.2 = Dan. 2:21); **חשוכא** and **נהירא** (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.4 = Dan. 2:22).

As mentioned above, syntagmatic associations are more difficult to define. Berlin is helpful in this regard by providing three categories of such relations.²⁹ Only two of the three, however, can be discerned within Aramaic poetry.³⁰ The first is what she calls “Conventional Coordinates,” by which she refers to the division of stereotype phrases.³¹ Some examples in Aramaic are similar to those in Hebrew: **חשוכא** and **נהירא** (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.4 = Dan. 2:22); **שמיא** and **ארעא** (Dan. 4:8 MT; cf. Dan.6:28).³² The second

²⁹ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 76-79.

³⁰ The first two are described above. The third is what Berlin calls “Normal Syntagmatic Combinations.” By this, she refers to the association between words “that are not necessarily idioms but that would normally be combined in ordinary discourse” (see Berlin, *Dynamics*, 77-79). As an example of this, she cites the pairing of the word **כסא** with **ישב** in Isa. 16:5, “And a throne (**כסא**) shall be established in kindness; And he shall sit (**ישב**) on it in faithfulness;” and Lam. 5:19, “You, YHWH, will sit (**ישב**) forever; Your throne (**כסא**) is for eternity.”

³¹ Berlin cites the work of E. Z. Melamed, “Break-up of Stereotype Phrases as an Artistic Device in Biblical Poetry” in *Sefer Segal: Studies in the Bible presented in Professor M. H. Segal by his colleagues and students* (ed. Y. Grintz; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1964), 188-219. She also cites the objection to Melamed’s thesis by C. Whitley, “Some Aspects of Hebrew Poetic Diction,” *UF* 7 (1975), 493-502, who comments on the inherent difficulty in determining whether a word pair is derived from an idiom or simply a paradigmatic association. In response, Berlin states, “To the extent that we can prove idiom status – and this may sometimes be done on the basis of the frequency of the continuous phrase – we can speak of the breakup of idioms” (*Dynamics*, 76).

³² The example is from the MT of the Book of Daniel since it is not in any of the extant portions of Daniel in the Qumran copies. It is used here since these poetic passages in Daniel are examined as part of

category that Berlin articulates is “Binomination.” This is a term that was originally used by O’Connor in reference to the division of titles, components or epithets used in reference to a single individual or location. This differs from “coordinates” which refer to two objects:³³ **אל די ברה** and **בר עליון** (4Q246 col. 2.1); **לוי אבוכון** and **אל ידיד** (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5); **על־אֶה** and **על־יוֹנִין** (Dan. 7:25 MT). There are abundant examples of both in Aramaic poetry, but it would be accurate to say paradigmatic associations are more common than syntagmatic.

As is the case with syntax, semantic parallelism is also not limited to the individual component parts of the colon. The meaning of an entire colon can correspond with its adjacent colon; the original Lowthian categories of synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic illustrate this very point. As mentioned above, Kugel offers the principle of “A, what’s more B” as an alternative to Lowth. Neither model, however, seems adequate to describe the breadth of the colon-level parallelism that occurs in Aramaic poetry.³⁴ There are always certain levels of semantic equivalence, but another layer of meaning often resides in those areas of difference as well. As a result the use of similar semantic words, phrases, and cola highlights the equivalence and the difference between them. Semantic parallelism then attempts to draw attention to every shade in the meaning of these cola. The nature of this correspondence, however, has been difficult to describe. Again, the

this study. The numerous copies of Daniel discovered in Qumran shows little doubt that several complete copies of Daniel were originally part of that Aramaic collection.

³³ See O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 112-113, 371-377.

³⁴ The same comment can be said of Hebrew poetry.

analysis by Berlin is helpful in understanding semantic parallelism in Aramaic poetry. She also comments that the Lowthian model of synonymous and antithetic is too narrow and “A, what’s more B” cannot account for “equivalence by definition.”³⁵ She offers an insightful observation when she applies the principle of paradigmaticism and syntagmatism in word associations mentioned above to colon-level semantic parallelism. Although she does not state it as such, she seems to imply that the Lowthian model of “synonymous” and “antithetic” is equivalent to paradigmatic semantic correspondences. She says “We usually think of semantic parallelism only as paradigmatic – that is, one thought can substitute for the other.”³⁶ She does not disregard Lowth’s “synthetic” parallelism, which for her is the realm of syntagmatic semantic parallelism “where two lines contain a semantic continuation, a progression of thought.”³⁷ In so doing she appears to no longer attempt to understand parallelism by classifying poetic lines according to prescribed categories. Rather, she is analyzing them by descriptive observations. There was not a set catalog of semantic associations that ancient poets drew upon for poetic writing or oral presentation. Rather, these colon-level correspondences were expressions from the mind of the ancient poets. In that regard the semantic relationship between one colon with another is limitless.

There are indeed examples of parallelism in Aramaic poetry in Qumran that can be called “synonymous.” For example:

³⁵ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 90.

³⁶ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 90.

³⁷ Berlin, *Dynamics*, 90. In note 43 on p. 90, she states explicitly what appears implicit in her model: “This syntagmatic relationship underlies some of Lowth’s ‘synthetic parallelism.’ He did not have our linguistic model or terminology and therefore could not formulate a definition for this term that would seem rigorous enough for us. But despite the criticism of Lowth’s third category of parallelism, I would not be so quick to dismiss it as a worthless catchall.”

¹ברה די אל יתאמר / ובר עליון יקרונה (4Q246 col. 2.1)

He shall be called the son of God / they shall call him the son of the Most High //

There are also examples that can rightfully be called “antithetical.” So,

דזרע טב טב מעל / ודי זרע ביש עלוהי תאב זרע]ה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.8-9)

He who sows good brings in good / And he who sows evil, his sowing returns unto him //

Both examples above illustrate paradigmatic semantic correspondence. However, there are numerous examples of parallelism in the Aramaic poetry in Qumran which can best be described as a syntagmatic association between cola. For example:

⁴עד יקום עם אל / וכלא יניח מן חרב (4Q246 col. 2.4)

Until the people of God arise / then all will be given rest from the sword //

שמש עלמה תניר / ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-4)

His eternal sun will give light / ⁴And its fire will burn into all the ends of the earth //

In both examples above the A-colon seems to provide a cause where the B-colon describes the effect of that cause. In the first example, then, the rising of the “people of God” is the cause that brings about the provision of “rest” for “everything from the sword.” The use of the C-stem (יניח) brings out this interpretation. In the second example the shining of “his eternal sun” is, results in, or causes, a radiant light to shine “into all the ends of the earth.” The analysis of this poetic line, therefore, cannot be understood as “synonymous,” “antithetic,” or any derivative from “A, what’s more B.” It is most fitting to describe the parallelism above as a “cause-and-effect” relationship.

The following example illustrates another type of syntagmatic semantic parallelism in Aramaic poetry:

[ועל כרסי די יקר לה מותבין] / למשמע מלי חכמתה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.19)

And they seat him upon the throne of glory / to hear his words of wisdom //

The B-colon provides the “purpose” of the A-colon. The use of the infinitive in the B-colon is helpful to confirm this interpretation.

Where semantic and syntactic parallelism are the most common types of correspondences in Aramaic poetry, a third, yet less common type of parallelism, is phonological correspondences between two cola. By this, I am referring to alliteration (or consonance). Assonance – the repetition of vowel sounds – is more difficult to

assess, and even suspicious as a form of productive phonologic parallelism. This is largely due to the fact that the repetition of vocalic phonemes is impossible to avoid, so one must question how to determine whether there is any genuine sound correspondence at all. Having said this, it does seem that the repetitive use of certain consonantal clusters or patterns is a real and genuine technique that was less frequently utilized.

Often, in Aramaic poetry, this phonologic parallelism is seen in the repetition of words. In the example below the repetition of the *lamed* and *beth* radicals is evident in both cola due to the repetition of the word לִבָּב. The *lamed* is also present in words such as לֵא in the A-colon and לֵה in the B-colon:

וְלֵא בִלְבָב וְלֵה בִלְבָב דְּכֵא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9-10)

Not with a double heart / ¹⁰But with a pure heart //

From the brief definitions and descriptions provided above, it is clear that parallelism in Aramaic poetry is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. The ancient poet was not limited to any of the three approaches that were described above. He freely chose to use at least two of these options occurring concurrently within a single poetic line. Therefore, he had enormous syntactic, semantic, and even phonologic liberties at his disposal that provided him with remarkable creative means to express, communicate, and structure his thoughts. Indeed, it is the case that it is the interlacing of these three types of parallelisms among two or three cola that conjoin them together to form a single poetic

line. The bicolon, or less commonly the tricolon, therefore is the basic unit of Aramaic verse. The term “line” is used in reference to such a union of cola within the context of this study.

2.2 TERSENESS

The second significant poetic technique is what will be referred to in this study as “terseness.” As mentioned above a poetic line is generally composed of either two or three cola, which are brought together by the use of various types of linguistic correspondences. Each of these individual cola are regarded as short or terse. Terseness or compactness gives some idea of a poetic characteristic that is traditionally referred to as “meter” in poetry.

In most studies of Hebrew poetry a metrical analysis is presented and defined. There is good reason to pursue an understanding of meter since poetry in nearly every language has it. The few publications (see Chapter One, “Current State of Studies in Aramaic Poetry”) on Aramaic poetry do not differ in this search but are limited. Not surprisingly, the few available treatments show that there are varying approaches amongst scholars. For example, in his article on the Qumran manuscript 4Q246 Edward Cook comments on several occasions regarding the “metrical” nature of this text.³⁸ He states, “It is evident that the text is arranged in parallelistic bicola, with generally three

³⁸ Edward Cook, “4Q246,” *BR* 5 (1995), 43-66.

stresses to a line,”³⁹ and often comments that certain proposed restorations made by scholars are not acceptable due to “metrical considerations.”⁴⁰ What is clear from the quote above is his use of an accentual based system of poetic meter. James VanderKam, in his work in the poetry of the beauty of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 20.2-8a) takes a different approach.⁴¹ He acknowledges that “disagreement arises when attempts are made to specify the nature of the meter...or the best measure of it.”⁴² His position on meter is made clear, nonetheless, when he vocalizes the consonantal text with the patterns of Biblical Aramaic wherever possible. In other words syllable counting is the basis of his understanding of meter.⁴³

In their respective publications neither approach was defended or justified. They were merely presumed for the sake of analysis. This observation is not intended as a criticism. One cannot fault these scholars in any degree since no careful work exists in the area of Aramaic poetry as a whole, much less in the more focused matter of metrics. Metrical analysis is indeed daunting when one considers the limited poetic texts that are known and available in Aramaic, compared to the large body of Hebrew poetic materials. Since a comprehension of Aramaic meter in these early poetic texts remains unknown, scholars are required, and even commended, to apply their understanding of Hebrew meter upon these texts. Such implementation is not without warrant since the two languages are very similar. Plus, the limited Aramaic poetic materials already illustrates

³⁹ Cook, “4Q246,” 46.

⁴⁰ See Cook, “4Q246,” 49, 52, 58.

⁴¹ James VanderKam, “The Poetry of 1 Q ap Gen XX.,2-8,” *RQ* 10 (1979), 57-66.

⁴² VanderKam, “Poetry of 1QapGen,” 57-58.

⁴³ He says that “the poet clearly favored shorter lines, normally of 7-9 syllables (15 of the 22 complete lines fall into these categories),” “Poetry of 1QapGen,” 64.

that it has more commonality with Hebrew poetry than with the poetry of later Aramaic dialects, such as Syriac with its isosyllabic meter.⁴⁴

Although the history of research has shown that there has been variance in the study of parallelism in Hebrew poetry, that diversity pales in comparison to the one that has beleaguered the study of meter. If parallelism and meter are seen as the two pillars in the current study of Hebrew poetry, there is little doubt that meter is the more unstable of the two. Perry Yoder comments, “In contrast...to parallelism, the occurrence and basic nature of which are recognized by all, there is little consensus regarding meter. Its very existence is denied;...among those who affirm it there is only limited agreement as to its nature.”⁴⁵

This quest for meter in Hebrew poetry has seen numerous attempts to quantify the measurement of a Hebrew colon. Julius Ley, who could be considered the father of the modern study on meter, is the scholar most responsible for focusing on the word-accent approach.⁴⁶ Other scholars such as Karl Budde, who initially was critical of Ley,

⁴⁴ See Sebastian P. Brock, “Poetry and Hymnography (3): Syriac” in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies* (ed. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 657-671, where Brock makes the distinction between two types of Syriac poetry: 1) isosyllabic verse known as *memre*, which is used in narrative and didactic poems, and 2) stanzaic verse known as *madrasha*, which uses a variety of different syllabic patterns though the same pattern is used in all its stanzas.

⁴⁵ Perry Yoder, “Biblical Hebrew” in *Versification: Major Language Types* (New York: New York University Press, 1972), 52-66.

⁴⁶ Julius Ley, *Grundzüge der Rythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie. Nebst Analyse einer Auswahl von Psalmen und anderen strophischen Dichtungen der verschiedenen Vers- und Strophenarten mit vorangehendem Abriss der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1875); *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie, nebst dem ersten Buche der Psalmen nach rhythmischer Vers- und Strophenabteilung mit metrischer Analyse* (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1887). These works were cited in unpublished class lecture notes by Prof. Douglas M. Gropp in a course on Biblical Hebrew Poetry in the Spring semester, 2004.

continued in this tradition. Budde is credited with the discovery of the “qina meter,”⁴⁷ or “limping meter,” which he analyzed in word-accentual terms as 3+2, showing the influence that the work of Ley had upon him.⁴⁸ This accentual base method of metrics was furthered by the work of Eduard Sievers.⁴⁹ From the time of Ley in the middle of the nineteenth century until the days of Sievers in the early twentieth, accentual meter was presumed rather than argued for, even though it had never been adequately demonstrated.⁵⁰ O’Connor has objected to this accentual analysis for two reasons: 1) advocates for it, after over a century of research, have no scientifically usable conclusion, by which he means “no one of them can consistently reproduce another’s results” and they are “unsupported by a scholarly consensus;” 2) the sustaining of this approach requires numerous emendations of the text.⁵¹ He agrees with the comments of David Noel Freedman, who also believes such emendations are untenable: “Strophic and metrical or rhythmic structures must be derived from the text as we have it, since it would be methodologically untenable to emend the text in the interests of a certain metrical or strophic structure or to base such a structure on an emended text.”⁵²

⁴⁷ The “qînāh” is a lament for the dead or a funeral dirge, which was sung by women in ancient Israel (Jer. 9:16, 18, 20; 38:22), or by a prophet symbolically taking on the role of women (Amos 5:1; Ezek. 19).

⁴⁸ Karl Budde, “Das hebräische Klagelied,” ZAW 2 (1882), 1-52.

⁴⁹ Eduard Sievers, *Metrische Studien I: Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* (Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 21; Leipzig; B.G. Teubner, 1901). This work was cited in unpublished class lecture notes by Prof. Douglas M. Gropp in a course on Biblical Hebrew Poetry in the Spring semester, 2004.

⁵⁰ It continues in our day as the view taken by many scholars, as illustrated by the metrical comments of Cook above.

⁵¹ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 35-38, 65.

⁵² David Noel Freedman, “Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15” in *A Light Unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers* (eds. H. M. Bream, R. D. Heim, and C. A. Moore; Gettysburg Theological Studies 4; Pittsburgh: Temple University Press, 1974), 163-203. This is quoted in O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 37-38.

The twentieth century saw the rise of a new modified view on the study of meter by many who began to object to this accentual approach. The leading figures in this new model are Frank Cross and David Noel Freedman. In their joint doctoral dissertation in 1950⁵³ they laid the foundation for syllable counting as a more precise and calibrated method of representing meter.⁵⁴ This system of syllable counting, however, has been greatly misunderstood. By it, Freedman and Cross do not allege that a syllabic meter existed in Hebrew poetry.⁵⁵ Their position is best exemplified in the following quotation by Freedman when he says, “In analyzing the metrical evidence, scholars may reduce it to some kind of arithmetic pattern, but this does not mean that the poet consciously used a numerical process. It is not likely that the Israelites counted syllables carefully, or even accents for that matter, when composing their poetry. But it is convenient for us to do so in tabulating the evidence.”⁵⁶ In other words the counting of syllables (and word-accent, according to the previous quotation) is intended to demonstrate the existence of a metrical *structure*, not a metrical *pattern*.

The logical question is to ask, “What is that pattern?”⁵⁷ Both accentual and syllabic meter has been implemented on certain Aramaic poems (as illustrated earlier) in

⁵³ Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (SBL Dissertation Series 21; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975; originally, Ph.D dissertation, John Hopkins University, 1950).

⁵⁴ This syllabic meter appears to be the approach of VanderKam in his work on the beauty of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon* 20.2-8b mentioned above.

⁵⁵ This is the position of Douglas Stuart, *Studies in Early Hebrew Meter* (Harvard Semitic Monograph Series 13; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

⁵⁶ David N. Freedman, “Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry,” *ZAW* 72 (1960), 101. This is quoted in O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 39.

⁵⁷ Given that the history of studies in this field has practically exhausted every viable key to unlocking the secrets of the metrical mystery of poetry, it seems unlikely that one will be found. The logical question to ask, then, is if such a consensus has not been reached in our understanding of Hebrew poetry with its vast amount of poetic texts, then how can we have a consensus in the study of Aramaic

spite of the weaknesses described above for each approach. The method of metrical analysis used in this study of Aramaic poetry is a modified version⁵⁸ of the system of syntactic constraints articulated in the previously mentioned *Hebrew Verse Structure* by Michael O'Connor.⁵⁹ Although I maintain the bicolon as the fundamental basic unit of poetry and a multi-layer analysis of parallelism (both contra O'Connor), his system is a fresh assessment on the subject of meter that provides a meaningful and a significant alternative to earlier ones. This approach is taken for four reasons. First, because of the inadequacies in both the accentual and syllabic meter described earlier it seems that it is worth assessing, if not needing, a new model of metrical analysis. Second, this system of constraints quantifies three elements of syntax, namely the clause, constituents, and units. This creates a metrical matrix that allows for a level of measurement that a single variable (e.g. accents, or syllables) can overlook. Third, poetic lines tend to be short, that is terse, which coincides with this system of syntactic constraints. Fourth, since parallelism was seen as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, it would follow that meter in Aramaic poetry would also have a similar multi-dimensional approach. One could say that the nature of Aramaic meter “parallels” the nature of Aramaic parallelism.

A brief description of the system of syntactic constraints is presented here. The section after this will supply the list of what is “counted” in this system. O'Connor bases

poetry which has a much smaller corpus? It would seem that charity and open discussions must supersede scholarly dogma in this area of discourse.

⁵⁸ The modification is described below.

⁵⁹ The approach of *Hebrew Verse Structure* is also adopted by several others. See Walter T. W. Cloete, *Versification and Syntax in Jeremiah 2-25: Syntactical Constraints in Hebrew Colometry* (SBLDS 117; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Paul E. Dion, *Hebrew Poetics: A Student's Guide* (Mississauga: Benben, 1988); William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986) and *Jeremiah 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989).

his analysis upon the “surface structure” of a sentence.⁶⁰ Although he cites the work of linguists who research the area of generative semantics, his concern is primarily on this surface structure for the sake of his system of constraints. This shows the influence of generative, or transformational, grammar upon his investigation. O’Connor begins by distinguishing three grammatical categories of “nouns,” “verbs,” and “particles.” From here he continues by distinguishing three grammatical levels and how the previous grammatical categories fit into these levels.⁶¹ The first level refers to individual verbs and nouns, each of which is what he calls a “unit.” This will be referred to as “words” in this study. The second level refers to verbs and nominal phrases; each verb and nominal phrase along with the particles dependent upon it, is what he calls a “constituent.” I will refer to these as “phrases,” or “phrasal constituents.” The final level is the clause, which O’Connor refers to as “the basis of syntactic functioning.”⁶² He sees two types of clauses; both of which also occur in Aramaic poetry – the verbal clause, in which a verb is the primary predicator, and the verbless clause.⁶³ A colon is formed by syntactic constraints – limits on the number of clauses, constituents (phrases), and units (words) that it may contain. The parameters of these constraints are as follows:

1. On clause predicators: No line contains more than three.
2. On constituents (phrases): No line contains fewer than one or more than four.

⁶⁰ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 78.

⁶¹ A summary of his system of syntactic constraints is in *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 67-87. The detailed description of each of the three syntactic levels of “clause,” “constituent,” and “unit” can be found on p(p). 297-322.

⁶² O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 68.

⁶³ For non-finite verbs (i.e. infinitive and participles), see below.

3. On units (words): No line contains fewer than two or more than five.
4. On the units of constituents: No constituent (phrase) contains more than four units. Constituents of four units occur only in lines with no clause predicator. Constituents of three units occur either alone in lines with no clause predicator; or as one of two constituents in 1-clause lines.
5. On the constituents of clauses: No line of three clause predicators contains any dependent nominal phrases. In lines with two clause predicators, only one had dependent nominal phrases.
6. On the integrity of lines: If a line contains one or more predicators, it contains only nominal phrases dependent on them.⁶⁴

The dominant line form, according to O'Connor, is one clause and either two or three constituents of two or three units. Although these are the constraints in Hebrew poetry, they may not be the same in Aramaic poetry. One task in this study is to determine what are the syntactic constraints in the Aramaic texts in Qumran and what is its "dominant line form."⁶⁵

Terseness, or compactness, was already mentioned as a characteristic of the poetic line in Aramaic poetry. The desire was to maximize the correspondence of the elements between cola. In order to achieve this, the ancient poet often condensed and removed from these lines all but their essential component parts. By "terseness," therefore, we

⁶⁴ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 87.

⁶⁵ See "Chapter Ten: Conclusion" for a summary of the syntactic constraints found in the Aramaic poetry in Qumran.

mean the restrictions or constraints that are placed upon an individual colon that can be quantified. These restrictions are placed on the number of elements that may appear within a colon, which can best be measured by the number of clauses, phrasal constituents, and words. My only modification to this system is to observe a balance between two cola in a bicolon (or three cola in a tricolon) when the range of numbers for each of the aforementioned syntactic elements (what O'Connor refers to as a "constellation") are compared and contrasted. O'Connor does not attempt to observe such balance.

One final comment on terminology is appropriate before proceeding on detailed descriptions. O'Connor says that it would not be accurate to use the term "meter" for this system since meter is largely associated with "phonologically based systems."⁶⁶ Since I have adopted O'Connor's system of syntactic constraints instead of phonologically based meter, I have used the term sparingly. When it appears in this study, it is used as a synonym for "terseness" as defined above.

The following criteria were applied in the analysis of the "poetic terseness" for each Aramaic poetic text examined in this study:

Each colon is restricted in:

⁶⁶ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 67.

1. The number of clauses: as mentioned above there are two types of clauses, verbal and verbless.

- All clauses that contain a finite verb (perfects, imperfects, volitives, etc.) are counted as a single clausal constituent;
- All clauses that contain a predicative participle is counted as a single clausal constituent;
- Verbless clauses are also counted;
- The particle of existence **אִי־יִ** is counted.⁶⁷ There is only one occurrence of this particle in the texts examined in this study – Dan. 4:32:

וְלֹא אִי־יִ דִּי־יִמְחָא בִּידֵהּ וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מָה עֲבַדְתִּי: (Dan. 4:32 MT)

And no one can stay His hand / And say to Him, “What have you done?”

//

- Clauses in which the finite verb is presumed (i.e. gapped) are counted as a clausal constituent; the gapped element is not counted as a word (see below).
- Non-finite verbs (i.e. infinitives and participles) with a verbal force are counted: The use of the predicative participle is mentioned above.

Attributive and substantive uses are considered as nominal not verbal.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ The negative particle of existence **לֹא־יִ** is not attested in the poetic corpus of Daniel or Qumran.

⁶⁸ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 312-313.

There are cases in which an infinitive can carry what O'Connor calls a "verbal force," meaning it governs a direct object.⁶⁹ For example:⁷⁰

ושליט³ בכלא / למעבד בהון כרעותה (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3)

And he rules³ over all / To do with them according to his will //

According to O'Connor, infinitives used absolutely, one that governs either an agential suffix, or an agential construct are considered nominal. There is only one example of a nominal use of an infinitive (it governs an agential suffix) – Dan. 4:32:

וְכַמְצַבְיָהּ עֲבַד׳ בְּחֵיל שְׁמַיָּא וְדִירֵי אֶרְעָא (Dan. 4:32 MT)

And He does as he wishes with the hosts of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth

- Preposed topics and vocatives are counted as a single clausal constituent each.

Regarding vocatives, O'Connor considers them as "higher predicate

⁶⁹ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 311. He also says that if an infinitive governs an agential suffix it can also be a clause-predicator (verbal force). That condition is not attested within the Aramaic corpus under examination in this study.

⁷⁰ Infinitives are rare within the Aramaic poetic corpus: למאלף (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.13); למאתה (4Q534 col. 1.6); למעבד (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3). In the poetic portions of the Book of Daniel, it occurs nominally only in Dan. 4:32 (see above), and as a verbal complement in Dan. 7:25 (לְהַשְׁנִיָּה) and twice in 7:26 (לְהַשְׁמָדָה וּלְהוֹבִדָּה).

analyses,” a term used by generative semanticists.⁷¹ He says that the predicate is one of saying, which is removed, along with the subject. This leaves only the addressee, which appears then as the vocative. In other words, the vocative is the only remaining element of an underlying clause in which the rest of the sentence is embedded. He analyses “focus-markers,” or preposed topics, in the same way.⁷²

2. The number of phrasal constituents: The following are counted as a single phrasal constituent:⁷³

- Construct chains: this includes phrases that use לְ in the construct state;
- Noun-Adjective bond;
- Appositives;
- Compound noun phrases;
- Prepositional phrases, or prepositions with a pronominal suffix;
- Relative clauses;
- Genitive phrases that use the particle ׀: This grammatical construction is not listed by O’Connor since it is an Aramaic peculiarity. Since this is equivalent to a construct chain, it seems reasonable to also include this as a phrasal constituent.

⁷¹ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 79-80.

⁷² O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 81-82.

⁷³ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 308-309. The categories in this list are taken from these pages.

- Periphrastic verbal constructions. This is a grammatical construction that O'Connor does not address. He does describe the use of the “auxiliary verbs” in Hebrew: **מהר** (which predicates speed), **שכם** (which predicates promptness or earliness), **הלך** or **קום** (which predicates inchoation).⁷⁴ He treats them as “ordinary verbs.” He remains unclear if these auxiliaries plus their main predicator are treated as a single “constituent.” Since the previous examples are analogous to a verbal hendiadys and similar in function with the use of the verb **היה** in periphrastic constructions, this will be analyzed as a single verbal constituent with each verbal element counted as individual words.
3. The number of words: O'Connor seems to have made the grammatical distinction of verbs, nouns and particles (mentioned above) in order to single out the particles as non-count elements in his system of syntactic constraints (see below).⁷⁵
- The following are counted as single words:
 - 1) All nouns, adjectives, finite verbs, and adverbs;
 - 2) Independent pronouns;
 - 3) The negatives **לא** and **אל**: Particles are not counted as word-units, with the exception of the negative since they are “active on the clause and

⁷⁴ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 303.

⁷⁵ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 68, 297-305.

phrase level.” Prepositions that govern a nominal phrase are also considered “active” in this sense.⁷⁶

- 4) Any pronoun used as a copula: This is a grammatical construction not found in Hebrew. Since the pronoun in this construction is functioning with a “verbal force,” such uses are considered verbal and the pronoun is counted as a single word unit.
 - 5) Prepositions with a pronominal suffix (see below);
 - 6) Any form of the word כל;
 - 7) The verb היה in a periphrastic construction (see above);
 - 8) The attributive participle and its head nouns are each counted individually;
 - 9) Each noun in a construct chain is counted individually.
- The following are not counted: According to O’Connor, he says very simply, “the class of particles does not count in the fine structure of the verse.”⁷⁷ For O’Connor, this category includes the conjunction *waw*, prepositions not governing a nominal phrase, interrogatives, etc. In addition to these, I also include the following Aramaic particles: the particles להן, כן, כען, conjunctions such as ארין / ארין, אלו / ארו, the interrogatives מא, במא, מן, the particle די as either a conjunction or a relative, and the direct object

⁷⁶ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 305.

⁷⁷ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 305.

marker ܠ. There are occasional exceptions to this list, which will be pointed out on an individual basis when they are encountered within the texts.

Although there are other features of Aramaic poetry (see below for their descriptions), it should be noted that it is the interrelationship between these two particular poetic devices – parallelism and terseness – that is characteristic of poetry. It is not their presence per se that is distinctive of poetry since prose passages can also have short terse lines as well as parallelism. Rather it is the interlacing of these two devices that marks a literary work as poetic. The ancient poet expressed his thoughts by paralleling two or three cola that have been distilled and condensed down to their essential grammatical components – this is terseness. These cola are contiguous, often joined by the use of the conjunction *waw*. As a result, they are perceived as connected, although the exact nature of that connection is not specified. This is demonstrated in the way in which the essential components interact and correspond to each other at the semantic, syntactic, and phonologic level – this is parallelism. The terseness of the line forms the framework in which parallelism takes place. A poetic line, therefore, is a literary expression that results from weaving together the elements of two or three terse cola into an integrated whole. It is the utilization of both techniques that sets poetry apart as unique from prose. This is what makes Aramaic poetry poetic.

2.3 OTHER POETIC FEATURES

Parallelism and terseness are the foundations of Aramaic poetry. There are, however, other poetic features that were available to add to the overall poetic effect of a literary work:

2.3.1 IMAGERY:

L. Alonso Schökel says that “Images are the glory, perhaps the essence of poetry, the enchanted planet of the imagination, a limitless galaxy, ever alive and ever changing.”⁷⁸ William P. Brown shares in the sentiment of Schökel when he maintains that imagery is “the most basic building block of poetry.”⁷⁹ Both are, in my estimation, overstating the significance of images in Hebrew poetry, yet the use of imagery is truly more at home in poetry than in prose. For that reason a greater density of images should be expected in poetry.

In order to define imagery, two concepts are helpful to understand: “source domain” and “target domain” where the “source domain” is the aspect from culture, literature, or life the poet is drawing upon to create the image and the “target domain” is the subject the poet is speaking of. William Brown prefers these terms over against the traditional terminology of “tenor” and “vehicle,” which he finds “clumsy.” The “tenor”

⁷⁸ L. Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Subsidia Biblica 11; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2000), 95.

⁷⁹ William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 2.

is equivalent to what he calls the “target domain” and the “vehicle” is the “source domain.”⁸⁰ He rejects these terms since he believes they create a hierarchy in which the “tenor” takes precedence over the “vehicle.” He also says that such terms fail to indicate the kind of interaction that is occurring between the image and its referent. The terms “source domain” and “target domain” is used by cognitive literary theorists, who have developed helpful ways of understanding the ways metaphorical images communicate knowledge. For Brown, an image is not merely a “vehicle” of emotive significance; it is a means of “cognitive mediation.” The use of “domain” is helpful since he suggests it not only acknowledges the significance of the metaphor and its referent but it also illustrates the dynamic that occurs when something is referenced metaphorically, namely “the superimposing of one domain upon another.”⁸¹ So he states, “For a metaphor to work, an understanding of both domains is presupposed. There must be a correspondence between the metaphor and its target domain that is recognized by both poet and reader; otherwise, the metaphor remains idiosyncratic and indecipherable.”⁸² Very much like semantic parallelism where there is a comparison between two similar elements, so an image compares two “domains” where an aspect of the source domain is transferred to the target domain. As it is also the case with semantic parallelism, there is often a level of dissonance or difference between the two “paralleled” domains.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Metaphor*, 4-7. Although these terms originated in the lectures by I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (The Mary Flexner Lectures on the Humanities 3; New York: Oxford University Press, 1985[orig. pub. 1936]), 96-97, he says that Richards himself acknowledges that there are inadequacies with them.

⁸¹ Brown, *Metaphor*, 6.

⁸² Brown, *Metaphor*, 6. He focuses his comments on metaphors, but the same descriptions apply also to the use of similes.

According to Brown, a good metaphor effectively harmonizes the analogy and the anomaly to create conceptual meaning so that the impossible is understood.

Consider the image in the following example:

שמש עלמה תניר / ויתזה נורה בכול קצוי ארעא (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-4)

His eternal sun will give light / And its fire will burn into all the ends of the earth

//

The source domain that provides the rich description is שמש עלמה “his eternal sun.”

The ancient poet is not intending that there is an actual sun that burns for eternity. The image is meant to communicate and express a deeper reality. The target domain – the object being described – is a previously mentioned priestly-sage.⁸³ Specifically, the previous line of this poem mentions “his words” and “his teaching” (word pair).

Therefore, the image is best summarized as “His instruction is an eternal sun.” It is his pedagogy (verbal or written is not known) that is the true target domain, which is being described here so vividly as providing a radiant light. The expansion of this “fire” is contrasted with “darkness” later in the poem that also results in verbal aggression against this heroic figure by his adversaries. Since the complete text is not in tact, it is difficult to know the realities represented in all these images. It is clear, nonetheless, that there is a

⁸³ The fragmented condition of this manuscript does not allow for a more accurate identification on this figure.

contrast or conflict (possible physical as well as verbal) between a priestly-sage with those in opposition to either him or his cause.

A simile is different than a metaphor at a grammatical level, and it can also be different at the figurative level as well. Brown is cautious to mention this distinction. On one hand, he acknowledges that there is only a slight difference between the two. On the other hand, he maintains that the difference is “anything but negligible.”⁸⁴ With the use of the term of comparison, “like, as,” one referent is subordinated to the other. Brown suggests that a simile can be more prosaic and represent “a form of analogical language that may relieve the ambiguity and narrow the interpretative possibilities provoked by the metaphor....the metaphor can initiate the process of imaginative reflection, of discernment and synthesis, that a simile may not match.”⁸⁵ Due to the close resemblance between them, a careful understanding of similes must be done on an individual basis.

In the above example, we have reconstructed the metaphorical image as “his instruction is an eternal sun.” One must ask if any essential, cognitive meaning is lost if this image were expressed with the use of a simile, “his instruction is *like* an eternal sun.” I see none. In fact, a simile is used with the same target domain earlier in this poem:

מאמרה כמאמר שמיין (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3)

His word is like the word of heaven

⁸⁴ Brown, *Metaphor*, 7.

⁸⁵ Brown, *Metaphor*, 7.

This confirms the notion that the distinction between a simile and metaphor cannot be overly emphasized. There are other examples where the use of a simile and metaphor are interchangeable with little to nothing lost in the meaning. Consider the well known image of “one like a son of man” in Dan. 7:13. A simile is used in this expression to describe a divine being. Earlier in Dan. 7:9, another divine figure is described, but with the use of a metaphor – יְמִין יֹתֵב עֲתִיק “the Ancient of Days sits.” It does not say יְמִין כְּעֲתִיק “one like an Ancient of Days,” as it does with “one like a son of a man.”

Also consider the following:

כִּזְקִיא דִּי חִזִּיתָא / כֵּן מַלְכוּתָהּ תְּהוּא (4Q246 col. 2.2)

Like the comets which you saw / Thus their kingdom shall be //

Simply put, the image is “their kingdom is like the comets which you saw,” where the image is used to interpret a vision. To make this a metaphor requires some grammatical adjustments (removal of the particle כֵּן and the finite verb תְּהוּא), but the essential meaning remains the same. This becomes clear when one compares this with another vision interpretation where metaphorical devices are used instead of similes – Dan. 7:23-27 where the fourth beast of the sea and the ten horns are described metaphorically (no use of “like” or “as”).

However, the metaphors of Dan. 7:9 do indeed lose something if they were expressed with the use of a simile.

כְּרִסִּיהָ שְׂבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר / גִּלְגְּלוֹהִי נֹר דִּלְקָ: (Dan. 7:9 MT)

His throne is flames of fire / Its wheels is a burning fire //

The use of a metaphor gives the image of a chariot-throne which is composed of flames of fire. In other words, it is not wood, metal and stone that was used in the construction of this item – it was fire. A simile – “his throne is *like* flames of fire” – clearly changes the image. No longer is fire the compositional element used for the construction of this chariot-throne; the fiery image can express a radiant luminosity of this throne that is similar (“like”) that of flames of fire. In this case, the simile-metaphor distinction is very meaningful and a metaphor is used with intent.

The opposite can also be true where a simile communicates a cognitive reality that a metaphor cannot. For example:

לְבוּשָׁהּ | כְּתֹלֵן חֹר / וּשְׂעָרָהּ רְאשָׁהּ כְּעֶמֶר נֶקֶא (Dan. 7:9 MT)

His clothes are like white snow / And the hair of his head is like the wool of a lamb //

The use of the simile gives the description of features of a divine figure that is analogous to aspects of life (i.e. snow, wool). Although a metaphor could be used to express the same cognitive thought – “his clothes are white snow / his hair is lamb’s wool //” – it seems clear that the simile does what Brown mentioned earlier; it “relieves the ambiguity and narrows the interpretative possibilities.”

2.3.2 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION:

A collection of poetic lines forms a larger poetic unit. This is called a strophe. As mentioned in the previous chapter, strophic studies in the area of Biblical Hebrew poetry have conflicting opinions amongst scholars.⁸⁶ According to the various publications in the Hebrew poetry of Qumran, specifically in the *Hodayot*, strophic formations seem to have more definition and clarity.⁸⁷ The same can be said regarding Aramaic poetry as well.

These strophes are formed through various linguistic means. The primary method is the homogeneity of the content in a group of contiguous lines. A strophe, therefore, is a group of lines that focus on a common theme. In addition to this there are other methods. A few examples are provided below to illustrate this. For example, consider the two poetic lines (a bicolon and tricolon) in Dan. 4:7b-8:⁸⁸

וְאֵלֹהִים אֵילָן בְּנוֹא אֲרֻעָא
וְרוּמָה שְׁגִיא:

⁸⁶ See chapter one for a list of scholars who have worked on strophic units in Biblical Hebrew poetry.

⁸⁷ E. Schuller, *1QHodayot^a with incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot^{a-f}* (DJD XL; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 144-145.

⁸⁸ Limited sections of Dan. 4:7b-14 are extant in 4QDan^d frag. 3-7, lines 5-15. Dan. 4:7-8 are not part of those sections.

וְרֹמְמָהּ יִמְטָא לְשָׁמַיָא^{v.8}

וְחִזְיָתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל-אֲרֻעָא:

וְחִזְיָתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל-אֲרֻעָא:

And behold, there was a tree in the middle of the earth

And its height was great

^{v.8} *The tree grew great and became strong*

Its height reached to the heavens

The sight of it was to the ends of all the earth

These two lines form a strophe and its parameters can be seen from the chiasmic structure embedded within it:

A וְאֵלֹוּ אֵילָן בְּנוֹא אֲרֻעָא

B וְרֹמְמָהּ שְׁנַיָא

C רְבָה

D אֵילָנָא

C וְחִקָּף

B וְרֹמְמָהּ יִמְטָא לְשָׁמַיָא

A וְחִזְיָתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל-אֲרֻעָא

Another example of strophic formation can be found in Dan. 4:12. This passage contains two poetic lines, where each colon begins with the consonant *bet*. This consonantal consistency forms these two lines into a strophic unit. A similar technique occurs in 1QH^a col. 11:20-37 (3:19-36), where each poetic line (not colon, as is the case in Dan. 4:12) begins with the preposition *bet* plus an infinitive construct.

Another example of strophic formation is in 4Q542 (*The Testament of Qahat*), where each strophe begins with some reference to the forefathers of the sons of Qahat.

Larger units where strophes come together to form stanzas are very rare in Aramaic poetry since we lack a poetic corpus large enough to observe such a literary unit. One example is in Dan. 4:7b-14. The presentative particle אֵלַי in v.7b and v.10 appears to mark the beginning of stanzas. The same use of literary “markers” is also found in Dan. 7:23-27 for the formation of strophes (not stanzas). This is the interpretation poem of specific images in an earlier vision (7:1-14). The two images whose interpretation is provided in this section are mentioned in vv.23 and 25. They appear to function as headings that mark subunits of the poem and not to be considered as part of the poetry. Dan. 7:23 is concerning the רְבִיעִיָּה חִיּוֹתָא “fourth beast,” where Dan. 7:24 begins the interpretation section on קַרְנֵיָּא עֲשָׂר the “ten horns.”

Such a technique where certain words are used as “markers” for strophic formations is also attested in one of the apocalyptic poems in the *Hodayot*, specifically 1QH^a col. 10:22-32 (2:20-30), where the independent pronouns אֲנִי and הִמָּה mark the beginning of strophes. הִמָּה is mentioned in lines 22 and 23, referring to wicked men

who **בִּקְשׁוּ נַפְשִׁי** “sought my soul.” This is contrasted with the pronoun **אֲנִי**, referring to the poet in lines 25 and 28.

There are other poetic features that will be mentioned, defined, and articulated as they are encountered within each Qumran text.

The method of analysis for this study is to analyze the six previously enumerated Aramaic manuscripts within the Qumran library in order to authenticate and appreciate their poetic qualities. Although complete copies of the Aramaic portions of the Book of Daniel are not extant in Qumran, an examination of the poetic portions of that Aramaic corpus is also included. The outline of each chapter will be as follows:

- **Transcription of the Manuscript:** This is intended to present the condition of the manuscript and the areas in which there are lacuna. Again, restorations are kept at a minimum. My comments are primarily focused upon those lines that are extant. The lineation provided in this section is that of the manuscript itself. The bulk of textual and philological comments will be made here via footnotes
- **Stichometry:** This section presents the first of several poetic treatments. A stichometric reconstruction of the text is provided to show the location of the poetic lines. A new lineation is used here for the sake of simple and efficient referencing when the description of the poetry is presented in the body of the chapter. As

mentioned earlier, the majority of the Aramaic manuscripts are in poor condition with many missing lines of text. I use square brackets [] to mark those missing lines in the document.

- **Translation:** The translation provided is mine and follows the stichometric structure from above. I limit philological remarks to a minimum and comment only when necessary. In the translation itself the siglum / is used to mark the mid-pausal point between cola and // is used to mark the end of a poetic line. The sigla < > are used on occasions where something is absent in the text that needs to be inserted. The following sigla { } are used to refer to a constituent that is removed from the text due to scribal error.
- **Poetic Analysis:** The final section is the heart of each chapter where detailed and thorough analyses are provided regarding the poetic features enumerated above.

CHAPTER THREE

ARAMAIC POETRY FROM THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I begin my comments on the subject of Aramaic poetry by focusing on the Aramaic sections of the Hebrew Old Testament. Aramaic originals occur in four different places in the Old Testament. The first is two words in Genesis 31:47 which translate a Hebrew toponym. The second is an Aramaic gloss in Jeremiah 10:11 that occurs in the context of condemnation against idolatry. The third is Ezra 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26, which are records and documents from the Persian period that are concerned with the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem. The fourth is Daniel 2:4-7:28, which records the court tales of Jews during the period of exile in Babylon as well as a well known apocalyptic vision of a “son of man” figure. The first three sections are written in prose.¹ The Book of Daniel, however, contains a number of passages that reflect the use of poetic devices and features. These poetic elements, which have received only cursory attention by scholars, will be the focus of this chapter. Although the presence of poetry is without dispute amongst scholars, a thorough and detailed treatment of the poetry remains to be done. The purpose of this section is to provide such an analysis.

¹ Although many have considered the Aramaic gloss in Jer. 10:11 as poetic, such a designation is dubious and is not included in this chapter. For a possible poetic treatment, see “Appendix A: A proposed poetic treatment of Jeremiah 10:11.”

Two points should be made at the outset. First, the text used in this section is the Masoretic Text (MT). It was my intention to use the Qumran copies of the Book of Daniel as the textual basis for poetic analysis. This seemed appropriate given that the subject matter of this study is in the area of the Aramaic documents discovered in *Qumran*, not in the *Biblical* Aramaic in the Hebrew Old Testament per se. Unfortunately, the bulk of the poetic passages in the Book of Daniel are not extant in these Qumran copies. Eight copies of Daniel were discovered at Qumran. Two manuscripts were recovered in Cave 1,² five from Cave 4,³ and one from Cave 6.⁴ Only the Old Testament books of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Isaiah have more copies than the Book of Daniel in Qumran. Among the poetic passages, Dan. 2:20-23 (see below for a list of the poetic passages under examination) is the only one that is completely intact in Qumran (that copy is used as the textual basis for my poetic analysis below). The fragmented condition of the other copies preserves only a few words or phrases for each of the other poetic passages. Three copies contain some portion of these poems, specifically 4QDan^a, 4QDan^b, and 4QDan^d. Since the variances between these Qumran copies and the MT are negligible, it can be safely presumed that the missing portions are nearly identical to the MT. This, however, would still be a presumption, which should be avoided. Given the subject matter under examination in this study and the strong linguistic affinities between the Biblical Aramaic corpus and the Aramaic manuscripts

² See D. Barthélemy, "Daniel (Premier Exempleire), Daniel (Second Exempleire)," in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik; *DJD I*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 150-152.

³ See E. Ulrich, "4QDan^a, 4QDan^b, 4QDan^c, 4QDan^d, 4QDan^e," in *Qumran Cave 4: XI Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. Eugene Ulrich, et al.; *DJD XVI*; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 239-289.

⁴ See Eugene Ulrich, "6Q7," in *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux; *DJD III*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 112-114.

discovered in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it seems fitting, nonetheless, to include an analysis of the poetry in the Aramaic sections of the Book of Daniel as part of this overall work.⁵

The second point concerns the parameters of the poetry. Although the fact that there is poetry within the Book of Daniel is without doubt, the precise beginning and end of these poetic sections is without consensus. For example, Stanislav Segert lists the following passages as poetic: 2:20-23; 3:33; 4:7-9; 4:11-14; 4:31-32; 6:27-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; 7:23-27.⁶ This differs slightly from the list of poetic passages given by James Montgomery who identified the following as poetic in Daniel: 3:31; 4:1-2; 4:7b-9; 4:11-14; 4:31-34; 6:27-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; 7:23-27.⁷ W. Sibley Towner, examining Daniel 1-6 only, provides the following list: 2:20-23; 3:31-33; 4:31-32; 6:26-28.⁸ W. Baumgartner, in BHS, identifies the following passages as poetic by providing a stichometric reconstruction for them: 2:20-23; 3:33; 4:7b-9, 11b-14, 31b-32; 6:27b-28; 7:9-10, 13b-14, 23-27. See below:

⁵ For the sake of clarity, I mark the passages that use the Masoretic Text with the abbreviation MT. Where the Qumran copy is used, I provide the appropriate Qumran sigla.

⁶ Stanislav Segert, "Aramaic Poetry," 67-68.

⁷ James Montgomery, *Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1989 [orig. pub. 1927]), 24. Montgomery calls Dan. 2:20-23 a hymn, but it is not mentioned in his list of poetic passages. He specifies that he finds "definite metrical structure" in the above list. Perhaps his inability to discern meter in 2:20-23 prevents him from seeing this as poetic. It does show that he sees meter as the fundamental part of poetry.

⁸ W. Sibley Towner, "The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6," *CBQ* 31 (1969), 317-326. Interestingly, Towner does not mention or comment on 4:7-14 as poetic.

	Scholar	Passages recognized as poetic	# of Poetic passages
	Stanislav Segert	2:20-23; 3:33; 4:7-9; 4:11-14; 4:31-32; 6:27-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; 7:23-27	9
	James Montgomery	3:31; 4:1-2; 4:7b-9; 4:11-14; 4:31-34; 6:27-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; 7:23-27	9
	W. Sibley Towner	2:20-23; 3:31-33; 4:31-32; 6:26-28	4
	W. Baumgartner	2:20-23; 3:33; 4:7b-9; 4:11b-14; 4:31b-32; 6:27b-28; 7:9-10; 7:13b-14; 7:23-27	9

What is evident is that the general locale of poetry is clear, but the precise start and end is not. In addition to providing a detailed poetic analysis, the exact and precise boundaries of the poetry will be presented. I identify the following eight passages as an exhaustive list of the Aramaic poetry within the Book of Daniel: Dan. 2:20-23; 3:33-4:2;⁹ 4:7b-14, 4:31-32; 6:27-28; 7:9-10; 7:13-14; and 7:23-27. Each passage will be examined and analyzed individually in this order.

⁹ I differ slightly from Baumgartner in BHS by extending the poetry of Dan. 3:33 to 4:2.

3.1 POETRY OF 4QDAN^A FRAG. 3.1.1-5 (DAN. 2:20-23)

I begin with the Qumran copy of Daniel that covers the first poetic passage, that is Daniel 2:20-23. This is 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (4Q112).¹⁰ This poem occurs in the narrative context of a wisdom contest between Daniel and the Chaldean magicians, conjurers, and sorcerers to narrate and interpret the dream of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. In the answer to the prayer of Daniel, God revealed to him the dream and its interpretation in a vision of the night. Daniel responds by offering a blessing to God in the form of doxological praise. W. Sibley Towner describes this hymn as “an individual psalm of thanksgiving,” which exhibits many of the features associated with a thanksgiving psalm.¹¹ It has also been described as “a declarative psalm of praise of the individual.”¹² Although there have been discussions whether this praise is an original composition, it is nonetheless an appropriate reflection on the activity of Yahweh and fits within the context of the narrative.

¹⁰ The *editio princeps* for this manuscript is by Eugene Ulrich, “4QDan^a,” in Qumrân Cave 4 XI: Psalms to Chronicles (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; *DJD XVI*; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 239-254. For the preliminary publication on this manuscript, see Eugene Ulrich, “Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran, Part 1: A Preliminary Edition of 4QDan^a,” *BASOR* 268 (1987), 17-37.

¹¹ Towner, “Poetic Passages,” 319. The word “thanks” (תודה) appears within the hymn itself.

¹² Claus Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (Richmond: Knox Press, 1965), 102.

3.1.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4QDAN^A FRAG. 3.1.1-5 (DAN. 2:20-23)

The footnotes in the “Transcription” section provide the variants between the Qumran copies and the MT. The versification of the MT is provided in the “Transcription” and “Stichometry” section. The MT verses are marked with the abbreviation “v.” + the verse number. The footnotes are the numbers alone

1. לאלה שמיא ענה דניאל [וא]מר להוא שמה די אלהא רבא¹³ מברך [מן ע]למא ועד עלמא די
2. חכמתא וגברתא¹⁵ די לה ה[יא]^{v.21} [והוא משנא¹⁴] עד[ניא וזמניא מהעדה] [מן]לכין ומהקים מלכין
3. יהב חכמתא לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי ב[י]נה^{v.22} הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא וידע¹⁶ מה
4. בחשוכא ונהירא¹⁸ [עמה] שר[א]^{v.23} [לך לאלה¹⁷ אבהתי מהודא ומשבח] אנה[די חכמתא
5. ונהי²⁰] [יהב]ת לי ו[כען [הוד]עתנ[י]די בעינא מנך די מל[ת]¹⁹ [ל[^{v.24}

¹³ The word **רבא** is absent in the MT, but present in the LXX; **אלהא** seems also to be read as the divine name **יהוה** in the LXX also (τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεγάλου).

¹⁴ **מהשנא** in the MT.

¹⁵ **וגבורתא** in the MT.

¹⁶ The *waw* conjunction is absent in the MT.

¹⁷ The MT reads as a vocative (“O God of my fathers”), without the preposition **ל**.

¹⁸ **ונהירא** is the reading in *DJD*, which states “*waw* tends to be taller and narrower with a smaller head, and *yod* shorter and wider with a more triangular head.” *DJD* also says that the distinction between *waw* and *yod* is never pronounced or consistent, and this could be read as **ונהורא** (see *DJD XVI*, 240-241). There is a Ketib/Qere in the MT where the Qere is **ונהורא** and the Ketib is possibly **ונהירא**. This is the same word that appears in 3.1.4 (line 5B).

¹⁹ *DJD* does not use the MT to “fill in the blank” in the missing portions of this line. From the photograph, it seems very unlikely that the allotted space remaining in this place can fit the full text of the MT (**מל[ת] מלכא הודעתנא: כל-קבל דנה**). LXX Theodotian seems to read a shorter Aramaic text in the beginning of 2:24. The actual text of the Qumran copy is unknown.

²⁰ The reading varies from the MT, which has **גבורתא**. The word here is most likely the same as in 3.1.4 above, namely **נהירא**. It could also be **נהירותא**. *DJD* says that there are slight ink traces after the *yod* that could be from a *res-taw*, thus possibly **נהירתא**. This suggestion has stronger merit since it is paired with another noun in the definite feminine form, **חכמתא**. Due to the uncertainty in the reading, *DJD* nonetheless does not provide a full restoration.

3.1.2 STICHOMETRY OF 4QDAN^A FRAG. 3.1.1-5 (DAN. 2:20-23)

The lineation from 4QDan^a is provided as superscripts in this section as well as in the “Translation” section below. The versification from the MT is also provided in the same way as in the “Stichometric” section above

ענה דניאל^{v.20} [וא]מר

- 1A להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך
- 1B [מן ע]למא ועד עלמא
- 1C די² חכמתא וגברתא די לה²ה[יא]

- 2A והוא משנא^{v.21} [עד]ניא וזמניא
- 2B מהעדה [מ]לכין ומהקים מלכין

- 3A יהב³ חכמתא לחכימין
- 3B ומנדעא לידעי ב[י]נה

- 4A הוא גלא^{v.22} עמיקתא ומסתרתא
- 4B וידע מה⁴ בחשוכא
- 4C ונהירא [עמה]שר[א]

- 5A לך^{v.23} לאלה אבהתי
- 5B מהודא ומשבח[אנה]
- 5C די חכמתא⁵ ונהי[]יהב[ת לי]

- 6A ו[כען [הוד[עתנני]די בעינא מנך
- 6B די מל[ת [ל[]

106:48). I follow the analysis of Montgomery²¹ and read a tricolon in this opening line. I do this for four main reasons. First, to read this line as a bicolon creates a rather uncomfortably long A-colon. Second, the temporal references of “eternity” in the aforementioned Biblical references consistently occur in separate and distinct cola. Third, the first and final elements within the A-colon are verbal in nature, where **להוא** and **מברך** together form a periphrastic construction. This appears to create a verbal *inclusio* that begins and closes that colon. The use of this periphrasis is not necessary and even adds to the length of this line, which is not characteristic of poetry. In other words it appears to be contrary to the principle of terseness. The explanation of an *inclusio* clarifies the use of a periphrastic construction and also explains the reason why the verb **הוה** is distantly removed from the main verb **מברך**. Fourth, there is a general theme within each colon that come together to form the opening introduction to this poetic hymn. The A-colon expresses the intent: Daniel and his friends desire that “the great God” be blessed.²² The B-colon describes the temporal perspective of that intent: the duration of this blessing and praise is to be for eternity. Finally, the C-colon provides the reason for this eternal blessing upon God: due to His wisdom and strength.

The C-colon provides the contextual introduction for the following three poetic lines. As mentioned above, this colon gives the reason for the blessing in the hymn. There are two reasons provided here: his wisdom (**חכמתא**) and his strength (**גברתא**). These two virtues are the themes of this section, which are further articulated in the

²¹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 157.

²² Later, in line 5, Daniel alone says that he is one who gives thanks and praises the Lord.

subsequent lines with more detail (see below under “Strophic Organization” for further explanation on a syntagmatic principle of strophic formation). Line 2, therefore, provides details on His strength, and lines 3-4 on His wisdom. Since this praise of God is due to the revelation of wisdom to Daniel, it is fitting that wisdom is given greater detail and attention.

Although the content of the three cola form one cohesive thought, the constitutive elements within them do not correspond to each other semantically or syntactically. Parallelism in this opening poetic line, therefore, can be observed at the colon-level only. The A-colon provides the exhortation to praise the “great God.” The use of the periphrastic construction gives the impression of an ongoing praise. The extent of this iterative activity of praise is further described in the B-colon, where it says it is to continue “from eternity until eternity.” In other words it is praise that has an eternal duration. The C-colon provides the reason for this eternal praise.

Line 2-4, as mentioned above, is an extension of the theme of “strength” and “wisdom” in the C-colon of line 1 above. The focus on line 2 is upon the “strength” of God. The A-colon describes Him as one who has the power (or strength) to change “times and seasons,” which is His strength over nature. The B-colon describes His political strength and authority over earthly kings since He has the strength to “remove and establish kings.”

The B-colon has an example of internal parallelism. Semantically, the two verbs – מִהָעֶדָּה and מִהַיּוֹמָה – are antithetical to each other. There are two examples of

repetition in the colon: the identical direct objects of both verbs, namely מלכין, and the identical verbal types (both are haphel participles). All this highlights the semantic difference (“remove” and “establish”) between the two clauses. The political authority and power of God is indeed brought out as the most prominent theme in the B-colon due to the internal paralleling of clauses. The diametric opposite extremes of the two verbs describes the extent to which God is able, and in fact does, exercise His political strength over earthly dominions and powers.

It is possible that the parallelism between these two *clauses* is in fact simply the parallelism between two *cola*, and line 2 is in reality a tricolon. As possible as this may be, I remain committed to the identity of a bicolon since that brings the two lines in balance with each other (see below for further explanation under “Terseness”).

Outside of the one example of internal parallelism, the two *cola* in this line lack any semantic correspondence. There is, however, an interesting grammatical correlation in this line. As mentioned above, the use of מלכין as the direct object in the B-colon brings out the antithetical nature between the two verbs. This double use of מלכין gives the effect of a single direct object, “He removes and establishes kings.” As a result, grammatically, the one verb in the A-colon counters the two verbs in the B-colon, just as the two direct objects of the A-colon apparently counters the single (yet repeated) direct object in the B-colon.

Line 3 moves on from the theme of God's strength to the theme of God's wisdom. In this line, He is portrayed as the one who is the provider of wisdom. Where the previous lines lacked any clear semantic parallelism between elements within each bicolon, there is a clear correspondence here. חכמתא in the A-colon parallels מנדעא in the B-colon, and חכימינ in the A-colon parallels ב[י]נה in the B-colon. The verb יהב is gapped in this line which ties the two cola together. The depiction of God is that He is the one who provides both חכמתא "wisdom" and מנדעא "knowledge."

The line also shares a syntactic correspondence as well. With the exception of the verb, every element in the two cola parallels its counterpart. Both cola have a direct object that is immediately followed by an indirect object. Each indirect object is plural²³ and also grammatically marked by the use of the preposition *lamed*.

Line 4 is the second tricolon in this hymn. It continues the theme of the previous line, namely praise to God due to His wisdom. The A-colon uses the verb גלא, which is paralleled by ידע in the B-colon. גלא gives the impression of God engaging in an impersonal, distant action when contrasted and compared to the idea that God also "knows" these hidden things. ידע then gives the impression that God has a familiarity and understanding with "what is in the darkness."

²³ ידעי is the construct plural form.

The A-colon also uses the terms **עמיקתא ומסתרתא** “deep and hidden things.”

Semantically, this phrase parallels **חשוכא** in the B-colon. Whereas “deep and hidden things” give a sense of mystery, “darkness” gives more intensity to the depth of what God can reveal and know. Although the two have similarities, it is their difference that brings out the profundity of the revelation of God.

In addition to the semantics, they also share a syntactic similarity. The phrase **עמיקתא ומסתרתא** is the direct object of the verb in the A-colon. **חשוכא** is in a prepositional phrase that is preceded by the particle **במה**. They are joined together to form the direct object of the B-colon, “(he knows) what is in the darkness.”

The word **חשוכא** in the B-colon is in antithetic parallelism with **נהירא** in the C-colon. Although the two elements share a semantic relation, they do not share a grammatical one since **נהירא** is the subject of the clause in the C-colon where **חשוכא** is in a prepositional phrase in the B-colon. Thus, each of the three cola interlaces themes together into one poetic line to communicate that the “light” which is with God is the source of wisdom that “reveals the deep and hidden things” which He knows is “in the darkness.” For this reason, Daniel makes known in the next line his desire to give thanks and praise to Him.

Line 5 is where Daniel states his intent and desire to express his gratitude to God for the wisdom that He has revealed to him. The entire A-colon is the object of his thanksgiving. It is syntactically dependent upon the two verbs in the next colon. The B-

colon mentions his intent on praising and giving thanks to God. The C-colon provides the reason for his thanksgiving, namely the provision of חכמה “wisdom” and [נהי] “light.”²⁴ There is no parallelism between the individual elements of the cola.

Since there is an uncertainty in the reading of line 6 (see above for details), no definitive comments can be made regarding the poetry of this line.

3.1.4.2 Terseness of 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:20-23)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	3	5
	1B	0	2	2
	1C	0	3	4
	2A	1	3	4
	2B	2	4	4
	3A	1	3	3
	3B	1	2	3
	4A	1	3	4
	4B	1	2	2
	4C	1	3	3

²⁴ The photograph shows a tear in the manuscript at this location, which makes the reading of this line uncertain. See above for the options on possible restorations. Regardless of the specific form of the word, it does seem most likely that the original text had the word “light” in either the definite or indefinite state.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	5A	0	2	3
	5B	2	3	3
	5C	1	3	4
	6A	1	2	3
	6B	?	?	?

Line 1A is much longer and lacks the same terseness as other cola in this poetic passage. This is largely due to two reasons: the use of the periphrastic construction and the use of the attributive adjective **רַבָּא**. Where the former is present in the MT, the latter is not. The use of a jussive rather than the periphrastic construction and the removal of the adjective would shorten the line and bring it into much better balance with the B-colon. With these adjustments, the colon would be 1 clause, 2 phrasal constituents, and 3 words. The precise reason for the longer line is unknown. In the description above for line 1A, the separation of the two verbal elements of the periphrastic construction created an *inclusio* for the A-colon. It is possible that this longer construction was used for that reason. The adjective **רַבָּא** is not necessary. From a syntactic constraint analysis, its absence in the MT makes its use here even more striking. Ultimately, the reason for its inclusion in the Qumran copy is a mystery, although its absence would not bring the line into syntactic balance. The removal of both the adjective and the periphrastic construction, however, would do more to bring the two cola into a sense of equilibrium.

Line 2 is a fairly well balanced poetic line. The A-colon provides the explicit subject **הוא**, which is also the subject of the B-colon. Whereas the A-colon has one verbal element (**משנא**) with two direct objects (**זמניא** and **ניא** [עד]), the B-colon has two verbal elements (**מהקים** and **מהעדה**), each with their own direct object. As mentioned above, the objects are the same word (**מלכין**), which highlights the diametrically antithetical meaning of the two verbs (“removing” and “establishing”). Instead of the clear internal semantic and grammatical parallelism as I suggested above, some could read the B-colon as two separate cola, thus making this poetic line a tricolon. In that analysis the B-colon and C-colon would each have one clause, two phrasal constituents (the verb and the object) and two words each.

מהעדה [מן]לכין / ומהקים מלכין

Although these two cola balance each other well in addition to a clear semantic and syntactic paralleling of elements, they would not be in balance with the A-colon. The bicolon as described above maintains a better balance than a possible tricolon. Therefore, I maintain the stichometry as I proposed above.

Line 3 gaps the verb **יהב** of the A-colon within the B-colon. To compensate for the lack of a verb, the B-colon adds a word to create a construct chain – **ידעי ב[י]נה** – as the object of the gapped verb. Consequently, the line maintains a balance between the

cola without compromising its terseness. This is an example of a “ballast variant,” a term which was coined by Cyrus Gordon.²⁵ A ballast variant is simply a filler, its function being to “fill” out a line of poetry that would otherwise be too short. Gordon states, “If a major word in the first stichos is not paralleled in the second, then one or more words in the second stichos tend to be longer than their counterpart in the first stichos.”²⁶ In this case the gapping of the verb יִהְיֶה creates a syntactic opening that allows for the addition of a two word construct chain בְּיָנֵה to “fill in” that available space.

Line 5A is a tricolon as I see it. Montgomery suggests that this is a bicolon where the A-colon is unusually long – לֵךְ לְאֵלֶּה אֲבֹהֵי מְהוּרָא וּמִשְׁבַּח [אֵנֶה].²⁷ So also Baumgartner (BHS) and Segert.²⁸ If this were accurate, then this is a colon composed of two clauses (since there are two verbs), five phrasal constituents, and six words. This would create a colon of a length that is not matched anywhere in this poem. The length of this colon alone brings some uncertainty. It also creates an imbalance with the remaining colon (my proposed line 5C), which is composed of one clause, three phrasal constituents, and four words. To read this line as a tricolon creates greater balance with each colon. A similar type of tricolon is found in line 1. Both lines show syntactic

²⁵ See Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar* (AnOr 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), §13.116, 113-116.

²⁶ Gordon, *UT*, 135.

²⁷ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 157. Montgomery says that these final poetic lines make up a “tetrastich.” Although he does not provide a detailed description on such a reading, it seems clear that line 5 and 6 above is what he is considering to be one poetic line composed of four cola. My proposed lines 5A and 5B are combined in Montgomery’s analysis, to form the first cola of this tetrastich.

²⁸ Segert, “Aramaic Poetry,” 71. He says this is a monocolon and that it may be divided into two cola.

dependency, where one colon is dependent upon the other to form a complete phrase.

Both tricola end with a ו clause. For these reasons, I would maintain that this line is a tricolon.²⁹

3.1.4.3 Strophic Organization of 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:20-23)

The strophes of this poem vary in size. Some seem to be a single line while others cover multiple lines.

I would group lines 1-4 into one strophic unit which offers a confession on the greatness of God for the work He had done for Daniel in the revelation of the dream and its interpretation for the king. As mentioned above, line 1C introduces the two themes that are found in the following two lines, specifically חכמתא “wisdom” and גברתא “strength.” Within the confines of this strophe, חכמתא and גברתא form a syntagmatic pair in the sense that they both provide the dual characteristics of God that are worthy of eternal praise. These two virtues are separated within this strophe, where each is developed with further descriptions. Line 2 focuses on the theme of God’s “strength” which changes the seasons and times (A-colon) as well as removes and establishes kings (B-colon). Thus God’s strength is demonstrated in the outer *physical* world of nature and politics. Lines 3-4 focus on the theme of God’s “wisdom” where He is described as the

²⁹ There is one interesting syntactic parallelism in the bicolon proposed by Montgomery. The subject in the A-colon is the first person pronoun [אנכי], who is praising and giving thanks; God is the recipient of that action. The roles are reversed in the B-colon. God is the second person subject of the verb יהבתי, the one who “gives” wisdom, and Daniel is the recipient of his giving (לי). In spite of this, I maintain the reading of this line as a tricolon as described above.

source of wisdom who reveals it to others. This seems an appropriate portrayal of God given the historical situation and the need of Daniel in the narrative. His internal *intellect* is portrayed. It is the separation of this syntagmatic pair that provides the internal structure of the strophe and provides the framework in which the lines function. Lines 1-2 describe the physical attributes of God and lines 3-4 describe the intellectual.

Line 5 is a declaration of Daniel's intent to praise.

Line 6 provides a brief narrative of the "deliverance" that was obtained. Although the complete line is missing, the A-colon supplies enough of a description to make this assessment. It describes the reason for Daniel's desire to praise and offer thanksgiving – "because He made known to me what we requested of you," meaning, God revealed to Daniel the content and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream.

3.2 POETRY OF DANIEL 3:33-4:2 (MT)

Before discussing the poetry of this section, I begin with a few preliminary comments. The first is in regard to Dan. 3:31-33. These verses were originally assigned to the end of chapter 3 in the Vulgate, which is generally attributed to the thirteenth century archbishop Stephen Langton. Although this division was retained in the MT, it has been correctly rejected by many contemporary English translations, which begin

chapter 4 here at Dan. 3:31 of the MT. In my estimation this is correct and Dan. 3:31-33 is an introduction to the following section.

The second comment is in regard to the poetry of Dan. 3:33. Within these verses, only v.33 is in poetic form (contra Montgomery and Towner – see the chart above that lists the passages they have identified as poetic). Vv.31-32 seem very similar to the opening of a letter or epistle. In fact, parallels to Dan. 3:31-32 are found in an official letter from a Persian king in Ezra 7:12 – “Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest.” Epistolary openings similar to Dan. 3:31-32 are also found in 1 Macc. 10:18, 25; 14:20; 15:2, 16 as well as 2 Macc. 1:1, 10. For that reason, I identify the beginning of the poetry precisely at Dan. 3:33.

The third comment is in regard to Dan. 4:1-2. According to Montgomery, metrical structure is evident for several sections of Dan. 4, many of which have already been identified by other commentators and scholars. Surprisingly, the one passage that he comments as also having “metrical structure” is Dan. 4:1-2.³⁰ A closer examination of this passage confirms Montgomery’s conclusion. Further analysis also revealed the use of poetic devices, such as parallelism. I conclude, therefore, that Dan. 4:1-2 is in fact poetry. Since the previous poetic verse of Dan. 3:33 is immediately followed by Dan. 4:1-2, we must also conclude that Dan. 3:33 is not an isolated line. Rather, it is only part of a larger poetic unit, which extends as far as Dan. 4:1-2. This poem describes the fear and terror of Nebuchadnezzar because of his horrifying visions and dreams. We are not immediately told the content of these dreams since the next passage of Dan. 4:3-7a

³⁰ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 220. He alone seems to be the only scholar who has identified the poetic nature of 4:1-2.

begins a prosaic narrative where the king summons dream interpreters to decipher these frightening images. In other words the poetry ends abruptly at the end of v.2 which leaves the reader asking, “What were these visions and dreams?” Indeed the content of this vision is given to us, but not until Dan. 4:7b-14, which is the next poetic section in the Book of Daniel. It is possible that the prosaic sections of Dan. 4:3-7a, therefore, disrupt the flow of a poem that originally began with a praise of the Jewish God (Dan. 3:33) followed by the description of terrifying visions and dreams (Dan. 4:1-2) that was immediately followed by the description of the visions proper (Dan. 4:7b-14). A text critical discussion of Daniel 4 is difficult due to the discrepancy between the Aramaic and the Old Greek. A further layer of complexity is added when the possible literary connection between Daniel 4 and the Qumran manuscript 4Q242 (“The Prayer of Nabonidas”³¹) is also recognized.³² I add yet another layer of complexity by suggesting that Dan. 3:33-4:1-2 and 4:7b-14 was originally one poetic passage that was severed and divided to function within the broader narrative of the chapter. Indeed, such a connection between these two parts is witnessed in the Old Greek text of Daniel 4. It is possible that this poem was the original source for the chapter and the narrative story was later added to provide its proper historical setting.

³¹ John Collins, “4QPrNab ar,” in in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical texts, Part 3* (ed. George Brooke et al. in consultation with J. Vanderkam; *DJD XXII*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 83-93; Frank Cross, “Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidas,” *IEJ* 34 (1984), 260-264; F. García-Martínez, “The Prayer of Nabonidas: A New Synthesis” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9, ed. F. García-Martínez and A.S. Van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 116-136; J. T. Milik, “Prière de Nabonide et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel,” *RB* 63 (1965), 407-411. This document describes the words of a prayer by Nabonidas when he was stricken with an illness, which is also the content of Daniel 4. Scholars have long suspected that traditions about Nabonidas, not Nebuchadnezzar, underlie Daniel 4, which makes the relevance of this document to Daniel obvious.

³² For an introduction to the complexity of the text of Daniel 4, see John Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 216-221.

Having said this, it is difficult to do a poetic analysis of Dan. 3:33-4:2 with Dan. 4:7b-14 as one cohesive poem. The text does not provide enough clues on how precisely they were originally joined and it is unknown what editing may have been done to the original poem for the sake of the narrative that surrounds it. Consequently, a poetic analysis is first presented of Dan. 3:33-4:2, then followed by Dan. 4:7b-14, which is given a separate examination below.

3.2.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 3:33-4:2 (MT)

No portion of Dan. 3:33-4:2 is extant in any of the Qumran copies.

- 1A אֲתוּהִי כְּמֶה רַבְרָבִין^{v.33}
 1B וְתִמְהוּהִי כְּמֶה תִּקְיִפִּין
- 2A מִלְּכוּתָהּ מִלְּכוּת עָלֵם
 2B וְשִׁלְטָנָה עִם־דָּר וְדָר:
- 3A אָנָּה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר שְׁלָה הָוִית בְּבֵיתִי^{v.1}
 3B וְרַעַן בְּהִיכְלִי:
- 4A חֵלֶם חֲזִית וַיִּדְחַלְנִי^{v.2}
 4B וַהֲרַרִין עַל־מוֹשְׁכִּי וַחֲזִין רֹאשִׁי יִבְהַלְנִי:

3.2.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 3:33-4:2 (MT)

- 1A ^{v.33} *How great are His signs /*
 1B *How mighty are His wonders //*
- 2A *His kingdom is an eternal kingdom /*
 2B *His dominion is from generation to generation //*
- 3A ^{v.1} *I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at ease in my house /*
 3B *Flourishing in my palace //*
- 4A ^{v.2} *I saw a dream and it frightened me /*
 4B *And the fantasies on my bed and the visions of my head disturbed me //*

3.2.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 3:33-4:2 (MT)

3.2.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 3:33-4:2 (MT)

Line 1 begins the poem after the epistolary opening in 3:31-32. It starts with a praise of the signs and wonders of God, which, according to Towner, stand in the tradition of the hymns of the Psalter (e.g. Ps. 29; 104; 145). The line is a bicolon that demonstrates parallelism at both the semantic and syntactic levels. Semantically, the elements in each colon correspond to each other. So אֲתֹדֶהי “his signs” in the A-colon parallels תִּמְהֹדֶהי “his wonders” in the B-colon; רַבְרָבִין “great” parallels תִּקְיִפִּין

“mighty”; and each colon also uses the particle כִּמְהָ.³³ This line also shows syntactic parallelism. Both cola are verbless clauses. Both cola also are composed of the subject, כִּמְהָ and the predicate. In fact, both follow the exact same word order: subject – כִּמְהָ – predicate.³⁴ The repetition of כִּמְהָ along with the 3ms suffixes -*ôhî* on the two nouns (אֶתְהוּיָ in the A-colon and תְּמַהוּיָ in the B-colon) and the 3mp suffix -*în* on the two adjectives (רַב־רִבִּינִי in the A-colon and תְּקִיפִין in the B-colon) provides a phonological correspondence as well. This line, therefore, has the three significant dimensions of parallelism occurring in tandem with each other.

Line 2 describes the reign of God as eternal. It is nearly identical to Ps. 145:13 that says מִלְכוּתְךָ מִלְכוּת כָּל-עֲלָמִים וּמִמֶּשְׁלֶתְךָ בְּכָל-דּוֹר וְדוֹר. It is also very similar to the poetic passage in 4:31-32 and 6:27-28. The A-colon and the B-colon have a clear paralleling of elements. מִלְכוּתְךָ in the A-colon parallels semantically and syntactically with שְׁלֹטְנָה in the B-colon. מִלְכוּת עֲלָם in the A-colon parallels עַם-דָּר וְדָר in the B-colon. Both cola have a verbless clause as well as a pronominalized constituent.

The A-colon has more of a divine perspective on the reign of God since it is portrayed as an “eternal kingdom” מִלְכוּת עֲלָם. The B-colon depicts a similar idea in the perpetuity of God’s reign, but does so from an earthly perspective. As one who dwells

³³ Compare this line with the opening lines of the poetic passage in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 20.2-4 the description of the beauty of Sarah), where similar poetic lines also occur.

³⁴ Towner, “Poetic Passages,” 321.

upon the earthly world, we can only see the reign of God as progressing from one generation to the next without end, thus his dominion is עַם־דָּר וְדָר.עַם־דָּר.

Line 3 moves beyond the introductory comments and begins a brief description on the historical context for the visions that brought such torment and fear to Nebuchadnezzar. This line describes the brief period prior to his having that vision, a time when he was content, satisfied, and at peace. He is שְׁלֵה “at ease” in the A-colon. The B-colon, however, pictures the king more than in a general state of ease. Rather, he is also רַעֲנָן “flourishing.” Although they share a semantic similarity, there is a particular use of רַעֲנָן that adds a new level of insight. The Hebrew cognate of רַעֲנָן is often used to describe not only the prosperity of humans, but also the verdant growth of trees (Deut. 12:2; Isa. 57:5). In Ps. 37:35 and 92:13-15 a “flourishing” tree is a symbol of a prosperous man. The association of רַעֲנָן with trees may have been the reason for its use here in view of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream.

The line also specifies the locale of the king in each colon. In the A-colon he is בְּבֵיתִי “in my house”; in the B-colon he is בְּהֵיכָלִי “in my palace.” Whereas the A-colon mentions a generic “house,” the B-colon adds the specific identity of that house as a “palace.” We are given the depiction of a prosperous king who is relishing in the

vastness of his reign.³⁵ So, in both cola there is progress from a generic description to one of opulence and success.

Syntactically, this line gaps the verb הָיִיתָ in the B-colon. Traditionally, this passage is not seen as poetic, therefore this gapping of the verb is overlooked. For example, Tarsee Li says that both שָׁלָה and רָעַנָן constitute a “compound predicate of הָיִיתָ.”³⁶ A better explanation is that the verb is gapped.

Line 4 has a very intricate instance of parallelism. This line provides the disturbing and frightening visions that come to disrupt the king’s moment of bliss and peace. Although this section is dedicated to discussions of parallelism in the line, we must also include discussions on the terseness as this will be significant for our understanding.

This line appears to be a bicolon. חָלַם in the A-colon appears to be paralleled in the B-colon by a compound subject – הָרָהֲרִין עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי and חֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי –. Both elements are semantically as well as syntactically parallel. The two finite verbs in this bicolon – וַיִּדְחַלֵּנִי in the A-colon and יִבְהַלֵּנִי in the B-colon – also parallel each other semantically, syntactically, and even phonologically. The first verb says he was

³⁵ According to Collins, the Old Greek dates this event to the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar. This is also the date given for the destruction of Jerusalem in Jer. 52:29. The implication is that the king was at ease after the destruction of Jerusalem. See Collins, *Daniel*, 222.

³⁶ Tarsee Li, *The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel* (SAIS 8; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 73.

“frightened” while the second says he was “disturbed.” Both verbs are prefixal forms³⁷ and both have the first person object suffix. There is also a sense of phonologic parallelism due to the object suffixes. This parallelism can also be heard in the repetition of the *yod* prefix and the *lamed* as the third radical in each verbal root.

Within the A-colon is an example of internal parallelism. The verb חָזַית (parallel) parallels וַיִּדְחַלֵּנִי, where the prefixal verb is describing the effect (or result) of the dream that was seen. The verb חָזַית remains without a paralleling element in the B-colon.

Although the above poetic analysis for this line is reasonable, other conclusions can be drawn, built upon two significant factors. First, based upon the MT, this line appears to be a relatively unbalanced bicolon. As it stands, the A-colon is a compound clause חָלַם חָזַית וַיִּדְחַלֵּנִי. The B-colon, however, would be the remainder of Dan. 4:2, which is a long colon, וַהֲרַרְתִּין עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי וְחֻזִּי רֹאשִׁי יִבְהַלֵּנִי. At first glance, it appears that the A-colon is drastically shorter than the B-colon. Indeed, if we measured

³⁷ The use of the imperfect as a preterite is unusual. An alternative interpretation is to analyze the use of the imperfect here as similar to the iterative use of the imperfect in Biblical Hebrew – a repeated action in the past. The disturbance that came was not simply because of the vision itself, but also due to the fact that the king constantly dreamt them over a particular period of time. Nebuchadnezzar’s initial period of ease where he relished in his power came to an abrupt end by these recurring visions. Perhaps, he initially ignored it, but their persistence aggravated his already present fear. Later, in Dan. 4:7a, there is a periphrastic construction חָזַתָּה חָזַית, which may confirm this iterative interpretation of the imperfect of 4:2. Thus Nebuchadnezzar was seeing this vision over an extended time period. See also H. B. Rosén, “On the Use of the Tenses in the Aramaic of Daniel,” *JSS* 6 (1961), 183-203. Rosén offers a complex matrix to analyze the tenses and uses of various verb forms that accounts for lexically durative meanings, verbs preceding “preformative tenses” that sets the “circumstance” in which that verb is to be understood. He carefully shows how the imperfect and the participle can both serve as the main “narrative tense” in the Aramaic of Daniel. The weakness in his analysis is his inability to show how the perfect can also be a main verb of narration. See also Michael Shepherd, *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic: A Distributional Approach* (New York; Peter Lang Publishing, 2008) who poses the theory that the perfect is the primary verb for narrative and the imperfect for discourse. Tarsee Li suggests that this is a resultative use of the imperfect; see *Verbal System*, 125. Such an interpretation is agreeable. What Li is unable to see is the poetic context of this passage and that behind the interpretation of the verb is the larger understanding of the parallelism. See below for an analysis of the internal parallelism of this line.

the terseness of a line upon the basis of the number of syllables, that may be the case.³⁸ Closer scrutiny shows that there is indeed an imbalance in the bicolon, but not as drastic as an initial glance may suggest. According to the description of syntactic constraints provided in Chapter Two, the A-colon is composed of two clauses, three phrasal constituents, and three words while the B-colon is composed of one clause, three phrasal constituents, and five words. Line 3 above also shows a similar imbalance. Thirteen other cola within the Aramaic corpus examined in this study show the same constellation of syntactic measurements as the B-colon; this is approximately five percent of all cola investigated in this study (see “Conclusion” for further details). Although the length of the B-colon is within reason, it is still longer than the A-colon. As a result, the balance of the line as a whole is dubious. The obvious source of the problem is the double subject in the B-colon. With a single subject, the B-colon would be more terse and also come into an improved balance with the A-colon and stabilize the line.

A second factor to consider is the phrase **חֲזוֹן רִאשִׁי** “visions of my head” in the B-colon. This is one of the two subjects in that colon. Montgomery suggests that this phrase may be an “exegetical addition,” introduced here and in v.7 from v.10 and 2:28.³⁹ He says it was included due to the negative and unpleasant denotations that are associated with the word **הַרְהָרִין** “fantasies.”⁴⁰ According to Montgomery, this word is from the

³⁸ If we use the MT as the basis of our count, then the A-colon has 10 syllables and the B-colon 17. For such a highly calibrated unit of measurement, that is very unbalanced.

³⁹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 227.

⁴⁰ I must admit that it is not clear how the addition of “and the visions of my head” minimizes the negative overtones of the word **הַרְהָרִין**. Montgomery himself offers no such explanation. Perhaps, the addition of the phrase suggests that the “fantasies” are of a general type of dream instead of a specific sexual kind.

root *h-r-r* and was associated with “pruriency,” i.e. “the sexual metaphysical condition.” He suggests הַרְהָרִין was omitted in the Syriac for that very reason. Related to the terseness of the line mentioned above, Montgomery also states that the presence of the phrase חֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי “disturbs the metrical balance of the verse” and that there is no trace of it in the LXX. If these comments are valid and חֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי was an addition to soften the negative meaning of הַרְהָרִין, then the original poem was written without חֲזוֹי רֵאשִׁי. This would provide a terser and more balanced poetic line with even superior parallelism of elements:

A-colon חֶלֶם חֲזוֹת וַיִּדְחַלֵּנִי

A dream I saw and it frightened me

B-colon וַהֲרַהֲרִין עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי וַיִּבְהַלֵּנִי

Fantasies (I saw) while on my bed and they disturbed me

The line would still be a bicolon, but it brings it into improved balance. There is now only one subject in the B-colon instead of two. In this newly constructed line חֶלֶם in the A-colon parallels a single subject – הַרְהָרִין – in the B-colon. Both nouns serve as the subject for the prefixal verbs at the end of their respective cola. The verb in the A-colon חֲזוֹת is gapped in the B-colon. Due to the gapping of the verb, the B-colon adds a

new element, *עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי* “upon my bed” – a ballast variant. As a result, the line reads “Fantasies (I saw) *while I was* on my bed.” The syntactic units of the A-colon remain the same: two clauses, three phrasal constituents, and three words. The syntactic constraints on the B-colon are now identical to the A-colon – two clauses (the gapping of the verb counted as a clausal constituent), three phrasal constituents, and three words. The line is now in balance. This only leaves the clear and obvious multi-level correspondence (as described above) between the final clausal elements in each cola, *וַיִּבְהַלֵּנִי* and *וַיִּדְחַלֵּנִי*.

This reconstructed poetic line is very attractive. It is, however, based upon certain presumptions and text critical factors that border on a certain level of speculation. For that reason, plus the fact that the MT provides a reasonable analysis, I stay with the MT.

3.2.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 3:33-4:2 (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	2
	1B	1	2	2
	2A	1	2	3
	2B	1	2	3
	3A	1	4	5
	3B	1	2	2
	4A	2	3	3
	4B	1	3	5

The lines in this poetic section are generally terse and the cola balance each other also. Lines 3 and 4 are the exception.

Line 3 is a very unbalanced line. This may be partially due to the presence of the personal name of the king. The name is absent in the Old Greek text of Dan. 4. Ernest Haag also eliminates the name from his reconstruction on the grounds that it is only mentioned in 4:31 and 4:34, which he considers redactional.⁴¹ Collins, however, does not find Haag's arguments compelling and says we should expect the speaker to be identified.⁴² Even without the name, the bicolon is still imbalanced.

The verb in the A-colon (הָיָה) is gapped in the B-colon. In general whenever there is verb gapping, it creates room in the second colon to add some additional elements. In this case such an addition is absent in the B-colon which again adds to the imbalance of the line.

For a discussion on the terseness of line 4, see above.

3.2.3.4 Strophic Organization of Daniel 3:33-4:2 (MT)

There are two strophes that can be discerned from these verses, each containing two poetic lines. The first is lines 1-2, which is a hymnic opening by Nebuchadnezzar.

⁴¹ Ernest Haag, *Die Errettung Daniels aus der Löwengrube: Untersuchungen zum Ursprung der biblischen Danieltradition* (SBS 110; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1983), 14.

⁴² Collins, *Daniel*, 222.

Line 1 is a general praise of the greatness and might of God. Line 2 focuses specifically on the eternal nature of His reign and dominion.

Lines 3-4 provides the historical setting in which the king received the dreams and visions that caused him such anxiety and fear. Of course, the bulk of the remainder of this poem is focused upon the vision itself. That is the subject of Dan. 4:7b-14.

3.3 POETRY OF DANIEL 4:7B-14 (MT)

As described above, this portion of Dan. 4 continues a poem that originally was connected to Dan. 3:33-4:2. Whereas the previous section describes the terror brought to Nebuchadnezzar by a vision and dream that he was having, this portion of the poem now provides the detailed description of that terrifying dream. The king is portrayed as a universal tree that provides for all the creatures of the earth. Heavenly beings come, however, and require that this tree be cut down. The final lines of the poem depict a transformation of the king into a bestial creature by the order of a divine decree. The poetic nature of this passage has not been agreed upon or even recognized by scholars. So W. Sibley Towner, in his article on the poetry of Daniel 1-6, does not even consider this passage in his study.⁴³ Some, like Montgomery and Collins, identify this passage as

⁴³ W. Sibley Towner, "Poetic Passages," 317-326. In that article, Towner examines Dan. 2:20-23 separately and groups 3:31-33; 4:31-32; 6:26-28 together. No detailed poetic analysis, however, is presented.

poetic, yet offer no detailed treatment on the poetic nature or devices within it.⁴⁴ The work of Alexander Di Lella has not only identified this passage as poetry, but he has also presented a meticulous examination of the poetic devices and structures used within it.⁴⁵ My comments on this passage are intended to be an added contribution to his work, where I attempt to provide a clearer comprehension of the poetic nature of this portion of the Book of Daniel.

3.3.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4QDAN^D FRAG. 3-7, LINES 5-15 (DAN. 4:7B-14)

5.] ר^{v.8} בֹּא אִילָנָא]
 6.] עִפְיָה [שְׁפִיר וְאַנְבָּה]
 7.] ⁴⁶[
 8.] [
 9.] [
 10.] [
 11.] עֶקֶר שְׂרֻשֵׁהִי בֹא[ר]עֲנָא שְׁבִקְוּ וּבִאֲסוּר דִּי פְרוֹזֵל וְנַחֲשׁ]
 12.] דִּי בֵרֶא וּבְטֵל שְׁמִיָּא יִצְטָבַע וְעַם חוּתָא חוּלְקָה בַעֲשֵׁב אַרְעָא ^{v.13} vacat לִבְ[בֵה]
 13.] מִן אִנְשָׁא יִשְׁנֹן וּלְבַב חֵיוֹתָא יִתְיַהֵב לֵה vacat וּשְׁ[ב]עָה עֲדָ[נִין] יִחַל[פֹּון]
 14.] [עֲלוּהִי ^{v.14} בְּגֹזֶרֶת עִירִין פִּתְגָמָא וּמִאֲמֹר קְדִישִׁין שְׁאֵל[תָא עַל דְּבֵרֶת]
 15.] דִּי יִנְדַּעֲוֹן חֵיָא דִּי שְׁלִיטָא עַל[יָא בְּמַלְכוּת אִנְשָׁא וּלְמִן דִּי יִצְבֵּא יִתְנַהֵב]
 16.] [וּשְׁפֵל אִנְשֵׁם יָקִים עֲלֵהָ ^{v.15} דְּנָה חֲלָמָא חֲזִיתָא אִנְה מַלְכָא נְבִכְדָּר נִצְרָה]

⁴⁴ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 220, 229-230. He says, however, that vv.11b-14 “are cast in poetic mould; there is no metrical evenness.” Collins, *Daniel*, 223.

⁴⁵ Alexander A. Di Lella, “Daniel 4:7-14: Poetic Analysis and Biblical Background,” in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles* (ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor; AOAT 212; Butzon & Bercker: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1981), 247-258. Di Lella co-authored the *Anchor Bible Commentary* on the Book of Daniel with Louis Hartman. Interestingly, only Dan. 4:11-14 are translated as poetry while 4:7-10 are translated as prose; see Louis Hartman and Alexander Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, (AB 23; New York: Doubleday, 1977), 168-168.

⁴⁶ *DJD XVI* restores frag. 3, lines 6-10 based upon the MT.

4QDan^d contains five fragments (frag. 3-7) that cover Dan. 4:7b-14. The condition of these copies is poor. According to Ulrich, the accelerated deterioration of the manuscript was caused by the carbon-based ink and the lack of proper preparation of the leather of the manuscript itself. The ink, although clear in a few places, has corroded the leather which resulted in a foggy blur in the majority of these lines.⁴⁷ Fragment 3 only preserves traces of a few words from v.8-9. Fragments 4-6 are contiguous and preserve only small portions of Dan. 4:12-14. In frag. 4-6, line 11 above only very slight traces of the bottom portion can be seen in the photograph.⁴⁸ The restoration provided above is based upon the MT. In its current condition the precise reading of the majority of the lines in this copy is not discernible. Given the poor condition of these Daniel fragments, the MT is used for the basis of the poetic analysis offered below. The transcription provided above demonstrates the dependence of *DJD* upon the text of the MT for its restoration.

3.3.2 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 4:7B-14 (MT)

וְחִזּוּי רֹאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי חֲזָה הָיִיתָ^{v.7}

1A וְאֵלֹהֵי אֵילָן בְּגֹא אֶרְעָא

1B וְרוּמָה שְׁנִיא:

⁴⁷ Ulrich, *DJD XVI*, 279-286. For a preliminary publication of this manuscript, see Stephen J. Pfann, "4QDaniel^d (4Q115): A Preliminary Edition with Critical Notes," *RQ* 17 (1996). 37-71.

⁴⁸ In frag. 3, line 6, only the traces of the top strokes can be seen in the photograph. As it stands, the reading of the line cannot be determined. The restoration is based upon the MT.

2A רְבֵה אֵילָנָא וְחִקְךָ^{v.8}
 2B וְרוּמָה יִמְטָא לְשָׁמְיָא
 2C וְחִזּוּתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל-אַרְעָא:

3A עָפִיָּה שְׁפִיר^{v.9}
 3B וְאַנְבָּה שְׁמִיָּא
 3C וּמְזוּן לְכָל-בָּהּ

4A תַּחְתּוּהִי תַטְלִל חֵיוֹת בְּרָא
 4B וּבְעִנְפוּהִי יִדְרֹן⁴⁹ צִפְרֵי שְׁמִיָּא
 4C וּמִנָּה יִתְזִין כָּל-בְּשָׂרָא:

^{v.10} חֲזָה הָיִית בְּחִזּוֹי רֵאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי

5A וְאַלּוֹ עֵיר וְקִדְיֵשׁ מִן-שְׁמִיָּא נָחַת:
 5B קָרָא בְּחִיל וְכֵן אָמַר^{v.11}

6A גָּדוּ אֵילָנָא וְקִצְצוּ עִנְפוּהִי
 6B אֲתָרוּ עָפִיָּה וּבִדְרוּ אֲנָבָה

7A תִּגְדַּ חֵיוֹתָא מִן-תַּחְתּוּהִי
 7B וְצִפְרֵיָּא מִן-עִנְפוּהִי:

8A בְּרִם⁵⁰ עֵקֶר שְׁרִשׁוּהִי^{v.12}
 8B בְּאַרְעָא שְׁבָקוּ
 8C וּבְאַסּוּר דִּי-פְרוּזִל וּנְחָשׁ

9A בְּרַחֲמָא דִּי בְרָא
 9B וּבְטַל שְׁמִיָּא יִצְטַבַּע
 9C וְעַם-חֵיוֹתָא⁵² חֲלָקָה⁵¹ בְּעֶשֶׂב אַרְעָא:

⁴⁹ Qere. Ketib is possibly יִדְרֹן.

⁵⁰ DJD XVI says that letters before *ʿayin* cannot be a final *mem* (MT reads בְּרִם) in the Qumran copy of this line. The photograph of this fragment seems to show traces of several vertical strokes, which suggests the previous word is possibly עִנְפוּהִי from the end of v.11. The poor condition of the manuscript, however, makes any conclusions uncertain. Thus, I stay with the MT.

⁵¹ 4QDan^d reads חֲלָקָה. This is also the form of the word in *Targumic Aramaic*.

⁵² 4QDan^d reads חֲוֹתָא.

- 10A לְבָבָהּ מִן־אִנְשָׁא⁵³ יִשְׁנֹן^{v.13}
 10B וּלְבָב חַיּוֹהָ⁵⁴ יִתְּיָהֵב לָהּ
 10C וְשִׁבְעָה עֶדְנִין יַחְלִפוֹן עָלֶיהָ:
 11A בְּגִזְרַת עִירִין פִּתְגָמָא^{v.14}
 11B וּמֵאִמֶּר קִדִּישִׁין שְׁאֵלְתָא
 12A עַד־דְּבִרְתָּ דְּנִי וְנִדְעוֹן חַיָּא^p
 12B דִּי־שְׁלִיט עֲלָאָה⁵⁶ בְּמַלְכוּת אִנְשָׁא⁵⁵
 13A וּלְמִן־דִּי יִצְבֵּא יִתְנַנָּה
 13B וְשִׁפְלֵ אִנְשִׁים יָקִים עָלֶיהָ⁵⁷:

3.3.3 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 4:7B-14 (MT)

- ^{v.7} *And I saw the visions of my head upon my bed*
- 1A *And behold, there was a tree in the middle of the earth /*
 1B *And its height was great //*
- ^{v.8} *The tree grew great and became strong /*
 2B *Its height reached to the heavens /*
 2C *The sight of it was to the ends of all the earth //*
- ^{v.9} *Its leaves were beautiful /*
 3B *And its fruits were abundant /*
 3C *And food for all was in it //*

⁵³ Qere. Ketib is possibly אִנְשָׁא.

⁵⁴ 4QDan^d reads חַיּוֹתָא.

⁵⁵ Qere. Ketib is אִנְשָׁא.

⁵⁶ Qere. Ketib is עֲלִיאָה.

⁵⁷ Qere. Ketib is עֲלִיָּה.

- 4A *Under it the beasts of the field find shade /*
 4B *And in its branches the birds of the heavens dwelt /*
 4C *And from it all flesh was nourished //*
- v.¹⁰ I was seeing in the vision of my head upon my bed*
- 5A *And behold, a watcher, yes, a holy one descended from heaven /*
 5B *v.¹¹ He called aloud and said thus: //*
- 6A *Cut down the tree and cut off its branches /*
 6B *Make fall its leaves and scatter its fruits //*
- 7A *Let the beasts flee from under it /*
 7B *And the birds from its branches //*
- 8A *v.¹² However, the stump⁵⁸ /*
 8B *Leave in the earth /*
 8C *But in bonds of iron and bronze //*
- 9A *In the grass of the field /*
 9B *And let it get wet with the dew of heaven /*
 9C *And his portion is in the grass of the earth with the beasts //*
- 10A *v.¹³ Let his heart be changed from human /*
 10B *And let the heart of a beast be given to him /*
 10C *And let seven years pass over him //*
 11A *v.¹⁴ By the decree of the watchers is the pronouncement /*
 11B *And (by) the command of the holy ones is the decision //*
- 12A *So that the living shall know /*
 12B *That the Most High has dominion over the kingdom of man //*
- 13A *And to whom He desires He will give it /*
 13B *And the lowest of men He will establish over it //*

⁵⁸ Literally, “the stock of its root.”

3.3.4 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 4:7B-14 (MT)

3.3.4.1 Parallelism in Daniel 4:7b-14 (MT)

I begin discussions on the poetic features of this poem by first commenting on Dan. 4:7a. It states **וַיַּחְזֹוּ רֹאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי חֲזָה הָיִיתָ** “I was seeing the visions of my head upon my bed.” It is repeated in v.10a in a different word order. In general most commentators consider these phrases as an opening introduction to the vision and not poetic. Di Lella, however, challenges this and argues for identifying this phrase as part of the poetry.⁵⁹ He offers three explanations. First, he says there is a chiastic arrangement between the phrases in v.7a and v.10a. So **וַיַּחְזֹוּ רֹאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי** is in the first half of v.7a and in the second half of v.10a, while **חֲזָה הָיִיתָ** is in the second half of v.7a and in the first half of v.10a. Second, he says each word or phrase in v.7a and v.10a ends with an ē- or ī- sound, which is the poetic feature of assonance. Third, he says v.7a and v.10a are necessary for the context and setting of the poem.

As compelling as his comments are, they are ultimately unpersuasive. First, the chiasm between v.7a and v.10a is insightful and does suggest a literary connection between the two. In order to read this as a poetic line, however, Di Lella is forced to create an awkward parallelism where the A-colon is **וַיַּחְזֹוּ רֹאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי** and the B-colon is **חֲזָה הָיִיתָ**. Not only is there no paralleling of elements, the two cola are

⁵⁹ Di Lella, “Daniel 4:7-14,” 250.

imbalanced. While such awkward parallelism and imbalance is attested in the poetry of Daniel, these other examples occur in a context that is undoubtedly poetic. The stichometric proposal of Di Lella is dubious at best. Second, the assonance of ē- or ī- could possibly be the result of the repetitive use of the first person possessive suffix (and one use of the masculine plural construct form) and should be understood as a secondary result – not one intended for poetic effect. This is often the difficulty in identifying genuine assonance and/or phonologic parallelism in Aramaic (and Hebrew) poetry. Definitive occurrences of this are difficult to prove. Third, neither occurrence of this phrase is necessary since the narrative in 4:3-6 has already made it clear that a dream is about to be revealed as well as its interpretation. Even if Di Lella were correct on this third point, it is still unclear how it proves that v.7a and v.10a are poetic.

I see the phrase in question as a literary reminder of the connection that exists between Dan. 4:7b-14 with Dan. 3:33-4:2; all its component parts can also be found in Dan. 4:2. The phrase is used in the two locations within 4:7b-14 to show the major division of the vision into its two significant parts: the vision of the tree and the vision of the watchers.⁶⁰ If indeed Dan. 3:33-4:2 and Dan. 4:7b-14 were originally a single poem, some portion of the phrase **וַיַּחְזֹק רֹאשִׁי עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי חֲזָה הָיִית** in v.7a or v.10a may have been part of the original poem. Dan. 4:2 states that Nebuchadnezzar “saw” a vision that frightened him. The immediately following section would have been Dan. 4:7b, where the particle (**אֵלַי**) points the reader to the image of the *tree* – the significant theme in the

⁶⁰ See below under “Strophic Organization” for a description of the broad stanza organization of this poem.

first half of the poem (vv.7b-9). Conceivably, Dan. 4:10a had some poetic line that was similar to Dan. 4:2 that states Nebuchadnezzar “saw” his vision. This leads to v.10b that also begins with another occurrence of אֵלַי. The second occurrence of the particle אֵלַי points to the major theme of the second half of the poem (vv.10b-14), namely the *watchers*. As a result of the interweaving of the various literary traditions behind Dan. 4, the original reading of Dan. 4:7a, 10a may have been distorted and only faint glimpses of that line may currently exist in the text of the MT or Old Greek.⁶¹ Therefore, I treat it only as an opening statement and not part of the poem proper.⁶²

Line 1 begins the poem by focusing upon the main image in the first half of the vision – *the tree*. The attention of the reader is directed to the word אֵילָן by the particle אֵלַי. The A-colon simply mentions the presence of a tree in the middle of the earth. The fact that the “earth” is mentioned in the A-colon gives the impression of a horizontal description. This is also the image that is given in line 2C below.⁶³ The B-colon, however, provides the vertical dimension of this tree. Therefore, the A-colon gives a simple horizontal description where the B-colon gives a vertical one.

The antecedent of the possessive suffix on רִימָה in the B-colon is אֵילָן in the A-colon, making the B-colon syntactically dependent upon the A-colon. Also, the two

⁶¹ The Old Greek omits עַל-מִשְׁכְּבִי, Theodotian and Syriac omit חֲזוֹן רֵאשִׁי.

⁶² This is also the position of Montgomery. However, he only refers to the first portion of Dan. 4:7a and 4:10a as the gloss or title – חֲזוֹן רֵאשִׁי. See Montgomery, *Daniel*, 229-230.

⁶³ See under “Strophic Organization” below for the chiastic structure of this opening strophe where lines 1A and 2C are chiastically paired.

cola share a similar syntactic correspondence. Both are verbless clauses where the subject is followed by a predicate.

There does seem to be consonance with the repetition of *lamed* in אֱלִי and אֱלִי. Biblical Aramaic also uses the particle אֲרִי (Dan. 7:2, 5, 7, 13). It is possible the poet chose this word, as opposed to אֲרִי, to achieve this repetition of sound. The same effect is not repeated in v.10a where אֱלִי is used again.

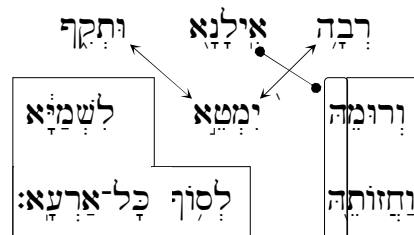
Line 2 again provides further details on the aforementioned tree. The A-colon says the tree “grew great” and “became strong.” The first description seems to fit the general theme of lines 1-2 where the growth of the tree in its height and its expansion is portrayed. A strong tree is one with strong branches that provides shade for animals and produces much fruit; this is the description in lines 3-4. Thus the A-colon introduces two themes that are enfolded as the poem progresses.

The B-colon depicts the growing height of the tree, just like line 1B. The use of the imperfect is similar to Dan. 4:2. Although this verb form appears to be a preterite, it is more likely that the durative aspect of the verb is being utilized. In the vision the king was watching as this tree “reached towards the heavens.” Thus the tree was growing and expanding as the king was watching the vision. The two perfects in the A-colon are

paralleled by the single imperfect in the B-colon; they provide the preterite setting. The context, then, brings out this durative interpretation of the imperfect.⁶⁴

The C-colon portrays the tree as global. **וְחַזְוֹתֶיהָ** clearly parallels **רִוְנֶיהָ** in the B-colon; this gives the image of the horizontal extension of the tree that is reaching “to the ends of the earth.”

There is a very intricate correspondence of elements within this tricolon. The two finite verbs in the A-colon are located on its outer parts. This is in contrast to the single finite verb in the B-colon which is located at its center. The suffix on **רִוְנֶיהָ** in the B-colon and **וְחַזְוֹתֶיהָ** in the C-colon makes these two cola dependent upon the A-colon where the suffix finds its antecedent (**אֵילָנָא**). Finally, **שְׁמִיָּא** in the B-colon parallels **אֶרְעָא** in the C-colon. In fact, both words are in the final position of their respective clauses. This line is a perfect example of the numerous ways in which a poetic line can apply parallelism.



⁶⁴ There are numerous examples where the imperfect appears to be used as a preterite in the Book of Daniel. The durative interpretation fits the context here, but this does not apply in every occurrence. In several cases the simple past tense is the best understanding.

Line 3 begins a section that describes the “strength” (חֲקִי line 2A) of the tree. It does so by describing the beauty of its leaves and the abundance of its fruits. The line is a tricolon where each colon describes various aspects of growth from the tree. The A-colon parallels the B-colon at multiple levels, and the C-colon stands isolated in this line. Each clause in the A-colon and B-colon begins with a pronominalized constituent (subject) that is followed immediately by an adjective. Thus they parallel syntactically. The word order is also the same – subject then predicate. Both are also verbless clauses.

In addition to the syntactic parallelism mentioned above these two cola have words that share a similar semantic correspondence. The two nouns – עֲפִיָּה “leaves” and אֲנֶבֶה “fruits” – share a similarity in that both grow from trees. They differ in that leaves, for the most part, are not consumed by man, but fruits are. The idea of consumption appears to be a dominant theme in these lines. שֶׁפִּיר “beautiful” and שְׁנִיָּא “abundant” are positive descriptions of the previous two nouns. Where “beautiful” describes the *qualitative* aesthetic of the leaves, “abundant” describes the *quantitative* production of fruits. So there is both semantic similarity and differences in both pairs of words.

The C-colon is the most unique when comparing the three cola. It brings a universal scope to the provision of the tree in the use of כָּלֵא. Whereas the previous two cola began with the pronominalized constituent, this cola ends with one.

Line 4 now describes the physical branches that provide for the various creatures of the earth. Like the previous line, this is also a tricolon. Unlike the previous line, all three cola parallel each other. Syntactically, every colon begins with a preposition with either a pronominal suffix or a noun with a (possessive) suffix – **בְּעֵנְפֵיהֶי** in the B-colon. Each colon also is a verbal clause where the finite verb is an imperfect. The stems differ from colon to colon; the C-stem is used in the A-colon, the G-stem in the B-colon, and the Gt-stem in the C-colon. The subject in each colon is a construct chain of two words. Finally, the word order in each colon is identical to the other two – prepositional phrase, imperfect, subject.

Semantically, these three cola also parallel each other. The three verbs – “to shade,” “to dwell,” and “to nourish” – are not paradigmatically related, but they are syntagmatically paired as they describe various functions of the tree. The nouns are all creatures that need to gain their sustenance from the tree. The A-colon and B-colon mention land and sky creatures respectively and can be perceived as a type of semi-merism. A fully realized merism might include sea creatures; they are not mentioned since there is little to no association between trees and the sea.

The C-colon, however, differs in that it is focused upon all creatures of the earth (“all flesh”) that presumably soar in the heavens and dwell upon the earth. Similar to the C-colon in the previous line, the word **כָּל** is used (it is **כָּלֵא** in the previous line). More will be said regarding the similarity and differences between the two C-colon in lines 3 and 4 below under “Strophic Organization.”

Line 5 begins the second half of the poem. After the literary title statement the line begins once again with **אֵלֹ**. As we saw in line 1 above, this particle points the attention of the reader to the second dominant theme in the vision, namely the “watcher.” This angelic figure and his message are the main focus in the remainder of vv.10b-14. The A-colon introduces the watcher, who is a “holy one.”⁶⁵ The B-colon describes the purpose of his descent. It is interesting to note that the A-colon has only one finite verb, whereas the B-colon has two. The A-colon, however, uses two terms for the subject, which can be seen as paralleling the two verbs in the B-colon.

Semantically, the bicolon has little correspondence between the cola. There is an internal parallelism in the B-colon itself. The colon begins with the verb **קָרָא** and ends with its semantic parallel **אָמַר**. Both refer to verbs of speech. There is, however, a difference that adds another level of appreciation to the line. **קָרָא** suggests strenuous speech, which is modified further with the prepositional phrase **בְּחִיל**. The second verb **אָמַר** in the B-colon introduces direct speech and sets up the next several lines, which are the words of the watcher. **בֵּן** is a reference to that direct speech. Thus both **בְּחִיל** and **בֵּן** are modifiers that refer to the speaking. The word order of the two clauses, therefore, is a chiastic arrangement.

⁶⁵ Epexegetical *waw* in **וְקָרָא יֵשׁ**, “a watcher – that is, a holy-one.” This explains the singular form of the verb **נִחַת**.

Line 6 is the words of the watcher from the previous line. There is an obvious association between this line and line 3 above. This poetic line is a bicolon, each with two imperatives.⁶⁶ Each colon is an example of internal parallelism. The two verbs in the A-colon are semantically related as they both refer to some “cutting” action upon the tree and its branches respectively. The B-colon uses two verbs to describe the “making to fall” that results in the “dispersion” of its fruits.

There is a semantic progression in these arboreal images. The vocabulary of this line is visibly taken from those of lines 3-4. The addition of the word עֲנָפוֹתָי “branches” is compelling, especially in light of the fact that it is absent in line 3. Its usage here seems to suggest movement along the growth of the tree, where the description begins with the “tree” then moves to “its branches.” There is further progression to that which grows upon the edge of these branches, namely “its leaves” and “its fruits.” Syntactically, each of the two clauses in each colon follows the identical word order of imperative followed by direct object. This line, therefore, is well structured in its parallelism.

Line 7 is obviously related to line 4 above in the same way that line 6 is related to line 3. Whereas line 4 described the way in which various creatures take refuge by the tree (centripetal movement), line 7 describes these very same creatures fleeing from it (centrifugal movement). Some of the word pairs from line 4 are again used here. So, the

⁶⁶ These imperatives are in the plural. The subject of this series of verbs is most likely other heavenly beings, possibly other watchers.

parallelism of **חַיִּוֹתָא** and **צִפְרִיָא** covers the creatures of the land and the sky in a semi-merism; no sea creatures are mentioned. In addition the prepositional phrases in both cola parallel each other as they did in line 4. There is also the gapping of the verb.

Line 8 describes the one part of the tree that is to be salvaged and left behind, namely the “stump.” This line can be analyzed as either a bicolon or a tricolon. I lean towards the tricolon due to the repetition of the consonant *bet* (ב) at the start of each colon and the interplay between the locative and instrumental uses of that preposition throughout lines 8-9. The A-colon in this arrangement simply states the presence of the “stump” of the tree. Although it is not a preposed topic, it seems to function as one since it is described in each prepositional phrase in the remaining cola of this line as well as in line 9. The B-colon provides the imperative to **שְׁבִקוּ** “leave” that stump **בְּאַרְעָא** “in the earth” (a locative use of the preposition ב). The C-colon then gives the additional description that this stump is to be bound “with” metallic chains (instrumental use of the preposition ב).

The way in which these cola correspond with each other is brought out by the use of the repeated preposition ב. The B-colon uses the preposition to specify the location of the stump – a locative or spatial use of ב. The entire C-colon is the ב-prepositional phrase, which describes the use of “bonds” for the purpose of imprisonment – an instrumental use of ב. A locative interpretation of the preposition is possible here, meaning that he is to be left *in the location* (ב) of the chains. The instrumental also fits

since it is with “chains” that he is left. Since this cola is dependent upon the imperative in the B-colon, it allows space to add the metallic composition of these chains. This gives the sense that there is no escape from this imprisonment due to the strength of the metals. The added description of the metals leans in favor of the instrumental use. This also appears to be the interpretation of numerous commentators as well. For example, John Goldingay says, “Their message describes someone being reduced to animal-like existence; *restraint* by a metal ring is more likely part of that description” [italics mine].⁶⁷ Hartman and Di Lella says similarly, “the king is to be bound with metal fetters.”⁶⁸ Also Montgomery, “its *stump* with *its roots* is to be *left in the earth*, clamped *with a bond of iron and brass*” [italics his].⁶⁹ See under “Strophic Organization” for the implication of this interpretation of the preposition.

Line 9 describes the king as like a beast who is exposed to the elements of nature. The line continues the alternation between the locative and instrumental uses of the preposition כּ that was described in line 8. The A-colon describes a more specific location within the “earth” (line 8B) for the stump; it is to be בְּרֶחֱאֵא הַיְ בְּרֶאֱז “in the grass of the field.”⁷⁰ The preposition כּ in the B-colon rotates back to the instrumental use – it is “with the dew of heaven” that the stump will “get wet” (יִצְטַבֵּעַ). The jussive in

⁶⁷ John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC; Nashville; Thomas Nelson, 1996), 89.

⁶⁸ Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 176.

⁶⁹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 233.

⁷⁰ Montgomery inserts the jussive יִטְעַמְנֵהוּ, meaning “let them feed him.” See Montgomery, *Daniel*, 233, 235. See also, Collins, *Daniel*, 210, 227. If this suggestion is correct, it would undermine the spatial interpretation of the preposition and make it instrumental – “let them feed him *with* the grass of the field.” Admittedly, this would also create a better poetic line.

the B-colon does not parallel any element from the A-colon. It is, however, distantly paired with the volitive (imperative) of line 8B above. See below under “Strophic Organization” for more details.

The C-colon provides a summary that explicitly describes what was alluded to in the previous two cola – the king has now been reduced to a bestial-like creature. The phrase **וְעִם־הַיְּוֹנָאִים** describes the new found company of the king; he is with other beasts like himself. This colon also states “his portion is in the grass of the earth.” Regarding this phrase Collins says in light of other passages where Nebuchadnezzar is given dominion over the beasts of the field (Jer. 27:5-6; Dan. 2:37-38), “the present passage involves an ironic reversal of the king’s status.”⁷¹

Line 10 describes the inward psychological state of mind of the beast-king of line 9C. This line is a tricolon where the A-colon and B-colon describe how the mental state of the king has been reduced to that of a creature. Specifically, the A-colon says he will no longer have the heart of a man and the B-colon says it will be replaced with that of a beast. The C-colon says that he will remain this way for seven years. So, the A-colon/B-colon provides the qualitative description of the king while the C-colon gives the quantitative temporal one. The combination of the physical allusion made in line 9 above with the depiction of the psychological state of the king here brings a total and complete transformation of the king into a beast.

⁷¹ Collins, *Daniel*, 227.

לִבָּבָהּ in the A-colon parallels חֵינָהּ לִבָּב in the B-colon. This pairing has obvious similarities, but the difference is arresting since it identifies the king (*his* heart) with an animal (חֵינָהּ). This is the extent of the semantic parallelism in this line. Phonologically, there is a correspondence by the repetition of the word לִב in both the A-colon and B-colon.

Syntactically, there is an added complexity. The word order of elements varies between the A-colon and B-colon. Where the word order in the A-colon is subject – prepositional phrase – verb, the B-colon reverses the order of the final two. Thus there is a crossing-of-elements that bind these two cola together:



Line 11 describes the authoritative basis of the vision and its reliability. The parallelism in this line is nearly perfect. The phrases in the A-colon are semantically parallel to each of their counterparts in the B-colon. Each colon begins with a construct chain. So precise is the parallelism in this line that each word in that chain parallels its counterpart. גִּזְרָת “decree” in the A-colon parallels מִצְוָה “command” in the B-colon, and עֵירִין “watchers” with קְדִישִׁין “holy-ones.” In line 5 above, I suggested that עֵיר and קְדִיש were used in one colon where קְדִיש “holy one” seemed to provide the identity of עֵיר “watcher” by the use of a epexegetical *waw*. The parallelism here between that same

pair confirms that earlier interpretation. The פְּתִיגָמָא “pronouncement” in the A-colon is actually a שְׁאֵלָתָא “decision.” In other words this is the judicial response to the hubris and blasphemy of the king.

The two cola also parallel each other syntactically. They are both verbless clauses. Both begin with a construct chain composed of two words each. In fact, the final word in both constructs is an absolute plural. Both cola also have the subject in the final position of the clause. The one variance is that the preposition ב in the A-colon has no paralleling preposition in the B-colon. Thus “by the decree of the watchers is the pronouncement / and the decision is a command of the holy ones //.”

Line 12 does not appear to be poetry, and BHS does not include this as part of the poem. There is no clear sense of parallelism at any level. I maintain that this is poetic since it seems to be included as part of the interpretation section in Dan. 4:22-23 (see below under “Imagery” for further details and explanations). Di Lella also says this line is poetic and I follow his stichometry due to a lack of better options.⁷²

Line 13 brings the poem to a close by describing how the source of all human kingship is from God. The phrase לְמֶן־דֵּי יִצְבֵּא parallels שְׁפַל אֲנָשִׁים at the semantic level, although the two do not parallel syntactically; they are the indirect object and the direct object respectively. This line seems to allude to a time in the near future when God

⁷² Di Lella, “Daniel 4:7-14,” 250.

will finally restore kingship to Nebuchadnezzar. If this is the correct understanding, then it is clear that the identity of “the one whom he (God) desires” and the “lowest of men” is the king himself (see below under “Imagery” for further discussions on the identity of the king).

Each colon ends with a pronominalized constituent, although the A-colon has it as the object suffix to the verb and the B-colon has it attached to a preposition. The two verbs in this bicolon are semantically related in the sense that it describes how God is the one who provides kingship. He “gives” it in the A-colon and “establishes” it in the B-colon.

There is one meaningful syntactic correlation. The word order is reversed between the two cola. In the A-colon the order is prepositional phrase – verb – direct object, where the object is suffixed to the verb. The B-colon has direct object – verb – prepositional phrase.

3.3.4.2 Terseness of *Daniel 4:7b-14* (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	2
	1B	1	2	2
	2A	2	3	3
	2B	1	3	3
	2C	1	2	4

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	3A	1	2	2
	3B	1	2	2
	3C	1	3	3
	4A	1	3	4
	4B	1	3	4
	4C	1	3	4
	5A	1	3	4
	5B	2	4	4
	6A	2	4	4
	6B	2	4	4
	7A	1	3	3
	7B	1	2	2
	8A	0	1	2
	8B	1	2	2
	8C	0	1	3
	9A	0	1	2
	9B	1	2	3
	9C	1	3	4
	10A	1	3	3
	10B	1	3	4
	10C	1	3	4
	11A	1	2	3
	11B	1	2	3

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	12A	1	2	2
	12B	1	3	4
	13A	1	3	4
	13B	1	3	4

In general the cola in this poem are terse and balanced. Only a few comments are necessary in a few lines.

Line 2 has a syntactic progression in the number of finite verbs from colon to colon. The A-colon begins with two finite verbs, where the B-colon is reduced to one. The C-colon does not have a finite verb; it is a verbless clause. All three cola maintain their balance with each other since a new element is introduced with the absence of another. In line 2B the height of the tree is said to “reach the heavens” **יִמָּטֵא לְשָׁמַיָּא**. Line 1B has a similar description, but it only uses a subject-predicate construction (a verbless clause) – **רֹמְהָ שְׁגִיָּא** “its height is great.” Here the picture is given the added element of reaching “the heavens.” In line 2C two spaces are made available with the absence of any verb. This allows for the addition of both **לְסוּף** and **כָּל־** which provides a greater image of horizontal expansion of the tree upon the earth. The expanse of this tree does not only reach “the whole” (**כָּל־**) earth, it reaches “to the end of the whole earth”

(כָּל-אַרְעָא לְסוּף). These additional descriptors of the tree portray it as universal and global while balancing the line.

Line 5B is an example of internal parallelism that is composed of two clauses, four phrases, and four words. Each half is perfectly balanced with the other. This single colon could be interpreted as a bicolon where each one is made up of one clause, two phrasal constituents, and two words. In fact, there are other cola in this poem that have similar constraints (see line 1A, 1B, 3A, 3B, 7B, 8B, 12A). In spite of the fact that such an analysis is possible, I maintain this as another occurrence of internal parallelism within a single colon. The alternative suggestion would create a tricolon, within which the A-colon (“Behold, a watcher (that is, a holy-one) came down from heaven”) is much longer in comparison to the hypothetical B-colon (“he called aloud”) and C-colon (“and said thus”). Therefore, for metrical reasons I analyze this line as internal parallelism. In fact, this occurrence begins a series of poetic lines that also have this internalized paralleling of elements (lines 6-7), where the constraints are identical to those of line 5B.

Line 7 gaps the verb of the A-colon in the B-colon. The normal procedure in such cases is to insert a new element in the gapped line to maintain the same length. In this case, however, there is no addition. As a result, there is a very mild (and negligible) imbalance. This illustrates that ballast variants are not a poetic requirement.

Line 13 is a bicolon. I count two elements as words that normally would not be counted as such. The first is the particle **וְ**. This is counted in line 13A because it serves as the subject of the verb **יִצְבֵּחַ**. In that sense this interrogative pronoun functions like the relative **וְ**, “*the one whom* he desires.” This brings the word count to three for that colon. The second is the direct object suffix on the verb **יִתְּנֶנָּה** in the B-colon of that line. I count this due to the reversal of word order which brings out the syntactic parallelism in this line (see above under “Parallelism”).

3.3.4.4 Imagery in Daniel 4:7b-14 (MT)

There is little doubt that this poem is rich in metaphors. According to Dan. 4:19, the tree is the king; the metaphorical interpretation of the remainder of the images in the vision is provided in Dan. 4:17-19a. Within the vision proper, there is movement in the portrayal of the images. It begins with a flourishing tree which represents King Nebuchadnezzar at the height of his reign and power (Dan. 4:19b). The vision does not spend a great deal of time on the great tree before it moves onto the image of the watcher(s) who issues a divine decree to cut it down. The image of this fallen tree represents the fallen condition of the king. He will be malformed physically and psychologically into a beast due to his hubris and inability to acknowledge the Most High as the one who gave to him his success. The image of a tree has now been replaced by the image of this bestial creature – the king will become a beast.

There is another image within this vision, namely the “stump” of the tree. Dan. 4:23 seems to interpret the tree-remnant of the “stump” as a future restoration of the kingdom back to Nebuchadnezzar on the condition that he acknowledge the sovereign kingship of God. The description of this acknowledgment in 4:23 is very similar to line 13, where it states that the purpose of this vision is so that **יִנְדְּעוּן יְחִיִּיא** “the living (ones) will know” that the Most High has dominion over all earthly kings. The text refers to “living beings” in the plural, perhaps representing thereby all humanity. That phrase is repeated but with a slight variation in Dan. 4:22, 23. In those passages the plural, “the living (ones),” is interpreted as representing a *single* figure, namely the king himself, since the second person *singular* verb form is used **תִּנְדַּע**. So Dan. 4:22 says seven seasons will pass until “you (the king) know (**תִּנְדַּע**) that the Most High has dominion over the kingdom of men.” Dan. 4:23 confirms this by offering the same interpretation of that phrase – the kingdom will be given back to Nebuchadnezzar when “you (the king) know (**תִּנְדַּע**) that heaven has dominion.”

Dan. 4:22b-23 adds another level of interpretation from the vision that reveals God’s perception of Nebuchadnezzar. Line 13A occurs towards the end of Dan. 4:22. In that verse, there are two facts that the king is to know in order to bring the restoration of his kingship. The first is that all earthly kingship is from God (see above). The second is found in the following phrase: **יָצַבָּא לְמִן־דֵּי יְהִנֵּנָה**; the king must know that “He (God) gives it (kingship) to whomever He desires.” This is a quote from line 13A, which identifies Nebuchadnezzar as **מִן־דֵּי יָצַבָּא** “the one whom He desires” to give kingship.

The formulaic nature of this phrase as a legal conveyance of property ownership also shows that the all dominion belongs to God the Most High. He is portrayed as an owner who is authorizing kingship to Nebuchadnezzar that again rightfully belongs to Him.

What is remarkable is the allusion made to line 13B in Dan. 4:23. In that verse it states that the image of the “stump” represents the kingdom that will be “enduring” (קִינָה) for Nebuchadnezzar once he acknowledges the source of his kingship. The word “enduring” is an adjective from the root קָיָם. That same root is used in line 13B, where it says God can “establish” (יָקִים) even the “lowest of men” (שְׂפֵל אֲנָשִׁים) with kingship.

If this interpretation is correct, then Nebuchadnezzar is viewed, interpreted, and identified within this poem at different levels. He is a prosperous tree that represents the dominance of his kingdom and reign. Tragically, he is unable to acknowledge the true kingship of God. As a result, he is cut down, leaving only the stump of the tree. The vision progresses to describe him also as a wild beast. Dan. 4:25-28 describes how Nebuchadnezzar did not recognize God as the one who established him in his reign and provided his success. Rather, he saw his greatness as a product of his own works and diligence. God brings him down from the heights of his arrogance and reduces him to the level of animals. Yet, in spite of all this, there is an image of restoration – the stump. According to Dan. 4:23, this stump represents a preserved kingdom to this newly humbled king. He now “knows” the source of his kingdom and the identity of the Great Sovereign. From Dan. 4:22-23, Nebuchadnezzar is not only to be identified with the one whom God desires to give (kingship), but he is also identified as “the lowest of men.”

This fulfillment has a two-fold result: one is the humility of Nebuchadnezzar; the second is the exaltation of the God of the Jews who established, removed, and returned kingship to him.

3.3.4.3 *Strophic Organization of Daniel 4:7b-14 (MT)*

The strophic organization in this poem utilizes various techniques and methods to define its parameters.

From a broad macro-structural analysis, there is a stanza structure to the poem, where lines 1-4 is one stanza unit and lines 5-12 is another. Each unit is marked by the use of the presentative particle **אֵלֵּי**. Immediately after each use of **אֵלֵּי** is the introduction to the dominant subject of that unit. So, in lines 1-4, that dominant theme is the image of the “tree” **אֵילָן**. In lines 5-12, it is the “watcher” **עֵיר**.

Within each stanza structure there are smaller strophic units made up of 2-3 poetic lines each.

Lines 1-2 describe the vertical height and the horizontal breadth of the tree. This strophe is created by a chiasmic arrangement of the elements within these lines. Line 1A and 2C both mention the appearance of this tree. Line 2C describes how its expanse has spread as far as the ends of the earth. Since it is paired with line 1A in this chiasm, line 1A is not merely stating the fact that a tree is present, it also is envisioning this tree as expansive. Line 1B and 2B focus on the height. The description of the tree in line 1B as

שֶׁנִּיָּא “great” is given a fuller picture in line 2B as “reaching to the heavens.” Line 2A is a micro-chiasm, in which the word “tree” is placed between two finite verbs. Thus we have the following:

A וַאֲלוֹ אֵילָן בְּנוֹא אֶרֶעָא (line 1A)

B וְרוֹמְהָ שֶׁנִּיָּא (line 1B)

C רִבְהָ (line 2Aa)

D אֵילָנָא (line 2Ab)

C וְתִקְרִי (line 2Ac)

B וְרוֹמְהָ יִמְטָא לְשִׁמְיָא (line 2B)

A וְחַיּוֹתָהָ לְסוּף כָּל-אֶרֶעָא (line 2C)

What becomes apparent from this strophic analysis is that “the tree” is not only at the thematic center of these lines, it is also the literary center.

Lines 3-4 make up the next strophe. This section describes the *physical beauty* of the various parts associated with the tree (line 3) and the manner in which they provide *food and shelter* for all creatures (line 4). The unity of these two lines is already evident in that both are tricola. The C-colon in each line also has compelling similarities: first, they both describe the provision of food from the tree; second, they both use the root זון

as one element within its clause (as the noun מִזֵּן in line 3C and the verb יִתֵּן in line 4C); third, they both use a prepositional phrase with a pronominal suffix whose antecedent is the tree (בֵּה in line 3C and מִנֵּה in line 4C); fourth, they both use some form of the word כָּל. All these observations present the impression of a bicolon that was pulled apart and placed at the end of two previous bicola. This creates an *inclusio* where the two lines are locked together.

There is another added wrinkle to the way in which lines 3 and 4 create a strophic unit. This specifically concerns the unusual parallelism between the two C-cola – כָּלֵא in line 3C with כָּל־בֶּשָׂרָא in line 4C. Joseph Fitzmyer correctly sees the final *aleph* in כָּלֵא as the “emphatic” ending,⁷³ not an adverbial ending as some have suggested.⁷⁴ This emphatic ending gives the sense of universality or totality – *everything* and *everyone* will find food that is produced from this tree. In apocalyptic literature such as the Book of Daniel the expectation would be to see this broad statement of total and universal provision to appear after the more narrow focus upon כָּל־בֶּשָׂרָא “all *animal* flesh.”⁷⁵ This is precisely the type of sequence that is evident in another poetic apocalyptic text,

⁷³ Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Syntax of כָּל, כָּלֵא, ‘All’ in Aramaic Texts from Egypt and in Biblical Aramaic,” in *A Wandering Aramean* (London: Scholars Press, 1979), 205-217. This was originally published in *Bib* 38 (1957), 170-184. He refers to this use in Dan. 4:9 as an “independent usage,” meaning not as an appositive or resumptive pronoun. Therefore, he translates the passage “and there was food for all in it.” He also cites Dan. 2:40; 4:18, 25 as other independent uses of כָּלֵא in Biblical Aramaic.

⁷⁴ James Montgomery, “Adverbial *kulla* in Biblical Aramaic and Hebrew,” *JAOS* 43 (1923), 391-395.

⁷⁵ The context of this phrase is the provision of food for land creatures (בְּרֵא חַיִּיִּת) and birds (צִפְרִי שָׁמַיָא) specifically.

namely 4Q246 “the Son of God” text.⁷⁶ In that document, nearly every B-colon uses a form of the word כל that universalizes some aspect within its parallel element in the A-colon. This gives 4Q246 a sense of totality and universality, which is an expectation of an apocalypse. Accordingly, to have the narrow focus on כל-בשרא “all flesh” after כלא “the all” is not expected.

This anomaly is easily solved if line 3C and 4C were switched. Line 3, then, describes the beauty of the tree and the abundance of its fruit so that כל-בשרא “all *human* flesh” may be fed.⁷⁷ Line 4 turns its attention to the provision of food for animals also (land creatures חיות ברא and birds צפרי שמיא). Thus כלא “all” – both animals and humanity – have food from this tree. The expectation, therefore, is to see line 4C as penultimate since it only views “all flesh” and line 3C as ultimate since it envisions a universal picture of “all,” meaning creatures and humanity together.

The apparent reversal of the two C-cola adds to the impression that lines 3 and 4 have been interwoven and joined together to form a larger poetic unit. It is very appealing to consider the possibility that the original composition of the poem had line 3C and line 4C in reversed order and that the “switch” was intentional in order to bind the two lines together as another means of strophic organization. Such a conclusion is speculative and should not change the current state of this line, regardless of how

⁷⁶ See the poetic analysis of 4Q246.

⁷⁷ Since the next line describes animals, this phrase must now presume *human* flesh. The word בשרא can be used in reference to either humans or animals.

unexpected it may be. The effect, whether by authorial or editorial intent, remains the same in the formation of a poetic strophe.

Lines 5-7 begin the second of the two stanzas of the poem. The dominant theme has now moved from the “tree” to the “watcher.” These lines are joined together into a strophe by the use of pairs in each colon. Every colon in lines 5-6 has internal parallelism, specifically lines 5B, 6A, and 6B. Although line 5A is without internal parallelism of the same kind as in the aforementioned cola, it does have an internal word pair – עֵיר and קִרְיִשׁ. Line 7 has the double use of the preposition מִן along with verb gapping, which is a pairing of the verb by effect.

Lines 8-9 form a strophic unit by three means. The first is the repetition of the radical כ at the start of each colon.⁷⁸ The second is related to the first. The repeated כ is the preposition in each colon with the exception in the first occurrence. The use of the preposition alternates between its locative and instrumental use. This alternation is the second method used to bind these two lines into a strophic unit. The third way in which this strophe is formed is the location of the finite verbs in these lines. The first colon, the A-colon of line 8, is to be considered a “preposed colon” since the object in that colon is presumed throughout the entire strophe. For the purpose of this analysis we consider the B-colon the proper beginning of the poetic line. There are two finite verbs in this strophe

⁷⁸ See also Di Lella, “Daniel 4:7-14,” 251. As stated earlier, there is a possibility that the Qumran copy lacks the word בְּרַם, which is the first word in this alliteration of כ. Even without this word, the strophe remains the same.

– one at the end of the first colon (line 8B) in the first poetic line of the strophe (שְׁבִקוּ), the second is at the end of the B-colon in the last poetic line of the strophe (יִצְטָבֵעַ). The location of the finite verbs marks the beginning and end of this strophic unit. Line 9C functions as a summary of the lines 8A-9B.

Lines 10 describes the psychological, or heart-condition, of the king. The word for heart occurs twice in the center of the strophe. Thus לִבָּהּ “his heart” is at the *heart* of the strophe.

Lines 11-13 bring the poem to an end by stating the reason for the vision – so that everyone can acknowledge that the source of all earthly kingship is from God and He has the power to give it and remove it. Certain formulaic phrases occur in these lines that have a long historical use in the context of legal texts. In his work on the development of Aramaic legal formularies Andrew Gross demonstrates how the use of the words like שְׁלִיט in line 12B, יִצְבֵּא and יִתְנַנֵּה in line 13A expresses an owner’s full right to give or sell property to whomever he desires.⁷⁹ He cites the work of Jacob Rabinowitz who refers to several of passages in the Book of Daniel, including Dan. 4:14 above, that uses this same vocabulary in legal formulae of conveyance (which he calls a *shallit*-clause) to express the authorization of a grantor to a grantee to take possession of a piece of

⁷⁹ Andrew D. Gross, *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition* (SJSJ 128; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 114-115.

property.⁸⁰ Rabinowitz says that there is complete parallelism between Dan. 4:14 and a similar phrase in a 402-401 B.C.E. Aramaic deed of sale of a house. Since it appears that this legal formula was adopted in Dan. 4:14 (lines 11-13), it seems clear that God as the owner of the kingdom of men is conveying it to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar. Consequently, lines 11-13 are joined together by the use of legal terminologies.

3.4 POETRY OF DANIEL 4:31-32 (MT)

This poem occurs after the seven year period of the madness upon Nebuchadnezzar comes to an end. He has now come to his senses and offers a doxological praise unto God.

This passage is not extant in any of the Qumran copies of the Book of Daniel.

3.4.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 4:31-32 (MT)

- וּלְקַצַּת יוֹמֶיהָ^{v.31}
- 1A אֲנִי נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר עֵינִי לַשָּׁמַיָּא נְטִלַת
- 1B וּמִנְדַּעַי עָלַי יְתוּב
- 2A וּלְעֵלְאָה⁸¹ בְּרִכַּת
- 2B וּלְחֵי עֲלָמָא שְׁבַחַת וְהִדְרַת

⁸⁰ Jacob Rabinowitz, *Jewish Law: Its Influence on the Development of Legal Institutions* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1956), 128-129. In addition to Dan. 4:14 above, Rabinowitz also cites Dan. 4:22, 29. See below in the poetic analysis of Dan. 4:31-32 for the negative part of the *shallit*-clause.

⁸¹ Qere. Ketib is וּלְעֵלְיָא.

- 3A די שלטנה שלטון עלם
 3B ומלכותה עם־דר ודר:
 4A v.32 וכל־דירי⁸³ ארעא⁸² כלה⁸² חשיבין
 4B וּכְמַצְבִּיהָ עֶבֶד בְּחֵיל שָׁמַיָא וְדִירִי⁸⁴ אַרְעָא
 5A וְלֹא אִתִּי דִּי־יִמְחָא בִידָה
 5B וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מָה עֲבַדְתָּ:

3.4.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 4:31-32 (MT)

v.31 *At the end of days*

- 1A *I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven /*
 1B *And my reason returned to me //*
 2A *I blessed the Most High /*
 2B *I praised and glorified the Living One of eternity //*
 3A *Whose dominion is an eternal dominion /*
 3B *And whose reign is with every generation //*
 4A v.32 *And all the inhabitants of the earth are considered as nothing /*
 4B *And He does as He wishes with the hosts of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth //*
 5A *And no one can stay His hand⁸⁵ /*
 5B *And say to Him, “What have you done?” //*

⁸² Preposition כִּי + negative לֹא – here written with final ה.

⁸³ Qere. Ketib is דִּירִי.

⁸⁴ Qere. Ketib is דִּירִי.

⁸⁵ Literally, “to strike against his hand,” “to hinder, or stay.”

3.4.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 4:31-32 (MT)

3.4.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

Line 1 begins after the introductory statement that marks the end of the aforementioned seven year period of madness upon Nebuchadnezzar. The A-colon describes the action of Nebuchadnezzar while the B-colon describes the subsequent result of that action. Although the elements in this bicolon do not parallel each other, there is an unbalanced syntactic parallelism. Each colon begins with the subject of the clause and ends with the finite verb with a prepositional phrase in between. The word עֵינָי is the direct object of the clause in the A-colon; it is without any paralleling element in the B-colon. The sense of the line is that the “lifting up” of the eyes resulted (or caused) his senses returning to him.

The perfect of the A-colon is paralleled by an imperfect in the B-colon. This use of the imperfect has been seen in several other occasions. The interpretation here is the same as in the previous occurrences – the durative aspectual use, a proto-Semitic prefixal preterite, or possibly the imperfect used as a simple past tense. I lean towards the durative use in this context. Tarsee Li suggests that the imperfect in this instance is “circumstantial to the following suffix conjugation בִּרְכָת, i.e. as his reason was returning to him, he praised God.”⁸⁶ He correctly sees a “correspondence” between the two verbs,

⁸⁶ Li, *Verbal System*, 107. He makes the same comment on 4:33 concerning a series of three prefixal verbs that come before main verbs to which they are subordinate. He acknowledges the front

but his conclusion seems unnecessary. To see these verbs in the context of a poetic context provides an understanding of their cause-and-effect relationship.

Line 2 describes the praise of Nebuchadnezzar that he offers to God for the return of his reason (line 1). In this bicolon there is an intricate case of parallelism. Semantically, each grammatical element in the A-colon corresponds to an element in the B-colon. As a result, the following word-pairs occur in the line: לְחִי עֲלֵמָא / לְעֵלְאָה and שְׁבַחְתָּ וְהִדְרַתָּ / בְּרִכָּתָּ. Syntactically, the two cola also correspond. Both are direct objects followed by the finite verb; the B-colon has two words in construct for its object phrase and two finite verbs.

There are also several phonetic parallelisms as well. The first half of the A-colon uses the radicals *waw*, *‘ayin*, *lamed*, which are also found in the first half of the B-colon. The second half of each colon has two such parallelisms. The first is the parallelism of *bet* and *reš* in the word בְּרִכָּתָּ. The *bet*-sound in the first verb of the A-colon (בְּרִכָּתָּ) is repeated in the first verb of the B-colon, שְׁבַחְתָּ. The *reš* sound of בְּרִכָּתָּ is paralleled in the second verb וְהִדְרַתָּ. They also share the repetition of the *-ēṭ* sound from the first person suffix. This phonologic parallelism created by the repetition of the first person verb forms could be incidental due to the first person perspective of the poem. However,

position of three circumstantial/background clauses seems unusual, but he also says “it may not be out of character for a chapter that contains *so much poetry*” (italics mine); 108. This statement is not clear since 4:33 is not poetic. It raises other questions, such as what does he consider to be poetry in this passage? Is this circumstantial use of the imperfect a poetic use? Is the use of the initial imperfect in 4:31 affecting the use of them in 4:33?

the double occurrence of a finite verb in the B-colon as well as the dispersion of the first two radicals of the root of the first verb seems to be intentional, possibly to create either a phonologic correspondence or even alliteration.

Line 3 is composed of two relative clauses, both of which are governed by the **וְ** particle in the A-colon. This poetic line is similar to the one found in Dan. 3:33 above with a few exceptions. The order of the nouns is reversed from 3:33 and the preposition **עַל** is used instead of **בְּ**.

Line 4 continues the description of the authority and power of God. The previous line places God in eternity. Here, we are given His perception as He looks down upon **כָּל-דִּירֵי אֶרֶץ** the “inhabitants of the earth” in the A-colon and **צְבֹאֵי שָׁמַיִם** the “hosts of heaven” in the B-colon (the “inhabitants of the earth” are mentioned a second time in this B-colon). In that regard those two phrases parallel each other. Although they are serving different syntactical functions – subject and prepositional phrase respectively – the words “earth” and “heavens” is a common paradigmatic word-pair. This appears to be the extent of the semantic correspondence in this line.

Syntactically, both cola have the preposition **כְּ**. It is used to describe an image in the A-colon “*like* nothing,” where it is used to describe a norm in the B-colon, “*as* he wishes.” The verb in the A-colon – **תִּשְׁבֹּחַ** “is considered” – is a G-passive participle with “all the inhabitants of the earth” as its subject. The implicit agent is God, meaning

they are “considered” as nothing *by God*. This agent is more explicit in the B-colon in the 3ms suffix on the infinitive **כְּמוֹצְבִיָּה**. This suffix serves as the subject of the verb **עָבַד**. Although these verbs do not coordinate semantically, their parallelism is brought out when the implicit/explicit identity of the agent is considered.

Line 5 states that there is no one who can challenge the higher power and authority of God. The A-colon opens with the negative **לֹא** plus the particle of existence **אִתִּי**. This is immediately followed by a relative clause. The B-colon appears to be the second part of the same relative clause. Each relative clause, then, begins with an imperfect verb (**יִמָּחַ** and **יִאָּמַר**) plus a prepositional phrase with a pronominal suffix referring to God (**בִּידֵהוּ** and **לָהּ**). Without the phrase **לֹא אִתִּי הִי**, the B-colon has the additional space to include a brief speech, **מָה עָבַדְתָּ** “What have you done?” Although there is no clear semantic parallelism, there is a clearer syntactic connection in this line as described above.

3.4.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	4	5
	1B	1	3	3

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	2A	1	2	2
	2B	2	3	4
	3A	1	2	3
	3B	1	2	3
	4A	1	3	5
	4B	1	4	6
	5A	1	2	3
	5B	1	3	3

The majority of the poetic lines in this poem have some issue in regard to terseness or the balance between cola.

Line 1 is imbalanced due to the personal name of Nebuchadnezzar. Without it, this bicolon would be in better balance: 1 clause, 3 phrases, 4 words in the A-colon to 1 clause, 3 phrases, 3 words in the B-colon.

Line 2 is a metrical crux. The A-colon is composed of a direct object of one single word (“the Most-High”) and one finite verb. The B-colon, however, is composed of the same syntactic elements, but each unit is doubled. So there are two words in construct that make up its direct object, plus there are two finite verbs. For the sake of balance, the expectation would be to switch either the verbs or the direct objects.

Line 3 is perfectly in balance.

Line 4 is another crux. The B-colon is much longer than the average colon throughout the section. Many commentators have suggested that the final phrase in the B-colon (וְיִרְרֵי אֲרָעָא) is due to dittography.⁸⁷ If this phrase is removed, then the line becomes more balanced: 1 clause, 3 phrases, 5 words in the A-colon and 1 clause, 3 phrases, 4 words in the B-colon. Such an interpretation is very appealing for poetic considerations. I maintain the text of the MT without emendations since such a conclusion on the text cannot be determined with certainty.

3.4.3.4 Imagery in Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

This brief poetic passage is the meditation of Nebuchadnezzar upon the power and glory of God. Within this anthem of praise, there is a simile in line 4 where the “inhabitants of the earth” are portrayed as being “like nothing.” This is the perception of God as He sees the world and the “hosts of heavens” (line 4B). They are what He “considers as nothing.” Charles takes the phrase לָהּ חֲשִׁיבִין as a single unit which is governed by the preposition כִּי, thus he translates “the inhabitants of the earth are *as persons of no account.*”⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Collins, *Daniel*, 212; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 170. R. H. Charles says this phrase “is a repetition of the phrase in the first line by a scribe who thought by this addition to make the thought of this second line complete, but did not observe that all that it implied was already conveyed in the first;” see R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2006 [orig. pub. 1929]), 101.

⁸⁸ Charles, *Daniel*, 100-101.

Regardless of the interpretation of this phrase, the meaning of the image remains the same. Due to the authority and power of God who is enthroned in His eternal dominion and reign (line 3), nothing in creation can measure up to his greatness or to His supreme and universal authority. By comparison, all earthly dominions and rulers are “like nothing.” This Creator-creature distinction is so vast that the perception of God towards everything is to see them as insignificant.

3.4.3.3 Strophic Organization of Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

The strophes of this small poetic passage are not as clearly delineated as the previous poem in Dan. 4:7b-14. Lines 1-2 are focused upon the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar and his acknowledgement of the supremacy of the God of the Jews. Lines 3-5 are descriptions of God himself and His authority and power.

3.5 POETRY OF DANIEL 6:27B-28 (MT)

Daniel 6 is similar to chapter 3 in that they both describe earthly kings who had statues built to honor their own glory and dominion. The setting of Daniel 6 takes place in the latter part of the career of Daniel during the reign of the king, Darius the Mede. Out of envy of his success, the Persian administrators and satraps devised a plot to trap Daniel. This conspiracy succeeds and Daniel is condemned by Darius, in spite of his personal distress and reluctance to do so. During the evening in which Daniel is cast into

a den of lions as his sanction, Darius is sleepless and agitated. He gets up early the next morning and finds Daniel without “any injury or harm upon him” (v.23). Darius turns to have Daniel’s accusers executed, and then offers a doxological praise to the God of Daniel. This praise resembles the doxology in Dan. 3:33. It is this final doxology that is the subject of the following section.

Although large portions of Daniel 6 are preserved in 4QDan^b, only a few words of Dan. 6:27 can be read.⁸⁹ Due to the poor condition of this copy, the MT once again is used as the basis of this poetic analysis. Two variants occur between the MT and the Qumran copy. They are provided below.

3.5.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 6:27B-28 (MT)

- 1A ⁹⁰דִּי־הוּא | אֱלֹהָא חַיָּא^{v.27}
 1B וְקִיָּם לְעַלְמִין
- 2A וּמַלְכוּתֵהּ דִּי־לֹא תִתְחַבֵּל
 2B וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ עַד־סוּפָא:
- 3A מְשִׁיב וּמַצֵּל^{v.28}
 3B וְעֹבֵד אֱתִין וְחִמְהִין
 3C בְּשִׁמְיָא וּבְאַרְעָא
- 4A דִּי שִׁיזִיב לְדִנְיָאֵל
 4B מִן־יָד⁹¹ אֲרִיּוּתָא:

⁸⁹ Ulrich, *DJD XVI*, 263.

⁹⁰ 4QDan^b reads חַי אֱלֹהֵי.

⁹¹ 4QDan^b shows traces of *yod* after the clear *mem*, possibly reading בְּיָד. See Ulrich, *DJD XVI*, 263-264.

3.5.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 6:27B-28 (MT)

- 1A ^{v.27} *For He is the Living God /*
 1B *And the One who endures forever //*
- 2A *His kingdom will not be harmed⁹² /*
 2B *His dominion is until the end //*
- 3A ^{v.28} *He saves and delivers /*
 3B *And He performs signs and wonders /*
 3C *In the heavens and in the earth //*
- 4A *For He saved Daniel /*
 4B *From the power⁹³ of the lions //*

3.5.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 6:27B-28 (MT)

3.5.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 6:27b-28 (MT)

Line 1 begins with the particle ׀. My translation above treats this as the conjunction “for, because.” It can also be treated as the relative pronoun in which the third person pronoun would function as a copula – “who *is* the living God.” In either analysis the phrase אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים in the A-colon is in semantic parallelism with קַיָּם לְעַלְמֵיין in the B-colon. There is a subtle difference. Where the A-colon is a statement of the living status of God, the B-colon provides the additional (and obvious) descriptor that this

⁹² The relative pronoun ׀ is used as an independent relative, thus “His dominion will be *one that will not be harmed*.”

⁹³ Literally, “hand of.”

God is one whose essential nature is to endure for eternity. Both phrases are predicates in a verbless clause. Their subject is the third person pronoun **הוא** in the A-colon.

Line 2 moves beyond a description of the eternal status of God to focusing upon the quality of His reign. This bicolon shares many similarities. Syntactically, both are verbless clauses with the subject in first position and the predicate in second. Both are descriptions of the reign or dominion of God. Both use a phrasal constituent as its predicate instead of a single word. The semantic word-pair of **מְלִכְוִתָּהּ** in the A-colon and **שְׁלֹטָנָהּ** in the B-colon were seen earlier in the poetry of Dan. 3:33 and 4:31.

There is one significant difference within this bicolon. This is in the description given by the predicates. The A-colon uses an independent relative clause to describe the indestructible character of the reign of God – “his reign is *one that will not be harmed*.” The B-colon, however, is focused upon the temporal character of his dominion – it is “until the end.” Whereas the A-colon provides a *qualitative* description, so the B-colon provides a *quantitative* one.

Line 3 praises the God of Daniel by describing the saving activities of God. Whereas the earlier portion of this poetic passage was interested in the attributes of God and His kingdom, this line (as well as line 4) is more interested in His works of salvation. The combination of the two is what makes this God so worthy of praise (see below under “Strophic Organization” for further details).

This line is a tricolon, in which there is no apparent semantic parallelism between the cola. The line is bound together by two means. The first is a type of *inclusio*. It begins and ends with a paradigmatic word pair: מְשִׁיב and מַצֵּל in the A-colon, שָׁמַיָא and אֲרֻעָא in the C-colon. The second is the use of a constant word-count in each colon of the line. The A-colon is composed of *two* verbal units. The B-colon has only one verb, but it does have *two* direct objects. The C-colon provides the geographical or universal arena in which God performs these saving acts. This description is given by the use of *two* words, “the heavens” and “the earth.” Therefore, the dominant theme in each colon in this tricolon is given with the use of a pair of words.

Line 4 begins with the particle ܐܝܢ as did line 1 above. As in line 1, this also can be either the conjunction (“*for* he saved Daniel”) or the relative (“*the one who* saved Daniel”). Regardless of the interpretation, the poetry remains the same. There seems to be no parallelism in this line. It is essentially one clause extended over two cola. Such a construction is not uncommon in the Aramaic poetry of Daniel. It is possible, however, that this line is not part of the previous doxological praise of God, but rather it is to be read with what comes afterwards in the description of the prosperity of “this Daniel” (v.29) in the reign of Darius and Cyrus the Persian. It is possible, therefore, that the poem ends with line 3 above. The repetition of the particle ܐܝܢ mirrors its earlier use in line 1. In spite of the lack of parallelism, I would include this line as part of the overall poetry where ܐܝܢ marks its beginning and end.

3.5.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 6:27b-28 (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	3
	1B	1	2	2
	2A	1	2	2
	2B	1	2	2
	3A	2	2	2
	3B	1	2	3
	3C	0	2	2
	4A	1	2	2
	4B	0	1	2

Although not every poetic line in this brief poetic passage is perfectly balanced, they are stable enough to not warrant any further description.

3.5.3.3 Strophic Organization of Daniel 6:27b-28 (MT)

The smaller poetic passages, like the one currently under consideration, do not provide enough poetic lines to allow a convincing strophic analysis. Interestingly, the highest concentration of finite verbs within this brief poem is in line 3 with God as the exclusive subject, or agent of the action. The activity of God is clearly the dominant theme in this line, where the previous two broadly described various attributes of God.

Lines 1-2, then, provide the identity of God – who He is as God and as king. He is to be praised because of who He is. Lines 3-4 provide God in constant action. The first three words in line 3 are verbs that show God as the one who saves, redeems and performs signs and wonders. Line 4 specifies his saving act for Daniel, which is the immediate context for this doxology. The rationale for praise to this God, however, is clearly more than His divine act for Daniel, as seen in the expansive descriptions of His eternal character (line 1), His invincible reign (line 2), and His saving activities that is done throughout the heavens and the earth (line 3).

3.6 POETRY OF DANIEL 7:9-10 (MT)

Daniel 7 occupies a very significant place in the Book of Daniel. It is connected with the first half of the book by the fact that it is written in Aramaic. It is also connected with the second half of the book by genre association. In this chapter, Daniel is no longer an interpreter of visions – he is one with the vision and an interpreter is provided for him (Dan. 7:16). The vision begins with the revelation of four beasts which come out of the sea. As Daniel was meditating on this, he saw the vision that is described in vv.9-10 and vv.13-14. This is the image of the throne room of God that is attested in other passages in the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Kgs. 22:19; Isa. 6; Ezek. 1). The vision in vv.9-10 is the current passage under examination; vv.13-14 is examined afterwards.

3.6.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 7:9-10 (MT)

No portion of Dan. 7:9-10 is extant in any of the Qumran copies of the Book of Daniel.

^{v.9} חֲזָה תְהִי־עַד דְּיָ

1A כְּרִסְוֹן רְמִיּוֹ

1B וְעֵתִיק יוֹמִין יִתָּב

2A לְבוֹשָׁהּ כְּחֶלֶג חֲזָר

2B וְשַׁעַר רֹאשָׁהּ כְּעֶמֶד נִקָּא

3A כְּרִסְיָהּ שְׂבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר

3B גִּלְגֻּלֹּהֵי נֹר דְּלִק:

4A נִתָּר דִּי־נֹר נִגְדָּ ^{v.10}

4B וְנִפְקָ מִן־קְדָמוּהֵי

5A אֵלֶּף אֲלָפִין ⁹⁴ יִשְׁמֹשׁוּנָהּ

5B וְרִבּוֹ רִבְבִין ⁹⁵ קְדָמוּהֵי יְקוּמוֹן

6A דִּינָא יִתָּב

6B וְסִפְרִין פְּתִיחוֹ:

⁹⁴ Qere. Ketib is אֲלָפִים, a Hebraism.

⁹⁵ Qere. Ketib is רִבְבִין.

3.6.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 7:9-10 (MT)

- ^{v.9} *I was looking until...*
- 1A *Thrones were set /*
 1B *And the Ancient of Days sat //*
- 2A *His clothes were like white snow /*
 2B *The hair of His head was like the wool of a lamb⁹⁶ //*
- 3A *His throne was flames of fire /*
 3B *Its wheels were a burning fire //*
- 4A ^{v.10} *A river of fire flowed /*
 4B *And it came out from before Him //*
- 5A *A thousand of thousands were serving Him /*
 5B *And ten thousand of ten thousand were standing before Him //*
- 6A *The court sat /*
 6B *And books were opened //*

3.6.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 7:9-10 (MT)

3.6.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

Line 1 begins after the opening phrase **וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם עַד הַיּוֹם**. There is no need to begin the poetry at **וְהָיָה**, which I place as part of the introductory formula.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁶ **וְהָיָה** can mean “pure,” but “lamb” is the better translation. See M. Sokoloff, “*mar n^e qē³* “Lamb’s Wool (Dan. 7:9),” *JBL* 95 (1976), 277-279.

parallelism within this bicolon is well defined within the judicial context of the overall vision. A judicial court scene is being portrayed in which God as the **עֲתִיק יוֹמִין** “the Ancient of Days” is seated as the royal adjudicator. The background of **כְּרִסְוֹן** “thrones” adds to the judicial stage of this vision. In this way **כְּרִסְוֹן** in the A-colon is in semantic parallelism with **עֲתִיק יוֹמִין** in the B-colon. The two verbs also parallel each other as they both describe the establishing of this divine courtroom: thrones “were set” (**רָמְיוּ**) and God “sat” (**יָתַב**).

Although both cola follow the same word order (subject – verb), there are some syntactic variations between the two cola. The verbs differ in their stem: **רָמְיוּ** is the Gp perfect 3mp of **רָמַה** and **יָתַב** is the G perfect 3ms of **יָהַב**. In addition to the verbal stems, the subject of the A-colon – **כְּרִסְוֹן** “thrones” – is plural while it is singular in the B-colon (see below for comments on the plural under “Images”). The syntactic parallelism is both derivational and inflectional.

Line 2 focuses the vision upon the “Ancient of Days” from line 1 above. The fact that He is the dominant focus for the next several lines suggests that the plurality of the thrones is of lesser significance than the One who is seated and enthroned. In this line we are provided specific descriptions of several aspects of His physical features. The A-colon describes His clothing while the B-colon describes His hair, presumably the only portion of His body that is not covered by His clothing (see below under “Images” for

⁹⁷ Baumgartner in BHS begins the poetry with **עֲרִי יְהִי**. This seems unnecessary as it is part of the opening formula that introduces the poetry.

further discussion on these features). So, the two nouns under observation are paired together as the two objects visible to Daniel.

The common interpretation of line 2A is to see the adjective חָנָן as predicative and the prepositional phrase as a simile to illustrate the whiteness of the clothes: “His clothes are white like snow.” The parallelism, however, suggests the adjective חָנָן is attributive of חֲלֹץ “snow,” not a predicate for לְבוּשֵׁה “his clothes.” Syntactically, both cola are verbless clauses, composed of the subject followed by a prepositional phrase (כִּי). Since the two words after the preposition in the B-colon are joined to each other (i.e. a construct chain), this suggests that the two words after the preposition in the A-colon are also joined to each other. Whereas the prepositional phrase in the B-colon is two nouns in construct, the two words in the A-colon are a noun with its attributive adjective.⁹⁸ This syntactic parallelism supports the translation “his clothes are like *white snow*,”⁹⁹ as opposed to “his clothes are *white* like *snow*,” which would not parallel with the B-colon. The use of the preposition כִּי in both cola also gives the impression that there is a parallelism of images as well as semantic and syntactic units. The result of this analysis demonstrates that the A-colon is a description of the white clothing of God, while the B-colon is a description of the physical appearance of his hair (it is “like the wool of a lamb”).

⁹⁸ This also appears to be the Masoretic interpretation since they placed a conjunctive accent (mûnah) under חֲלֹץ.

⁹⁹ See Montgomery, *Daniel*, 296, 300, who also translates “like white snow.” Charles, however, agrees with the LXX and translates “his raiment was as snow and the hair of his head was spotless as white wool”; see Charles, *Daniel*, 182.

Line 3 goes on to describe the throne upon which God is seated. The A-colon provides the general description of the throne itself, whereas the B-colon is focused on a small portion of that throne, specifically “its wheels.” From that we are able to deduce that the throne that is envisioned in Daniel 7 is actually a chariot. It is evident, therefore, that the line moves from the general to the specific as it moves from the A-colon to the B-colon.

The predicates in both cola use the image of fire to describe their subjects. The A-colon uses the plural שְׂבִיבִין “flames” while the B-colon uses the singular נֹר “fire.” In regards to grammar there is a compelling inverse relationship between the two subjects and their respective predicates. The A-colon has a *singular* subject כְּרִסִּיהַ with the *plural* predicate שְׂבִיבִין, while the B-colon has the *plural* subject גְּלִלֹתָיו with a *singular* predicate נֹר דֶּלֶק. The bicolon, therefore, is syntactically interconnected by the interplay of the singular and the plural. This interconnection is also seen in the repeated use of the word נֹר. Where it is placed at the end of the predicate-phrase in the A-colon, it is placed in the front of the predicate in the B-colon.

Line 4 continues the description of the throne in which God is seated. The A-colon simply states that “a river of fire flowed.” We are not told the source of this fiery river – merely that it was flowing. The colon ends with the participle נִגְדָּה. The B-colon starts off where the A-colon ended – with another participle. Although semantically נִגְדָּה of the A-colon and נִפְקָה of the B-colon do not correspond at a lexical level, they do communicate a similar image of a fiery river that is fluidly pouring forth from the

presence of God. The subject of the verb נִפְקַח is the same as the verb נִגַּח in the A-colon, namely נִהַר יְיָ-נִיר. Since the A-colon and B-colon share the same subject, this leaves additional room in the B-colon to provide the source of the “flowing/pouring forth” of this river – “from before Him.” These two cola are to be read together in such a way that articulates one idea – there is a river of fire that is flowing/coming forth from before the presence of God. Syntactically, then, the A-colon is a subject plus verb. The B-colon is a verb plus prepositional phrase. The subject of the A-colon is the subject of the B-colon and the prepositional phrase of the B-colon also functions as the prepositional phrase for the A-colon.

This line also has an alliteration of *nun*. It occurs five times, within every word in the line with the exception of the particle יְיָ in the A-colon and the final preposition קִדְמוֹהִי in the B-colon.

Line 5 depicts the angelic council that fills this throne-room image. The fact that these are angels is without dispute. The A-colon describes the number of angels to be in the “thousand of thousands” אֱלֹהֵי אֲלָפִין. The double use of the number adds to the innumerableness of the angelic presence. These “thousand of thousands” of angels “were serving Him.” The verb here is יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה. The imperfect form of the verb has been commonly seen in the poetry of Daniel. In this case, it seems to have the durative aspect that communicates an ongoing action – they were continuously serving Him. The B-colon parallels the “thousands” in the A-colon with רַבּוֹ רַבְבִּין “ten thousand of ten

thousands.” The effect of this is to multiply the aforementioned, innumerable angels exponentially. We are, therefore, given a striking picture of the vastness of this angelic court. The A-colon describes these angels as “serving,” and the B-colon says they were קָדְמוֹהִי יְקוֹמֵן “standing before Him.” Like the verb in the A-colon, so also this is the durative use of the imperfect.

Line 6 brings an end to this throne-room vision of Daniel. Syntactically, this bicolon has well-defined parallelism. Both cola are made up of a subject plus a verb. As was the case in line 1 above, so the same derivational and inflectional morphologic parallelism is present in this line. The verb in the A-colon is יָתַב – a G perfect, singular verb while the verb in the B-colon is פָּתְיחוּ – a Gp perfect, plural. The parallelism of דִּינָא in the A-colon with סְפָרִין in the B-colon suggests that the “books” are the records of judgment, perhaps to be associated with “the record books” (סֵפֶר זְכָרוֹן) from Mal. 3:16.

3.6.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	2
	1B	1	2	3

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	2A	1	2	3
	2B	1	2	4
	3A	1	2	3
	3B	1	2	3
	4A	1	2	3
	4B	1	2	2
	5A	1	3	4
	5B	1	3	4
	6A	1	2	2
	6B	1	2	2

The lines in this poem show the expected terseness and are well balanced. No further comments are necessary.

3.6.3.4 Imagery in Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

Daniel 7 is an apocalyptic vision, selected portions of which were written in poetic form. Consequently, the case could be made that the entire vision is a collection of various images. The previous section, Dan. 7:1-7, depicts the succession of world empires represented as bestial creatures coming out of the sea. This is immediately followed by a disturbing image of a small horn personified as a blasphemer (v.8). When the vision reaches the image of God as the “Ancient of Days” in Dan. 7:9-10 the narrative

changes to poetry, a literary setting in which the use of imagery is very common and at home. This poetic section (vv.9-10) is a series of four images: 1) the image of a divine court where God is portrayed as the “Ancient of Days”; 2) a description of the physical features of God; 3) the throne itself; 4) the myriad of angels. Each image is brought together to create a holistic picture of a judicial tribunal that is preparing to exact divine retribution against the beastly creatures from Dan. 7:1-7. Each image enumerated above will be analyzed below.

The first image is found in lines 1 and 6. Line 1 begins by establishing the presence of “thrones” where God is metaphorically seen as an “Ancient of Days.” The picture is that of a divine court that passes judgment on the nations of the world. According to line 5B, the innumerable angels mentioned in lines 5 and 6 are “standing,” so the “thrones” of line 1A apparently are empty and only function as part of the furnishings of the scene. Collins suggests that the background of this notion lies in the ancient traditions concerning the council of ʿĒl, where the gods sit on their thrones.¹⁰⁰ If this is true, the empty thrones may be due to the strong Israelite commitment to monotheism. Another possible interpretation is that the “Ancient of Days” sits first as a matter of judicial protocol that is followed by the angelic hosts also taking their seats. Since the latter is not explicitly stated or described in the vision proper, Montgomery’s comment is accurate when he says that the plural should not be stressed “for only One

¹⁰⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, 301.

took his seat.”¹⁰¹ God as the “Ancient of Days” appears to be the one and only seated figure.

Line 6A says that “the court sat.” The verb is יָתַב (G perfect 3ms יָתַב) with אֲנִי as its subject. The same verb יָתַב occurs again in line 1B, but with “the Ancient of Days” as its subject. This suggests that אֲנִי is being personified and is to be identified as “the Ancient of Days” from line 1. By the time we reach line 6 this divine tribunal is now in place and ready to pass judgment upon the nations of the world that were represented in the bestial creatures and the figure of the “little horn” (Dan. 7:2-8). The books of line 6B, as mentioned above, are most likely the records for judgment. The theme of a heavenly record is well attested in the Hebrew Scriptures (Ps. 56:9; Isa. 65:6). These books are “opened” and the vision is ready to move onto pronouncements of indictments and sanctions.

What is not well attested in the Hebrew Scriptures is this image of God as the “Ancient of Days,” meaning an old man. This image has no precedent in the Biblical tradition. Collins suggests that its background comes from Ugaritic sources that use similar portrayals of the high god ʾĒl. He also suggests that the Canaanite epithet ʾabu šanima “father of years” is equivalent to this title “Ancient of Days.”¹⁰² In these Canaanite texts, ʾĒl is depicted as an aged god who is also a judge and attended by other gods. R. H. Charles correctly comments that this image “emphasizes the idea of

¹⁰¹ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 296.

¹⁰² Collins, *Daniel*, 290. See also Frank M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 6-17, who agrees with the correlation between the two terms.

longevity, while its context presupposes but does not express the idea of eternal existence.”¹⁰³ Interestingly, Charles also suggests that this designation as the “Ancient of Days” shows irreverence towards God, which would be extraordinary in light of the fact that every description of God in other Jewish apocalypses is expressed with the utmost reverence.¹⁰⁴ Because of this, he suggests that the designation “Ancient of Days” could not have been original in its present form. Rather, he suggests the text originally had a substantive use of the preposition כ and reads כַּעֲתִיק יוֹמִין “*one like an ancient of days.*” He cites Ezek. 1:26 for support, which contains a similar expression דְמוּת כְּמֹרֵאָה אָדָם “the likeness of one *like* the appearance of man.”¹⁰⁵ For Charles, the use of a metaphor seems to degrade the dignity and glory of God; only a simile can be used for reasons of deference. There is nothing, however, within the text or the variants to suggest such an emendation. What is significant is the undeniable fact that a judicial scene is being depicted with God enthroned as the royal judge.

The second image of this poetic passage begins in line 2, where the physical features of this “Ancient of Days” figure are presented. We are given the description of his clothing (line 2A) and his hair (line 2B). In these images a simile is used to provide the representation of these two objects. The first in line 2A says that the clothing of the “Ancient of Days” is like “white snow.” The image of whiteness can communicate

¹⁰³ Charles, *Daniel*, 181-182.

¹⁰⁴ Charles mentions this notion of irreverence without offering an explanation on how the designation “Ancient of Days” is in fact irreverent.

¹⁰⁵ This is the same grammatical construction used in Dan. 7:13 for כְּבֶרֶךְ אִנָּשׁ “*one like a son of man.*” For whatever reason, Charles does not cite that use as support for his case.

different messages. Often in the Hebrew Scriptures, whiteness is a mark of purity or holiness (cf. Isa. 1:18; Ps. 51:7). It seems more likely that from the context of a flaming chariot-throne (line 3) this image of whiteness is in reference to the luminosity and radiance of his clothing (cf. the linen dress customary for angelic figures in Dan. 10:5; 12:6-7). Such images are also found in the New Testament. For example, the description of the angel at the tomb of Jesus of Nazareth in Matt. 28:3, “his appearance was lightning and his clothing white as snow”; the radiant whiteness of Jesus at His transfiguration in Mark 9:2-3, “and his clothes became radiant, intensely white, as no one on earth could bleach them.”

Line 2B holds another simile used to describe the hair on the head of the “Ancient of Days” – “the hair of his head is like the wool of a lamb.” This image suggests that the hair of the “Ancient of Days” has the appearance of the wool that is found on lambs. What precisely is communicated in this image is dependent upon the physical observable appearance of lamb’s wool.

The notion of the “whiteness” of the wool (similar to the clothes of the previous colon) is the common understanding of this image. The adjective לָבָן “white” from line 2A is seen as a predicate and gapped in the B-colon – “his clothes are white like snow / the hair of his head is (white) like a lamb’s wool //.” A critique of this interpretation is presented above. Also, white hair is never predicated of God in the Hebrew Scriptures.

The third image is in lines 3-4. Here, we have moved from focusing upon the enthroned figure to now focusing upon the throne itself. Throughout these lines the imagery of fire and flames is used as a metaphor to depict a fiery throne. Line 3A suggests that the composition of the throne is not wood or metal – rather it is composed of fire and flames. Thus, we are given the image of the “Ancient of Days” seated upon flames of fire in the form of a throne. Line 3B, however, adds a further element by saying this throne has wheels. In other words, the throne is actually a chariot. Although the image of a divine chariot is not uncommon in the Hebrew Scriptures (Ps. 68:18), there is little doubt that this image of a fiery chariot is derived from Ezek. 1:15-21.

The imagery of fire as associated with the theophanic presence of God is very common throughout the Hebrew Scriptures (e.g. Ex. 3:2; Deut. 4:24; 33:2, etc.). The image in this context clearly expresses the idea of judgment and destruction. Ps. 50:3 describes such an image, “fire consumes before him.” So the “river of fire” that originated from this flaming throne can be seen as a destructive flood that eventually devours the fourth beast (Dan. 7:11). This is similar to the image in Ps. 97:3, which says “fire goes before Him and burns up His adversaries round about.”

The fourth and final image is that of the angelic council of God. The image of God as the divine judge enthroned in the assembly of the angelic council is well attested in the Hebrew Scriptures. For example, Ps. 82:1 “God takes His stand in the council of *ʾēl* in the midst of the angels (*ʾēlōhîm*) He judges”; 1 Kgs. 22:19 “I saw Yahweh sitting on his throne and all the hosts of heaven standing beside him on his right and left.” This

image is also in Ps. 122:5 where plural thrones is used in connection with judgment,

שִׁמְהָ | יֵשְׁבוּ כִסְאוֹת לְמִשְׁפָּט.

3.6.3.3 Strophic Organization of Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

As is the case with small poetic units, the question of strophic integrity of Dan. 7:9-10 must be raised. From the content it appears that lines 1-3 concerns the figure of the “Ancient of Days.” Lines 4-6 are focused upon the broader judicial setting (the throne and the angelic council).

There is, however, a discernible organization to this brief poem. There is also a numeric progression from strophe to strophe (i.e. line to line). Line 1 introduces the **single** major figure of the passage, namely עֲתִיק יוֹמָיִן “the Ancient of days.” Line 2 moves on to describe **two** of his physical features (his clothes and hair). Lines 3-4 are focused upon the throne. There are **three** descriptors given of this throne – its fiery composition (line 3A), its chariot identity (line 3B), and a river of fire that flows from it (line 4). Line 5, then, mentioned the **countless number** of angelic agents who serve the “Ancient of days.”

There are similarities between line 1 and line 6. The verb יָתַב (G perfect 3ms יָתַב) occurs in line 1B and it is paralleled by a plural subject-predicate in line 1A. The same verb occurs in line 6A where it is also paired with a plural subject-predicate in line 6B. So line 1A is singular and 1B is plural, whereas line 6A is plural and 6B is singular.

In addition to the repetition of the verb יָחַב which already connects the two lines the reverse order of the singular-plural pattern forms an *inclusio* that marks the end of this poetic passage.

3.7 POETRY OF DANIEL 7:13-14 (MT)

The image of judgment in Dan. 7:11-12 returns back to a prose narrative. This describes the fiery destruction of the fourth beast and the removal of dominion from the previous three creatures that were spared. Daniel's vision finally comes to an end in the final two verses (vv.13-14) with another poetic portrayal of a second divine figure. This is the well-known "one like a son of a man" who receives dominion from the "Ancient of Days" of Dan. 7:9. The identity and discussion surrounding this figure has been the subject of enormous consideration.¹⁰⁶ Arguably, no phrase in the Hebrew Bible has elicited more controversy and comments than this one. The following analysis, however, will focus particularly on the poetic features within this passage. It is noteworthy that the two divine beings in Dan. 7 are portrayed with the use of an elegant poetic style, whereas the remainder of the vision that focuses on the world empires is given in a less stylish genre of prose. The poetic portrait of this "son of man" figure is the subject of the following analysis.

¹⁰⁶ See Collins, *Daniel*, 304-310 for a detailed treatment as well as a survey of the publications on this phrase.

3.7.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 7:13-14 (MT)

No portion of Dan. 7:13-14 is extant in any of the Qumran copies of the Book of Daniel.

v.13 חֲזָה הָיִיתָ בְּחֻזֵּי לַיְלָא

1A וְאָרְוֹ עִסְעֻנֵּי שָׁמַיָא

1B כְּבָר אִנְשׁ אַתָּה הוּא

2A וְעַד־עֲתִיק יוֹמָיָא מָטָה

2B וּקְדָמוּהִי הִקְרִבוּהִי

3A וְלֵה יְהִיב שְׁלֹטָן וַיִּקָּר וּמַלְכוֹ v.14

3B וְכָל עַמְמָיָא אֲמִיָא וְלִשְׁנָיָא לָהּ יִפְלָחוּן

4A שְׁלֹטָנָהּ שְׁלֹטָן עַלְמָּ דִּי־לֹא יַעֲדָה

4B וּמַלְכוּתָהּ דִּי־לֹא תַחֲחַבֵּל

3.7.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 7:13-14 (MT)

v.13 *I was looking in the visions of the night*

1A *And behold along with the clouds of the heavens /*

1B *One like a son of a man was coming //*

2A *And he came unto the Ancient of Days /*

2B *And they presented him before him //*

3A v.14 *And to him was given dominion, glory, and kingship /*

3B *And all peoples, nations, and tongues will serve him //*

4A *His dominion is an eternal dominion which does not pass /*

4B *And his kingdom is one that is not harmed //*

3.7.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 7:13-14 (MT)

3.7.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

Line 1 begins after the opening formula **חֲזֹן נִבִּיִּי לִילְיָא** and introduces the major figure that dominates this vision, namely **כְּבֶר אִנְשׁ** “one like a son of man.”

The phrase uses the preposition **כְּ** as a substantivized element, “one like,” making the entire phrase the subject of the periphrastic verbal phrase **אֵתָהּ הֵוָה** “one like a son of man *was coming*.” Poetically, there is no parallelism of elements. The A-colon states that he comes along with the clouds of the heavens. The main clause is in the B-colon, with the A-colon syntactically dependent upon it. Interestingly, if the particle **אֲרִי** is set aside, each colon begins with a prepositional phrase.

Line 2 says that the “son of man” comes to the “Ancient of Days.” Each colon in this bicolon is made up of a prepositional phrase plus a finite verb. The B-colon uses a pronominal suffix with its preposition, whose antecedent is overtly stated in the prepositional phrase in the A-colon (the “Ancient of Days”). Similar to the previous line, each colon begins with a prepositional phrase.

The verb **מָטָה** in the A-colon is paralleled by the verb **הִקְרְבוּהִי** in the B-colon. Although these two verbs share semantic similarities, they are syntactically different. **מָטָה** is a G-stem perfect singular while **הִקְרְבוּהִי** is a C-stem perfect plural – derivational

and inflectional morphologic parallelism. Whereas the “son of man” is the subject of the verb in the A-colon, he is the antecedent to the object suffix in the B-colon. The subject of the verb **הִקְרַבְיָהּ** is not specified. It is possibly the myriad of standing angelic hosts from Dan. 7:10. Also possible is that this is a generic third personal plural that is absent of a subject, and therefore a functional passive – “he was brought near before him.”

Line 3A describes the reception of three divine possessions: dominion, glory, and kingship.¹⁰⁷ The A-colon uses the preposition *lamed* with the third person suffix and the Gp-stem perfect with the aforementioned three-fold possessions as the subject, “to him dominion, glory, and kingship was given.”¹⁰⁸ This three-fold subject in the A-colon is paralleled by a three-fold subject in the B-colon: “peoples, nations and tongues.” The B-colon also has the same use of the preposition *lamed* with the third person suffix, but with the G-stem plural imperfect **יִפְלְחוּן** instead of a perfect. Because dominion, glory, and kingship *has been given* to this “son of man,” so the peoples, nations, and tongues *will serve* him. The B-colon also has the addition of **כָּל**, which is not surprising given the use of that element in previous poetic passages in the Book of Daniel as well as in numerous lines in other Aramaic poetic texts (see “Conclusion” for a list of such uses of **כָּל**).

Syntactically, this bicolon displays a balanced paralleling of elements. Whereas the word

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Dan. 2:37 for a four-fold designation: **מְלְכוּתָא חֲסִנָּא וְתַקְפָּא וְיִקְרָא** “kingdom, power, strength, and glory.” In Dan. 5:18 God gives Nebuchadnezzar another set of four designations, which are very similar to those in 2:37: **מְלְכוּתָא וְרִבּוּתָא וְיִקְרָא וְהִדְרָה** “kingdom, greatness, glory, and majesty.”

¹⁰⁸ The verb is in the singular while its subject is a three-fold noun phrase. It is possible that these three are so strongly associated with each other that they are considered as a single, collective whole. This would explain the use of the singular form of the verb.

order in the A-colon is prepositional phrase – verb – three-part noun phrase, so the B-colon is nearly in the reverse order of three-part noun phrase (plus כָּל) – prepositional phrase (לָהּ) – verb.

Line 4 brings an end to this vision by describing two of the three possessions mentioned in the previous line (“glory” is left out for unknown reasons). The A-colon uses a familiar formula to describe the eternal character of the dominion of the “son of man” – “his dominion is an eternal dominion.” That phrase is paralleled by the single word “his kingdom” in the B-colon. Both cola also use a relative clause for additional descriptions.

This poetic line is reminiscent of those seen in previous passages in Daniel (3:33; 4:31b; 6:27b). In line 4A, however, is the additional description that says this is a dominion דְּיִלְאָ יַעֲרֶה “one which cannot be taken away.” The inclusion of this phrase is clearly intended to contrast this dominion of the “son of man” with the dominion of the beasts of vv.1-7. The same verb (עָרָה) is used in Dan. 7:12 to depict the “taking away” of their dominion. This relative clause is paralleled in the B-colon with the familiar phrase דְּיִלְאָ תַתְּחַבֵּל “one which cannot be harmed.” This is identical to the colon in 6:27b (cf. 2:44). From these descriptions the parallelism of the cola is clear. Whereas the A-colon, then, portrays the *eternal* quality of this reign, so the B-colon describes the *invincibility* of it.

3.7.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

A momentary look at the chart below shows imbalance in several of the lines.

The reasons for this will be explained.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	0	1	2
	1B	1	2	4
	2A	1	2	3
	2B	1	2	2
	3A	1	3	5
	3B	1	3	5
	4A	1	3	4
	4B	1	2	2

Line 1 is off balance due to syntactic dependency. The verb in the B-colon is a periphrastic construction, so each verb is counted as separate words.

Line 2 presents no issues regarding terseness.

Line 3 is not very terse, but well balanced. It is longer than the other poetic lines in Dan. 7. This is largely due to the three-fold noun phrases, which can be found in both cola in this bicolon. The group of three nouns in the B-colon – “peoples, nations,

tongues” – is a regularly occurring triad in the Book of Daniel (3:4, 7; 3:31; 5:19; 6:26). The specific and intentional use of these three in this colon is to parallel another group of three that is found in the A-colon. The phrase in the A-colon, however, normally pairs מְלָכוֹ and שְׁלֹטֹן in the context of poetry (3:33; 4:31; 6:27), less often with יְקָר (4:33 מְלָכוֹתֵי יְקָר “glory of my kingdom” in poetic context; cf. 2:37; 4:30; 5:18, 20 where it occurs with either שְׁלֹטֹן and מְלָכוֹ in non-poetic context). It is possible that the common triad in the B-colon required a third element in the A-colon. The inclusion of יְקָר, therefore, was triggered by its broader association with “dominion” and “kingdom.” The use of “nations, peoples, and tongues” already adds another word to that colon. The addition of יְקָר is to balance the line, which again adds to its overall length.

Although the word כֹּל is normally counted as a separate word, it is not counted in this line since the overall parallelism is clearly and obviously intended to focus on the correspondence between the two triads, the pronominalized suffix on the preposition, and the two verbs. The use of כֹּל appears to be more incidental yet understandable since it is a characteristic of the poetry in apocalyptic texts.

Line 4A appears to be a conflation of two elements. The first half of that colon is a standard poetic phrase (“his dominion is an eternal dominion”), where either that exact phrase or some derivation of it has been used in other poetic contexts in the Book of Daniel (cf. 3:33; 4:31; 6:27). The expectation, then, is for the use of the parallel phrase עִם־דֹּר וְדֹר “with every generation” to also be used in the B-colon to balance out the line.

This would create the following, “*His dominion is an eternal dominion, which does not pass / his kingdom is [from generation to generation], which is not harmed //*.” The presence of that expected temporal phrase would stabilize the balance of this poetic line.¹⁰⁹ The reason for its absence is unknown and there is no ancient witness to suggest that this phrase is missing. In its current condition the B-colon is identical to a colon found in Dan. 6:27b. It is possible that the poet of Daniel preferred to use this phrase without any changes or additions to express the clear literary connection between the two poetic passages of Dan. 7:14 and Dan. 6:27.

3.7.3.4 Imagery in Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

The one dominant image in this passage is found immediately in line 1, “one like a son of a man.” To describe the figure as human-like is to indicate a contrast between him and the four beasts of vv.2-7, where each also uses the preposition כְּ for a descriptive comparison (see v.4, 5, 6). Each of these occurrences, however, was followed by a clause that qualified the description and explained how the creatures were “like” but not identical with these animals. Such a qualification is absent with this “son of man” figure. The intent seems to communicate the notion that this figure is not bestial. Rather, he possesses the physique of a human. The image itself does not provide any further insight

¹⁰⁹ Baumgartner in BHS suggests that מְלָכָה be placed before the relative clause – “His kingdom is a *kingdom* which is not harmed.” Such a suggestion is appealing, although the temporal descriptor of “with every generation” would be preferable since it would parallel with “eternity” as it does in other poetic passages.

into any specific qualities of humanity that are to be associated with him. Since he does, however, receive dominion, glory, and kingship from the “Ancient of Days,” we do know that he is a royal figure with authority over the world empires represented in the four creatures and the “little horn” from vv.2-8.

Not only are we told about his human-like quality, we are also given the image of this “son of man” coming with the “clouds of heaven.” The epithet “rider of the clouds” is a favorite used in Ugaritic texts for Baal.¹¹⁰ This phrase also occurs in several passages in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Ps. 68:5), which seems to serve as the source of the image here in its application to the “son of man.” The effect is to identify the true rider of the clouds as this “son of man” figure, instead of Baal. The use of this image throughout the Hebrew Scriptures suggests the human-like identity for the “son of man” is indeed nothing more than an image, a mere outward appearance. Deut. 33:26 says Yahweh “rides the heavens to your help / in his loftiness (he rides) the clouds //.” Ps. 104:3 says that God is “the one who sets the clouds as his chariot / the one who walks upon the wings of the wind //.” Its use here in Dan. 7:13 along with the image of his reception of an “eternal dominion that cannot be taken away” and a “kingdom that cannot be harmed” confirms the notion that the “son of man” is indeed a divine figure.

¹¹⁰ See CTA 3.4.48, “What enemy rises against Baal / foe against the Rider of the Clouds //.” Cf. CTA 2.4.8, 29; 3.3.32-36; 6.3.6-7.

3.7.3.3 Strophic Organization of Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

No clear strophic units can be discerned, although each poetic line does provide a small glimpse of an overall picture. Line 1 provides the main image of the “son of man” coming with the “clouds of heaven.” Line 2 describes his approach to the “Ancient of Days.” Lines 3-4 show the “son of man” receiving divine attributions of dominion, glory, and kingship – which cannot pass away or be harmed (line 4). This results in his reception of universal service.

It is possible that this poetic passage is meant to be understood in relation to the previous passage in Dan. 7:9-10. This seems apparent since the major figure of 7:9-10, the “Ancient of Days,” is mentioned here as well. I suggest that these two figures are the organizing themes for each passage and that each is designed to be a strophic unit in itself. Dan. 7:9-10, therefore, is a poetic portrait of the “Ancient of Days” as he is seated for judicial functions. Dan. 7:13-14 is a poetic portrait of “one like a son of man” who receives dominion, glory, and kingship from the “Ancient of Days.”

3.8 POETRY OF DANIEL 7:23-27 (MT)

Dan. 7:15-28 is the interpretation of the vision in vv.1-14 provided by an angelic attendant. Although the section begins with the identity of the four beasts as four kings, the interest of Daniel is specifically upon the fourth beast, which was more terrifying and destructive than the previous three. The vision depicts it with draconic images possessing

ten horns, of which one dominant horn was prominent. This horn was personified as possessing eyes and a mouth that spoke blasphemously (v.11); it waged war against the holy-ones (v.21) until the “Ancient of Days” came in judgment against it. Daniel specifically requested further elaboration on the interpretation of the fourth beast. The angelic interpreter indeed provides it and does so in a poetic portrayal. This interpretation of the fourth beast is the current poetic passage under examination. It is the final example of Aramaic poetry in the Book of Daniel.

Small portions of Dan. 7:23-27 are extant in three of the Qumran copies of Daniel. A single word can be read from 4QDan^d frag. 9.14 (בִּאֲרֵעָא in v.23) and a few words from vv.26-27 in 4QDan^b frag. 15.19-21. The largest portion of 7:23-27 is found in 4QDan^a frag. 14.5-8, which covers short segments of vv.25-27. Since the majority of 7:23-27 is not extant from the Qumran copies and the portions that are visible agree with the MT, I again use the MT as the textual basis for the following poetic analysis.

3.8.1 STICHOMETRY OF DANIEL 7:23-27 (MT)

- כֵּן אָמַר חִיּוֹתָא רְבִיעִיתָא^{v.23}
- 1A מִלְכֵּי רְבִיעָא¹¹² תְּהוּנָא בִּאֲרֵעָא¹¹¹
- 1B דִּי תִשְׁנָא מִן כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא
- 2A וְתֵאכֹל כָּל־אַרְעָא
- 2B וְתִדְוִשְׁנָהּ וְתִדְקַנְהָ:

¹¹¹ בִּאֲרֵעָא is extant in 4QDan^d frag. 9, line 14.

¹¹² Qere. Ketib is רְבִיעִיא.

- v.24 וְקִרְנֵיָא עֲשֵׂר
- 3A מִנְה' מַלְכוּתָהּ עֲשֶׂרָה מַלְכִין יְקָמוֹן
3B וְאַחֲרָן יָקוֹם אַחֲרֵיהוֹן
- 4A וְהוּא יִשְׁנֵא מִן־קִדְמָיָא
4B וּתְלָתָהּ מַלְכִין יִהְשָׁפֵל:
- v.25 וּמַלְכִין לְצַד עֲלָאָה¹¹³ יִמְלֹל
5B וּלְקַדְיִשִׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין יִבְלֹא
- 6A וְיִסְבֵּר לְהַשְׁנִיָּה זְמַנִּין וְדָת
6B וְיִתְיַהֲבֹן בִּידָה
6C עַד־עֵדָן וְעַד־נִין וּפְלַג עֵדָן:¹¹⁴
- v.26 וְדִינָא יִתָּב וְשִׁלְטָנָה יִהְעֵדוֹן
7B לְהַשְׁמָדָה וּלְהוֹבְדָה עַד־סוּפָא:
- v.27 וּמַלְכוּתָהּ וְשִׁלְטָנָא¹¹⁵ וְרִבּוּתָא
8B דִּי מַלְכוּת תַּחּוּת כָּל־שְׁמִיָּא
8C יִהִיבַת לְעַם קַדְיִשִׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין¹¹⁶
- 9A מַלְכוּתָהּ מַלְכוּת עָלַם
9B וְכָל שְׁלִטְנָיָא לָהּ יִפְלַחוּן וְיִשְׁתַּמְעוּן:¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Qere. Ketib is עֲלִיָּא.

¹¹⁴ 4QDan^a frag. 14.5 – ב [ן עדנין] ופלג עדן ודן [ב – 14.5 QDan^a frag. 14.5].

¹¹⁵ 4QDan^a frag. 14.6 – לטנא [ה עדן] ופא ומלכותן [טנא – 14.6 QDan^a frag. 14.6].

¹¹⁶ 4QDan^a frag. 14.7 – עליונין [שמן] יהיבת לעם קדן [עליונין – 14.7 QDan^a frag. 14.7].

4QDan^b frag. 15.20 – [לעם קדישן] עליונין [לעם קדישן – 15.20 QDan^b frag. 15.20].

¹¹⁷ 4QDan^a frag. 14.8 – די [פא] כה [סן] ויפלאחו וישתמעון [די – 14.8 QDan^a frag. 14.8].

4QDan^b frag. 15.21 – [ון] וישתמעון [כה] כה [סן] [ון – 15.21 QDan^b frag. 15.21].

3.8.2 TRANSLATION OF DANIEL 7:23-27 (MT)

^{v.23} *Thus he said: the fourth beast*

- 1A *A fourth kingdom will be on the earth /*
 1B *One which will be different from all the kingdoms //*

- 2A *And it will consume all the earth /*
 2B *And it will trample it and crush it //*

^{v.24} *And the ten horns*

- 3A *Ten kings will arise from that very kingdom¹¹⁸ /*
 3B *And another (king) will arise after them //*

- 4A *And he will be different than the former ones /*
 4B *And he will bring low three kings //*

- 5A ^{v.25} *And he will speak words against the Exalted One¹¹⁹ /*
 5B *And he will wear down the holy ones of the Most High //*

- 6A *And he will intend to change times and decrees /*
 6B *And they will be given into his hand /*
 6C *For a time, times, and half a time //*

- 7A ^{v.26} *But the court will sit and they will remove his dominion /*
 7B *To destroy and annihilate (him) until the end //*

- 8A ^{v.27} *And the kingdom and dominion and greatness /*
 8B *Of the kingdoms under all the heavens /*
 8C *Will be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High //*

- 9A *Their kingdom will be an eternal kingdom /*
 9B *And all the rulers will serve and obey them //*

¹¹⁸ The Aramaic has the preposition ܒܝܢ with a pronominal suffix that is anticipatory of the following noun ܡܠܟܝܬܗ. This construction is analogous to the genitive construction where the second noun may be attached to the first by the particle ܝܕܝܢ but is anticipated by a pronominal suffix on the first noun.

¹¹⁹ For the sake of clarity of reference, I translate ܡܠܟܝܬܗ “Exalted One” and ܡܠܟܝܬܗ “Most High.”

3.8.3 POETIC FEATURES IN DANIEL 7:23-27 (MT)

3.8.3.1 Parallelism in Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

Line 1 begins after the opening phrase **רְבִיעִיתָא חִיּוֹתָא**, which may be nothing more than a scribal notation that marks the start of this section on the “fourth beast.” The use of notations is attested in other places of chapter 7. For example, consider the phrase **רִאשׁ מַלְיָן** in Dan. 7:1b, which does not occur in either Theodotian Greek or in 4QDan^b. From the Qumran copy, it seems unlikely that there was space available for the full phrase found in the MT. For that reason, I would agree with Montgomery who takes this as a title, meaning, “Beginning of matters.”¹²⁰ So C. C. Torrey also, who understands this phrase as a scribal gloss to mean, “Here begins the personal memoir of Daniel, told by himself in the first person.”¹²¹ I would understand the opening phrase at the beginning of v.24 – **וְקִרְנֵיָא עֲשֵׂר** – in the same way.¹²²

This line is composed of a main clause in the A-colon with a relative clause in the B-colon. There is no correspondence between the elements in this line. Since the subject of the verb **חֲשַׁנָּא** in the relative clause of the B-colon is in the A-colon, the B-colon is

¹²⁰ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 284. The verb **אֲמַר** occurs after this phrase, which he says was a later addition to make sense of this phrase. Scribal notations also occurred previously in Daniel. The word **אַרְמִיָּת** occurs in Dan. 2:4 to identify the beginning of the Aramaic section of the Book. This also occurs in Ez. 4:7, serving the same function.

¹²¹ C. C. Torrey, “Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel,” *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 15 (1909), 281. As a gloss, Torrey is correct to see this as appositive to **7:28**, **עֲדִי-כָּה סוֹפָא דִּי-מַלְתָּא**, “Here is the end of the matter.” The verb **אֲמַר** was most likely added later. Therefore, the original text of Daniel 7 was probably absent of this phrase.

¹²² This seems to be the interpretation of Montgomery also; see his translation in *Daniel*, 310.

syntactically dependent on the A-colon. There is, however, an echo of sounds where *mem*, *kap*, and *lamed* are repeated throughout the line.

Line 2 depicts the destructive powers of this fourth kingdom. The A-colon describes the consuming nature (literally “eat”) of this kingdom as it brings devastation to “all the earth.” The B-colon parallels the semantics of the verb in the A-colon with two verbs of similar meaning – “trample” and “crush.” The use of these two similar verbs in the B-colon adds further prominence to the destructive power of this kingdom.

As was observed in the previous line, there is also a phonologic correspondence in this line. The difference is that the two occurrences of it here are internal parallelisms. In the A-colon the final syllable in the verb (-*kul*) links this word with the beginning of the following phrase, which begins with the same consonant pattern (*kol*-). The B-colon is an example of internal parallelism at three different levels. First, the two verbs share a semantic similarity – the second may have the sense of a more intensive form of pulverization (trample vs. crush). Second, both are finite verbs with a third feminine singular object suffix – yet, the first verb is in the G-stem while the second is in the C-stem. Third, there is a series of phonologic parallelisms between the two verbs – they both have the conjunction *waw*; both verbs begin with the consonant pattern of *taw-dalet* and end with the repetition of the 3fs pronoun suffixed to the consonant *nun*, -*nah*.

Line 3 is introduced with the notation **וְקִרְנֵיָא עֲשֶׂה**, which informs the reader that this is the beginning of the section concerning the “ten horns.” The verb in each colon is identical – “arise” – therefore synonymous parallelism. The repetition of the verbs highlights the difference in the other elements in the bicolon. First is the subject, which in the A-colon is **עֲשֶׂה מְלָכִין** “ten kings;” they are the first to “arise.” The subject of the B-colon is **אֲחֵרִין** “another one;” this is the second figure to “arise.” The use of that term **אֲחֵרִין** establishes a chronological sequence with the “ten horns.” From this perspective the subjects correspond – the ten kings “arise” first, followed by “the other one.” This also sets “the other one” apart as unique in comparison to the previous ten (see line 4 below). The second element that is highlighted due to the synonymous parallelism of the verbs is the prepositions. The first prepositional phrase **מִנְהָ מְלִכּוּתָהּ** in the A-colon brings out the origins of the ten kings and the “other (king).” The second prepositional phrase **אֲחֵרֵיהֶן** in the B-colon adds the concept of sequential order.

Each colon has a phonologic pattern where it begins and ends with similar sounds. The A-colon opens with a prepositional phrase that includes the word **מִלְכּוּתָהּ**. Towards the end of that line is the noun **מְלָכִין**. In addition to that pattern the repeated use of the *mem*-phoneme can also be heard in the preposition **מִנְהָ** at the start of the line and the verb **יִקְמוּן** at the end. The fact that the middle word – **עֲשֶׂה** – does not share any of the same consonants as its outward elements highlights this phonologic repetition. Similar to the A-colon, the B-colon also uses repetition in its outer elements – **אֲחֵרִין** and **אֲחֵרֵיהֶן**.

Again, the fact that the middle word (יְקִיָּם) does not use any of the consonants in the two outer words only adds to the phonologic *inclusio* of this colon.

Although this section begins with the identity of “the ten horns” as “ten kings,” its actual interest is upon this “other” king. Dan. 7:8 describes this horn as a “little horn.” This “little horn” is portrayed with human traits in v.8, 11, 20-21. This is the blasphemous horn that waged war against the holy ones (v.21). It also appears to have grown from its initial small stature to become “greater than its companions” (v.20). This image is dominant in the following lines.

Line 4 focuses upon this “other” king (יְקִיָּם) that arose from the fourth beast after the previous ten. This is a difficult line to interpret poetically. The line itself is a bicolon in which there is no parallelism of elements. The A-colon states what was implied in the previous line – this “other” king is different than the previous ten. The B-colon, then, says that this “other” will humiliate three of the ten kings. The connection between these two statements is not certain. Is this humiliation of the three kings the precise activity that makes the “other (one)” different (יְקִיָּם) from the previous ten? Other than providing the interpretation of Dan. 7:8, it appears that these two cola have little correlation to each other.

Line 5 personifies this “other (king)” since we are told that it “speaks.” In fact, it is speaking words against the “Exalted One” **עֲלֹאָה**. The previous line mentioned that this figure brought down three of the ten kings. In line 5A it is now challenging God Himself. It does not limit its assault against God alone, but in line 5B it also moves against the “holy ones of the Most-High.” Thus its offense is at two levels. It is first against God in his boastful and blasphemous speech. Second is against the holy ones of God whom he “wears down” **יַבֵּלֵא**. Verbal transgression is in view in the A-colon, while a physical assault is in the B-colon. The parallelism of the verbs **יַמְלֵל** and **יַבֵּלֵא** conveys this same two-fold offense of “the other (king).”

In addition to the parallelism of the verbal elements, there is also a correspondence between the two phrases in the line, which are marked with *lamed*. Each colon ends with the verb in the final position; the word **מִלֵּין** in the A-colon is the object of the verb **יַמְלֵל**. The remaining phrase is marked by *lamed*. The *lamed* also occurs in the B-colon. It is used differently, however, in both cola – as a preposition in the A-colon and the direct object marker in the B-colon. Regardless of the different functions, its repetition brings a visual correspondence to each other. Both occurrences of *lamed* govern a construct chain, in which the final word in the chain is a designation for God. The literal meaning of the *lamed*-phrase in the A-colon is “to the side of the Exalted One,” where the phrase **לְצַד** means “against.” The *lamed*-phrase in the B-colon is **קְדִישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנַין** “the holy ones of the Most High.” Although syntactically similar, there is

one slight difference between these two phrases. The two nouns in the A-colon are both singular; the B-colon are plural.¹²³

Line 6 is the first tricolon of this poetic passage. In some sense it seems to be commenting on the previous line by correlating the first two cola of this line with the A and B cola of the previous line. Line 5A described the challenge of “the other (king)” against the presence of God. Line 6A says the intention of the “other (king)” is to change times and laws. The reference here is to disrupt the cultic calendar. The common identification of this figure is Antiochus IV Epiphanes, of whom in 1 Macc. 1:45 it says that his decree required the Jews “to profane Sabbaths and feasts.” It seems that he is taking upon himself the authority and prerogatives that belong to God alone. This is similar to the description of the “other (king)” as speaking against the Most High in line 5A.

Line 6B says “they have been given into its hands.” The subject of the verb is the “holy ones” of line 5B, whom the “other (king)” was wearing down. Here, the phrase communicates the thought of the persecution of these “holy ones” by that figure.

Line 6C provides the time during which “the other (king)” will experience this success of apparent supremacy. The duration of this period of success is not mentioned in line 5.

The individual elements in this line do not correlate with each other.¹²⁴

¹²³ The title **עֲלִיּוֹנִין** is a Hebraism. The plural form is unexpected. It also occurs as a plural in Dan. 7:18, 22, and 27. R. H. Charles suggests that this plural is caused by the fact that it is in construct with a “plural preceding”; see Charles, *Daniel*, 191. Montgomery differs and says this is a plural of abstraction; see Montgomery, *Daniel*, 308.

Line 7 is reminiscent of the “Ancient of Days.” The A-colon has a phrase that is nearly identical to one used in Dan. 7:10. The only difference is that the verb here is the imperfect **יִתֵּב** where in 7:10 it is the perfect **יָתֵב**. Montgomery interprets this line as a tricolon where **יִתֵּב דִּינָא** is the A-colon, **יְהֻעֲדִינָה יְהֻעֲדִינָה** is the B-colon, and the remainder is the C-colon.¹²⁵ Although this is possible, I follow Baumgartner (BHS), who interprets this line as a bicolon. I do this for two reasons. The first is due to the nature of the parallelism when it is analyzed as a bicolon. As such, there are *two finite verbs* in the A-colon which corresponds to *two infinitive verbs* in the B-colon. The second reason for the bicolon analysis is due to the strophic organization of the passage (see “Strophic Organization of Dan. 7:23-27” below).

The A-colon is another example of internal parallelism where the first half of the A-colon (**יִתֵּב דִּינָא**) provides the judicial scene that is taking place; the second half (**יְהֻעֲדִינָה יְהֻעֲדִינָה**) is the subsequent result of that scene. Both clauses follow a subject-verb word order. This colon is nearly a repetition of the poetic lines in Dan. 7:9 and 10. The obvious allusion to that previous poetic passage was intentional, which shows that the judgment scene of 7:9, 10 is the proper setting of the judicial condemnation of “the other (king)” of 7:26.

The B-colon presumes a guilty verdict from the “Ancient of Days” and the ensuing sanction of “destruction” (**לְהַשְׁמִדָּה**) and “annihilation” (**לְהוֹבִיֶדָה**) that awaits.

¹²⁴ There is the repetition of the consonant *ayin* in the C-colon, which could be an example of alliteration. This alliteration is reflected in the English translation of this phrase – “time, times, and half a time” (repetition of “t”). The repetition of the same word in a temporal formula makes such an interpretation a bit banal.

¹²⁵ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 310-311.

Line 8 is a tricolon, which is joined together by the use of three words in each colon. The A-colon describes the endowment of a triad of divine dispositions – “the kingdom, dominion, and greatness.” The B-colon is a genitive phrase marked by **וְ**, which modifies the last word of the triad in the A-colon, namely “the greatness / of the kingdoms under all the heavens.” This genitive phrase also has three words. The C-colon provides those who will receive this endowment by using a three-noun construct chain – **עַלְיוֹנִין קְדִישִׁי עִם** “the people of the holy ones of the Most High.” Montgomery suggests that this line is a bicolon with an unusually long A-colon – “The kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under all the heavens.”¹²⁶ To preserve the parallelism of the three-fold word count within each colon,¹²⁷ I suggest this be understood as a tricolon, where the A-colon is the three-fold endowed gifts, the B-colon is a genitive clause that is connected to **רְבוּחָא** “greatness” in the A-colon, and the C-colon is the main clause of the entire line.

There are several grammatical difficulties in this line. The first is the disagreement between the apparent subject and the verb **יְהִיבֶתָּה**. The verb is a Gp-stem perfect 3fs. It appears as though the subject is the three-fold noun phrase in the A-colon, and yet the verb form is singular. There are two possible solutions to this difficulty. First, it is possible that the semantic similarity of these nouns allowed the poet to unite them together as a collective, so that the verb is singular. This is similar to Dan. 7:14, where a group of nouns is governed by a verb in the singular. It is common in Semitic

¹²⁶ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 310-311.

¹²⁷ See also under “Terseness” for further defense of this analysis.

languages that the first noun in a compound nominal phrase dictates the agreement.

Second, and less likely, the subject of the verb is the first word of the line only, מִלְכוּתָהּ.

The conjunction *waw* that follows is to be interpreted as epexegetical – “The kingdom – that is, the dominion and greatness / of the kingdoms under all the heavens //.” The specific aspects of the kingdom in view are its “dominion” and “greatness.” The word “greatness” is given further details by the genitive construction in the B-colon. In this view, the term “kingdom” represents the total sum of “the greatness / of all the kingdoms upon the earth.” This is the kingdom that is given to the “people of the holy ones of the Most High.” I suggest the first option best solves the anomaly. The following poetic line (line 9) describes the exaltation that is bestowed by “all dominions” who “will serve and obey” the people of God.

A second grammatical difficulty is the noun מִלְכוּת in the relative clause in the B-colon. Montgomery is correct when he says that this is a noun in construct with the preposition תַּחֲוֹת.¹²⁸ This unusual grammatical construction is common in Akkadian¹²⁹ and Syriac, where a noun in construct with a preposition is equivalent to the use of a relative pronoun. Therefore, the phrase מִלְכוּת תַּחֲוֹת כָּל-שְׁמַיָּא is grammatically

¹²⁸ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 316.

¹²⁹ See John Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian* (HSS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 188. Huehnergard says that when the Akkadian relative *ša* is deleted from a relative clause, the antecedent noun appears in the construct (bound) form. For example, *bītum ša ēpušu imqut* = *bīt ēpušu imqut*, “The house I built collapsed.”

equivalent to מְלִכְוֹתָא דִּי תְּחֹות כָּל-שְׁמִיָּא. It is also not uncommon in Biblical Hebrew (see Ps. 2:12; Isa. 9:1, 2; Isa. 28:9; Jer. 23:23).¹³⁰

The third and final grammatical difficulty is again regarding the verb יִהְיֶיבָת. As mentioned above, this is a perfect, yet the context requires the future tense. Various commentators have suggested that this is some form of a future perfect.¹³¹

Line 9 now focuses upon “their kingdom” מְלִכְוֹתָהּ. The antecedent of the third person suffix is the “people of the holy ones of the Most high.” It seems that מְלִכְוֹתָהּ in the A-colon parallels שְׁלֹטְנֵיָּא in the B-colon. This is a word-pair that has frequently been used throughout the poetic sections in the Book of Daniel, although this is the first case in which a singular is coupled with a plural (“their kingdom” (sg.) / “all the rulers” (pl.).¹³² The universal sense of the plural is accentuated by the use of כָּל. The “totality” of rulers corresponds with the “eternal” character of their kingdom. Thus, עָלַם in the A-colon also parallels כָּל in the B-colon. The end result (or effect) of this eternal kingdom is the service and obedience of “all the rulers.”

¹³⁰ See Bruce K. Waltke and Michael P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 155-156. The majority of the cases pointed out in *IBHS* interestingly are in the context of poetry.

¹³¹ See Goldingay, *Daniel*, 146. He says this is a future perfect (“will have been given”) and compares it to נַעֲשֶׂתָהּ “will have been achieved” in 11:36. Charles, *Daniel*, 195, says the “perfect is used for the future to express certainty” and compares it to הִשְׁכַּחְנָה “we will find” in 6:5 as well as נַעֲשֶׂתָהּ in 11:36.

¹³² The singular refers to a collective noun, namely “the people.”

3.8.3.2 Terseness of Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	3	4
	1B	0	2	3
	2A	1	2	3
	2B	2	2	2
	3A	1	3	4
	3B	1	3	3
	4A	1	3	3
	4B	1	2	3
	5A	1	3	3
	5B	1	2	3
	6A	2	3	4
	6B	1	2	2
	6C	0	3	4
	7A	2	4	4
	7B	2	3	3
	8A	0	3	3
	8B	0	2	3
	8C	1	2	4
	9A	1	2	3
	9B	2	4	5

Although the majority of the poetic lines balance with only minor variations, several lines do require further elaboration and comments.

Line 2A has the direct object **כָּל-אַרְעָא** in the A-colon, which is the antecedent to the suffix found on each of the two finite verbs in the B-colon. Since that object is pronominalized, this creates space for that second finite verb. This allows the line to maintain both a terse colon and an acceptable balance between the cola.

Lines 7 and 9 are imbalanced in the number of clauses since line 7A has two verbs while line 7B has none. This also creates a mild imbalance in the other two categories. The same can be said of line 9, where the A-colon is the colon without a finite verb and the B-colon is the one with two verbs. This imbalance was intentional to create an *inclusio* effect to mark the beginning and end of a strophic unit (see below under “Strophic Organization”).

Line 8 is the most difficult line to explain in regards to terseness. As I proposed above, I suggest this line be seen as a tricolon that preserves the three-fold divine endowments in the A-colon that parallel the three-word genitive phrase in the B-colon and the three-fold construct chain in the C-colon. In addition to that defense is the argument regarding the terseness of the line. In my proposed tricolon each of the cola is composed of three words. For such a stichometric reconstruction, the nouns that compose the genitive phrase marked by **יְ** is required to be separated. Admittedly, this is

grammatically awkward. It should also be stated, however, that any proposed stichometric reconstruction solves certain difficulties at the expense of creating new ones. I mentioned the earlier suggestion by Montgomery who proposed an A-colon that is awkwardly long when compared to the other cola in the passage. He preserves the parallelism between the three-fold noun phrase (“the kingdom, dominion, and greatness”) with the three-fold object phrase (“the people of the holy-ones of the Most-High).” In other words, his suggestion does justice to the parallelism, but at the expense of the terseness.¹³³ The proposal by Baumgartner in BHS is similar to my own, except it does not maintain the grouping of three in each cola. Rather, it reads 2 words, 4 words, 3 words respectively – “The kingdom and dominion / And the greatness of the kingdoms under all the heavens / will be given to the peoples of the holy ones of the Most High //.” This is clearly better in regards to the terseness of the line, but not so in regards to the parallelism since it divides the initial three-fold noun phrase. My proposed tricolon preserves the parallelism of the three-fold word-count and maintains terse poetic cola, but it also creates a grammatical crux. The solutions of a tricolon analysis, however, seem to outweigh this one difficulty.

3.8.3.4 Imagery in Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

This passage is an interpretation of an earlier vision. Within the vision itself there were a number of images that represented various kingdoms and kings. The identity of

¹³³ Montgomery’s proposed bicolon does not account for the genitive phrase, whereas the proposed tricolon does.

the figures within the vision is revealed in this section. In other words this passage is not attempting to use imagery as richly as the previous passages in Daniel; rather it is designed to interpret or identify images. So the image of the “little horn” of Dan. 7:8 is identified as a royal figure who arise out of this fourth world kingdom. He will speak blasphemously and persecute the holy ones of God. However, he will meet a destructive end. We are also given the identity of the “fourth beast,” which is a fourth kingdom out of which will come not only this blasphemous king, but ten kings before him.

The description of this fourth kingdom is the only place in which there is the use of a metaphor. In the vision this fourth kingdom was represented by a bestial creature that was described as “devouring,” “trampling” and “crushing” in Dan. 7:7. The image is that of a ravaging creature that is destroying everything in its path. These same verbs are used to describe the fourth kingdom in Dan. 7:23. The image of a destructive beast continued in the interpretation section to depict this ravaging, consuming pulverizing kingdom over the nations of the earth.

3.8.3.3 Strophic Organization of Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

This poetic passage can be broadly organized into two sections. These two sections cover each of the two vision-elements that brought the most terror and fear to Daniel, namely “the fourth beast” and “the ten horns.” They were the two images about which he requested further understanding (v.19-22), and they are the two organizing themes of 7:23-27. This passage is structured around each of the two images, which are

marked with a scribal heading in accordance with Daniel's request. The first is found in v.23 that states this section is concerning the theme of **רְבִיעִיתָא חִיּוֹתָא** "the fourth beast." This first section is a single strophic unit composed of two lines (lines 1-2) that describes its destructive powers.

The second section is clearly the longer unit. It is marked in a similar way in v.24 with the use of the notation **וְקַרְנֵיָא עֲשָׂר** "and the ten horns." These "ten horns" represent "ten kings," one of which this section is primarily focused upon – the "other (king)" which is the little horn of v.8. This is consistent with the request of Daniel in v.20, where he mentions the "ten horns," but specifies his unique interest in the "little horn." Within this "ten king/other (king)" section, three strophes can be discerned.

Lines 3-4 describe the rise of the other (king). We are told that there were ten kings that arose from the fourth kingdom, after which there arose "another (king)." We know that this king is the "little horn" mentioned earlier in the chapter. We are also given a short and general description – he is different from the previous horns.

Lines 5-6 describe the activity of the other (king). This is done by interlacing two different thematic ideas: the blasphemy of "other (king)" and his persecution of the holy ones. Each colon in each line in this strophe is dedicated to one of these themes. The A-colon in lines 5-6 describes the blasphemy; the B-colon describes the acts of persecution.

Line 5A describes the blasphemous speech of "the other (king)" who is speaking against the Exalted One. Line 6A continues this theme of verbal sacrilege by describing this figure as one so audacious he intends to declare new laws. He is also authoritatively

declaring the use of new “times,” perhaps a reference to a new cultic calendar that forced the profaning of certain sacred feasts and/or Sabbath regulations.

The theme of the persecution against the “holy ones” is seen in line 5B where it says the “other (king)” will “wear them down.” What is precisely meant by the use of this verb is not clear. It seems to imply a constant and relentless barrage of attacks that “wear down” these holy ones to the point of devastation. Line 6B pictures the holy ones being placed into the power (בְּיָד) of this persecuting king.

The interlacing of the two themes, therefore, ties the two lines together into a single strophic unit. Line 6C provides the time duration of these two activities of the “little horn.” Due to the way in which the two themes are woven together, we are not to see this time period as applicable to line 6 alone. Rather, it is to be seen as applying to lines 5-6 together. Consequently, both the period of blasphemous speech and persecution against the holy-ones will be “for a time, times, and half a time.”

Lines 7-9 bring an end to this vision-interpretation poem by focusing on the theme of the redemptive judgment of the other (king). Line 7 clearly describes a judicial setting where he is stripped of his authority and kingship. His final destruction is also vividly portrayed. Lines 8-9, however, show that the legal fall of “the other (king)” is also the occasion for the redemptive victory of the “holy ones,” who receive an eternal kingdom and the service and obedience of all the rulers of the earth.

This final strophe is marked by the coupling of two imbalanced poetic lines. Line 7, as described above, is a bicolon where the A-colon is composed of two finite verbal

clauses. The B-colon, however, does not have a finite verb. The same type of parallelism is also found in line 9, but with the imbalance in reverse order. So line 9A is without a finite verb, but line 9B has two finite verbal clauses. This metrical *inclusio*, then, marks the beginning and ending of this strophic unit.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS ON THE ARAMAIC POETRY IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

There are eight poetic passages in the Book of Daniel. There are a total of 51 poetic lines which utilize various different poetic features and devices. Although the majority of these lines are bicola, the tricolon is not uncommon.

Regarding parallelism, the type demonstrated in these Aramaic poetic passages is consistent with the type of parallelism that is seen in Hebrew poetry. In general there is a perceived correspondence between one element of one colon to that of another within any given line of poetry. The nature of these correspondences varies, but it usually involves the comparing and contrasting of equivalent elements at the level of semantics, syntax, and phonology. It is also evident that parallelism is not limited to the level of individual words only. There are cases in which entire phrases are coordinated with each other. Indeed it is not uncommon to also see parallelism at the colon-level alone without any correspondence between its component parts.

Regarding terseness, the poetic lines in the Book of Daniel again share a similar commitment to compact and short grammatical lines as seen in Hebrew poetry. The average constellations of syntactic constraints for each poetic passage are as follows:

	Poetic Passage	Number of poetic lines	Number of cola	Number of clausal constituents	Number of phrasal constituents	Number of words
	4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:19-24)	6	14	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 3:33-4:2	4	8	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 4:7b-14	13	32	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 4:31-32	5	10	1	3	3-4
	Dan. 6:27b-28	4	9	1	2	2
	Dan. 7:9-10	6	12	1	2	3
	Dan. 7:13-14	4	8	1	2	3-4
	Dan. 7:23-27	9	20	1	2-3	3
	TOTALS	51	113	–	–	–
	AVERAGE	–	–	1	2-3	3

The poems analyzed above share a constraint on the number of clauses, phrases and words that make up a poetic line. Although there are some variations, for the most part these lines are composed of two or three cola, each of which generally have 1 clause,

2-3 phrases, and 3 words. These measurements are balanced between cola. Precise, or perfect, balance is not common. There seemed to be a general imbalance that was acceptable, where the count in these three different areas is off by a single number or two.

The average measurement above is similar to the dominant line form of *Hebrew Verse Structure*, which according to O'Connor is one clause, two or three constituents, and two or three units (words).¹³⁴ A full description of the various line forms in Aramaic poetry in Qumran is provided in the "Conclusion." For our current discussion, the data above suggest a similarity of syntactic constraints. There were clearly examples of lines that were longer than what is expected in Hebrew poetry, so the data above can be misleading. It seems more accurate to conclude that although there is a similarity with Hebrew verse, Aramaic verse as a whole tends to have lesser terseness in their poetic lines.

Regarding strophes, the poetic passages in the Book of Daniel tend to be too small to discern any significant strophic organizations. The larger poetic units, however, demonstrate the use of a wide variety of linguistic techniques and methods to define the parameters of these various strophes. The passage in Dan. 4:7b-14 is a good illustration of the way strophes are structured (see above for more details). Often, the first and last lines of a strophic unit share some linguistic correspondence to mark the start and end of the strophe. This also demonstrates that parallelism is not limited to adjacent lines.

¹³⁴ O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 87.

Regarding imagery, the poetry in the Book of Daniel is rich. This is not surprising given that many of these poetic passages occur in apocalyptic visions that use images to communicate divine messages.

One final comment is in regards to certain unusual grammatical constructions. There were three such anomalies in the corpus examined above. First, it was not uncommon to observe cases in which the imperfect verb was used to express a past tense action. In several of these occurrences, I suggested that the durative or iterative aspect of the imperfect was a reasonable interpretation given the context in which the verb was used. This interpretation does not apply in every instance of this preterite imperfect. One other possible interpretation is to analyze these preterite uses of the imperfect as restricted only within the context of poetry. In other words, this use of the imperfect is a poetic device. If this is true, then these prefixal verb forms can be understood as a simple past tense without any aspectual nuance. A second example of an unusual grammatical construction is the substantive use of the preposition כּ in Dan. 7:13 for the phrase “one like a son of man,” כְּבֶר אִנָּשׁ. The third example is in Dan. 7:27 where a noun was in construct with a prepositional phrase – מַלְכוּתֹת תַּחְתּוֹת כָּל־שָׁמַיָא – “the kingdoms (which are) under all the heavens.” Due to the limited occurrences of these grammatical peculiarities and the lack of poetic materials, it is nearly impossible to discern whether these are only found in the context of poetry. It does, however, provide one possible explanation that further studies in Aramaic poetic texts may clarify.

Having completed the examination of the Aramaic poetry in the Book of Daniel, the Aramaic texts in Qumran will be the focus of the remainder of this study. Each chapter will follow the similar structure, pattern, and approach as was implemented in this previous section on Daniel.

CHAPTER FOUR

POETRY OF 4Q246, “THE SON OF GOD” TEXT

4Q246 is a text that has stirred a great amount of interest, specifically due to its extraordinary pre-Christian reference to a “son of God, “son of the Most High,” epithets also found in the Gospel of Luke 1:32-35 in reference to Jesus of Nazareth. The bulk of the scholarly work on this text has been spent on identifying this significant figure. Most scholars see him as a messianic figure;¹ others see him as a negative figure,² perhaps even an Anti-Christ.³ The literary background of this text has also been a point of debate.

Edward Cook has suggested that this text has a greater affinity with Akkadian prophecy

¹ John Collins, “A Pre-Christian ‘Son of God’ among the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Bible Review* 9 (1993), 34-38, 57; Frank M. Cross, “The Extracanonical Daniel Apocalypse (4Q246),” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-13; Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise, “The Son of God (4Q246),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element, 1992), 68-71; Joseph Fitzmyer, “4Q246: The ‘Son of God’ Document from Qumran,” *Bib* 74 (1993), 153-74; F. García-Martínez, “The Eschatological Figure of 4Q246,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 162-179. García-Martínez says this is an “eschatological figure,” possibly an angelic figure.

² Edward Cook, “4Q246,” 43-66; Émile Puech, “Some Remarks on 4Q246 and 4Q521 and Qumran Messianism,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 543-565; J. T. Milik, “Les modèles araméens du livre d’Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RQ* 15 (1992), 383-84. Cook identifies the “son of God” as Antiochus IV Epiphanes, his father being Antiochus III the Great. Such an understanding fits his restoration, “[also his son] shall be called the Great, and by his name [Antiochus] he shall be designated” (1.9). Puech agrees with Cook’s identity. Milik suggests Alexander Balas (150-145 BCE) who used the title θεοπατωρ on coins of his realm. For Puech, see also, “Fragment d’une apocalypse en araméen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan^d) et le ‘Royaume de Dieu,’” *RB* 99 (1992): 98-131, and “Notes sur le fragment d’apocalypse 4Q246 – ‘The Son of God,’” *RB* 101 (1994): 533-558.

³ David Flusser, “The Hubris of the AntiChrist in a Fragment from Qumran,” *Immanuel* 10 (1980): 31-37.

texts than with the Book of Daniel, which is what most scholars have identified as its primary influence. Due to both the scholarly fascination with the identity of this “son of God” figure and the discussion of the literary *Vorlage*, the poetic character of the text has been largely overshadowed and ignored.⁴ The reference to the “son of God” figure is indeed worthy of attention, but the lack of consideration of the poetic nature of the text is still surprising since the work of É. Puech in the *editio princeps* in the *DJD* volume clearly outlines it as poetry.⁵

The manuscript contains two columns of nine lines each. Due to a tear through the middle of column 1, the first half of each line in the column is missing. Column 2, however, is completely in tact. The fragmentary condition of column 1 has brought about many differing proposed restorations. Such work is clearly built upon the presumptions on the identity of the “son of God.” The poetic nature of the text, however, seems to be overlooked since these proposed restorations are long clauses that lack the terseness and parallelism that is evident in column 2. Apparently, a prosaic nature of this text is presumed in many of these proposals. Since only half of column 1 is preserved, column 2 must be relied upon for information about the arrangement and the nature of the text. Column 2, interestingly, is written with many clear and obvious features that are characteristic of poetry (e.g. short terse lines, verb gapping, parallelism, etc.). Of all the

⁴ The work of Cook and Puech demonstrate the most sensitivity in viewing this text as verse. Although I differ with his identification of the “son of God” figure as well as his suggestion that this text is an adaptation of the Akkadian prophecy texts to serve as a counter-propaganda to Seleucid claims (see Cook, “4Q246” for further details), I am very influenced by the poetic analysis of Cook and find his comments ultimately persuasive. My own analysis differs only slightly from his.

⁵ Émile Puech, “4QApocryphe de Daniel ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical texts, Part 3* (ed. George Brooke et al. in consultation with J. Vanderkam; *DJD XXII*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 167-170.

Aramaic manuscripts within the Qumran library, 4Q246 is arguably the clearest indisputable example of Aramaic poetry. The focus of this paper is not to engage in matters regarding either comparative literature or interpretations of the “son of God.” Also, no significant attempt will be made to “fill in the blanks” of the missing portions of column 1. Rather, I intend to focus my comments upon matters of philology, but more so on prosody where such comments are relevant and possible.

For the purpose of our current analysis, we will comment on the following features that identify this text as poetry, namely parallelism, terseness, imagery, and strophic organization. As described in earlier chapters, the parallelism characteristic in this text is a multidimensional phenomenon that involves the correlation of syntactic and lexical-semantic elements between cola to create two effects: a) the similarity or equivalence between the A and B cola, and b) the expectation that the B-colon will go beyond and differ from the A-colon. Restrictions on the number of clauses, phrasal constituents, words (or accents) are placed on each cola, thus creating the terse lines that are distinctive to poetry. The themes (or content) within these terse lines form strophic units as well.

The fragmentary condition of column 1 makes it difficult to discern anything regarding its poetic structure. Attempting to do so would prove to be more a work of speculation filled with uncertainties. The poetry of this text is much more self-evident in column 2. For that reason, I will focus my comments on column 2 alone. I will begin with the transcription of column 2 followed by a stichometric reconstruction, comments

on the various poetic features within it, then offer final observations on the text as a whole. Since previous treatments have made very reliable and detailed notations concerning the linguistic features of the text,⁶ there is no need to make such notes here. The translation, however, is mine. My comments are limited only in areas where the poetry makes a significant contribution to translation or interpretation.

4.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

1. ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה כזיקיא
2. די חזיתא כן מלכותה תהוא שנין ימלכון על
3. ארעא וכלא ידשון עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למד[ינ]ה
4. עד יקום עם אל וכל ינוח מן חרב
5. מלכותה מלכות עלם וכלא ארחתה בקשוט ידין]
6. ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף
7. וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון אל רבא באילה
8. הוא יעבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן
9. ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי [

4.2 STICHOMETRY OF 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

Recall that this examination covers the text material in column 2 only, so the superscripts provided below are in reference to that column.

- 1A. ברה די אל יתאמר¹
- 1B. ובר עליון יקרונה

⁶ For such an analysis, see Cook, "4Q246."

- 2A. כזיקיא ²די חזיתא
 2B. כן מלכותה תהוא
- 3A. שנין ימלכון על ³ארעא
 3B. וכלא ידשון
- 4A. עם לעם ידוש
 4B. ומדינה למד[ינ]ה
- 5A. ⁴עד יקום עם אל
 5B. וכלא יניח מן חרב
- 6A. ⁵מלכותה מלכות עלם
 6B. וכלא ארחתה בקשוט
- 7A. ידי[ן] ⁶ארעא בקשט
 7B. וכלא יעבד שלם
- 8A. חרב מן ארעא יסף
 8B. ⁷וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון
- 9A. אל רבא באילה
 9B. ⁸הוא יעבד לה קרב
- 10A. עממין ינתן בידה
 10B. וכלהן ⁹קדמוהי
- 11A. שלטנה שלטן עלם
 11B. וכל תהומי []

4.3 TRANSLATION OF 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

- 1A. *It will be said (that he is) the son of God /*
 1B. *And the son of the most-high they will call him //*

- 2A. *Like the comets which you saw /*
 2B. *So shall be their kingdom //*
- 3A. *(A few) years they will rule over the earth /*
 3B. *And they will trample everything //*
- 4A. *People will trample people /*
 4B. *Provinces (will trample) provinces //*
- 5A. *Until the people of God arise /*
 5B. *And he will bring rest to everything from the sword //*
- 6A. *His kingdom will be a kingdom of eternity /*
 6B. *All his ways will be righteous //*
- 7A. *He will judge the earth justly /*
 7B. *And he make everyone to be at peace //*
- 8A. *The sword shall cease from the land /*
 8B. *And every province shall pay homage to him //*
- 9A. *The great god will be his strength /*
 9B. *He himself will make war for him/them //*
- 10A. *He will give the nations into his hand /*
 10B. *And all of them he will place before him/them //*
- 11A. *His dominion will be a dominion of eternity /*
 11B. *And all of the deeps... [] //*

4.4 POETIC FEATURES IN 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

4.4.1 PARALLELISM IN 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

We begin our poetic analysis by commenting on the parallelism found within this text. The first thing to note is that column 2 consists entirely of bicolon; there is no occurrence of a tricolon. Secondly, as mentioned by Cook, characteristic of the parallelism of this text is the fact that the poet “prefers to begin the second colon with the conjunction *waw*.”⁷ Line 9B is the exception. The conjunction is also absent in line 2B, but the grammatical construction created by the use of the particle ׀ in the B-colon paired with the preposition ׀ in the A-colon, functions as a type of coordination. Thirdly, as mentioned above, the parallelism demonstrated in this text involves both semantic and syntactic equivalences and contrasts. The specific types of parallelism are discussed below.

Line 1 holds the most famous phrase of the text by making reference to “the son of God” and “the son of the most-high.” The A-colon acknowledges that the title “son of God” will be applied to a significant individual, “it will be said (of him that he is) the son of God.” The B-colon adds a subtle nuance when it shifts to a plural subject – “they will call him the son of the Most High” – which suggests a broader (possibly universal)

⁷ Cook, “4Q246,” 49. This is similar with the parallelism in description of the beauty of Sarah in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, 1QapGen 20.2-8b (see “Chapter Nine: Poetry of ‘The Beauty of Sarai’ in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 20.2-8a).”

recognition of his identity. The interpretation and identification of this figure has, of course, remained elusive to scholars.

The correspondence between the cola is demonstrated in the use of parallel terms. **אל** in the A-colon parallels **ובר עליון** in the B-colon, and **יתאמר** parallels **יקרונה**. Recall in Chapter Two (“The Model of Poetic Analysis”) the distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic word pairs was made. Examples of both are seen in this line. Whereas the word-pair of **יתאמר** and **יקרונה** is an example of this paradigmatic word-pair⁸, so the word-pair of **אל** and **ובר עליון** is a syntagmatic example. The interconnection of these word-pairs creates the effect of advancing the thought while at the same time creating a close relationship between the constituent parts within each cola.

Line 1 also offers a high quality example of syntactic parallelism where the B-colon substitutes something grammatically different (yet equivalent) for a grammatical feature in the A-colon. They are made up of one clause each that is composed of a noun-phrase and a finite verb. **יתאמר** in the A-colon is in the Gt-stem, which is used here as a passive, “*he will be called* the son of God.” The passive stem is not used in the B-colon. Rather, it is the third person masculine plural form of the verb **קרא** in the G-stem. As parallelism is often a syntactic phenomenon, so we can see both inflectional and

⁸ In line 2A the verb **אמר** in the A-colon is paired with **קרא** in the B-colon. In the last line of column 1, the same verb **אמר** occurs in the A-colon. It is paired, however, not with **קרא** as in 2A, but rather with **כני** (**יתכנה**) the Dt-stem from the root **כני**, meaning “to name, nickname, to be surnamed”).

derivational morphologic correspondence. The subject of this verb is uncertain and possibly is mentioned in column 1 (e.g. the king(s) of Assyria and Egypt). The more likely possibility is that the plural subject is not specified. In either case, this line demonstrates the way in which grammatical equivalence and contrast is utilized in Aramaic poetry.

Line 2 offers an interesting example of parallelism. First, we must comment on one significant orthographic issue regarding the reading of חזיתא, “you saw.” Puech, Milik, García-Martínez, Flusser, and Fitzmyer read חזותא, which they translate “vision,” instead of חזיתא, “you saw.” Such a reading is problematic since the determined state of the word “vision” is חזוא (masculine), not חזותא (feminine). Eisenman and Wise, Collins, Cross and Cook read this word correctly as a verb “you saw.” Given the verbal identity of the phrase חזיתא, this line is significant since it provides the only piece of information in the manuscript that reveals the content of the dream: כזיקא די חזיתא, “Like the comets which you saw (in your vision).”

The correspondence of this line is not like any other in this manuscript since there is little parallelism between the elements within the cola. From the point of view of grammar, the entirety of A-colon is a prepositional phrase, “like the comets which you saw.” It is syntactically dependent upon the B-colon. An interesting correspondence is made, however, that is related with the genre of this manuscript as a Jewish apocalyptic

text.⁹ One feature of apocalyptic texts is the provision of the interpretation of a vision. This is a common feature in the vision sections in the biblical Book of Daniel 7-12. As mentioned above, the A-colon provides the one and only piece of information from the vision proper. The B-colon, however, provides the interpretation of that vision. The “comets which you saw” are like “his/their kingdom.” This apocalyptic parallelism begins then a section in the text that provides the interpretation of a vision that presumably was described in the missing portions of this text. To whom this “kingdom” belongs remains a mystery.

Line 3 continues the interpretation of these “comets” that were mentioned in the previous line. In regards to the grammatical parallelism in line 3 there is a slight imbalance. Each colon is composed of one clause. The A-colon, however, is made up of three phrasal constituents (noun – finite verb – prepositional phrase), composed of four words. The B-colon is made up of two phrasal constituents (noun – finite verb), and composed of only two words.

The semantic parallelism between cola is more clearly observable. The A-colon states that the kingdom mentioned in the previous line will rule over the earth for “(a few) years” (שנין). Without exception, all commentators say that שנין refers to the brief reign of “their kingdom.” Like comets which are only seen briefly as they streak across the

⁹ Joseph Fitzmyer, in his article on “Aramaic Apocalypse” in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, comments on only one text – 4Q246 – as an example of such an apocalypse; see “Aramaic Apocalypse,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:51. For definitions on the components that distinguishes a text as an apocalypse, see John Collins, “Apocalyptic: The Morphology of a Genre,” *Semeia* 14 (1979), 1-15; *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (Second Edition; Livonia: Eerdmans, 1998).

night sky, “thus their kingdom will be.” Cook says “the rapid passage of the meteor serves as a token of the short duration of ‘their kingdom.’”¹⁰ Thus he translates, “(A few years) they will reign over the land;” Cross translates this line similarly. Fitzmyer says, “Like comets that appear to the eye momentarily as they speed across the heavens.”¹¹ The reign in view is further elaborated in the B-colon that describes it as the “trampling” (ידשו) of everything. Where the A-colon describes the brief duration of the rule of this kingdom, the B-colon goes on to describe the nature of this brief dominion. Such an interpretation is appealing since it offers a balance between the temporal quality of the kingdom in the A-colon (a brief time) and the spatial rule in the B-colon (everything).

Line 4 has an occurrence of the gapping of the verb, where ידשו in the A-colon is implied in the B-colon. This linguistic device occurs in poetic texts only and identifies this text as poetry, not as prose.

Line 5 poses the most interesting parallelism in column 2. The first thing to note is the presence of an unusual *vacat* at the beginning of the line. According to Flusser, this is the pivot point where the text begins to describe bliss and happiness, where previously it described evil and terror.¹² Normally, a *vacat* marks the end of a literary section and the start of a new idea. Although line 5 is in fact the beginning of the

¹⁰ Cook, “4Q246,” 56.

¹¹ Cook, “4Q246,” 56; Cross, “The Extracanonical Daniel Apocalypse (4Q246),” 7; Fitzmyer, “4Q246: The ‘Son of God,’” 163.

¹² Flusser, “Hubris of the AntiChrist,” 33. He appeals to this unusual placement of the *vacat* to support his understanding of the “son of God” as the AntiChrist. Since the introduction of the “son of God” would have been in the section prior to this *vacat*, for Flusser he must be a negative figure.

description of the rise of the people of God and the entrance of peace, the placement of the *vacat* seems to serve an additional function. For the purposes of our poetic analysis, the presence of this *vacat* suggests that the colon **עַד יָקוּם עִם אֱלֹהִים** is to be read with what follows, not with what precedes, in spite of the fact that it is a prepositional phrase that is syntactically dependent upon the previous line.

From the perspective of syntax, the elements in each colon mirror each other chiastically. Each colon has a preposition, the B-colon being a prepositional phrase - **עַד** / **כִּלְאָה** / **עִם אֱלֹהִים**, a finite verb **יָקוּם** / **יָנִיחַ**, and a subject for the verb **בְּנֵי חָרֵב** / **בְּנֵי חָרֵב**. Therefore, the order is a-b-c / c-b-a.

The grammatical connection then suggests that there is a semantic one as well. This is significant to note since this poetic line, unlike previous ones, does not have obvious and clearly perceivable semantic parallelism. What is perceivable is the logical progression from one colon to the next. When “the people of God arise,” this is the occasion that will bring “rest” to “everything...from the sword.” It is not clear from the text who brings this rest, the “people of God” or the “son of God” from line 1. If it is the “son of God,” then the rise of the people is the occasion in which he will bring this rest; if the “people of God” are the ones who bring rest, then this line is describing a cause-and-effect relationship. The A-colon provides the cause of the rest, and the B-colon describes the effect of the rising of the people. In previous lines we have seen examples of paradigmatic and syntagmatic word-pairs. By analogy, these categories also apply to the semantic relationship of cola. Most pairing of cola that we have seen has been broadly

paradigmatic. The progression in this line is an example of semantic parallelism that is syntagmatic.

Line 6 describes the eternal nature of the kingdom of either “the people of God,” or the “son of God.” The subject of **יְקוֹם** and **יִנִּיחַ** is not certain. It can be “the people of God” mentioned in this line. It can also be the “son of God” from line 1A (col. 2.1), or even “the Great God” from line 9A (col. 2.7). If “son of God” is the subject, the *waw* in the verb **יְקוֹם** would be read as a *yod* (**יְקִים**) and the verb understood as the C-stem from the root **קוֹם**, “he caused the people of God to arise.” There is then uncertainty to the antecedents in the remainder of this text: the 3ms pronominal suffix **-ה** in **מְלָכוּתָהּ**, “his/their kingdom,” **אֶרְצָתָהּ** “his/their way” in line 8B (col. 2.5), etc. Fitzmyer, Collins, García-Martínez take these as referring to the “son of God” figure. Cross says this is a reference to the king of Assyria and the king of Egypt from col. 1.6. Cook and Puech take them as referring to “the people of God.” They correctly say that the pronominal suffix in line 9A (col. 2.7), “the Great God is his help” must refer to someone other than God; he also says the “son of God” is the most remote since the antecedent is four lines away. I am inclined to understand these antecedents as referring to an individual figure rather than the “people of God.” The following line mentions the eternal character of the kingdom. Normally, kingdoms are associated with individuals, not a corporate body. If this is true, then the antecedent of the suffix **-ה** in **מְלָכוּתָהּ**, along with the subsequent pronominal suffixes is the individual figure of the son of God. This is supported by the

fact that the phrase מלכותה מלכות עלם appears to be a quotation (or allusion) from Dan. 3:33, 4:31, and 7:27,¹³ where the antecedent is clearly the “Most High.”

In addition to this, the phrase וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון “And all the provinces will pay homage to *him*,” in line 8B (col. 2.7) is helpful in identifying the 3ms object suffixes within col. 2.4-9. The verb יסגדון means “to pay homage, to bow down.” Such activity is normally associated with either a king or a divine figure (cf. Dan. 2:46). One must wonder how appropriate it is for עם “people” to be the object for this verb, as opposed to “paying homage” to a king or to God. I do find it awkward, and so I am inclined to identify the 3ms suffixes with the “son of God.” This is reflected in my translation.

Returning to the parallelism of this text, מלכותה in the A-colon corresponded by מלכות עלם in the B-colon, and ארחתה in the B-colon, and בקשוט is paralleled by עלם. As we have seen in other semantic parallelism, there is not only similarity, but also differences in each pair. The B-colon adds that “all” of his ways will be in truth which shows the totality of the reign. This is missing in the A-colon. The A-colon, however, does state that his kingdom is one of “eternity,” where the B-colon says nothing in regards to the character of קשוט, “the justice.” The semantic correspondence in each of these word-pairs is syntagmatic and the similarity / difference is used to describe both the qualitative and quantitative (temporal) character of the kingdom – it is an eternal kingdom in which everything will be ruled in justice.¹⁴

¹³ All these occur in poetic passages (see “Chapter Three: Aramaic Poetry in the Book of Daniel”).

¹⁴ This line could be a further challenge to the interpretation of brief rule of the kingdom mentioned in lines 2B and 2C. The description here is a kingdom that will rule for eternity, not a brief

Regarding grammar, both cola are similar in that they are both verbless clauses.

The A-colon, however, uses a construct chain in its predicate מלכות עלם, “a kingdom of eternity,” and the B-colon uses the modifier כל, “all,” with its subject.

Line 7 continues the description of the activity of the “son of God” mentioned in the previous line. The word קשט, which is repeated in this line,¹⁵ triggers the use of the verb ידין to further articulate his ways. Not only will he judge “justly” (בקשט), but there will also be a cosmic peace in the world as a result of their/his kingdom. Again, like line 5, this is a syntagmatic semantic pairing of lines that is also expressed by a syntagmatic pairing of words. After “he judges the world justly,” the result will be universal peace – “all will make peace.”

The correspondence between the two cola is much clearer than the word pairs. Most scholars translate the B-colon as “and all will make peace,” interpreting כלא as the subject of the verb יעבר with שלם as the direct object. This would then make any semantic parallelism at the word level practically impossible between cola. Even at the level of grammar, there would be no equivalence. The finite verbs have different subjects, ארעא is the object of the verb in the A-colon where שלם is the object in the B-colon, and the subject in the A-colon is the aforementioned “people of God” / “son of God” where כלא is the subject in the B-colon. I suggest that the semantic pairing can be

duration of time. It is difficult to be certain of the context of this text since the antecedents of nearly every 3ms pronominal suffix and subjects of finite verbs remain elusive.

¹⁵ It is spelled defectively in this line. Cf. line 6B.

clearly seen if the subject **יַעֲבֹד** in the B-colon is seen as the same as **יָדִי** in the A-colon. The verb **יַעֲבֹד** would be in the C-stem taking double direct objects, namely **כָּל־אָדָם** and **שָׁלוֹם**. The B-colon should then read “and he will make everyone to be at peace.” This, in turn, parallels “He will judge the world justly,” where **יָדִי** corresponds with the verb **יַעֲבֹד**, **כָּל־אָדָם** with **אֶרֶץ**, and **בִּקְשָׁתוֹ** with **שָׁלוֹם**. **בִּקְשָׁתוֹ** in the A-colon is an adjunct that describes **יָדִי**.

Line 8 continues to describe the **שָׁלוֹם** that was mentioned in the previous line. It will be a time where the “sword will cease from the land.” It is also a time where “all provinces will pay homage” to the one who brought about this universal peace. Although the elements within each cola do not parallel each other semantically, there is a clear grammatical correspondence. **חֶרֶב** is the subject of the A-colon where **כָּל־מְדִינָתָא** is in the B-colon. **אֶרֶץ** is the object of the verb in the A-colon, where **לָהּ** is the object in the B-colon. **יִסְכֶּף**¹⁶ and **יִסְגְּדוּן** are finite verbs respectively. The word order also mirrors each other (subject – prepositional phrase – verb).

¹⁶ The verb **יִסְכֶּף**, G impf. 3ms from **סָכַף** “to stop, cease,” is spelled defectively. Other hollow root verbs in this text in the 3ms impf. (**יִדְוֹשׁ** in col. II. 3, **יִקְוֹם** in col. II. 4, **יִנּוּחַ** in col. II. 4, **יִדְיִן** in col. II. 5) are spelled plene.

Line 9 describes the activities of the “great God” who comes to the aid of the “son of God” / “people of God.” He is denoted not only as “the great God” who is “his strength”¹⁷ in the A-colon, but also the one who “will wage war for him/them” in the B-colon. Therefore, we are told who is coming to be a support as well as the reason of his appearance.

From the perspective of grammar, this line pairs a verbless clause to a verbal clause – the first such grammatical parallelism in this text. That being said, a similar type of parallelism occurs in line 2, which uses the finite form of the verb **הוה** (תהוה), although it is not required. Without the finite verb, the cola in line 2 would parallel a verbal clause with a verbless, identical to what we have in line 9.

This line also parallels the noun **אל רבא** in the A-colon with the pronoun **הוא** in the B-colon. Various scholars have interpreted this line differently. Eisenman and Wise take **אל רבא** as a preposed topic with **הוא** as its antecedent – “(As for) the great god, with His help he will make war.” Such an interpretation has problems at several levels: they ignore **לה** and do not account for it in their translation. Also, for our purpose, such a reading does not account for the poetic structure of the line.

¹⁷ The Aramaic reads **אל רבא באילה**. Cook calls the preposition **ב** in this construction the *beth essentiae*, denoting identity, “the Great God is his/their strength,” in “4Q246,” 59. A similar phrase occurs in Hebrew in Exodus 18:4 **אלהי אבי בעזרי**, “the God of my father is my help.” It is also a common phrase found within the Targums. For example, Genesis 21:20 reads **דיוי הוה בסעדיה** **מימרא**, “the command of the Lord was his help.” Fitzmyer makes the same identification of **ב**, “4Q246,” 165

The verb **יַעֲבֹד** is read by Puech¹⁸ and Fitzmyer as **וַיַּעֲבֹד**, presumably as a *waw* with a G-participle, creating a bicolon, “The great God is himself his might / and he shall make war for him.” Fitzmyer takes the pronoun with the previous clause and says that it can be either a copula or emphatic: **אֵל רַבָּא בְּאִילָהּ הוּא** “The great God is himself his might.”¹⁹ Such a view is awkward since finite verbs (imperfect) have been primarily used in this interpretation. Participles do in fact occur in col. 1.2, 3 as an opening to the interpretation, but the details of the vision have been expressed through the use of imperfects, not participles. Cook has the most natural understanding by construing the pronoun **הוּא** as the subject of the verb **יַעֲבֹד**, “it is he who shall fight for him/them.”²⁰

Line 10 continues the description of the activities of the “great God” mentioned in the previous line. Not only does he come to “wage war for him,” but “he will also place the nations into his hand.” This is paired with “all of them he will put before him.” The general parallelism between the cola is also reflected in the paradigmatic word-pairs. **עַמּוּמִין** is paired with **וְכָלֵהֶן** where the use of **כָּל** provides a picture of universal submission. **יִנְתֵּן** is paired with **יִרְמָה**, and **בִּידָה** with **קִדְמוּהִי**. The syntax between cola mirrors each other as well: direct object – verb – prepositional phrase.

¹⁸ It is interesting that this is the only place where Cook and Puech, the two scholars who identified this text as poetry, differ in their reading of column 2.

¹⁹ Fitzmyer, “4Q246: The ‘Son of God,’” 165.

²⁰ Cook also suggests that the reading of Puech and Fitzmyer is unlikely for metrical reasons (see Cook, “4Q246,” 58).

Line 11 has the phrase שלטנה שלטן עלם, “his dominion is an eternal dominion,” which occurs in Dan. 4:31 (referring to God) and 7:14 (referring to “one like a son of a man”). The line ends with a noun in construct, clearly showing that there is at least one additional column to this text that is still yet to be identified or discovered. Due to the fragmentary nature of this line, no clear poetic analysis can be made.

It is evident from the comments above that parallelism in column 2 reflects the multi-dimensional correspondence of grammatical and semantic elements at the level of both words and the line as would be expected in a poetic text. What is compelling is the use of the word כל as the additional element in the B-colon of the majority of the poetic lines, the exceptions being line 1, 2, 4, 9. It provides a sense of universality or totality to this text, which is not surprising given its apocalyptic nature.

4.4.2 TERSENESS OF 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

Much like the nature of meter in Hebrew poetry, so also meter in this text is elusive (see Chapter Two, “Model of Poetic Analysis,” under “Terseness” for a more detailed description). As stated in Chapter Two, Cook gives a few comments on the metrical nature of this text. He often rejects the proposed restorations of column 1 made by scholars “due to metrical considerations.”²¹ His commitment to an accentual approach

²¹ Cook, “4Q246,” 49, 52, 58.

to meter is revealed when he says, “It is evident that the text is arranged in parallelistic bicola, with generally three stresses to a line.”²²

As a poetic text the expectation is to see terse colon in addition to the parallelism described above. The following chart provides the details of the syntactic constraints in the poetic lines of column 2.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	3
	1B	1	2	3
	2A	0	3	3
	2B	1	2	2
	3A	1	3	3
	3B	1	2	2
	4A	1	3	3
	4B	1	2	2
	5A	0	3	3
	5B	1	3	4
	6A	1	2	3
	6B	1	2	3
	7A	1	3	3
	7B	1	3	3
	8A	1	3	3
	8B	1	3	4

²² Cook, “4Q246,” 46.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	9A	1	3	3
	9B	1	4	4
	10A	1	3	3
	10B	1	3	3
	11A	1	2	3
	11B	?	?	?

Three comments are noteworthy concerning the balance of the cola. As a reminder, the first is to point out how the conjunction *waw* seem to mark the B-colon in nearly every poetic line are not counted. The second is concerning the balance that is evident in each poetic line. Although six lines lack identical constraints within its cola (lines 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9), the differences are minimal. The third comment is specifically in regards to line 2. In general, the rule that we apply is that independent prepositions are not counted as words. Prepositions plus a pronominal suffix is counted as one word (e.g. line 8B, 9B, and 10B). The one exception to this is in line 2A. The correspondence between cola in this line is brought out by the pairing of the preposition ׀ with the particle כִּי. This line depicts the kingdom in the B-colon as being “like” (׀) the comets that are mentioned in the A-colon. Due to this pairing, I would count the independent preposition ׀ in this instance as a separate word.

4.4.3 IMAGERY IN 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

This text has one example where a simile is used to communicate a particular image. That is in line 2 which states, “like the comets which you saw / so shall be their kingdom.” The “comet” that is mentioned in this line clearly must have been part of a previously described vision. That comet is analogous to a kingdom which is described in column 2 in two different ways. This bipartite description of this kingdom is summarized in line 3 which states “(A few) years they will rule over the earth / and they will trample everything.” As mentioned above, the A-colon describes the temporal quality of the kingdom, while the B-colon describes its destructive and spatial quality.

In regards to the temporal description, this kingdom is said to last for “(a few) years” (שְׁנֵי). Due to the brief duration of this kingdom, we can only assume that this cannot be the kingdom of the “son of God” (or the “people of God”) that is mentioned in line 6 since that kingdom is described as a מְלָכּוֹת עֶלְם, “an eternal kingdom.” The dominion of this royal reign is also described as שְׁלֹטֵן עֶלְם, “an eternal dominion” in line 11. The antecedent of the kingdom mentioned in line 2 is unknown.²³

In regards to the second description of this kingdom, it is summarized in line 3B, “they will trample everything.” A large portion of column 2 provides a graphic depiction of the violent nature of this reign that comes to a sudden end at the appearance of the “people of God.” Words such as “trample” (יִדְשֹׁן) are used in lines 3B and 4A. This

²³ There is mention of the “king of Assyria and Egypt” in column 1.6, which may be the antecedent for the kingdom of this line.

reign is the period of the “sword” (חֶרֶב in line 5B and 8A), which is in contrast to the kingdom of the “son of God” that is mentioned later in this text. This kingdom is described not only as “eternal” (lines 6A and 11A), it also one that will be one of “justice” (קְשׁוּט in line 6B, 7A) and will bring “peace” (שָׁלֵם in line 7B).

The destruction brought about by the kingdom mentioned in line 2A will be “like the comets.” Such devastation will continue among people and nations (line 4), but it will last only for a brief time (שְׁנֵי, “a few years”). The end of this destructive kingdom will be marked by the rise of the “people of God,” whose appearance will bring in a new kingdom/dominion and an era of “eternal” peace (line 7B and 8).

4.4.4 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF 4Q246 COL. 2.1-9

There is yet another poetic feature to point out. This is the manner in which poetic lines seem to group together to form strophes, which are composed of two or three poetic lines each. Each strophe is focused upon a central theme, which conjoins these lines together into these larger poetic units.

Strophe 1 possibly starts at the end of column 1 into column 2. These lines focus on the naming of this significant figure with the use of verbs like יתְקַרָּא, יתְכַנֶּה, and יתְאָמַר. Strophe 2 is composed of lines 2-4, which describes the devastation of a kingdom that must have been mentioned earlier in a missing portion of this document. This kingdom will be “like the comets” (כְּזִיקִיא), which also must have been part of a

previously mentioned vision. Line 5 could be considered a unit in itself due to the possible twin *vacats* at the beginning and end of that line. If the apparent *vacat* at the end of that line is merely an open space, then this line most likely is to be grouped with the strophe that follows. Strophe 3, lines 6-8, describe the activity of the “son of God” and the resulting peace that comes from his appearance. Strophe 4, lines 9 and 10, show a relationship between the “son of God” and אֱל “God” himself; it also describes the activity of God on behalf of His son.

Similar strophic units can be discerned within the extant sections of column 1 as well. 1.2-3 provides an opening to the interpretation where we are told that “wrath is coming.”²⁴ 1.4-5a describes the destruction that may be associated with a powerful group (possibly רבין[רב]). 1.5b-6 focuses the text to a particular figure, or possibly two significant figures (מלך אתור [ומן צרין, רב]). 1.7-8 seems to describe the activity of the figure(s).

4.5 CONCLUSION

Of all the Aramaic documents in the Dead Sea Scrolls library, 4Q246 offers the best example of poetry²⁵. Half of column 1 is missing which makes any poetic analysis of that column practically impossible. Column 2, however, is extant and demonstrates

²⁴ Most restore at least two transitive verbs at the beginning of line 3 since the text mentions two objects (שניך, חזוך), both with 2ms pronominal suffixes.

²⁵ *The Testament of Qahat*, 4Q542, in chapter seven below, is another outstanding example of Aramaic poetry.

poetic lines that are organized into binarily constructed units consisting of two cola.²⁶ More often than not, there is significant correspondence between the cola within a poetic line at the semantic and syntactic level. Thus we see that parallelism in this text occurs in several dimensions. We also see the terseness of the poetic lines which is another characteristic of Aramaic poetry where the lines tend to be shorter than lines of prose. Such terseness can be seen by the constraints that are placed on the number of clauses, phrasal constituents and words in each cola. In this text the constraints upon each colon are generally limited to one clause, 2-3 phrasal constituents, and 3 words per colon. The strophes were each composed of 2-4 poetic lines. It will be of interest to see if other texts share similarities as 4Q246 in their use of parallelism and the constraints on their cola and strophic units.

²⁶ As mentioned earlier, there are no examples of a tricolon in this text, although they do occur in other Aramaic poetic texts from Qumran.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WISDOM POEM FROM THE ARAMAIC LEVI DOCUMENT

The manuscript under consideration in this chapter is called the “Aramaic Levi Document” (*ALD*). This is the title given to it by the authors of the *editiones principes* in the *DJD* volumes.¹ In previous generations it has been called “Aramaic Testament of Levi,” due to the obvious relationship that it shares with the Greek *Testament of Levi* which is part of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*.² A growing number of scholars

¹ For cave 1 copies, see J. T. Milik, “1Q21” in *Qumran Cave 1* (ed. D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik; *DJD I*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 87-91. For cave 4 copies, see Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield, “4QLevi^a ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical texts, Part 3* (ed. George Brooke et al. in consultation with J. Vanderkam; *DJD XXII*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1-24. *DJD XXII* includes treatments for all the fragments of the *Aramaic Levi Document* discovered in Cave 4 – 4QLevi^b on p(p). 25-36; 4QLevi^c on p(p). 37-41; 4QLevi^d on p(p). 42-51; 4QLevi^e on p(p). 52-60; 4QLevi^f on p(p). 61-72. Previous discussions of this manuscript by Stone and Greenfield can be found in “The First Manuscript of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran (4QLevi^a aram),” *Le Muséon* 107 (1994), 257-81; “The Second Manuscript of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran (4QLevi^b aram),” *Le Muséon* 109 (1996), 1-15; “The Third and Fourth Manuscripts of *Aramaic Levi Document* from Qumran (4QLevi^c aram and 4QLevi^d aram),” *Le Muséon* 109 (1996), 245-259. The materials in these articles presume a working knowledge of issues regarding *ALD* and familiarity with the text. For an introduction to the document that provides an overview of the issues involved, see Joseph Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic Levi Document” in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; eds. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden), 453-464. This was reprinted in *Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 237-248.

² For a thorough treatment on the relationship between *Aramaic Levi Document* and the Greek *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, see Robert A. Kugler, “Reconstructing Aramaic Levi” in *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJL 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 23-59. For an analysis of the *Greek Testament of Levi* and the *Twelve Patriarchs*, see H. W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1978) and R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908). Hollander and de Jonge also point out that nothing in

have rejected this superficial identification, which required an adjustment in the nomenclature. This rejection was brought about for two predominant reasons. First, there are no characteristics within this document which mark it as a “testament;” most outstanding is the absence of a deathbed context for the words of Levi.³ Second, it is misleading to call this manuscript by the name of the document for which it served as a source.⁴ This false title of a “testament” obscures its independent existence prior to the *Testament of Levi*.⁵ It was, therefore, necessary to adopt a new term. The difficulty in doing so lies in the fragmentary nature of the document. Even with the successful and helpful reconstruction of this text offered by Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield,⁶ there is a high level of uncertainty whether we possess the beginning and conclusion. Portions of the main body of the text are also dubious. Since these parts of the document are essential to provide accurate literary identification, a name that includes any genre

the surviving Aramaic documents from the Cairo Geniza characterize it as a testament (see Hollander and de Jonge, *Testament*, 21).

³ The wisdom poem under consideration in this chapter is a speech from his sickbed. The previous section to this poem states that Levi died at the age of one hundred thirty-seven, while also stating that he summoned his children to hear his words when he was but one hundred eighteen. One would have to posit a rather lengthy sickness-unto-death narrative in order to make the address of Levi a “testament.” This does not seem likely.

⁴ Interestingly, this notion that *ALD* served as a source for the Greek *Testament of Levi* was made by the earliest publications on the Cairo Geniza fragments, namely H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, “Fragment of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi,” *JQR* 12 (1900), 651-61, and R. H. Charles and A. Cowley, “An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs,” *JQR* 19 (1907), 566-83.

⁵ For an exhaustive treatment of the testament as a literary form, see E. von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten: 1 Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit (ALGHJ* 13; Leiden: Brill, 1980).

⁶ See Jonas Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004)*. At the time of this publication, reliable editions of all the various texts connected to *ALD* were available. The Qumran fragments have been published in the *DJD* volumes. The earlier work by Pass and Arendzen as well as Charles and Cowley were used; a new edition by Emile Puech, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen de la geniza du Caire,” *RQ* 20, 511-556, was also available. The Athos Greek manuscript (see below for more details) was re-edited by M. de Jonge and his collaborators (see de Jong, *Testament*). Even a small Syriac manuscript of *ALD*, which was worked on by Charles in *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, was accounted for in their work. Thus this monograph by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel provides all up-to-date research and resources in the study of *ALD*.

designation was to be avoided. The name *Aramaic Levi Document* (*ALD*) has become the preferred title by scholars since it captures the known characteristics of the document – an Aramaic text⁷ concerning Levi – without attempting to identify its genre.

ALD was previously known before the discovery of the Qumran copies from two leaves preserved in the Cairo Geniza. One is the fragment housed in the Taylor-Schechter Collection in the library at Cambridge University.⁸ The other is the fragment of the same manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.⁹ There are seven copies of *ALD* in Qumran, one from Cave 1 and six from Cave 4.¹⁰ The Cave 1 copy (1Q21) has sixty fragments. J. T. Milik determined that only very few of the fragments can be securely identified as originating from *ALD*, at least as it was known already from the Cairo Geniza and from the fragments from Cave 4. The majority of the Cave 1 fragments are too small to make to any confident identification. Several of the larger fragments from cave 4¹¹, however, are undisputed witnesses to *ALD* within the Qumran materials.

⁷ Pierre Grelot maintains that there was an original *ALD* written in Hebrew and that it was translated into Aramaic in antiquity. See Grelot, “Notes sur le Testament araméen de Lévi,” *RB* 63 (1956), 391-406. This view has not been met with general acceptance.

⁸ The initial publication of this fragment was done by H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, “Fragment.” The origin of the nomenclature of this document as “Aramaic Testament of Levi” probably lies in the title of this article. From that time, it became customary to refer to this document as “Aramaic Testament of Levi.” For instance, Israel Lévi designated it as an Aramaic testament in his work issued shortly after this publication by Pass and Arendzen; see Lévi, “Notes sur le texte araméen du Testament de Lévi récemment découvert,” *REJ* 54 (1907), 166-180. See also the title of the articles on 1Q21 by J. T. Milik, “1QTestLevi” in *DJD I* and in his treatment of several 4QLevi^a fragments in his article, “Le Testament de Lévi en araméen: Fragment de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân,” *RB* 62 (1955), 398-406.

⁹ See R. H. Charles and A. Cowley, “An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs.” An early bibliography of the Geniza fragments is listed in Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield, “Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi,” *RB* 86 (1979), 214-30.

¹⁰ The one copy in Cave 1 was published by J. T. Milik, while the six copies in Cave 4 were published by Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield (mentioned above).

¹¹ Although there are six parchments that make up 4QLevi^a, only five fragments have been identified as part of *ALD*. Fragment 6 differ in handwriting, specifically the **Ⲛ** and **ⲗ**. It is not even certain that this fragment was written in Aramaic; it may well be in Hebrew. From the photograph, there are signs

The work of Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield has been invaluable in the reconstruction of this document. They based their work largely upon the Qumran fragments, supplemented with the Cairo Geniza text. Where there was no text in the Qumran copies, they stayed as close to the Geniza manuscript as possible.¹² From their work, we know that the *ALD* text as we have it begins with a retelling of the violation of Dinah by the Shechemites in Gen. 34. After another incident that is not preserved, it continues with a prayerful plea of Levi to serve as God's agent in the battle against evil and impurity. This is followed by a dream of Levi in which angels address him regarding the evil of exogamy and his imminent appointment as a priest. After he awakens, Levi travels first to Isaac where he is blessed by his grandfather, then to Bethel where Jacob consecrates and ordains him to the priesthood. Levi then visits Isaac once again where he is provided with a description of proper cultic procedures. This is followed by a narrative on the family history of Levi. The reconstructed text ends with a speech by Levi in which he commends wisdom to his children and foretells the apostasy of some of his descendants from the model of priesthood he himself embodied. This final wisdom speech is cast in a poetic form.

There has been a great amount of interest by scholars in this document and its description of the Levi priestly tradition within second temple Judaism. Our interest, however, is more specific in regards to its poetic section. Greenfield was one of the

of sewing on the right-hand corner – a characteristic of other *ALD* fragments. This may have been the reason for its initial identification as a part of *ALD*.

¹² This was the approach to the reconstructed text which served as the basis of their articles in the *DJD* volumes. Interestingly, the reconstructed text which they used in their later monograph, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, used the Geniza texts as their base, supplemented by the Qumran fragments. The Geniza manuscripts are generally better preserved than the Qumran copies and are the most extensive textual witness; see *Aramaic Levi Document*, 7.

earliest to identify this wisdom-prayer of Levi as poetry.¹³ The editors of *DJD XXII* even propose a stichometric structure of this poem.¹⁴ Among all the Cave 4 copies of *ALD*, only 4QLevi^a witnesses to the final wisdom speech of Levi. There are five fragments of this manuscript in 4QLevi^a. Frag. 1 is the most significant for the purposes of this chapter since it is the largest text that can be restored when supplemented by the Geniza texts. It contains approximately twenty lines of writing in two columns. The two columns were written on different sheets of leather which were sewn together. Frag. 1.2 overlaps with 4QLevi^c and 4QLevi^f. This copy represents the only extant example of Aramaic poetry within *ALD*. For this reason, we focus the bulk of our attention upon 4QLevi^a frag. 1. Apparently frag. 2 continues the poetry where frag. 1.2 ends, but the poor condition that frag. 2 does not permit any poetic analysis (see below for further comments on frag. 2).

We now move onto a detailed analysis of the poetic features in the wisdom address of Levi to his sons, which will be based upon the Qumran manuscript 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.1-21b¹⁵ where it exists, supplemented from the Geniza text.¹⁶ In its current condition, 4QLevi^a frag. 1 only provides large portions of the poetic passage in question and the presence of large lacunae makes a poetic analysis impossible. The Cairo Geniza

¹³ Greenfield, "Early Aramaic Poetry," 45-51. Unfortunately, he only mentioned the poetic nature of this passage without offering any further details

¹⁴ Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 13.

¹⁵ The photograph of 4QLevi^a shows twenty one lines of text. The Cairo Geniza text provides additional text that shows the possibility of two more lines. Since it is not precisely known how many additional lines this manuscript had, the editors referred to these extended lines as 21a and 21b.

¹⁶ For a list of the textual variants in this wisdom poem, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 102-109.

copies, however, provide the text for the majority of those missing portions. The contribution, therefore, of the Cairo Geniza copies cannot be overstated. The sigla used below are the ones used by Stone and Greenfield in *DJD XXII*.¹⁷ Text from 4QLevi^a are underlined. Lacunae in the Geniza manuscript are indicated by smaller square brackets within the larger ones [[]] which indicate lacunae in 4QLevi^a. Where 4QLevi^a does not exist, the editors have stayed as close to the Geniza manuscript as possible.¹⁸

5.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF 4QLevi^a FRAG. 1.1.5-21B

This wisdom-poem covers lines 5-21b of 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1, which overlaps lines 83b-96a of the Cairo Geniza copies of *ALD*. The lineation of the Geniza copies has been and remains still to this day the standard used by scholars. They are provided in the “Transcription” section below as a superscript.

5. [שמעו למאמר לוי אבוכן ואציתו לפקודי ידיד אל⁸⁴ אנה לכן]
6. [מפקד בני ואנה קשטא לכן מחוה חביבי⁸⁵ רא ש כל עבדכן]
7. [יהוה קשטא ועד עלם יהוה עמ] כן [קאם] צדקחא⁸⁶ וקשטא
8. [] תעלון עללה ברין⁸⁷ כה דזרע טב טב מעל
9. [ודי זרע ביש עלוהי תאב זרע] ה vacat⁸⁸ וכען ספר ומוסר וחכמה

¹⁷ Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 8.

¹⁸ At various points, the editors acknowledge that they have changed the text of the Geniza manuscript even where 4QLevi^a does not exist; see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 8-9. These changes have been conditioned by two factors. First, the grammatical forms and orthography of the Geniza text conform to those of the Qumran texts (e.g. *plene* forms of words such as עניתי, עובדכון, קושטא have been replaced). Other changes relate to line length. At times when the length of the line cannot physically contain the Geniza restoration, the editors proposed emendations to the Geniza text which were imposed by the length of the line.

10. [אלפו לבניכן וטהוה חכמתא עמכן] ליקר עלם⁸⁹ די אלף חכמה יקר
11. [הוא לה ודי שאט חכמתא לב] סרון ולשיטו מתיבה⁹⁰ חזו לכן בני
12. [ליוסף אחי מאלף הוא ספר ומוס]ר חכמה ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין
13. [אל תמחלו חכמתא למאלף⁹¹
14. כ]ל גבר די אלף חכמה כל
15. ל ל]ה לכל מת ומדינה די יהך לה
16. [אח א] בה ולא דמא בה לנכרי ולא
17. [דמה בה לכילני]ן די כלהון י]הבין לה בה יקר בד יכלא צבין
18. [למאלף חכמתה⁹² רחמו]הי שג[י]אין ושאלו שלמה רברבין
19. [ועל כרסי די יקר לה מוחבין]ן למשמע מלי חכמתה
20. [עותר רב די יקר היא חכמתה ל]ידעיה ושימה טבה
21. [לכל קניה⁹⁵ הן יאתון מלכין]תקיפ[י]ן ועם]רב וחיל פרשין
- 21a. [ורתיכין שגיאין עמהן וינסבון נכסי מת ומדינה
- 21b. [ויבוזון כל די בהן אוצרי חכמתא לא יבוזון ולא ישכחון]

5.2 STICHOMETRY OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF 4QLEVI^A FRAG. 1.1.5-21B

The lineation below is the poetic lines of *ALD*. They will be referred to through this chapter. The lineation of 4QLevi^a above is provided as the superscript with the sigla “ln.” plus the line number (e.g. שמעו^{ln.5}). This is to be distinguished from the footnotes which provide philological comments; these are the superscripted numbers alone. The Geniza lineation is not provided.

Stone and Greenfield proposed their own stichometric organization of this text.¹⁹ I differ from it slightly.

¹⁹ Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 13.

- 1A. ^{ln.5]} שִׁמְעוּ לְמֵאמֶר לֹוִי²⁰ אֲבוּכֶן
 1B. וְאַצִּיתוּ לְפָקְדֵי יָדִיד אֶל
- 2A. וְ[אִנָּה לֶכֶן ^{ln.6]} מִפְקֵד בְּנֵי
 2B. וְאִנָּה קִשְׁטָא לֶכֶן מַחֲוָה חֲבִיבִי
- 3A. רֵא[שׁ כָּל עֲבָדְכֶן ^{ln.7]} יִהְיֶה קִשְׁטָא
 3B. וְעַד עֵלָם יִהְיֶה עִמָּ[כֶן] קֵאם
- 4A. צִדְקָתָא וְקִשְׁטָא ^{ln.8]}]
 4B. [תַּעֲלוּן²¹ עֲלֵלָה בְּרִי[כָה
- 5A. דְּזֵרַע טַב טַב מֵעַל²²
 5B. ^{ln.9]} וְדִי זֵרַע בִּישׁ עֲלוּהִי תֵאב זֵרַע[ה
- 6A. וְכַעַן סֵפֶר וּמוֹסֵר וְחִכְמָה ^{ln.10]} אֶלְפֹו לְבִנִּיכֶן
 6B. וְתִהְיֶה חִכְמָתָא עִמָּכֶן [לִיקֵר עֵלָם
- 7A. דִּי אֶלְפִי חִכְמָה יִקֵּר ^{ln.11]} הוּא לָהּ
 7B. וְדִי שֵׁאט חִכְמָתָא לֵב[סֵרוֹן וּלְשִׁיטֹו מִתִּיהֵב
- 8A. חֲזֹו לֶכֶן בְּנֵי ^{ln.12]} לְיוֹסֵף אַחֵי
 8B. דִּי מֵאֶלְפִי סֵפֶר וּמוֹסֵר[ר חִכְמָה
 8C. [לִיקֵר וּלְרַבּוּ וּלְמַלְכִּין ^{ln.13]}

²⁰ Stone and Greenfield comment that this restored line appears too long by about one word. They suggest that the name לֹוִי was not read by 4QLevi^a; see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 10.

²¹ The word preceding עֲלֵלָה בְּרִי[כָה in the Geniza text has partially survived. The consonants עֲלוּן are clear. Before them, however, a series of other consonants are partially visible but not recognizable.

²² This is the C-stem participle from עָלַל, meaning “to bring.” The subject of the participle is the phrase דְּזֵרַע טַב, “He who sows good brings a good (harvest).”

- 9A. אל תמחלו חכמתא למאלף
 9B. כ] ל גבר די אלף חכמה ^{ln.14}
 9C. כל] ^{ln.15} ל]ה
 10A. לכל מת ומדינה די יהך לה
 10B. בה] ^{ln.16} אח א
 11A. ולא דמא בה לנכרי
 11B. ולא] ^{ln.17} דמה בה לכילני
 12A. די כלהון י]הבין לה בה יקר
 12B. בדי כלא צבין] ^{ln.18} למאלף ²³ חכמתה
 13A. ²⁴ רחמו]הי שג[י]אין
 13B. ושאלי שלמה]רברבין
 14A. ^{ln.19} ועל כרסי די יקר לה מותבי]ן ²⁵
 14B. למשמע מלי חכמתה
 15A. ^{ln.20} עותר רב די יקר היא חכמתה ל]ידעיה
 15B. ושימה טבה] ^{ln.21} לכל קניה
 16A. הן יאתון מלכין]תקיפ[י]ן ועם]רב
 16B. וחיל פרשין] ^{ln.21a} ורתיכין שגיאין עמהן
 17A. וינסבון נכסי מת ומדינה
 17B. ויבוזון כל די בהן ^{ln.21b}

²³ There is a clear and visible preposition מן in the photograph of the Cairo Geniza text, which Stone and Greenfield do not include in their edition due to the length of the line, suggesting that it may be “secondary;” see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 11.

²⁴ Stone and Greenfield read this bicolon as one very long A-colon; line 14A is the parallel B-colon and 14B is what appears to be a monocolon (see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 13). I differ in my poetic analysis and stichometry of these lines.

²⁵ The lowest portion of the tail in the final form of the *nun* is visible in the photograph of the Qumran text. The Cambridge f text reads מהותבין לה בדיל, which cannot have been exactly identical with the Qumran reading. Stone and Greenfield take בדיל in the Geniza text as a later addition; see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 11.

- 18A. אוצרי חכמתא לא יבוזון
18B. ולא ישכחון] מטמוריה
19A. ולא יעלון תרעיה²⁶

5.3 TRANSLATION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF 4QLEVI^A FRAG. 1.1.5-21B

- 1A. Listen to the word of Levi, your father /
1B. And pay attention to the instruction of the friend of God //
- 2A. I am instructing you, my children /
2B. And I am telling you the truth, my beloved //
- 3A. Let the chief of all your deeds be truth /
3B. And it will remain with you forever //
- 4A. Righteousness and truth [] /
4B. [] you will bring in a blessed harvest //
- 5A. He who sows good brings in a goodly (harvest) /
5B. And (as for) the one who sows evil, his sowing turns against him //
- 6A. And now reading and teaching of wisdom teach your children /
6B. And wisdom will be with you for eternal glory //
- 7A. (As for) the one who studies wisdom, glory he will have /
7B. But he who scorns wisdom is given over to disdain and scorn //
- 8A. Observe for yourselves, my children, my brother Joseph /
8B. He was one who was teaching reading and the discipline of wisdom /
8C. For honor and for majesty; and for kings [] //

²⁶ The Geniza fragments end at this point. The remainder of the text is not discernable in the fragments from Qumran. Therefore I end my poetic analysis abruptly at this point.

- 9A. *Do not be lax in the study of wisdom /*
9B. *[eve]ry man who studies wisdom /*
9C. *All [] //*
- 10A. *To every land and country to which he will go /*
10B. *[Brother] //*
- 11A. *And he is not like a foreigner in it /*
11B. *And he is not [like a scoundrel] //*
- 12A. *Since all of them will accord him honor because of it /*
12B. *Since all wish [to learn his wisdom] //*
- 13A. *His [friends] are many /*
13B. *And his well-wishers are [numerous] //*
- 14A. *[And they seat him on the throne of honor] /*
14B. *To hear his wise words //*
- 15A. *[Wisdom is an abundant wealth of honor for those familiar] with it /*
15B. *And a fine treasure [to all those who acquire it] //*
- 16A. *If there will come [mighty] kings and a [numerous] people /*
16B. *And a force of horsemen and many chariots with them //*
- 17A. *And they seize the possessions of land and country /*
17B. *And they plunder everything in them //*
- 18A. *The treasure houses of wisdom they will not plunder /*
18B. *[And they will not find] its secrets //*
- 19A. *And they will not enter its gates /*
19B. *[] //*

5.4 POETIC FEATURES IN THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF 4QLEVI^A FRAG. 1.1.5-21B

5.4.1 PARALLELISM IN THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

We begin our poetic analysis by commenting on the parallelism that is found in this wisdom poem. One preliminary comment worth noting is the paratactic style of the poem as a whole, which is a feature of Aramaic poetry that we have seen in other poems; colon are often placed one after another with the conjunction *waw*. The A-colon in these lines often begin without the conjunction, whereas the B-colon (and often the C-colon) are perceived as connected to it due to the use of it (in addition to the fact that they are contiguous lines), while the exact relationship between them is left unspecified.

Line 1, from the perspective of parallelism, presents a very well coordinated poetic line at both the colon-level and word-level. This is the opening address of Levi to his children where he is calling for them to **שמעו** “hear” and **ואציתו** “pay attention” to his instructions. There is a clear correspondence of the elements between the cola in this line where **שמעו** in the A-colon parallels **ואציתו** in the B-colon, **למאמר** parallels **לפקדי**, and **לוי אבוכון** parallels **אל ידיר**. The order of the syntactic elements also mirror each other, namely verb – object where in each cola the object is a syntactic phrase made up of three elements. The A-colon has a two-word construct chain (**לוי** **מאמר**) with the third

element in apposition (אֲבוֹכוֹן), whereas the B-colon is composed of a three word construct chain.²⁷

Although the synonymy of the lines is self-evident, there are a few marked differences that express certain descriptions with further precision. For example, in the A-colon, Levi is referred to by the obvious title of “your father.” The B-colon adds a further level of understanding in the identity of Levi when he is called אֵל יָדִיד “the friend of God.” This phrase occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible as the term Moses uses with reference to Benjamin in his blessing of the tribe that bore his name in Deut. 33:12. The use of such a title indicates the significant place that Levi, and the Levitical priesthood, had in the Second Temple period. *ALD* focuses on other important themes that show the prominence of Levi during this time, such as his installation as a priest and the recognition of his status by Jacob.

Line 2 continues the opening address of Levi to his sons. Whereas Levi refers to himself in the third person in line 1, he refers to himself here in the first. There is the appearance of a clear correspondence between the cola in this line. Both cola begin with the first person pronoun אֲנִי; both also have the second person masculine plural suffixal form to a preposition לָכֵן; both end their respective lines with a vocative – בְּנֵי in the A-colon and חֲבִיבֵי in the B-colon. The correlations seem clear as well as the translation, “I

²⁷ An almost similar opening of a testament is reconstructed in 4Q539 2-3:2, entitled *Testament of Joseph*, “And now [lis]ten my sons [to the words of Joseph your father, and pay] attention to me my beloved.” The reconstruction of the large lacuna in 4Q539, however, was based upon this line of *ALD* and the original reading of 4Q539 is uncertain.

am instructing you, my sons / and I am telling truth to you, my beloved.” Interestingly, the corresponding elements לִכֶּן, which are found in both cola, do not serve the same grammatical function. In the A-colon, לִכֶּן is the direct object of the participle where ל serves as the direct object marker. In the B-colon, however, לִכֶּן is the indirect object and ל serves as the preposition “to.” The direct object, then, in the B-colon would be קִשְׁטָא “I am telling *the truth* to you, O my beloved.” It seems fairly clear that לִכֶּן in this bicolon parallel each other, as does the repeated element אֲנִי, in spite of the fact that they do not correspond grammatically. The effect of this structure makes קִשְׁטָא “truth” in the B-colon stand out as the dominant theme.

Although the analysis provided above is reliable, there is another valid interpretation which is associated with the repetition of אֲנִי and לִכֶּן: the backwards-gapping of קִשְׁטָא in the B-colon as the direct object of the A-colon. If the poetic analysis above is correct, then the direct object לִכֶּן in the A-colon would correspond with the direct object קִשְׁטָא in the B-colon, and לִכֶּן in the B-colon would have no corresponding element in the A-colon since it lacks an indirect object. From a grammatical viewpoint, this is not good parallelism of elements. It suggests that there is another way to analyze the poetry in this line which takes into consideration the clear repetition and correspondence of the elements אֲנִי and לִכֶּן that occur in both cola at both the semantic and syntactic level. The additional question is how to account for קִשְׁטָא in the B-colon. If we allow those repetitions to determine our analysis and grant that they are indeed

identical in grammatical function as well as form, then both cola would have the same explicit subject **אֲנִי** and the indirect object **לְכֶן**. I suggest then that **קִשְׁטָא** in the B-colon is the direct object and it is gapped back in the A-colon – “I am instructing (truth) to you, my sons / I am showing truth to you my beloved //.” The phenomenon of backwards gapping is attested in Hebrew poetry, although not common. In *Hebrew Verse Structure*, Michael O’Connor mentions two occurrences of this backwards-gapping that occurs within the corpus of materials that he examined, namely in Judg. 5:3c-d and Deut. 33:4b-5a.²⁸ Other cases do exist.²⁹ The examples cited in Hebrew poetry, however, are all backwards-gapping of verbs. In this line in *ALD*, it is the direct object **קִשְׁטָא** which is backwards-gapped. Admittedly, such a construction and analysis is awkward. One must also admit, however, that the grammatical imbalance created by corresponding **לְכֶן** in the A-colon to **קִשְׁטָא** in the B-colon, which entirely ignores the obvious and visible connection brought about by the repetition of terms, must also be seen as awkward. Such a multidimensional layer of parallelism would not be out of the realm of possibility within poetry. In regards to the two Old Testament passages cited above O’Connor says, “Although the lines do not present the structural description of ordinary rightward gappings, there is no other way to account for their unusual shape than to suppose that leftward gapping has occurred.”³⁰ There is an “unusual shape” in this line as well for the

²⁸ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 404.

²⁹ In addition to the two passages mentioned by O’Connor, see also Song 4:8; Ps. 94:3, and Prov. 31:41b; 13:1; 24:5 as other examples of backwards gapping.

³⁰ O’Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure*, 404. He uses the term “rightward gapping” in reference to the standard type of verbal gapping. What he refers to as “leftward gapping” is what I am calling “backwards gapping.”

reasons explained above, which can be clarified by the suggestion of a backwards-gapping of a direct object. In spite of the inherent difficulties with this proposal, I offer it nonetheless as a possible alternative reading of this line.

There is phonologic parallelism in this line, which is immediately apparent by the repetition of both **אָנֶה** and **לִכֵּן**. In addition to this the *mem*-prefix on the two participles parallels the *mem*-phoneme. The final constituent in each colon also parallels the radical *bet*, **בְּנִי** in the A-colon and **חֲבִיבִי** in the B-colon.

Line 3 describes the reason why Levi encourages his sons to learn and grow in their understanding of **קִשְׁטָא** “truth.” This line tells the sons that if they allow **קִשְׁטָא** to be the “chief of all your deeds,” then “it will remain with you forever.” The correspondence of this line is only at the level of the cola without corresponding elements. Together, the two cola create a conditional statement, where the A-colon is the protasis and the B-colon the apodasis. “*If you let truth be the chief of all your deeds, then it will be established with you forever.*” Another possible interpretation of the cola is to see the B-colon as a purpose statement of the A-colon, “Let truth be the chief of your deeds / (*so that*) it may remain with you forever //.” The reading of this as a hypothetical conditional statement is more plausible since line 5 below seems to provide a description of one who heeds the advice of Levi and the result of one who does not. The option of either a conditional or purpose statement also occurs in line 6 below, but with a slightly different nuance (see below for more details in regards to line 6).

No full Aramaic line can be restored for line 4 from the Qumran and the Geniza texts.³¹ Due to this highly fragmentary condition, no poetic analysis is possible. Stone and Greenfield³² differ here from the reading of Charles, who reads **צדקתא** with the preceding line, “And truth shall be with you for eternity.”³³

Line 5 provides an analogy that describes the result of one who heeds the advice of Levi and holds **קשטא** as a high value. Such a person is “one who sows good.” Whoever does not value **קשטא** is “one who sows evil,” which even leads to his own sowing turning against him. At a colon-level analysis, the correspondence is clear – the A-colon describes the positive results of valuing the instruction of Levi, whereas the B-colon describes the result of ignoring it. This would be a Lowthian example of antithetical parallelism. The elements within each cola, however, do not reflect the same close correspondence that is evident at the macro-level of the cola. There is a clear correlation between the two subjects: **די זרע טב** in the A-colon clearly corresponds with **די זרע ביש** in the B-colon.³⁴ The remaining elements of the clauses do not

³¹ Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, in *ALD*, 102-103, offer the following as a proposed reading based on the Geniza text: **צדקה וקשטא הן [תז]רעון ת>הנ>עלון עללה בריכה <[טא]בא**. “(If) you sow righteousness and truth / (then) you will bring in a blessed and good harvest.” If this proposal is correct, this is an example where the A-colon is the protasis of a hypothetical clause and the B-colon is the apodasis. Stone and Greenfield do not include this proposed reading in *DJD XXII*. Also, the photograph of the Geniza copy shows only faint traces of consonants for the two verbs in the line. It may be due to the uncertainty of this reading that it was not included in the *DJD* volume.

³² Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 10.

³³ Charles, *Greek Versions*, 255.

³⁴ As mentioned above, Stone and Greenfield in their reconstruction of the text adapted to the grammatical forms and orthography of the Geniza text. The orthography of **די זרע ביש** is consistent with what is found in the Geniza text; **די זרע טב** is what is found in Qumran. Strangely, the editors read

correspond well in regards to the syntax. In the A-colon **טב מעל** is the object and the verb of the colon – **מעל** is the C-stem participle from **עלל**³⁵ and **טב** is the substantive use of the adjective to mean “a good thing.” Since the image of sowing dominates this line, the interpretive implication of a “good harvest” is warranted – “He who sows good will bring a *good (harvest)*.”³⁶ The A-colon, then, is simply constructed of subject – object – verb. The B-colon differs in its overall syntax from the A-colon. The phrase **די זרע ביש** is indeed the subject, but it functions as a preposed topic, which is resumed by the 3ms suffix on **עלודי**. The corresponding element in the A-colon, **טב דזרע**, is not preposed. Therefore, the B-colon should read, “But (as for) he who sows evil, his sowing turns against him.” The preposed topic construction in the B-colon seems to highlight the *focus* of concern in Levi’s speech to his sons – more so than the positive fruits of heeding his words of encouragement, he is interested in warning them against the negative results if they do not pay attention to his instruction.

Line 6 offers little difficulty in regards to translation. It lacks, however, many of the standard features that have been characteristic of Aramaic poetry demonstrated in previously discussed poetic passages. It is a bicolon where the B-colon seems to be a purpose statement of the A-colon, “And now, teach your sons studying, reading, and

טב דזרע in the A-colon, but **די זרע ביש** in the B-colon. Why the editors did not standardize the Geniza orthography to that of Qumran in this instance, as has been their practice, is unknown.

³⁵ The Geniza text reads here **מהנעל**.

³⁶ The phrase **עללה ברי** [כה] “blessed harvest” does appear in the extant portion of the Geniza text in the previous line.

wisdom / (*so that*) wisdom may be with you for eternal glory //.” That seems to be the extent of the poetry of this line since none of the internal elements within the cola have any clear or obvious correspondence.

In line 4 above, we faced a similar point of analysis as we have in this line, where the relationship between the cola can be either a protasis-apodasis correspondence, or a purpose statement. Whereas we read line 4 as a protasis-apodasis, here we read as a purpose statement due to the overall sense of the line as well as the occurrence of **וכען** “and now” in the A-colon of line 6. The use of the conjunction *waw* plus the imperfect **תהיה** also suggests that the B-colon be understood as a purpose statement. Although line 7 below provides descriptions of the consequences of heeding or not heeding the words of Levi as in line 5, I still maintain that line 6 is to be read as previously described.

The use of **וכען** and a clear and unmistakable *vacat* in the photographs suggests that this section introduces a new theme in the poem. In an earlier prayer of Levi (in 4QLevi^b), “truth” was a dominant theme that occurs repeatedly in the prayer. Whereas the first portion of this wisdom-poem continues (or reminds) the reader of that theme, the new focus of this poem **וכען** “now” turns towards wisdom as the primary interest of Levi. It is possible that the dominant theme of the earlier prayer of Levi was on “truth,” and as a result it is mentioned here in the first half of the address as a reminder of that previous prayer. The focus now is on the matter of wisdom, which is the dominant theme of this poem-instruction of Levi to his sons.

Line 7, as mentioned above, offers a description of the consequences that will result for heeding or not heeding the words of Levi regarding the instruction of “reading, teaching, and wisdom to your children.” Not surprisingly, the grammar here is very similar to what we had in line 5, but with an interesting difference. I suggested above that the B-colon used a preposed topic construction to demonstrate that the focus of the warning of Levi was on the *negative result* of not following his instructions. In line 7 the preposed topic construction is again utilized but in the A-colon, instead of the B-colon, to focus on the *positive result* that comes when one follows the advice of Levi concerning wisdom. The phrase **רִי אֵלֶיךָ חִכְמָה** is the preposed topic which is resumed by the 3ms suffix on the phrase **לֵה**. The 3ms pronoun **הוּא** is functioning as a copula. Thus I read the A-colon as “(As for) the one who teaches wisdom, there will be for him glory.” The B-colon is a normal verbal clause, “But he who scorns wisdom is given over to disdain and scorn.” From the comparison of lines 5 and 7, we can surmise that the concern of Levi is on the negative results of not valuing “truth” while also the positive blessings of valuing wisdom.

Line 8 begins a section on the description of Joseph, the brother of Levi, as an example of the practice of wisdom. Before we comment on the parallelism in this line, we must first discuss a few preliminary points. First is the particle **לְכֵן**, which Stone and Greenfield translate as “therefore.” This view is influenced by the Hebrew particle **לְכֵן**, which indeed means “therefore.” However, Biblical Aramaic attests the particle **לְהֵן** as

“therefore” (see Dan. 2:6, 9; 4:24), not לָכֵן. As an alternative, I take לָכֵן as an ethical dative, “Observe for yourselves.” The second comment is the presence of the particle וַי at the beginning of the B-colon. This portion of the line is missing from Qumran, but there is a small ink blot of what could be a *yod* that is noticeable from the photograph of the Cairo Geniza text (Cambridge Ms T.S. 16, fol. 94 col. A). Although the restoration of the particle וַי is not certain, it fills in the empty space well without making a significant impact on the poetry of the line. Therefore I also read in agreement with Stone and Greenfield and restore וַי.³⁷

The parallelism in this line cannot be completely determined since portions of it are missing. It appears to be the first tricolon in this poem. Joseph is mentioned in the A-colon and the B-colon is apparently describing what was noteworthy about Joseph in regards to his wisdom. The C-colon is not complete, but it seems to describe the result of his instruction of wisdom.

Line 9 is also not completely in tact and no clear poetic analysis can be offered. Interestingly Stone and Greenfield offer two competing stichometric proposals for lines 8 and 9. The first is in *DJD XXII*, in which the phrase ליקר ולרבו of line 8C is joined

³⁷ The third comment concerns the presence of a 3ms pronoun הוּא in the restoration by Stone and Greenfield in the B-colon, ר חכמה ליקר ולרבו [מאלף הוא ספר ומוסר חכמה ליקר ולרבו] (see Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 9). This pronoun is absent from the photograph of the Cairo Geniza fragment and there is no space available for its inclusion. None of the 4QLevi^a fragments testify to such a reading. The rationale for the inclusion of this pronoun by the editors is unknown. It is worth noting that Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel do not have this questionable pronoun in *Aramaic Levi Document*, 104. Since its presence is highly dubious, it is not included in the reading of this line.

with the end of the previous colon: “Observe, my children, [my brother Joseph / who had studied reading and the teaching of wisdom *for honor and for majesty*.”³⁸ This creates a bicolon with a B-colon composed of 1 clause, 3 phrases, 6 words. The second is found in *Aramaic Levi Document*, where they interpret that same phrase (ליקר ולרב) as the beginning of the third colon of a tricolon. They also propose <יעט הוא> as a restoration in the lacuna: <יעט הוא> ליקר ולרב ולמלכין.³⁹ They translate the entire poetic line as “Observe, my children, my brother Joseph / who taught reading and writing and the teaching of wisdom / for glory and for majesty; and kings he advised //.” The *DJD XXII* proposal follows the grammatical structure of the line as the clue for the stichometry, where the *Aramaic Levi Document* proposal separates ליקר ולרב from the main clause and places it at the beginning of a third colon. However, the *ALD* proposal does retain a series of phrases that begin with the preposition *lamed* (ליקר ולרב ולמלכין) that the *DJD XXII* proposal does not. The stichometry, therefore, can be analyzed either way. Without a full text these can only remain as proposals.

The second option is followed in the “Stichometry” above for several reasons: 1) it minimizes the length of line 8B; 2) this interpretation sees lines 8 and 9 as tricola, where the A-colon in each line contains a volitive (a negative volitive in the case of line 9A). The imperatives in this poem provide the structural key to not only this line but also

³⁸ Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 13, 15.

³⁹ Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 102-104, 210. The proposed restoration is based on line 12 in the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*, כלה אתור יעט [ס]פרא חכימא “the wise [sc]ribe, counselor of Assyria, all of it.”

the larger poetic units of strophes and stanzas (see below under “Strophic Organization” for details).

Lines 10 and 11, in addition to the previous line 9, are fragmentary in both the Qumran and the Cairo Geniza manuscripts. Since no full Aramaic text can be restored, nothing can be pointed out regarding the poetry with any certainty. Line 8 ends the extant portion of the Cambridge e manuscript. The fragmentary condition of 4QLevi^a makes the reading of these lines difficult. Cambridge f is also missing the top portion of the column; the extant portion of *ALD* resumes with line 12 below from Cambridge f. From what we can tell, the missing lines 9-11 apparently continue to describe the man who pursues the study of wisdom and the marvel that his wisdom brings to all whom he encounters or meets in his travels or wanderings. The bicolon structure of this section proposed in the “Stichometric” section above is taken from Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel in *Aramaic Levi Document* mentioned above.⁴⁰

Line 12 continues the benefits that come from gaining an understanding of wisdom. The previous section seemed to describe the travels and journeys of the man of wisdom and how he will be treated well due to his insight. Those who give praise to him due to this wisdom are the focus of attention in this line since they are the subject in both cola. In the A-colon they are the ones who are “giving him honor because of it (namely

⁴⁰ Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 102-104, 210. Again, the proposed poetic structure in *DJD XXII*, 13, 15 differs.

wisdom).” In the B-colon we read a corresponding description as they desire to “learn his wisdom.” Therefore, there is a clear coordination at a colon-level analysis.

The elements within each colon also correspond to each other with a few differences, as would be expected. The particle **וְ** in the A-colon parallels **בְּרִי** in the B-colon. There is a slight, yet significant, difference in the next element. Where the A-colon reads **כֻּלָּהוֹן** “all of them,” so the B-colon reads **כֻּלָּא** “all.” Again, the A-colon apparently has those who have encountered this wise-man in his travels; “all” of these are the ones who are giving him honor. According to the B-colon, however, the ones acknowledging his great wisdom and desiring to learn it is “the all,” or “the total.” There is a sense of a broader, universal focus in the B-colon, where the A-colon mentions only those who have had direct contact with this wise man. Both cola also place a predicative participle in the third position of the clause (**יְהִיבִין** in the A-colon and **צִבִּין** in the B-colon). The remaining elements in each colon provide differing descriptions regarding the praise that is given to this man because of his wisdom.

Line 13 describes the great amount of friends associated with a man of wisdom. The correspondence is evident at a colon-level analysis as well as each component within them. **רַחֲמוּהִי** in the A-colon corresponds to **שְׂאֵלִי שְׁלֹמָה** in the B-colon, and **שְׁנִיאִין** in the A-colon corresponds to **רַבְרַבִּין** in the B-colon – “His friends are many / and his well-wishers are numerous //.” These elements correspond in multiple dimensions. Syntactically, they are both verbless clauses and both follow the same word order of

subject – predicate. From a semantic standpoint, both word-pairings found in this line are of the paradigmatic type. In other words, this line is very poetic.

Interestingly, Stone and Greenfield read this bicolon as a single colon in *DJD*,⁴¹ which seems too long from a poetic analysis. In their later works they apparently adjusted their reading and suggest a shorter bicolon, just as I have presented here.⁴²

Line 14 describes the place of honor that is bestowed upon a man of wisdom by his close associates who were mentioned in line 13. In regards to the parallelism, the correspondence remains at the level of the cola only. The elements within them do not correspond. There have been other examples of this in this poem, where the parallelism seems to be limited only at the colon-level (see lines 3, 6, and 8 above). The B-colon is syntactically dependent upon the A-colon; it provides the purpose of the seating of the man of wisdom on the throne.

Line 15 describes the value of wisdom as a “great wealth of honor” and a “fine treasure.” This overall sense is found in both cola of this line. Regarding the parallelism, the two cola are connected by the similarity of terms used. The phrase “a great wealth of honor” יקר רב עוֹתָר in the A-colon corresponds to “a fine treasure” טִבָּה שִׁימָה in the B-colon. Grammatically, both are the predicate of their respective clauses; syntactically, they are also both in the first position of the clause. לִידְעִיהּ in the A-colon

⁴¹ See Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 13.

⁴² Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 104-105.

corresponds to **לכל קניה** in the B-colon. This is a syntagmatic pairing since the connection between “knowing wisdom” and “acquiring wisdom” does not form a natural paradigm in the same semantic field. There are slight differences between the cola with respect to this element. The B-colon adds the word **כל**. We have seen this similar use of **כל** in the B-colon in line 12 above that expresses a sense of universality to the text.

Whereas the A-colon is more limited in its recipients of wisdom, namely “those who know it,” so the B-colon broadens this to “*all* those who acquire it.”

Concerning the subject of the cola, it is an example of gapping. The subject, **חכמותה**, is expressly stated in the A-colon; it also occurs with the use of the 3fs pronoun **היא** functioning as a copula. This subject-phrase is gapped, then, in the B-colon. Thus we read, “Wisdom is a great wealth of honor for those who know it / And (wisdom is) a fine treasure for all those who acquire it //.” The gapped element is normally the verb. In this case, however, the gapped element is the subject. The use of gapping is a clear indicator of the poetic nature of this text.

Line 16-18 provides a depiction of how wisdom is the treasure that cannot be gained by military conquest or victory. Although the overall sense of this section (and beyond possibly) is fairly clear, the poetry is difficult to discern. These lines come together to form a protasis-apodosis construction where lines 16-17 are the protasis and

line 18 is the apodosis.⁴³ Line 16 begins the protasis with the conditional particle **וְ**.

The most obvious poetic element in this line is a possible gapping of the verb. The A-colon has the verb **יֵאָתוּן**. It is possible that it is also serving as the verb in the B-colon:

“If there come mighty kings and a great people / and an army of horsemen and many riders (come) with them //.” The entire line can read as prose without a gapped verb.

However, since it occurs in a poem, I suggest that we read it as described above. Given that this is poetry, we can also see a paralleling of certain military terms. The elements of the military force listed in the A-colon are general, whereas the ones in the B-colon are more specific. The A-colon mentions great kings and a numerous people (or army). The B-colon focuses upon the riders and chariots as the components of that military fighting force. The pairing of the adjectives **רַב** in the A-colon and **שְׁנֵי־אֵין** in the B-colon also occurs in line 13. **רַב** means “great,” but we prefer the meaning “numerous” since it corresponds to **שְׁנֵי־אֵין**.

Line 17 continues the protasis from line 16; it describes how these **מַלְכֵי תְּקִיפִין** “mighty kings” from the previous line may come to plunder the lands and take all the possessions within them. There is a strong grammatical correspondence present in this line. Both cola begin with an imperfect in first position in the clause; this is followed by the direct object. The A-colon mentions that the **נַכְסֵי** “possessions” of the land and the country will be the object of the plundering. The B-colon, however, adds the element of

⁴³ Stone and Greenfield place the apodosis at the beginning of lines 18-19; see Stone and Greenfield *DJD XXII*, 11. In their later work in *ALD*, they correctly read the apodosis at line 19, which focuses the section upon wisdom as that one valuable commodity that cannot be gained through military means; see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 104-105.

כל די בהן “everything that is in them.” We have seen the use of כל in the B-colon in previous lines (see lines 12, 15) to express a broader focus of attention, almost a cosmic or universal sense. Here, it gives the impression that every single object within “the land and the country” **מֵת וּמְדִינָה** is vulnerable to be taken and plundered.

Line 18 shifts grammatical gears and begins the apodosis to the previous conditional statement in lines 16-17. From a syntactic analysis, the elements in the cola are in chiasmic order. The syntax of the A-colon is as follows: direct object – verb (with negative). The syntax of the B-colon is reversed: verb (with negative) – direct object. Therefore, the word order is a simple ab/ba structure. In the previous line the verb **יְבוּזוּן** paralleled the verb **יִנְסִבּוּן**, forming a paradigmatic word-pair. In this line, however, **יְבוּזוּן** in the A-colon is paired with the verb **יִשְׁכַּחֲוּן** in the B-colon. Where the word-pair in the previous line is paradigmatic, so the word-pair in this line is syntagmatic. This causes **אִצְרֵי חֲכָמָתָא** “treasures of wisdom” in the A-colon to correspond with **בְּטִמְרוּרֶיהָ** “its secrets” in the B-colon. This is also an example of a paradigmatic word-pair. It reflects the hidden quality of wisdom to those who attempt to gain it by military might, which is in lines with the imagery used in lines 16-18.

The Cairo Geniza fragments provide no further text beyond this line. The Qumran fragments are highly fragmentary and only small portions of lines are discernible. Although it is clear that the poem continues beyond this point (see below

regarding 4QLevi^a frag. 2), there is not enough restored Aramaic to provide any detailed and thorough poetic analysis.

5.4.2 TERSENESS OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	3	4
	1B	1	2	4
	2A	1	4	4
	2B	1	4	5
	3A	1	3	5
	3B	1	3	4
	4A	?	?	?
	4B	?	?	?
	5A	1	3	4
	5B	2	4	5
	6A	1	3	5
	6B	1	4	5
	7A	2	3	4
	7B	1	4	5
	8A	2	4	5
	8B	1	3	4
	8C	?	?	?

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	9A	?	?	?
	9B	2	4	4
	9C	?	?	?
	10A	0	2	5
	10B	?	?	?
	11A	1	4	4
	11B	?	?	?
	12A	1	5	5
	12B	1	4	4
	13A	1	2	2
	13B	1	2	3
	14A	1	3	4
	14B	1	2	3
	15A	1	3	5
	15B	1	2	4
	16A	1	3	5
	16B	0	3	5
	17A	1	3	4
	17B	1	2	3
	18A	1	2	3
	18B	1	2	2
	19A	1	3	3
	19B	?	?	?

For the most part, the lines in the poem demonstrate the constraints in the number of clauses, phrasal constituents, and words that are characteristic of terse poetic lines. Admittedly, several lines in this poem are longer than would be expected, but there are many that are terse and restricted. The average line type turns out to be the following constellation: 1 clause, 3 phrasal constituents, and 4 words. The description of the parallelism above combined with the appearance of rather long lines has led Stone and Greenfield to conclude that “the author [of this text] was not a skilled poet, and at times the line between poetry and prose is thin.”⁴⁴ Although it is true that there are several examples of lines that are longer than what might be expected in Hebrew poetry, from the chart above the poetic lines are adequately terse.⁴⁵

There is also a balance between the colon in each line. No line is perfectly in balance, but the measurement is also never imbalanced more than a single unit-count.

5.4.3 IMAGERY IN THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

There are three examples of the use of metaphors in this poem. The first is in line 3 where ראש כל עבדכן “truth” is personified by being described as being the “chief of all your deeds.” The abstract concept of truth is equated as the “chief” of deeds, which is given an additional description of being עד עולם “eternal” in line 3B. Of

⁴⁴ Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 12.

⁴⁵ For a comparison of the terseness of *ALD* with other Aramaic poetry texts, see “Chapter Ten: Conclusion.”

course, “truth” is not an actual leader. This is an example of personification as one who will provide support and guidance to the sons of Levi.

Another use of imagery in this wisdom-poem occurs in line 5 where agricultural analogies are made to describe one who places a high value to “truth” קשטא. Such a person is said to be one who “sows a good harvest.” One who does not do so is one who “sows evil” and “his seed turns against him.” The A-colon states the fruits of the pursuit of truth in agricultural imagery. The B-colon, however, states explicitly the reality behind the imagery. One who does not place a high value to truth is one whose “seed will turn against him,” meaning the next generation of children will turn against them. From this comparison then a “good harvest” implies the raising of a generation that will honor the man and his virtues.

The third image in this poem is in lines 16-18, where the imagery of military warfare is used to describe the eternal value of wisdom over against the lesser worth of earthly treasures. Wisdom is compared to אוצר “treasure house” with מטמור “hidden secrets.” Line 19 is too fragmented to discern any significant poetic analysis. However, the phrase לא יעלון חרעיה “they will not enter its gates” is discernible, which gives the image of “wisdom” as a city that cannot be plundered or conquered. It is uncertain what the image of the conquering military force is referring to. Most likely, it is a secondary referent used to communicate those who do not place a high value to wisdom as a virtue.

The meaning of the image as a whole is clear nonetheless. Wisdom cannot be gained by force.

5.4.4 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT

The strophic organization of this poem is intricate and detailed. As a preliminary comment, it should be noted that the strophes in this poem are larger than expected. Strophes in other Aramaic poetic texts average approximately 2-4 lines each (see “Chapter Ten: Conclusion” for further details). The strophes in this poem, however, are composed of four to five lines each. To see these five line units as stanzas composed of strophes of two or three lines is forced and awkward. We conclude, therefore, that the strophic units of this wisdom poem are a bit larger than strophic units found in other poems.

Strophe 1 is lines 1-5. It is the opening words of exhortation of Levi to his children.⁴⁶ These lines are intricately connected through the use of repeated words and roots that link the lines into one poetic unit. The prose narrative in 4QLev^a, 1.1.1-4 says that Levi called his sons together and began “to instruct” them (לפקדה). This theme flows into the poem proper where line 1B has the word פקדי, construct noun derived from the same root as the aforementioned verb. The root of that word appears again in

⁴⁶ Lines 1 and 2 could be construed as a strophe since both could be considered examples of synonymous parallelism.

the next line 2A, **מפקד**. From this point, the root **פקד** is no longer repeated, but within line 2 is the word **קשטא** (line 2B). This word is repeated in line 3 and 4 then ends. Line 4B begins a new pattern of repetitions with the C-stem verb **תעלון** and the noun **עללה**, both of which are derived from the same geminate root **עלל**. This root is repeated in the C-stem participle in line 5A **מעל**. What seems apparent is the use of a chain of repetitions that interconnect these lines to form this opening strophe.

The thematic interest of this strophe is clearly on **קשטא** “truth,” which was the center chain in the series of repetitions above. Levi says that it should be the “chief” of all their deeds (line 3A) and uses a harvesting image to describe the benefits of “sowing” truth (lines 4B, 5). The “truth” that Levi is about to instruct his sons is the value of “wisdom.” This leads into the next section.

Strophe 2 is lines 6-9 (four lines). It begins a new section that turns its focus from **קשטא** “truth” to **חכמה** “wisdom.” The particle **כען** also signifies that a transition has “now” taken place. There is a strong volitional character to this section, practically a second exhortation (line 1 being the first). As the poem opened with two imperatives in line 1, so line 6A also opens with the imperative **אלפו**. The use of imperatives (volitives) continues in line 8 with **חזו** and in line 9, which uses the negative plus the second person jussive **אל תמחלו**.

Instead of a chain of repeated words/roots, this strophe is organized by the repetition of חכמה “wisdom” and the verb אלף “teach.” In fact, the word חכמה is repeatedly used as the object of the verb אלף throughout this section: see lines 6A, 7A, 8B, 9A, and 9B.⁴⁷ Therefore, the use of this verb-object bond of אלף-חכמה joins these lines together syntactically and thematically. The historic example of Joseph (line 8) illustrates the significance of this theme.

Strophe 3 is lines 10-14. This describes the fame and glory that comes from instructing wisdom. Such a person is not considered נכרי (line 11A) but is possibly identified as אח “brother” (line 11B). He is also said to have many friends (line 13) who seat him on a throne of honor to hear his words of wisdom (line 14A).

Strophe 4 is lines 15-19, which uses the image of warfare and plundering to illustrate how wisdom, unlike wealth and treasures, cannot be gained by force. The outer sections, lines 15 and 18, use the image of wealth to represent the enormous profit that comes from wisdom. The middle section, lines 16-17, describes military forces of various kinds. Although the military strength can provide earthly wealth, it cannot provide the eternal treasures that come from wisdom.

⁴⁷ This pair occurs also in line 12B. Cf. line 14B where it occurs with the verb שמע.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In sum the parallelism as seen in this text is an inconsistent multi-dimensional correspondence of grammatical and semantic elements at the level of both words and the cola. There are examples where the correspondence is only at the colon-level where the elements within them do not parallel grammatically or semantically. The length of the lines is longer than expected, but not enough to cause any concerns on the terseness of the lines. Also a high concentration of images is prevalent in the poem. For these reasons, this text should be considered as an example of Aramaic verse within the Qumran library. Several of the strophes utilize a precise and intricate use of repetitions to lock together various lines. The majority of the methods of strophic formation usually use a repetition or literary markers at the beginning and end of a strophe to represent its start and end points. This use of a chain of repetitions is unlike any observed in other Aramaic poetic texts and appears to be a unique method only attested here.

When supplemented by the Geniza texts it is evident that 4QLevi^a frag. 1 provides a discernible and clear poetic text. 4QLevi^a frag. 2 is a highly fragmented text, and the Geniza fragments end without providing any further text for supplementation. Frag. 2 shows neither upper nor lower margins with the first four lines broken at both ends. Stone and Greenfield proposed that this fragment came from the left-hand side of the sheet in which frag. 1 is the right-hand side.⁴⁸ The middle of the column is missing. The crux for this alignment is a *vacat* in line 8 of fragment 2 which marks the end of a

⁴⁸ See Stone and Greenfield, *DJD XXII*, 17-20.

section. The beginning of the new section is signaled by a marginal paragraph mark in line 12 of frag. 2. Even if this joining is correct, the text remains too fragmentary to yield any detailed poetic analysis. The editors suggest, however, that the wisdom-poem in 4QLevi^a frag. 1 continues in frag. 2 until line 11, which describes wisdom and the rewards that will come to the wise man. From line 12 on, they suggest that there is a shift in focus where the text returns to the narrative.

CHAPTER SIX

POETRY OF 4Q534, “THE ELECT OF GOD” TEXT

4Q534 is a text that is similar in some ways to another well known text in Qumran, namely the “son of God” text 4Q246. In the same way that 4Q246 has received enormous scholarly attention due to its pre-Christian reference to **אל ברה די אל** “the son of God” and **בר עליין** “son of the Most-high,” so this manuscript also has drawn attention largely due to a figure referred to as **בחר אלהא** “the elect of God” in col. 1.10. The text was originally interpreted by Jean Starcky as a horoscope of the Messiah, showing that Starcky had initially taken a messianic interpretation of this “elect of God” figure.¹ He was not alone in his view.² Alternatively, Milik,³ Grelot,⁴ Fitzmyer,⁵ García Martínez,⁶

¹ J. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” in *École des langues orientales anciennes de l’Institut Catholique de Paris: Méorial du cinquanteaire 1914-1964* (Travaux de l’Institut Catholique de Paris, 10; Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51-66. Starcky was the first editor of this manuscript, and he originally designated it “4QMess ar.” His first published analysis of 4Q534, however, appeared in “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumran,” *RB* 70 (1963), 481-505. He discusses this text on p(p). 502-504 where he describes its relevance to the larger question of Qumran messianism. Later in his career, however, Starcky rejected this messianic interpretation in favor of the Noahic identity of the “elect of God.”

² See J. Carmignac, “Les horoscopes de Qumrân,” *RQ* 5 (1965), 199-217; A. Dupont-Sommer, “La Secte des Esséniens et les Horoscopes de Qoumrân,” *Archéologie* 15 (1967), 24-31.

³ J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 56.

⁴ P. Grelot, “Hénoch et ses Écritures,” *RB* 82 (1975), 481-500.

and Puech⁷ have regarded this text as a work that describes the birth of Noah. Although other proposals have been offered,⁸ the Noahic interpretation is currently the common consensus.

Little to no attention has been given to the literary nature of this text. There is little doubt that this is due to the large interest in identifying this “elect of God” figure as well as the generally poor condition of the manuscript.⁹ A careful analysis, however, reveals that this text is composed of terse clauses that are constructed into lines consisting of two (or less often three) cola by a series of pauses. There is also a rich use of images in these lines. These features have been the hallmark indicators for poetry. We offer the following as a proposal of yet another example of Aramaic poetry in the Qumran library.

The first five lines in the manuscript are too broken to discern anything with certainty. According to the suggested reading by Puech, it apparently describes various physical features of a young child, who presumably will grow to become this “elect of God.” In Puech’s reading, parts of the body are mentioned (e.g. hands, knees, hair).

⁵ J. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” *CBQ* 27 (1965), 348-372; “Qumran Aramaic and the New Testament,” *NTS* 20 (1973-74), 382-407. The latter article was republished in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979).

⁶ F. García Martínez, “4QMess ar and the Book of Noah,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (ed. F. García-Martínez and A.S. Van der Woude; STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-44. Significant evidence and arguments in defense of the Noahic interpretation of the “elect of God” figure are found on p(p). 19-24 in this article.

⁷ É Puech, “4QNaissance de Noé^a ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXXI: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529-549 (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001)*, 129-143. The physical description of the manuscript, paleography, orthography and matters of dating and language can be found in this article. For an introduction to the Book of Noah, see “4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction” *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXXI: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529-549 (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001)*, 117-127 and García Martínez, “4QMess ar,” 24-44.

⁸ A. Caquot says he is Enoch himself as a diviner in “4QMess ar 1 i 8-11,” *RQ* 15 (1991), 145-55.

⁹ A similar phenomenon has occurred with 4Q246, where the scholarly interest has been fixated on the identity of the “son of God”/“son of the Most High” figure in that text. 4Q246, however, is more intact than 4Q534 and the poetry of that manuscript is much clearer and easier to analyze.

There are also “marks” (שומן, שומה), some possibly in the shape of “lentils” (טלופחין), distributed upon his thighs. According to Starcky, the mention of these marks on this child suggests that within them lies a clue for the interpretation of the future events of his life. For that reason he referred to this text as an “astrologique.”¹⁰ However, there is no reference to stars or any other astrological signs within the extant portions of this text that may support its horoscopic identity. Joseph Fitzmyer does acknowledge that it has some parallels with Greco-Roman physiognomic literature and that this may be a more accurate designation of its literary form.¹¹

Because these first five lines are in such poor condition and the proposed reading of Puech in the *editio princeps* provides information that is based to a large degree on conjecture, I provide no transcription or stichometric ordering for them below. Apparently, these lines provide the initial descriptions on the youthful naiveté of this child, who is said to be לא ידע מדעם [וכא]נוש די “like a man who does not know anything.” This remains to be the intellectual status of this child “until the time when he will know the three books” עד ערן די ידע תלת ספריא.¹² Everything changes from that point on.

¹⁰ See Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme,” 502-504; “Un texte messianique araméen,” 51.

¹¹ Fitzmyer, “Elect of God,” 370.

¹² The identification of these “three books” has been another literary magnet that has drawn the attention of the scholarly community. Starcky suggests that the books were of eschatological, and perhaps even of astrological, character; see Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 60-61. Carmignac suggests that the “book of Meditations,” which is mentioned in 1QSa 1.7 and CD 10:6, is one of them and asks whether the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* might not constitute the other two. This view would presume that this is a sectarian text, a claim that he does not make; see Carmignac, “Les horoscopes de Qumrân,” 28. García Martínez and Grelot suggest that these three books represent the primitive works of the Enochian literature, namely the *Astronomical Book*, the *Book of Watchers*, and the *Book of Dreams*;

There is a clear *vacat* at the end of the fifth and eleventh line of the manuscript, which marks the literary unit that immediately follows the discovery of the three books.¹³ As mentioned earlier the passage prior to this section is in poor condition, which makes any poetic analysis impossible. There is some evidence to suggest that the beginning of the poetry lies within this section and that it was written as verse (e.g. imagery – “like a man who does not know anything” in the fourth line of the manuscript), but no detailed descriptions can be provided. The section in between the aforementioned *vacats*, however, is a reasonably well preserved text that does indeed show literary features and devices that are associated with a poetic text (e.g. parallelism, imagery, etc.). We limit our comments to this section of text.

6.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4Q534 FRAG. 1.1.5-11

5. [י]נדע תלתת ספריא *vacat*
 6. [ב]אדין יערם וידע ש[ן]¹⁶ [ן חזון למאתה לה¹⁵ על ארכובתה¹⁴
 7. ובאבוהי וב[אבה]תוהי [חין¹⁸ וזקינה¹⁷ עמה להוון מלכה וערמומ[תה]

see García Martínez, “4QMess ar,” 8-9, and Grelot, “Hénoch et ses Ecritures,” 491. Fitzmyer suggests that they are probably “apocalyptic, not specific, real books,” that are like the “Books of the Living” (*1 Enoch* 47.3), the book of man’s deeds (Ps. 56:9; Dan. 7:10; *1 Enoch* 90.17) and the “heavenly tablets” (*Jubilees* 30.22; *1 Enoch* 81.1-2); see Fitzmyer, “Elect of God,” 362-363.

¹³ There is also a *vacat* at the end of the second line of the manuscript.

¹⁴ Puech translates this word as “feet” or “knees.” Some have translated this as “celestial sphere;” see García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*, 1071. For a critique of this translation of “celestial sphere,” see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 139.

¹⁵ I agree with the interpretation of Puech and see this as an ethical dative; see *DJD XXXI*, 138-139.

¹⁶ Puech differs from the majority of previously published treatments of this text by reading חזין “seers” instead of חזון “visions.” He also boldly restores שב[ילי חכ]מין based upon the numerous other occurrences of this word in other Qumran Aramaic texts, e.g. 4QLevi^a 4.5; 11QtgJob 8.4=Job 24:13 MT, 25.3=Job 34:27 MT, and 1QapGen 6.2, 5.

8. [ו]ידע רזי אנשא וחוכמתה לכול עממיא תהך וידע רזי כול חייא
 9. [וכ]ול חשבוניהון עלוהי יסופו ומסרת כול חייא שגיא תהוא
 10.]¹⁹ ח[שבוניהי בדי בחיר אלהא הוא מולדה ורוח נשמוהי
 11.]²⁰ וח[שבוניהי להוון לעלמין *vacat*

6.2 STICHOMETRY OF 4Q534 FRAG. 1.1.5-11

[י]נדע תלתת ספריא

- 1A. [ב]אדין יערם וידע⁶
 1B. ש[]ן חזון
 1C. למאתה לה על ארכובתה
 2A. ובאבוהי וב[א]בהתוהי⁷
 2B. []חין וזקינה
 3A. עמה להוון מלכה וערמומ[תה]
 3B. [ו]ידע רזי אנשא⁸
 4A. וחוכמתה לכול עממיא תהך
 4B. וידע רזי כול חייא

¹⁷ Puech reads this as יזקננה, the aphel imperfect from נזק, plus a 3ms object suffix, “it grieves him;” see *DJD XXXI*, 139. For Puech the subject is the phrase [ר]ז[י] [א]חין, which precedes this. According to this interpretation, there is an agreement problem between the plural subject and the singular verb form, but Puech does not comment on this. Also, אחין is in the indefinite state (“brothers” not “the brothers”), which is not reflected in his translation.

¹⁸ Puech reads [ר]ז[י] [א]חין, “mysteries of the brothers;” see *DJD XXXI*, 133, 142.

¹⁹ In this lacuna Puech restores “(?) (ו)יסופו (ו)”; *DJD XXXI*, 133, 142. A restoration based on some form of the verb יסופו is plausible since the context fits the previous line, in which that same verb occurs. Both lines use חשבוניהון as its subject also (חשבוניהי in line 6A).

²⁰ In this lacuna Puech offers one of two possible restorations: (they) will יחדון ארעא (?) “renew the earth,” or להוון תמימין “(they) are perfect.” The subject in either option is רוח נשמוהי “his birth and the breath of his spirit.”

- 5A. ⁹[וכן]ל חשבוניהון עלוהי יסופו
 5B. ומסרת כול חייא שניא תהוה
- 6A. ¹⁰ח[שבנוהי
 6B. בדי בחיר אלהא הוא
- 7A. מולדה ורוח נשמוהי ¹¹[
 7B. וח[שבנוהי להוון לעלמין]

6.3 TRANSLATION OF 4Q534 FRAG. 1.1.5-11

He knows the three books

- 1A. ⁶[Th]en he will become clever and know /
 1B. [] visions /
 1C. To come to him on his knees //
- 2A. ⁷And because of his father and his [fore]fathers /
 2B. [] life and old age //
- 3A. With him there will be his counsel and [his] prudence /
 3B. ⁸[And] he will know the mysteries of humanity //
- 4A. And his wisdom will go to all the nations /
 4B. And he will know the mystery of every living thing //
- 5A. ⁹[And all] their plans against him will cease /
 5B. Although the opposition of all the living will be great //
- 6A. ¹⁰[] his plans /
 6B. For he is the elect of God //
- 7A. ¹¹[] his birth and the spirit of his breath /
 7B. [And] his plans will be for eternity //

6.4 POETIC FEATURES IN 4Q534 FRAG. 1.1.5-11

6.4.1 PARALLELISM IN 4Q534 FRAG 1.1.5-11

Line 1 begins the description of the wisdom and intelligence of this child-figure once he gained knowledge contained within “the “three books.” There is a large lacuna in the A-colon and very little can be determined from the photographs. The parallelism of this is difficult to discern due to this lacuna. This prevents a discussion of the individual elements within each colon, but there is extant portions of the line to make broader comments on colon-level correspondences. We will proceed and do so.

I propose a modest tricolon for this opening line, although admittedly this may not be the case. The reason for a tricolon is largely due to metrical considerations. If this proposed stichometry is correct, then the A-colon has two finite verbs, the B-colon presumably is the object(s) of the second verb **וידע**, and the C-colon provides a purpose statement. After having come to know the “three books” in the previous line, this child figure will come to possess new prudence and knowledge. Apparently, one thing that he will know is **חזון** “visions.” As a result of the growth of his mental abilities, it appears that peoples “come to him upon (their) knees.”²¹

²¹ Puech restores **חזון חכמי** **שבילי חכ** “the paths of the wise, the seers,” and reads **חזון** “seers” instead of **חזון** “visions.” The meaning of the following infinitive clause is elusive. Puech states that the approach of this child should not be interpreted as an act of veneration, but rather “dans l’attitude du disciple qui demande ou écoute l’instruction de maître.” For that reason he understands the infinitive **למאתה** as describing an act of reverence and respect “comme on le fait auprès des sages et des voyants.”

Line 2 mentions his father and possibly his forefathers in the A-colon, and “his old-age” and possibly “life” in the B-colon. Nothing more can be said about the poetry of this line. The pattern in which the verb ידע is used in the final colon of a poetic line may continue in this missing portion, where the line states “with his father and [fore]fathers [he will live / thus he will know life] and old-age //.”²²

Line 3 is the first line that is completely in tact and offers a clear example of the use of poetic features. Line 1C has the infinitive למאתה, which Puech interprets as a reference to the traveling of the young child, which can be either literal or figurative. Lines 3 and 4 also provide this traveling imagery. Line 3A then seems to describe that which will be traveling with him by saying [לה]ויון מלכה וערמומ[תה] “His counsel and his prudence will be with him.” [ערמומ[תה] מלכה וערמומ] appear to be personified as guides, or advisors, who are with this main character. The B-colon provides a description that can best be seen as the result of having these two with him. The presence of these personified virtues of “counsel” and “prudence” with this figure means that “he knows the secrets of humanity” וידע רזי אנשא.

According to Puech, it seems clear is that knowledge of the path of the wise and the seers was revealed to this child from these three books. See *DJD XXXI*, 132, 134, 138, 139.

²² Puech restores [רז]י[ן] [אחי] in the lacuna of this line. Puech, like so many others, identifies this child as Noah. Presumably, the three books provide some description of the life and career of his “father” and “forefathers.” As he reads of them during the time of the deluge, he is also reminded of the plight of his brothers and the other members of his family, some who did not survive that act of divine wrath. Their ultimate fate is not known to Noah, thus a mystery. According to Puech, the phrase “mysteries of the brothers” [רז]י[ן] [אחי] is to be understood as the “mysteries *concerning* the brothers” (subjective genitive). He also says the thought of his ancestral fathers provoking memories of his family are understandable and this “mystery” is what “grieves him” (יזקונה). In other words the mere mention of “fathers” and “forefathers” was the *cause* that brought his grieving (*effect*).

It would be helpful to see a clearer coordination between the elements in the bicolon. However, such parallelism of elements within this bicolon does not seem to occur. The coordination of an image followed by a commentary, however, does describe the relationship between the two cola at a broader scale.

Line 4 provides the same type of colon-level parallelism as we had in line 3. The A-colon uses the image of חוכמתה “his wisdom” going to כול עממיה “all the nations.” The B-colon again provides the results of this by saying, וידע רזי כול חייא “Thus, he will know the secrets of all of the living.” There is a progression from line 3 to line 4. Line 3B states that he will know the “secrets of humanity.” Line 4B is broader and more universal in its scope by stating that he will know כול חייא “the secrets of every living thing.” We would normally expect this progression from one *colon* to the next within a poetic line. In this case, however, the progression is seen from one *bicolon* to the next.

Line 5 portrays the enemies of the main character with unsuccessful plans, or schemes against him. The A-colon states that חשבוניהון “their plans” will cease due to the knowledge gained by this significant figure; presumably “all the living” from line 4B is the antecedent to this 3mp suffix. The B-colon describes the intensity of these near accomplished schemes. The word מוסרת is interpreted in different ways. Starcky translates this as “corruption,” Puech as “number,” and Fitzmyer as “opposition.” I

follow the reading of Fitzmyer, although the alternative suggestions are also possible. The suggestion of Puech for “number,” however, seems less likely since it would not parallel as well with חשבוניהון in the B-colon. As for the rest of the elements in this line, it appears that the phrase כול חשבוניהון עלוהי in the A-colon parallels מסרת כול חייא in the B-colon. The coordination between יסופו and תהוה שניא is not as obvious. Since the parallelism of elements within poetic lines does not seem consistent in this text, one must even ask if such coordination is occurring at all in this line. This, however, does not nullify the poetic nature of the text as a whole.

Instead of interpreting the line as the portrayal of the enemies of the main character with unsuccessful plans, or schemes (חשבוניהון) against him (עלוהי), Puech offers an alternative, although less plausible, interpretation. First, he says that the word חשבוניהון does not refer to the evil schemes or plots against this elect-child. Rather, he says that they refer to “astronomical calculations” and the suffix is not used as a possessive, but subjective, meaning “the calculations *concerning* them.” So he translates this word as “présages.” The antecedent is most likely the “number (מסרת) of all the living” in the B-colon. Second, the verbal phrase על יסופו in this context does not mean “cease,” but rather “fulfill, accomplish, arriving at an end.”²³ Finally, the preposition עלוהי does not mean “against him.” Rather, it means “from him,” or possibly “by

²³ Puech cites a number of places where it is used in this way: 4QEn^c 4.2.3; 4QEn^c 5.2.28; see *DJD XXXI*, 140-141.

him.”²⁴ Therefore, according to Puech, this line says that all the astronomical “calculations” חשבוניהון concerning all the living shall be “fulfilled by him,” the “elect of God” (line 6B). The A-colon contains the fulfilling of these astronomical calculations by this significant individual. He says that it is possible that the great number of “living” is a result of the fulfilled calculations from the A-colon.

The verb סוף plus על occur together in Dan. 4:30 in reference to the “fulfillment” (סוף) of a vision, but in that context על does not mean “by” but “concerning” – מִלְתָּא סִפְתָּ עַל־נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר “the word was fulfilled concerning Nebuchadnezzar.” Although Dan. 4:30 attests סוף as meaning “fulfill,” it does not support Puech’s interpretation of the preposition על as “selon.” This suggests that his interpretation above is dubious at best, incorrect at worst.

Line 6 describes the success of the plans of the main character. The A-colon is fragmented, although the word חשבוניהי “his plans” is fairly readable (the initial ח is the only element that is unclear). Undoubtedly, the A-colon describes the success of the plans of this young child, while the B-colon t the reason for his success – “because he is the elect of God” בְּרִי בַחִיר אֱלֹהָא. This line provides the identity of the main protagonist as well as the reason for his significance.

²⁴ Puech cites a use of על in 1QHa 9.31(=1.29) where the word חשב is in reference to “computations” and the preposition על is used as “according to (*selon*);” see *DJD XXXI*, 141.

Line 7 provides further descriptions of this “elect of God” figure, his birth, the spirit of his breath, and the eternal nature of his “calculations.” The precise relationship of all these elements as well as the poetic character of this line are not clear and cannot be determined. This line does end with a *vacat* which again suggests the end of a literary section and the start of a new one.

6.4.2 TERSENESS OF 4Q534 FRAG 1.1.5-11

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	2	2	2
	1B	?	?	?
	1C	1	3	3
	2A	0	2	2
	2B	?	?	?
	3A	1	3	4
	3B	1	2	3
	4A	1	3	4
	4B	1	2	4
	5A	1	3	4
	5B	1	3	5
	6A	?	?	?
	6B	1	2	3
	7A	?	?	?
	7B	1	3	3

The lines in this poem show the syntactic constraints and balance between cola that is expected in poetry.²⁵

6.4.3 IMAGERY IN 4Q534 FRAG 1.1.5-11

Due to the poor condition of the first five lines of the manuscript, it cannot be determined whether the poetic text begins earlier. There are some clues that it does. The *vacat* at the end of col. 1.2, again, points to the fact that a new literary section has begun. Within this section, there is at least one image, that being in col. 1.4. An illustration is provided in this line to describe the mental state of this young child. He is said to be **כא[נוש די לא ידע מרעם]** “like a man who does not know anything.” The line is not entirely in tact, but the restoration is sound and all scholars agree with it. It is interesting to note how little this line has influenced the interpretation of this section of the text. More attention has been given to the identity and interpretation of the “three books” and the identity of the “elect of God” figure. Such endeavors are understandable and worthy of attention. The result, however, has been to neglect that this simile provides how we are to perceive this child *before* the time when he discovers these three books. His early childhood is captured by this depiction of a man who knows nothing. This is the

²⁵ The fragmented condition of line 1 makes any poetic analysis uncertain. If we grant that line 1 is indeed a tricolon, we can see how the A-colon and C-colon balance each other. The A-colon has two finite verbs, where the C-colon only has one verbal element (infinitive). To compensate for the lack of an extra verb, it adds one additional phrase and word.

portrayal of that adolescent stage of life in which youthful knowledge is still unrefined and without discipline.²⁶

There are at least two examples of imagery in this text. The first image of this text is in line 3. It describes two abstract concepts, namely מלכה “(his) counsel” and ערמונ[תה] “(his) prudence” as being with this young man. Although the nomadic-journey motif comes out more clearly in the next line, this image already anticipates it. Line 1C also makes the verb למאחה, whose subject is not known. It is possible, however, that the young child is the one who is traveling in that line, not others coming to him. The result of having these traveling companions is that he will know the secrets of humanity. It is possible that the image personifies these two ideas as his advisors who are providing guidance as he “travels” through his life. Perhaps, these virtues have come to him as a result of the instructions that he gains after reading and studying the three books mentioned previously. Those books are not specified, but it is probable that it provided wisdom teachings that nurtured the ability to give wise counsel and prudence and that it is good for him to keep “his counsel and his prudence with him.” There is another possible way of interpreting the image. Instead of these abstract concepts being personified, they can refer to the books themselves. There are two virtues mentioned here. “Wisdom” is in the next line. It is possible that the three parallel the “three books” and that each of these ideas represent each of the three books. The image, therefore,

²⁶ If Puech’s restoration of col. 1.4 is accurate, then that would provide another image – a simile that describes this young boy as like כלמיש, which he translates as “like an intelligent (one).”

shows a young man in his journeys carrying around these books with them as the source of “his counsel,” “his prudence,” and “his wisdom.”

The second image is similar to the second, even more vivid. In line 6 it says that חוכמתה לכול עממיה תהך “his wisdom will go to all the nations.” As a result, he will know the secrets of every living thing. In *ALD* there is a similar image given where Levi encourages his sons to pursue the study of wisdom. In so doing they will be honored in every nation in which they travel. The image here differs only that “his wisdom” is the one that is going to all the nations. The direct result of this is that ידע רזי כול חייא “he will know the secrets of every living thing.” How exactly? What are these “secrets” that he now comprehends? We are not told.

Lines 5-6 describe the foiling of the schemes made by the enemies of the protagonist along with the apparent success of his own schemes since he is the “elect of God.” It seems, then, that this is the context in which we are to understand the two images of lines 3 and 4. The “secrets of humanity” (line 3B) and “secrets of every living” (line 4B) are to be identified with חשבוניהון עלוהי [וכו]ל “all their plans against him” (line 5A). It is possible that the personified figures of “wisdom,” “counsel,” and “prudence” should be seen in more military terms, where they are depicted as soldiers, even spies, who are able to scope out and even infiltrate (תהך) enemy territories and able

to discover their “secrets” so that the “elect of God” can preeminently thwart any vicious attack upon him.²⁷

The portrayal of the new found knowledge from the “three books” is depicted in lines 3-4 above in a series of images followed by a **ע**י clause. Both images are found in the A-colon. They are each immediately followed by a **ע**י clause in the B-colon that describes what it is that the “elect of God” now knows.

6.4.4 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF 4Q534 FRAG. 1.1.5-11

As mentioned previously, it is interesting to observe the use of the *vacats* in this manuscript. The photograph shows a *vacat* at the end of line col.1.2, which suggests very strongly that col. 1.3 is the beginning of a new section. There is another *vacat* at the end of col. 1.5, which also strongly suggests that col. 1.6 is the beginning of another new section.

Following a section that apparently describes particular physical marks on a child, lines 1-2 now shifts into the life of this elect-child with the newly discovered wisdom and endowed intellect that was gained from the knowledge of the three books.

²⁷ There are other possible interpretations. “His wisdom” can be a personification for the “elect of God” figure himself and he is being described as the one who will travel to these various nations. Another possible interpretation is that “his wisdom” is a herald, or messenger and he is proclaiming the profundity of this new found intellect to the surrounding area. Or even still, this is a description of the popularity of his wisdom that will spread throughout the surrounding regions and that the fame of his wisdom and knowledge has deterred his enemies from any pre-meditated attacks.

Lines 3-4 describe his intellectual growth and the new knowledge that he has gained. The theme of his knowledge is brought out by the repetitive use of the verb ידע, which occurs in the B-colon of each line. The A-colon provides an image that the B-colon seems to interpret. This pairing of image plus interpretation joins these two lines together.

Lines 5 and following focus specifically on חשבוניהי “his plans,” (line 8-9) which are contrasted with חשבוניהון “their plans” (line 7A). In fact, the ultimate result of the previously mentioned “three books” is to make his plans לעלמין “eternal” (line 9B) while frustrating חשבוניהון “their plans,” most likely referring to the plans of אנשא “humanity” (line 5B) and כול חייא “every living thing” (line 6B).

The fragmented condition of this text makes discerning the context difficult and that is what would ultimately be needed in order to provide a more precise assessment of a strophic organization. The repetition of the verb ידע is only slightly helpful. My suggestion above places approximately 2-3 poetic lines per strophe. This is consistent with the majority of strophes identified in other Aramaic poetic texts from Qumran.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In summary the quality of correspondences in this text does not exemplify good parallelism. These correspondences can only be detected between cola, not between elements within cola. Although a few word-pairs seem possible, it lacks a consistent pairing in each poetic line. The majority of this text is fragmented and this proves a reasonable and understandable obstacle in any detailed poetic analysis. The lack of parallelism of elements, however, is also difficult to determine in lines 3-6, which are in good condition. The broad correspondence between cola, however, does stand out more clearly.

What this text lacks in parallelism, it seems to compensate in terseness and imagery. As best as can be determined, the poetic lines are terse and restricted in their length. There is also balance between cola in each poetic line. The images in this text are also rich and fairly frequent when compared to other examples of Aramaic poetry. The majority of interpretations of the earlier portion of this text seem to be off track by suggesting positive descriptions of the adolescent “elect of God” prior to col. 1.5. Sensitivity to the the significance of the image of “a man who knows nothing” (col. 1.4) establishes the manner in which we are to understand the “elect of God” in his youth. This, in turn, leads to the proper approach that needs to be taken in the reading of the section between the two *vacats* col. 1.2-5. A poetic analysis reveals the interplay between an image plus **עֵד** clause in the description of the newly discovered knowledge of the “elect of God.” If this is indeed a consistent pattern, it is reasonable to think that

another ידע clause was originally in the lacuna of line 2B. Since a ידע clause is found in lines 1, 3, and 4, it is not unreasonable to think that a ידע clause also was originally in line 2. If this was indeed the original reading of the text, then we have a literary parade of ידע clauses interspersed with images to poetically portray what the “elect of God” discovers at ערן די [י]נדע תלת ספריא “the time when he knows the three books.”

CHAPTER SEVEN
POETRY OF 4Q542, *THE TESTAMENT OF QAHAT*

Qahat, the second son of Levi and the father of Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Ex. 6:18; Num. 3:19) is only sparingly mentioned within the Qumran library. He is described as the son of Levi in *Jubilees* 44.14 and *Testament of Levi* 11.3; 12:2. He is also brought up in a unique and special way in lines 67-68 of the *Aramaic Levi Document* (*ALD*). In that section Qahat is said to be born on the first day of the first month, at the rising of the sun, which is a particularly significant date according to the solar calendar; it also states that Qahat “would have an assembly of all the people and the beginning of kings, priesthood for Israel.” Line 67 specifically is an exegesis of Gen. 49:10 which is the promise of eternal kingship to Judah; here in *ALD* it is applied to Qahat, thus also applied to the priestly line of Levi. *Testament of Levi* 12.6 interprets the name Qahat as “the first place of majesty and instruction.” Therefore, both the priestly and royal lines are interwoven together into this one figure of Qahat.

The only other literary work in which he plays a prominent role is the *Testament of Qahat*.¹ This composition is preserved in only one manuscript, of which only one large and three small fragments have survived, apparently parts of four different columns. The large fragment preserves one column almost completely in tact as well as the right half of the second. The smaller fragments present no complete context to provide any clarity in interpretation or text analysis. For that reason I focus my comments exclusively on the large fragment, which opens as direct speech to “my sons.” They are exhorted to observe purity and holiness. Similarly, intermarriage is condemned. The text highlights an inheritance which is received from the fathers and which is also to be passed on to future generations. Column 2 specifies this inheritance as “books,” apparently instructions on the priestly teachings of the Levitical line. Reference is also made to eschatological reward and punishment. Although most scholars consider this manuscript to be a farewell address, the extant text indicates only that it is an exhortation without providing any details about the narrative that comes before and after it. Like *ALD*, it is not necessary, therefore, that the genre of this text be identified as a “testament.”

Qahat himself is not explicitly mentioned in the text. It makes reference, however, to “you, my son Amram” in frag. 1.2.9 and “Levi my father” in frag. 1.2.11; this seems to identify the speaker as Qahat. With the address to “my son Amram,” this text resembles the admonition of Levi to his sons in the wisdom-poem of *ALD*. The two manuscripts also share a few similar ideas and phrases, such as the usage of the rare

¹ J. T. Milik identified this text as a “Testament of Qahat.” See Milik, “4QVisions de ‘Amram et une citation d’Origène,” *RB* 79 (1972), 94. This article provides some of the initial publications of some Qahat fragments.

word-pair נכרי and כילאין.² While in *ALD* it says that a wise man would be warmly welcomed everywhere “and he is not like a stranger there, and not like a half-breed in it” (*ALD* 91-92),³ in the *Testament of Qahat* the listeners are warned not to give their “heritage either to strangers or to half-breeds,” because they will dishonor them (4Q542 frag. 1.2.12).

The interest of this chapter is narrowly focused upon the poetic nature of the text in frag. 1, the large Qahat fragment. Since publications on this text remain sparse, it is relatively undiscovered in the scholarly community. The *editio princeps* of Émile Puech⁴ provides information concerning the dimensions of the actual manuscript and fragments, orthography and paleography, as well as an in-depth and up to date translation, transcription and commentary. The work of Edward Cook⁵ provides a helpful supplement to the work of Puech by commenting on the linguistic nature of the text and its relation to other Qumran documents. These two articles represent the major publications on the *Testament of Qahat*. The poetic nature is not mentioned or analyzed in either work, although Cook does acknowledge that the opening section of frag. 1.1.1-3 pick up in the middle of a “hymnic section” which moves onto an admonition.⁶ The

² Although this pairing does occur clearly in this text, it is not as clear in *ALD*. See below for further discussion.

³ The *ALD* lineation provided here refer to the Cairo Geniza copies, which is the standardized one used by scholars when referring to *ALD*.

⁴ Émile Puech, “4QTestament de Qahat ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXXI: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529-549 (DJD XXXI)*; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 257-282. For the preliminary publication on this text, see Puech, “Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (4QTQah),” *RQ* 15 (1991), 23-54.

⁵ Edward Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 44 (1993), 205-219.

⁶ Cook, “Kohath,” 207.

purpose of this chapter is further this initial comment of Cook and to identify and analyze this address of Qahat as being poetic in form.

7.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

1. ואל אלין לכול עלמין ונהר נהירה עליכון ויודענכון שמה רבא
 2. ותנדעונה {ותנדעונה}⁷ די הוא אלה עלמיה ומרא כול מעבדיא ושליט
 3. בכולא למעבד בהון כרעותה ויעבד לכון חדוא ושמחא לבניכון בדרי
 4. קושׁו⁹ט⁸ לעלמין וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא די מ^(*)שלמא⁸ לכון
 5. ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ואחסנן לכון<ותכון>¹⁰
 6. לכילאין ותהון לשפלו{ת}¹¹ ולנבלו בעיניהון ויבסרון עליכון די
 7. להון תותבין לכון ולהון עליכון ראשין להן אחדו בממר יעקב
 8. אבוכון ואחקפו בדיני אברהם וצדקת לוי ודילי והוא קד[יש]ין ודכין
 9. מן כול [ער]ברוב ואחדין בקושטא ואזלין בישראל ולא בלבב ולבב
 10. להן בלבב דכא וברוח קשיטה וטבה ותנתנון לי ביניכון שם טב וחדוא
 11. ללוי ושמח לי[ע]קוב ודיאין לישחק ותשבוחא לאברהם די נטרתון
 12. והולכתון ירות[תא] די שבקו לכון אבהתכון קושטא וצדקתא וישירותא
 13. ותמימותא ודכ[ותא] וק[ודשא] וכהונתא ככול די פקד<ת>כון¹² וככול די
- col. 2.1 אלפתכון בקושט מן כען ולעד כול]

⁷ The verb ותנדעונה was written twice. The second occurrence is removed below.

⁸ According to Puech, the participle was originally משלמא and later corrected with a supralinear *aleph* written over the *šin*. Puech prefers a supralinear *he* and makes that correction; see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 270. Cook also agrees, "Kohath," 209.

⁹ The waw is to be removed, so the corrected form is קושט^{*}.

¹⁰ The text original read לכון ואחסנן, which Puech corrects to ואחסנתכון; see *DJD XXXI*, 270.

¹¹ The text originally had a final taw. Puech corrects this by removing it; *DJD XXXI*, 270.

¹² The verb originally was missing the taw. Puech correctly adds it.

7.2 STICHOMETRY OF 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

For reasons provided below, I begin my analysis with the incomplete line 0.

0. ואל אלין לכול עלמין¹
- 1A. וְנָהַר נְהִירָה עֲלִיכּוֹן
1B. וְיִוְדַעְנִכּוֹן שְׁמָה רַבָּא
- 2A. וְתִנְדַּעֲוֹנָה דִּי הוּא אֱלֹהַ עֲלִמְיָה²
2B. וּמְרָא כּוֹל מַעֲבָדִיא
- 3A. וּשְׁלִיט³ בְּכוֹלָא
3B. לַמַּעֲבָד בַּהוֹן כְּרַעוּתָה
- 4A. וְיַעֲבֹד לְכוֹן חֲדוּא
4B. וּשְׁמַחָא לְבִנְיָכּוֹן
4C. בְּדִרִי⁴ קוּשְׁטָא לְעֲלִמִין
- 5A. וְכַעֲן בְּנֵי אֲזַדְהָרוּ בִּירוּתָתָא
5B. דִּי מִשְׁלָמָא לְכוֹן
5C. וְדִי יֵהְבוּ לְכוֹן אֲבַהֲתָכּוֹן⁵
- 6A. וְאַל תַּתְּנוּ יְרוּתָתְכּוֹן לְנִכְרָאִין
6B. וְאַחְסָנוּתְכּוֹן⁶ לְכִילָאִין
- 7A. וְתַהוֹן לְשַׁפְּלוּ וּלְנַבְלוּ בְּעִינְיָהוֹן
7B. וְיִבְסְרוֹן עֲלִיכּוֹן
- 8A. דִּי לְהוֹן תּוֹתְבִין לְכוֹן⁷
8B. וְלַהוֹן עֲלִיכּוֹן רֵאשִׁין
- 9A. לְהֵן אַחְדוּ בַּמִּמַּר יַעֲקֹב⁸ אֲבוּכּוֹן
9B. וְאַתְקִפּוּ בְּדִינֵי אֲבֵרָהֶם
9C. וְצִדְקָתָא לֹוי וְדִילֵי

- 10A. והוא קד[יש]ין
 10B. ודכין⁹ מן כול [ער]ברוב
- 11A. ואחדין בקושטא
 11B. ואזלין בישרותא
- 12A. ולא בלבב ולבב
 12B. ¹⁰להן בלבב דכא
 12C. וברוח קשיטה וטבה
- 13A. ותנתנון לי ביניכון שם טב
 13B. וחדוא ¹¹ללוי ושמח לינ[ע]קוב
 13C. ודיאין לישחק ותשבוחא לאברהם
- 14A. די נטרתון ¹²והולכתון ירות[תא]
 14B. ד[י] שבקו לכון אבהתכון
- 15A. קושטא וצדקתא וישרותא
 15B. ¹³ותמימותא ודכ[ותא] וק[ודשא] וכהונתא
- 16A. ככול די פקדתכון
 16B. וככול די ^{col. 2.1}אלפתכון
17. בקשוט מן כען ולעד כול []

7.3 TRANSLATION OF 4Q542 FRAG. 1 COL. 1.1-2.1A

0. ¹*And God of gods forever //*
- 1A. *May he make his light shine upon you /*
 1B. *And may he make you know his great name //*
- 2A. ²*And you shall know him that he is the god of the ages /*
 2B. *And the lord of all deeds //*

- 3A. *And the ruler ³over all /*
 3B. *To do with them according to his will //*
- 4A. *And he will make joy for you /*
 4B. *And gladness for your children /*
 4C. *In the generations ⁴of truth forever //*
- 5A. *And now, my sons, be careful with the inheritance /*
 5B. *Which has been vouchsafed to you /*
 5C. *⁵Which your fathers gave to you //*
- 6A. *And do not give your inheritance to strangers /*
 6B. *And your heritage ⁶to assimilation //*
- 7A. *And you will become low and foolish in their eyes /*
 7B. *And they will despise you //*
- 8A. *For ⁷they will become foreigners to you /*
 8B. *And they will be authorities over you //*
- 9A. *Therefore, hold onto the word of Jacob ⁸your father /*
 9B. *And hold-fast to the judgments of Abraham /*
 9C. *And to the righteous acts of Levi and of me //*
- 10A. *And be holy /*
 10B. *And pure ⁹from all intermixture //*
- 11A. *And holding onto truth /*
 11B. *And walking in honesty //*
- 12A. *Not with a double heart /*
 12B. *¹⁰But with a pure heart /*
 12C. *And with a good and true spirit //*
- 13A. *And you will ascribe among you a good name to me /*
 13B. *And joy ¹¹to Levi and gladness to Jacob /*
 13C. *And happiness to Isaac and praise to Abraham //*
- 14A. *For you have kept ¹²and passed on the inheritance /*
 14B. *Which your fathers left for you //*
- 15A. *Truth and righteousness and honesty /*
 15B. *And ¹³perfection, and purity, and holiness, and priesthood //*

- 16A. *According to all that I have commanded you /*
 16B. *And according to all that* ^{col. 2.1} *I have taught you //*
- 17A. *In truth from now and until all [] /*

Before we begin our poetic analysis, a word must be said in defense of the poetic nature of this text since such an identity has not been suggested in any previous publication. Within the comments below for line 0, I will offer the possibility that this is a case of verb gapping, a linguistic phenomenon known to occur only in the context of poetry. If the analysis of line 0 is correct, this would be the first of four occurrences of this type of parallelism (see below under “Parallelism” in lines 4, 6 and 12). This is the highest concentration of uses of verb gapping from any Aramaic poem in Qumran, which indicates the poetic nature of the text. Due to the high frequency of this poetic device, the remainder of the manuscript, then, must be read and analyzed accordingly as poetry. Although the correspondence between lines does not consistently demonstrate a clear “paralleling of members” as seen in other texts (e.g. the “Son of God” text 4Q246), correspondence is detectable nonetheless. The length of lines tends also to be inconsistently terse, some being longer than others. Since there is a clear literary connection between the wisdom-poem of *ALD* and the *Testament of Qahat* (as mentioned above), it would not be surprising to see that there is also a similar use of these poetic devices. The wisdom-poem in *ALD* demonstrated inconsistencies in its use of parallelism and terseness, so much so that Stone and Greenfield commented that the author of that poem was not a very good poet. What we see in the *Testament of Qahat* is that similar

use of parallelism and terseness, features that are the primary characteristics of Aramaic verse. Since these features are evident in this text in great frequency, this confirms the assertion that this text is to be understood as yet another example of Aramaic poetry in Qumran.

7.4 POETIC FEATURES IN 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

7.4.1 PARALLELISM IN 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

We begin our analysis of the poetry by commenting on the parallelism demonstrated within this text.

Line 0 reads **ואל אלין לכול עלמין** “God of Gods forever.” This line has a construct phrase “God of Gods” with the prepositional phrase “forever,” or “for all eternities.” As it stands, it appears to be a verbless clause. The *waw* conjunction at the beginning of the phrase begins the colon and suggests that it was originally part of a full poetic line, where it functioned as either the B-colon or possibly even the C-colon. The remainder of that line is not visible in the current manuscript. Since there is no finite verb in this clause, its translation is a bit awkward: “The God of gods is for all the ages.”

It is possible that this phrase is a colon that has gapped the verb from its parallel colon. Line 2 is a very similar poetic line, where **אלה** corresponds to **מרא**; that parallelism seems to extend to also include **שליט** in line 3. Line 1 appears to be praise

unto God for his radiant light. Line 0, therefore, could easily have been part of a blessing unto God that was continued in line 1, where the first half of line 0 included the title of **מֶלֶךְ**. For example, “May the works of the lord (**מֶלֶךְ**) be praised from all generations / the God of gods for all the ages //.” Although speculating on the exact reading of previous poetic lines would be fruitless, it is worth noting that the awkwardness of treating line 0 as a verbless clause is relieved when verb gapping is considered a viable option. I suggest this is the case.

Line 1 begins the extant portions of this manuscript. It describes how the “God of Gods” will shine forth His light upon the sons of Qahat. The parallelism is a good balance of corresponding elements at both the syntactic and semantic levels. Syntactically, the A-colon is composed of a finite verb – direct object – prepositional phrase. The B-colon reflects those elements with a finite verb and two direct objects. The object suffix on the verbal constituent **יִדְעֶנְכוֹן** can possibly be understood as an indirect object suffix – “He will cause his great name to be known *to you*.” Regardless of the syntactic analysis, it is evident that the phrase **עַל־יְכוֹן** in the A-colon coordinates with the pronominalized suffix in the B-colon.

The semantic pairing is even clearer. The verb **יִנְהַר** “May he shine forth” in the A-colon coordinates with the verb **יִדְעֶנְכוֹן** “May He cause you to know” in the B-colon. The A-colon states that it is “his light” that He will shine forth, using the cognate noun **נְהִירָה** of the verb **יִנְהַר**. The B-colon parallels “his light” with a more direct concrete

reference to **שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא** “his great name.” Finally, the prepositional phrase “unto you” in the A-colon corresponds with the pronominal suffix on the finite verb **וַיִּדְעַנְכֹּן** in the B-colon. Therefore, the image of shining forth the light of the God of Gods is interpreted as His making known His great name to the sons of Qahat.

Line 2 continues this hymnic section by stating the obvious and direct result of the radiating light that the God of Gods will illuminate upon the sons – **תִּנְדְּעוּנָה** “you shall know him.” Admittedly, the occurrence of this verb does not allow for a good balance in the bicolon of this line. If it were interpreted as part of the previous poetic line, it would create an imbalance in that line as it does here. The text has this verb written twice where most consider the second occurrence as an accidental doubling of the verb (dittography). Due to the awkwardness this verb creates in the balance of the poetic line, it is tempting to analyze it one of two alternative ways. One way is that the apparent accidental doubling of this verb is not a scribal error but an intended doubling by the author to stress the fact that the sons of Qahat will indeed know the God of gods as a result of His illuminating (**יְנַהֵר נְהִירָה**) them with His great name (**שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא**). A similar, though not identical, use of such a doubling is attested in col. 1.9 with the word **לֵבב** “heart.” This dual use of the verb **וַתִּנְדְּעוּנָה** would be the C-colon of a tricolon in line 1 which would then read as follows: // **וַיִּדְעַנְכֹּן שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא / וַתִּנְדְּעוּנָה וַתִּנְדְּעוּנָה** // “May he make his light shine upon you / And may he make you know his great name / so that you may indeed know him//.” Another option is to read both occurrences of the verb

as a scribal error of dittography since the verb יידענכון in line 1B looks very similar to this verb תנרעונה. This would remove both occurrences of this verb from the line. The distance between תנרעונה and יידענכון, however, makes such a suggestion questionable. Also, it seems dubious to suggest that any scribe would copy an error twice. Having to account for this verb, I see it as part of this section that describes what is to be known about God by these sons of Qahat.

With the exception of the finite verb mentioned above, the remainder of the line poses little difficulty in regards to the poetry. The phrase אלה עלמיה “God of the ages” in the A-colon clearly corresponds to מרא כול מעבדיא “the lord of all deeds” in the B-colon. The paralleling of אלה and מרא is understandable. The paralleling of עלמיה and מרא, however, is not as clear. It is possible that the missing sections that precede this fragment would clarify this connection. The only other remaining element is the 3ms pronoun הוא in the A-colon. I read this as the subject of a verbless clause, “He (הוא) is the God of the ages / and the lord of all deeds.” Although the *waw* וּמֶרָא could be viewed as a simple conjunction, it is also possible that the 3ms pronoun in the A-colon should be interpreted as a gapped element in the B-colon thus, “He is the God of the ages / and (he is) the lord of all deeds //.”¹³

¹³ If this interpretation is correct, then the pronoun must also be viewed as gapped in the following poetic line 3 since it is clearly connected with this line. This is a weakness to the position since no such extended gapping is attested in the Aramaic poetic texts from Qumran.

Line 3 continues the description of what is to be known regarding God. Not only is he the “God of the ages” and “the lord of all deeds,” he is also שליט בכולא “the ruler over all.” Puech translates בכולא as “sur l’Univers.” In reaction to this, Cook says that בהון in the B-colon shows that כולא refers to humanity, “all (peoples).”¹⁴ This is an interesting suggestion by Cook whose comment seems to imply a poetic analysis of this line.¹⁵ Outside of this correspondence, the elements between the cola in line 3 do not correspond well. The A-colon states who God is (“ruler of all”), while the B-colon states His divine purpose, “to do with them according to his will.” The B-colon is syntactically dependent upon the A-colon.

Line 4 moves beyond the identity of the God of gods from line 0 above and begins to describe His divine activities which He will do on behalf of the sons of Qahat. This line is a tricola where the A-colon and the B-colon provide an excellent poetic pairing. The A-colon states that ויעבר לכון חרוא “And He will make joy for you.” The verb יעבר is clearly gapped in the B-colon and each element therein corresponds syntactically and semantically with each element in the A-colon. Therefore, לכון “to you” in the A-colon parallels לבניכון “to your sons” in the B-colon, and חרוא parallels שמחא. The C-colon continues by depicting the vastness of the future generations of Qahat that will receive these divine blessings; it is the בדרי קושטא “generations of truth”

¹⁴ Cook, “Kohath,” 208.

¹⁵ Again, this section is part of the “hymnic” section which he had mentioned previously in his article.

for whom God “will make” **חדוּא** “joy” and **שמחה** “gladness,” and He will do this **לעלמין** “forever.” There is a universal expansion of the generations as the reader moves from one colon to the next. The first recipients of these blessings of “joy” and “gladness” are **לכון** “you” in the A-colon, referring to the sons of Qahat. The B-colon broadens the recipients to the generation after them by saying **לבניכון** “to your sons,” meaning the sons of the sons of Qahat. The C-colon broadens these recipients to a universal level in the use of the phrase **קושטִי ברִי** “generations of truth” and **לעלמין** “forever.”

Line 5 begins the admonition section of the poem. Recall that *ALD* (*ALD* 88=4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.9b) also has a similar admonition section within its wisdom-poem after an opening address to the sons of Levi. That section also begins with the particle **כען**, as is the case here in the *Testament of Qahat*. This poetic line is a tricolon where the A-colon provides the admonition **אזדהרו**¹⁶ “be careful” with **ירושתא** “your inheritance.” The B-colon and C-colon together provide the origins of that inheritance. Where the B-colon only mentions that this inheritance was **מִשְׁלֵמָא**¹⁷ “handed-over” to them, the C-colon specifies that this inheritance is the one which “your fathers gave to you.” While the correspondence between the A-colon with the B-colon / C-colon is only at this colon-level, the correspondence internally within the B-colon and C-colon is more precise. Both cola begin with the relativizer **דִּי**; both also have the prepositional phrase **לכון** “to

¹⁶ Gt-stem impv. masculine plural **זִהְרִי**.

¹⁷ Cp-stem ptc. feminine singular **שְׁלֵמָא**, “to be handed over.”

you.” The passive participle **נִשְׁלַמָּה** in the B-colon matches with the **יְהָבוּ...אֲבֹתֵיכֶם** “your fathers...gave” in the C-colon, which again specifies from whom this inheritance finds its origin.

Line 6 offers a negative admonition from Qahat. Where line 5 above gives the positive word to “be careful” with this inheritance that was given by their fathers, line 6 begins by instructing them, **אַל תִּתְּנוּ יְרוֹתֵיכֶם לְנֹכְרִים** “do not give your inheritance to strangers.” Line 6 returns to a bicolon after two tricola in lines 4 and 5, and it provides the second instance of verb gapping.¹⁸ The gapped element is the negated second person jussive **אַל תִּתְּנוּ**.¹⁹ As a result, the line reads “do not give your inheritance to strangers / and (do not give) your heritage to half-breeds.” The correspondence, therefore, is vivid and clear. **יְרוֹתֵיכֶם** in the A-colon parallels **אֲחֻסְנוֹתֵיכֶם** in the B-colon, and **לְנֹכְרִים**²⁰ in the A-colon unmistakably parallels **לְכִילָיִים** in the B-colon.

The word **כִּילָיִים** is translated by Puech as “escroc,” meaning “swindler.” He considers this word as the plural of the Biblical Hebrew **כִּילִי**, meaning “knave” (see Isa. 32:5, 7).²¹ To support his interpretation, he appeals to the Cambridge manuscript of the Cairo Geniza col. f, line 10, which reads **וְלֹא דִמְנָה בָּהּ לְנֹכְרִי וְלֹא דִמְנָה בָּהּ לְכִילָיִים**,

¹⁸ Again, if the comments in regards to line 0 above is correct, then this would be the third instance of verb gapping.

¹⁹ This is clearly a second person jussive due to the negative **אַל**, as opposed to **לֵא**.

²⁰ For the spelling of this word with a medial **ס**, see E. Cook, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Boston: Brill, 1998), 363.

²¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 273; “Qahat,” 37.

“and in him is no resembling a foreigner nor is there in him a resembling a *kyl[y]*.” Cook offers a different interpretation when he suggests that the word כִּילֵּאִין is an Aramaicization of the Hebrew term כְּלָאִים, “a technical term in the Pentateuch (Lev. 19:19; Deut. 22:9) for things of mixed origin.”²² When applied to people, this would be a prohibition of mixed marriages, or marriages to wives with interracial blood. F. García Martínez also agrees with Cook as he translates this term as “half-breed.”²³ Thus the position of Cook seems the most accurate analysis.²⁴ This interpretation is supported by the use of the term עֲרֵב־רֹב “intermixture,” which occurs later in this text (see line 10A col. 1.9 below).

Line 7 describes the consequences that will result if the sons of Qahat do indeed give their inheritance to foreigners. This portrayal is given from two different perspectives, one found in each colon. In the A-colon the consequences are given from

²² Cook, “Kohath,” 209.

²³ F. García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 1083.

²⁴ Regarding the *ALD* passage cited above, Cook cites the photograph of the Cairo Geniza manuscript of *ALD* and says that there is room to complete this word כִּילֵּאִין in the available space, “and even the trace of the final *nun* is visible in the photograph...while the second *yod* Puech wants is dubious;” see Cook, “Kohath,” 209-210. Clear photographs of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts are available in Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 52-55. Regarding the photographic evidence of the Cairo Geniza fragment, Cook is correct in saying that it shows no evidence for a second *yod*. He is also correct that there is a trace of the lower tail of the final form *nun*, although the trace is more rounded at the top than what is characteristic of a final form *nun* in this manuscript. If the suggestion by Cook is correct, then there would be some lower right tail of a medial *alef* in the photograph, but there is none. In fact, the photograph does not show enough room to fit in אִין- after the visible כִּיל-. Thus, we can only speculate on the reading of this line in the Geniza manuscript. The parallel line in the *Testament of Qahat*, however, is unambiguous and clear. Although it is tempting to conclude that the occurrence of כִּילֵּאִין here in the *Testament of Qahat* means it also occurs in that fragmented portion of *ALD*, it is not required that this be the case.

the perspective of the sons of Qahat, “You will become humiliated and foolish in their eyes.” In the B-colon it is the perspective of the “foreigners” that is given, “They will despise you.” The coordination of the cola in this line is found only at this macro level; the elements themselves demonstrate neither semantic nor syntactic correspondence.

Line 8 continues the description of consequences of giving their inheritance to foreigners. The A-colon has a very difficult statement, **להון תותבין לכון** “they will be aliens to you.” It is not clear how these **נכראין** “foreigners” in line 6A are now considered to be **תותבין** “aliens.” Cook suggests that the nuance of **נכראין** refers to those who are strangers to the “priesthood,” meaning they are not from priestly lineage; they will end by becoming **תותבין**, meaning non-Jews.²⁵ I accept this interpretation of Cook as valid and reliable. In fact, **תותבין** occurs in numerous places throughout Targum Onkelos, for example in Ex. 12:45 apparently in reference to the uncircumcised. The phrase **תותביא ערליא** also occurs in Deut. 14:21; 28:43; Jer. 14:8, as does **ערל תותב** in Lev. 25:45. García Martínez offers an alternative and compelling suggestion when he translates **תותבין** to mean “residents.”²⁶ The root of this word is **יתב**, meaning “to sit, dwell;”²⁷ he presumably derives his translation from an etymological analysis. There is a logical sequence, then, to the development of these foreigners: first they come into

²⁵ Cook, “Kohath,” 210.

²⁶ García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1083. It is difficult to discern the rationale and basis for his translation since these volumes are translation only without commentary or philological notes. If by “resident” he means “resident alien,” then he is saying the same thing as Cook.

²⁷ Hebrew cognate is **ישב**.

possession of an inheritance that rightfully belongs to the sons of Qahat due to the fact that they gave it to them (line 6A); this leads to these foreigners then becoming “residents” with them (line 8A); the outcome of this leads to a tragic end with these “residents” now becoming “heads” or authorities over them (line 8B). The incorrect assumption of this analysis is that the “inheritance” mentioned in this text is a reference to the land, which it is not.

The elements within line 8 also provide a clear coordination. The finite verb in both cola is לִהְיוֹן. It is the G-stem imperfect 3mp from הָיָה. This form of the verb with the *lamed* prefix is frequent in Biblical Aramaic (Ez. 4:12; 5:8; 6:9; 7:23, 26; Dan. 2:20, 28, 41, 45; 3:18; 4:22; 5:29; 63); it also occurs in the poem describing the beauty of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (col. 20.3, 6) and numerous times in the poetry of the “Elect of God” text 4Q534 (frag. 1.1.4, 7, and 11). The phrase לִכְוֹן in the A-colon is paralleled by עֲלִיכֹן in the B-colon. As mentioned above, תִּתְבִּין in the A-colon is paired with רִאשִׁין in the B-colon. This coupling of תִּתְבִּין – רִאשִׁין share no clear semantic relationship. A developmental nuance is a very appealing explanation to this pairing – they who were once תִּתְבִּין will become your רִאשִׁין “heads,” or “authorities.” Regardless of the precise interpretation, the parallelism in this line is unambiguous and lucid.

Line 9 returns to the admonition proper of Qahat which begins with the particle להן “therefore,”²⁸ followed by two imperatives אחרו “hold on” and אתקפו “hold fast.” The poetic line is composed of three cola where each of these two imperatives are in the first two cola respectively. In fact, the parallelism found between the A-colon and the B-colon is not difficult to perceive. We already mentioned the paradigmatic pairing of the two finite verbal elements. In addition to that, the phrase בממר יעקוב אבוכון in the A-colon unmistakably corresponds to בדיני אברהם in the B-colon.²⁹ The C-colon has no finite verb; it is thereby syntactically dependent on the B-colon. It does, however, have elements which are clearly semantically and syntactically related to its corresponding elements in both the A-colon and B-colon. The phrase בצדקת לוי is equivalent to the phrases בממר יעקוב and בדיני אברהם. The absence of a finite verb allows the addition of a unique element in the C-colon, namely the phrase דיילי, “of me.” The A-colon is broad when it uses the term “word” ממר, which also occurs in the singular. This “word” is specified as דיני “judgments” (construct plural form of the noun) and צדקת “righteous deed” in the subsequent cola of this line.

²⁸ This is possibly a Hebrew loan-word.

²⁹ The A-colon is much longer than the B-colon. This is largely due to the use of אבוכון in the A-colon in the description of יעקוב. No such additional description is given for אברהם in the B-colon. The addition of אבוכון adds nothing to the poetry; indeed, it is the cause for the imbalance of the cola. See below under “Terseness” for further comments on the balance of this line.

Line 10 continues this section of the poem where the sons of Qahat are instructed to be קדושין “holy” and רכין “pure.” The B-colon seems to be interpreting the A-colon. What is meant by the phrase “be holy” is that they are to “be pure” from all “mixtures,” meaning a prohibition of intermarriage with non-Jews. The two words are a paradigmatic pair, and thus share a semantic connection. They are also both adjectives, thereby share a grammatical connection. Although the imperative הויא is only present in the A-colon, the periphrastic construction clearly carries over into the participle in the B-colon as well. The orthography of the imperative is interesting since the final *alef* appears to be a *mater lectionis* for a word-ending -ō. Cook comments that this use of *alef* is “a peculiarity of the orthography of Qumran Hebrew that has made its way into some Aramaic texts.”³⁰

Line 11 continues this periphrastic construction use of the imperative הויא from the previous line. “(Be) holding onto the truth / and (be) walking in honesty.” The syntactic structure of both cola is the same. Both begin with a participle followed by a prepositional phrase; it is the same preposition in both cola as well. The word pairs are not as self-evident. Although the parallelism between בקושטא in the A-colon and בישירותא in the B-colon is a clear word-pair,³¹ the two participles themselves seem more syntagmatic and do not share a similar semantic meaning. It is tempting to interpret line 10 above as a single colon and line 11 as its paralleling colon. We read them as two

³⁰ Cook, “Kohath,” 215. This only occurs here in the *Testament of Qahat* and also in 11QtgJob 15:7.

³¹ Cf. Prov. 3:16-17 where walking in truth and grasping it occur in proximity to each other.

distinct bicola, nonetheless, since the clearly identifiable correspondence of the elements present in this line, both semantically and syntactically, is too compelling to ignore.

Line 12 moves on to provide what are to be both the negative and positive motivations for the sons of Qahat to conform to the commands given above. The A-colon describes what *should not* be their motive – לִבִּי וְלִבִּי “a double heart.” The B-colon and C-colon, however, describe what *should* be their motive – לִבִּי דָּכָא “a pure heart” in the B-colon and רוּחַ קְשִׁיטָה וְטָבָה “a true and good spirit” in the C-colon. As a result of this stichometry, the A-colon stands out as different from the other two. This antithetical relationship between the A-colon with the B-colon/C-colon is reinforced by the contrastive use of the negative לֹא with the לְהֵן³² particle, “*not* with a double heart, *but* with a pure heart.”

Line 13 is an admonition for the sons of Qahat to תִּנְתְּנוּן “give” or “ascribe” various virtues to their patriarchal fathers. I read this line as a tricolon where the verb of the A-colon תִּנְתְּנוּן is gapped in both the B-colon and the C-colon. The gapping of the verb, however, occurs twice in each subsequent colon – “And you shall ascribe among yourselves a good name to me / and (you shall ascribe) joy to Levi and (you shall ascribe) gladness to Jacob / and (you shall ascribe) happiness to Isaac / and (you shall ascribe)

³² לְהֵן in this line means “but, rather.” It appeared earlier in line 9 (col. 1.7) where it meant “therefore.”

praise to Abraham //.” The order of the patriarchal fathers is in reversed chronological order, starting with Qahat and listing them backwards until Abraham.

Line 14 is difficult to analyze in regards to the poetry. The bicolon, as I have proposed, offers very little coordination. The particle **וְ** appears twice in this line and I have used their occurrences as the beginning of each colon.³³ The first **וְ** is the causal use, meaning “for, because;” the second, however, is the relative pronoun. Although they serve two different grammatical functions, the **וְ** particles appear nonetheless to parallel one another on a superficial level. Again, since parallelism is a multilayered phenomenon, it seems plausible that the coordination of cola can also be at a merely orthographic level as well. The A-colon explains the activity of the sons of Qahat with their inheritance, whereas the B-colon apparently reminds them from where their inheritance originated. Since the second **וְ** particle is used as a relative pronoun, the entire B-colon is a relative clause that is syntactically dependent upon the A-colon, specifically describing **ירושתא** “inheritance.”

The A-colon says **נטרתון** “(you) kept” and **הולכתון** “(you) transmitted” the inheritance. Cook interprets the verb **הולכתון** as derived from a C-stem of the root **הלך**, thus borrowing from the Hebrew use of **הולך**.³⁴ Such an occurrence of this root,

³³ In the place where this second **וְ** particle would appear is a lacuna in the manuscript. The manuscript is fragmented at this point and no text can be read. It is a reliable restoration to read **וְ**, given the context of the line.

³⁴ Cook, “Kohath,” 211-212.

according to Cook, is without analogy in Aramaic since the root הלך occurs only in the *paʿel* and *itpaʿal* stems. Puech also derives this form from a causative stem, although he reads הילכתון and translates it “vous aurez conduit,” which is similar to “to bring, carry, conduct.”³⁵ In regards to the semantic nuance, Cook correctly reads this verb with its passive counterpart which occurs later in the text, in column 2.13, באתהולכותהון עמכון. He says that this cannot mean “in your *conducting yourselves by them*,” which would read באתהולכותכון בהון.³⁶ Rather, it must mean “in their being *brought with you*.” In the context of column 2, this must be a reference to כתבי “my writings” which are mentioned in col. 2.12. In light of the use of this verb in col. 2.13, the aforementioned הולכתון must mean “you have *brought*” or “*transmitted*” or even “*passed on*.” I would also add that it is specifically the “passing on” of this inheritance that is the reason for their תנתנון “giving” of various virtuous merits to their forefathers in line 13 since line 14 begins with the causal particle דִּי, “You will give to them a good name....because (דִּי) you...passed on the inheritance.” Conceivably, the sons of Qahat “preserved” their inheritance and “passed it on” to the next generation which has produced encouraging and praiseworthy fruits and results within them. The notion of successful generations is mentioned in col. 1.3 (line 4 above); it is also mentioned again in col. 2.3, 10. Because of these positive outcomes, the fathers are to be given a good name, joy, happiness, etc.

³⁵ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 268, 271; “Qahat,” 42.

³⁶ This is the suggestion made by Puech. See *DJD XXXI*, 237; “Qahat,” 37.

Line 15 is a parade of virtues associated with the inheritance which the fathers gave to the sons of Qahat. There are seven terms mentioned here, the climactic inheritance being כהונה “the priesthood.” Not much can be commented on in this line concerning the poetry since it is difficult to know how to group these seven items. Due to the clear poetic nature of the immediately surrounding section, line 15 must also be part of the overall poem. I arbitrarily arranged them into three plus four, and thus a bicolon.

Line 16 is the final extant portion of this poem and provides a good example of a poetic line. Both cola begin with the prepositional phrase בכול, both follow this with the relative pronoun וְ, and both have a finite verb in the final position of their respective cola, both with a direct object suffix as well. Each element is an exact duplicate of the other with the exception of the verbs. This brings them into focus as the most salient element in this line. The verb פקדתון “I commanded you” in the A-colon is clearly a mistake for פקדתון.³⁷ With the pairing of פקדתון in the A-colon with אלפתכון in the B-colon, it seems apparent that the “command” which Qahat had been giving his sons was “instruction” that they are to obey. Syntactically, this line cannot stand alone since it lacks a main clause. It appears to be dependent upon line 14 above where line 15 (the parade of virtues) is a brief parenthetical elaboration of the inheritance that was passed down by the forefathers.

³⁷ Recall that the *kap* of the suffix כון- was originally omitted due to scribal error. See Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 268, 270; Cook, “Kohath,” 212.

Line 17 continues the text and leads into the first line of column 2 of the *Testament of Qahat*. This portion of the manuscript is fragmented and half of column 2 is missing, thus nothing can be derived with confidence concerning the text itself much less provision for any further insight to the poetry. I, therefore, end my analysis of this manuscript at this point.

7.4.2 TERSENESS OF 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

The parallelism in this text is steady and consistent. Although there are a few lines that apparently seem to demonstrate little to no coordination between cola (e.g. line 15 above), the majority of the lines in this text do exhibit the multidimensional pattern of parallelism between cola at the semantic and syntactic levels. The same comment can be made in regards to the terseness of these poetic lines. For the most part, there is a constraint on the number of clauses, phrasal constituents and words that are characteristic of poetic lines. The majority of these lines are composed of a single clause, although there are several instances where B-cola are syntactically dependent on either the A-cola, or the previous poetic line in its entirety. This occurs more frequently toward the end of this poem and gives the text more of a sense of prose. There are also several cola that are composed of two clauses, which is not uncommon in the Aramaic poetry represented within Qumran. The number of phrasal constituents, however, is consistent with the expected constraints associated with poetry; on average there are 2-3 phrasal constituents per cola. The average number of words is 3 per colon.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	3	3
	1B	1	2	3
	2A	1	3	4
	2B	0	1	3
	3A	0	2	2
	3B	1	3	3
	4A	1	3	3
	4B	1	2	2
	4C	0	2	3
	5A	2	3	3
	5B	0	2	2
	5C	0	3	3
	6A	1	3	3
	6B	1	2	2
	7A	1	4	4
	7B	1	2	2
	8A	1	3	3
	8B	1	3	3
	9A	1	3	4
	9B	1	2	3
	9C	0	2	3

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	10A	1	1	2
	10B	1	2	3
	11A	1	2	2
	11B	1	2	2
	12A	0	1	2
	12B	0	1	2
	12C	0	1	3
	13A	1	4	5
	13B	1	4	4
	13C	1	4	4
	14A	2	3	3
	14B	0	3	3
	15A	0	3	3
	15B	0	4	4
	16A	0	2	2
	16B	0	2	2

There are a few lines that deserve detailed comments. In line 9 the A-colon, admittedly, is much longer than the B-colon or C-colon, which creates an imbalance within that line. This is largely due to the use of **אֲבוֹכוֹן** in the A-colon in the description of **יַעֲקֹב**. No such additional description is given for **אֲבִרְהָם** in the B-colon. The addition of **אֲבוֹכוֹן** adds nothing to the poetry. One expects to see such an element in the

B-colon where there is often the anticipation for an element that sharpens or goes beyond the A-colon. That is not the case here; indeed, it is reversed and thus the cause for the imbalance of the cola. I suggest that the original form of this poetic line was to have Abraham in the A-colon and Jacob “your father” in the B-colon. The reversal of their position was intended by the poet to express the high esteem that was associated with Jacob. He has a very significant place in *ALD* since it is Jacob who consecrates Levi to the priesthood. Since a literary connection seems apparent between *ALD* and this text, it is possible that he also has a prominent role in the missing portions of the *Testament of Qahat*. This reversal also explains the dischronologized order of the Patriarchs found in this line. Jacob is mentioned prior to Abraham, but Levi and Qahat are mentioned in their genealogical succession in the final cola. Line 12 also provides the list of the Patriarchs, but in reverse chronological succession. The reason for this is not clear, but none of the names in that line are displaced in the way that Jacob is here. If my suggestion above is correct and Jacob and Abraham switched positions, it demonstrates the high esteem that was given to Jacob.

Line 9C has no finite verb, and it is syntactically dependent on the B-colon. Without the verbal element, this colon allows the addition of more phrasal constituents to balance out the line. This is an example of a ballast variant. The absence of the finite verb in the C-cola allows the inclusion of דִּילִי which brings a balance to the cola in this poetic line.

Line 10 is another example of a ballast variant in this poem. Line 10A and both cola of line 11 are short, but such lines are not unprecedented in this poem (see lines 3A, 4B, 7B). Both use an interesting periphrastic construction of the imperative **הוֹא** plus the adjective (line 10A uses **קְרִישִׁין**). The periphrastic construction continues in line 10B, although the imperative **הוֹא** is not present. This missing element allows for the inclusion of the very significant term **עֲרֵב־רֹב** “mixture” in the B-colon.

Still a third example of a ballast variant can be found in line 12. As mentioned above, the negative **לֹא** in the A-colon is in antithesis to **לֵהֶן** in the B-colon, “*not* a double heart *but* a pure heart.” The C-colon, however, has neither particle; rather, it continues to describe the positive attitude which is to motivate the sons of Qahat by the use of the preposition **ב** “with.” The use of this preposition to express motive is also found in the previous cola. The absence of a grammatical particle in the C-colon, which is present in both the A-colon and B-colon, allows the C-colon to add a second adjective to describe this positive motivation. It is not merely a **רוּחַ קְשִׁיטָה** “true spirit” that should drive them, but it is a **רוּחַ קְשִׁיטָה וטֹבָה** “true and *good* spirit.” The addition of the second adjective “good” to describe the spirit replaces the missing particles that were present in the A-colon and B-colon above.

The final comment to make about the syntactic constraints of this poetic text is concerning line 13. I interpret it as a tricolon where the finite verb תִּנְתַּנּוּן in the A-colon is gapped in the B-colon and the C-colon. In fact, the gapping of this verb occurs twice in each colon, thereby creating an occurrence of internal parallelism in both the B-colon and C-colon. The notion that the internal parallelism in these two cola could be interpreted as being merely two distinct bicola does not seem plausible. It is true that חֲדוּא “joy” and שִׂמְחָה “gladness” are paralleling elements in line 4, and both nouns occur in the B-colon. In spite of this, I would still reject the notion that we are dealing with distinct bicola in the B-colon and the C-colon. Both the B-colon and the C-colon are dependent upon תִּנְתַּנּוּן in the A-colon, without which they would lack a finite verb. The gapping of the verb binds these clauses together into one poetic line. Although it creates relatively long cola, the length is not unprecedented within this text and it still exhibits the constraints and terseness that is associated with poetry. It also seems more likely that the poet would bind three cola to make one line of poetry, even where two of those cola demonstrate internal parallelism, instead of a penta-colon line.

7.4.3 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF 4Q542 FRAG. 1.1.1-2.1A

If the poetic analysis provided above is correct, it is interesting to note the strophes within this poem. Lines 0-4 are focused primarily upon the אֱלֹהִים “God of Gods.” In fact, this opening strophe can be divided into two sub-sections where lines 0-2

describe the identity and *attributes* of God and lines 3-4 describe the activity of the *deeds* of God. In describing His divine identity He is said to be **אלה עלמיה** “the God of the ages” (line 2A), **מרא כול מעבדיא** “the lord of all deeds” (line 2B), and **שליט בכלא** “the ruler over everything.” In describing His divine activities and deeds the text says that **יעבר לכון חדוא** “He will make joy for you” (line 4A) and **שמחא לבניכון** “gladness for your children” and for **דרי קושוטא** “the generation of truth” forever.

Lines 5-8 move onto the admonition section in this poetic address of Qahat. This section focuses on the negative admonition – what the sons of Qahat are *not* to do. Specifically, he is prohibiting and warning his sons to not give their precious inheritance to **נכראין** “foreigners” or to **כילאין** “half-breeds.”

Lines 9-12 provide the positive admonition. In these lines Qahat encourages his sons to **קדישין הוא** “be holy” and **דכין** “pure.” In line 10 he specifies how they are to avoid **כול ערברוב** “all mixture,” meaning interrelations with non-Jews; apparently, this is what he specifically has in mind. In other words, the admonition in lines 5-8 and 9-12 are identical. Therefore, the theme of nationalism and ethnic purity runs across the spectrum of this document.

Lines 13-16 (and possibly further) turn the focus of attention upon the forefathers themselves and the inheritance. The “inheritance” that was “passed on” to them was originally from the forefathers who are mentioned in this section (line 13). Therefore, the sons of Qahat are called to תנתנון “give,” or “ascribe” to them an anthem of various exaltations. Many of the virtues listed in this section are also found all throughout the text. Line 15 provides another list, presumably the virtues that resulted from their inheritance. The final item on this list is “the priesthood.” Later, in col. 2.13, Qahat specifically mentions כתבי “my book,” which is presumably a book of priestly instructions.

It is interesting to note that each of the strophes above, with the exception of the first strophe, begin with a line that mentions the forefathers of the sons of Qahat. For example, line 5 begins the admonition section and encourages the sons to be careful with the inheritance לכוֹן אבהתכוֹן “which your fathers gave to you.” Line 9, which begins the next strophe, records in a dischronologized order the patriarchal fathers. Line 13 then lists the patriarchs again, but in a reversed chronological order. As a result of this form of repetition, it seems clear that the *Testament of Qahat* is very concerned with reminding the readers that the origins of their inheritance is from the patriarchs of Abraham, Isaac, but specifically Jacob (see the description of line 9 above).

It is also interesting to note that the length of each strophe is roughly four poetic lines. This is consistent with the length of strophes in other Aramaic poems.

7.5 CONCLUSION

The poetry in the *Testament of Qahat* is one of the longest extant examples of Aramaic poetry within the Qumran library. It is composed of approximately seventeen poetic lines according to my analysis above. It was most likely even longer. It shares a certain affinity with the wisdom-poem in the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Whereas that poem in *ALD* does not demonstrate consistent and stable features of poetry, the same is not true with the poem in *Qahat*. With the exception of a few lines, the parallelism between cola is strikingly clear. There are more cases of verb gapping in this document than any other in Qumran. The constraints that are placed upon poetic lines can also be measured and observed. The poem as a whole can also be divided into well organized and integral strophes. All these features are the components that make up a poetic text.

CHAPTER EIGHT

POETRY OF 4Q541, *THE APOCRYPHON OF LEVI*

4Q541 was one of two manuscripts presumed to be copies of one composition; the other manuscript was 4Q540. Jean Starcky was the first to publish these two manuscripts and he identified them as 4QAh(aronique) A bis for 4Q540 and 4QAh(aronique) A for 4Q541.¹ Later, J. T. Milik entitled them “Visions du Levi.”² Finally, it was given the title by which it is called today by Puech in the *editio princeps*.³ Since none of the materials in 4Q541 overlap with 4Q540, their identity as two distinct and separate manuscripts is confirmed.

4Q541 is comprised of twenty-four fragments. Only two frag. 9 and frag. 24, are large enough to provide any meaningful information for a poetic analysis. It may be part of an apocalyptic text since it mentions the Great Sea becoming red, and wisdom texts

¹ J. Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân,” 491-492.

² J. T. Milik, “Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d’Hénoch à Amram,” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Louvain: Gembloux, 1978), 91-106..

³ É. Puech, “4QApocryphe de Lévi^{b?} ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529-549 (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 252-256*. In an earlier publication by Puech he identified these fragments as separate manuscripts of the *Aramaic Levi Document*, and labeled them “4QTestLevi^{c(?)}” and “4QTestLevi^{d(?)}” respectively; see “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique: 4QTestLevi^{c-d?} et 4QAJa,” in *Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21, March, 1991* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 449-501. The use of the question marks in the title shows a level of uncertainty in Puech on the identity of these texts, which he would later rename as “The Apocryphon of Levi.”

being opened (frag. 7). Frag. 9, the larger of the two, mentions a figure that will be sent to his people. His task, among others, is to atone for all his generation. His time is described as both evil and an age of everlasting sun which will make darkness disappear. Starcky claims that the depiction of this figure in frag. 24 resembles a suffering Messiah in a context that is like the Servant Songs of Isaiah.⁴ It is for this reason that this text has been examined thoroughly for the contribution that it makes to the overall discussions of messianic expectations of the Qumran community as well as Judaism of the Second Temple era.

The interest of this chapter, however, will be focused primarily on the obvious and clear poetic features as seen in frag. 9 and frag. 24. The extant text is limited, but an immediate examination of these two damaged texts will show that the poetry is not difficult to observe. In fact, the correspondence of terse lines into units of two or three cola is very clear. In addition to that, we see a vibrant use of the images of light and darkness. Lines organized into larger literary units of strophes can also be determined by the use of repetition. Since frag. 9 exhibits all these poetic features more noticeably than frag. 24, we will begin by commenting on the poetry of the larger manuscript frag. 9, specifically in col. 1.2-7.

⁴ Starcky, "Les quatre étapes du messianisme," 492.

8.1 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

2. [ח⁵ כמתה ויכפר על כול בני דרה וישתלח לכול בני
 3. [ע]מה מאמרה כמאמר שמין ואלפונה כרעות אל שמש עלמה תניר
 4. ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא ועל חשוכא תניר אדין יעדה חשוכא
 5. [מ]ן ארעא וערפלא מן יבישתא שניאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון ושגה
 6. [י⁷]ן ובריאן עלוהי יבדון וכול גנואין עלוהי ימללון דרה באיש ואפיך⁶
 7. [י⁸]להוה ודי שקר וחמס מקמה [ו]יטעה עמא ביומוהי וישתבשון

8.2 STICHOMETRY OF 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

- 1A. ויכפר על כול בני דרה²
 1B. וישתלח לכול בני³ [ע]מה
 2A. מאמרה כמאמר שמין
 2B. ואלפונה כרעות אל
 3A. שמש עלמה תניר
 3B. ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא⁴

⁵ Puech proposes the following restoration, which begins at the end of the previous line and continues into line 2: [ח⁵ כמתה [להו]ן [י]מסר [יאמר^{ln.2} [ו]לבנוהי עם מתל^{ln.2}], “et à ses fils en sentence(s) 2. [il parlera (?)] et il [leu]r transmettra sa [sa]gesse;” *DJD XXXI*, 242. The photograph of this manuscript shows very little evidence for such a restoration, so it is not included in the poetic analysis below. If, however, this is correct, the parallelism would be as follows: “to his sons he will speak with words / and he will transfer wisdom to them //.”

⁶ Puech incorrectly reads יאפיך, the C-stem imperfect of אפך, which is not attested in Aramaic. It should be the adjective ואפיך.

⁷ Puech restores [י⁷ כרב]; see *DJD XXXI*, 241. The parallelism strongly suggests that the original word here had a negative connotation – if not “lies,” then something very similar. Therefore, the restoration is retained for the sake of the analysis below.

⁸ Puech proposes the following restoration: [י⁸ דרה], “de sorta que rejeté.”

- 4A. ועל חשוכא תניר
 4B. אדין יעדה חשוכא ⁵[מ]ן ארעא
 4C. וערפלא מן יבישתא
- 5A. שניאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון
 5B. ושגה ⁶[כרב]ין
- 6A. ובדיאן עלוהי יבדון
 6B. וכול גנואין עלוהי ימללון
- 7A. דרה באיש ואפיך
 7B. ⁷[להוה]
 7C. ודי שקר וחמס מקמה
- 8A. [ו]יטעה עמא ביומוהי
 8B. [] וישתבשון

8.3 TRANSLATION OF 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

- 1A. ²And he shall atone for all the sons of his generation /
 1B. And he will be sent to all the sons of ³[h]is people //
- 2A. His word is like the word of heaven /
 2B. And his teaching is according to the will of God //
- 3A. His eternal sun will shine /
 3B. ⁴And its fire will give warmth into all the ends of the earth //
- 4A. And it will shine on the darkness /
 4B. Then darkness will depart ⁵[fr]om the earth /
 4C. And gloom from the dry-land //
- 5A. They will say many words against him /
 5B. And a multitude of ⁶li[es] //

- 6A. *And they will fabricate fables against him /*
 6B. *And they will speak every disparagement against him //*
- 7A. *His generation is evil and perverse /*
 7B. ⁷[] *will be /*
 7C. *And whose position is deceit and violence //*
- 8A. *[And] the people will go astray in his days /*
 8B. *And they will be terrified [] //*

8.4 POETIC FEATURES IN 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

8.4.1 PARALLELISM IN 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

Prior to the beginning of line 1 above, Puech proposes the following reading:

et à ses fils en sentence(s)⁹ [il
 parlera(?)] / et il [leu]r transmettra sa [sa]gesse //.”¹⁰ The condition of this line is very
 poor. The only word that can be detected with confidence from the photograph is
 “his wisdom.” Puech says that “la lecture [להו]ן [ימסר] paraît assurée par les
 traces et le context.”¹¹ Although his reading does indeed fit the context and balances well
 with his proposed restoration of the previous poetic line, the traces hardly assure the

⁹ Puech suggests that this Aramaic word could be translated as “parables”; see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 243.

¹⁰ Although Puech does not state the genre of this text, he does appear to read it as poetry. His interpretation of this fragmented line suggests a well balanced bicolon. We must note that to observe one example of parallelism is not definitive evidence to identify a text as poetry. Countless times in the *DJD* edition, Puech uses parallelism to aid in his analysis, which clearly shows that he observes more than one occurrence. Still, his understanding of the genre of this text cannot be determined with certainty since he never states explicitly that this text is poetic.

¹¹ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 243.

accuracy of this reading. There are detectable traces of a few consonants, but no word can be determined from what is visible. At best, we can conclude that there was an unidentifiable word that was originally present. Also, where Puech restores **יֵאמֹר**, there appears a faint trace of the lowest tail portion of a final form consonant, or possibly a medial consonant with a tail (for example, ק). In other words, the restoration cannot be **יֵאמֹר**. Puech correctly sees the poetic nature of this line and presents a compelling proposed restoration. However, there are still too many uncertainties due to the several lacunas. I begin my poetic analysis, therefore, with the clause immediately following **ח]כמותה**.

Line 1 describes a figure who will come and **יכפר על כול בני דרה** “atone for the sons of his generation.” The priestly identity of this figure is indicated expressly by the atoning character of his task.¹² The A-colon states the duty that this priestly figure comes to perform while the B-colon describes this priestly figure as one who is sent, **ישתלח**. Therefore, he is one on a mission. The image of being sent adds a prophetic layer to the identification of this priestly figure. I suggest that the A-colon portrays him as a priest while the B-colon portrays him as a prophet.¹³ In his earlier article Puech described the similarity between this passage and the Testament of Levi in the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. These two documents share allusions to the motifs of light and sun. However, where the 4Q541 is devoid of any references to a royal

¹² See Puech, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi,” 449-501.

¹³ See below for further descriptions of the prophetic role.

identity of this priest, *Testament of Levi 18* envisions a priest-king. As alluded to above, 4Q541 seems to envision a prophetic function for this priest. A union of these two offices is not clearly attested within Qumran literature, but the prophet Elijah is identified as an eschatological High Priest in later Jewish tradition. In fact, Georg Molin noted that Elijah was frequently called *kabana rabba* in the Targumim.¹⁴ Concerning the priestly figure of 4Q541, John Collins acknowledges he has a *teaching* function.¹⁵ He also says that there may be some correlation between this priestly figure and the “the one who will teach righteousness at the end of days,” who is mentioned in CD 6:11. Concerning this Teacher, Collins goes on to say “[The Teacher]...is explicitly said to have been a priest, and he also had some prophetic characteristics (his words were from the mouth of God). He was, in a sense, a new Moses.” This suggests that a prophet and the eschatological priest may not have been clearly distinguished. If this is true, then the notion that the identity of this figure as an eschatological prophet-priest is not implausible.

The elements within this bicolon also parallel each other by communicating similar ideas. **יכפר** corresponds with **ישתלח**, although these two words do not share a similar semantic pairing. The two verbs seem to fit together in such a way so that they communicate a single idea. This priest **ישתלח** “will be sent” in order to **יכפר** “atone” for others. The A-colon also states that he will atone for **כול בני דרה** “all of the sons of his

¹⁴ Georg Molin, “Elijah der Prophet und sein Weiterleben in den Hoffnungen des Judentums und der Christenheit,” *Judaica* 8 (1952), 84-85. See also H. L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 245-247; N. Wieder, “The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs among the Karaites,” *JJS* 6 (1955), 14-23. John Collins says that Elijah seemed to serve a priestly function in the biblical narratives when he builds an altar and offers sacrifice (1 Kgs. 18:30-39). He also says that such an association suggests that an eschatological High Priest could also have a “prophetic persona;” *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 115.

¹⁵ Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 115.

generation,” while the B-colon states that he will be sent to **בני [ע]מה** “all of the sons of his people.” Each word in these phrases is identical to its counterpart with the exception of the final element in each construct chain, **דרה** and **[ע]מה**. The word **דרה** has the sense of his contemporaries while **[ע]מה** broadens the scope of the atoning work to a larger group, specifically “his people.”¹⁶ The use of repetition highlights the two finite verbs and the word pair of **דרה / [ע]מה** as the most prominent.

Line 2 continues the description of the mission of this prophet-priest figure. Where the previous poetic line describes his activity of atonement, line 2 describes his verbal instruction and teachings. He is portrayed not only as one who will atone for his people, but he will also serve the function of a prophet¹⁷ (or possibly a sage) and offer wise instruction. This instruction is depicted in both cola of this line with lofty and vibrant images. The A-colon says **מאמרה** “his word” will be **שמיין** “like the word of heaven.” The B-colon states something similar by saying **אלפונה** “his teaching” will be **אל** “according to the will of God.” The clear and obvious parallelism in this line is self-evident.¹⁸ **מאמרה** and **אלפונה** are an obvious paradigmatic word-pair.

¹⁶ See below under “Repetition” for further analysis on the use of repetition in this line.

¹⁷ See below for the prophetic description of this priestly figure.

¹⁸ In his comments on this line Puech says, “Viennent ensuite deux éléments de comparaison, de construction strictement parallèle, où **שמיין** et **אל** se répondent...Ce sont donc des synonymes comme plus tard dans les Évangiles les expressions ‘Royaume des *Cieux*’ et ‘Royaume de *Dieu*,’” “Next comes the two compared elements of a strictly parallel construction, where **שמיין** and **אל** correlate...these are, therefore, synonyms as seen later in the Gospels, the expressions “kingdom of *heaven*” and “kingdom of *God*.” This comment suggests that Puech may have seen this text as poetry.

The two prepositional phrases, which begin with the same preposition כ, also bring the two phrases מֵאִמֶּר שָׁמַיִן “word of heaven” and אֶל רְעוּת אֱלֹהִים “the will of God” into parallelism.

Although these phrases obviously correlate with each other, the difference between them is intriguing. The B-colon, in this case, seems to provide the meaning behind the image of this line. His words are “like words of heaven,” which means that this priestly figure comes with a prophet-like voice to deliver the “will of God.” The repetitive use of the preposition suggests that these two phrases are meant to be coordinated. The function of the two prepositions, however, is not the same. Where the A-colon provides the image, the B-colon apparently provides the interpretation of it. The word, or message, of this prophet-priest is portrayed by the use of a simile, כ “like” the word of heaven. The B-colon informs us that the meaning of this simile is that his instruction is כ “according” to the will of God. Therefore the heavenly word which is spoken by this individual reveals to his generation / people the will of God.

Line 3 continues to describe the image of this divine word brought by this prophet-priest. In this line מֵאִמֶּר “his word” from line 2 seems to be portrayed as “his eternal sun.” The similarities in this bicolon are clear and observable, which heightens the difference between them as well. The two verbs in the line – תִּנִּיר in the A-colon and יִתְּזֶה in the B-colon – clearly parallel semantically and grammatically. The two phrases – נֹרְהָא בְּכוּלָּא קִצּוּי אֶרְעָא and שֶׁמֶשׁ עֲלִמָּה – also correspond in their similar use of a fiery

image. There is, however, a significant difference at this point of the bicolon. The A-colon uses the imagery of a sun that is burning eternally throughout time. The B-colon describes a fire that radiates heat throughout all the ends of the earth. Where the radiance of the fire imagery in the A-colon is described from a *temporal* perspective, that same image in the B-colon is described from a *spatial* perspective. This temporal-spatial type of parallelism also occurs in the “Son of God” text, 4Q246 col. 2.3-4. The word of this prophet-priest is described using vivid fiery images that shines *eternally* and spreads to *the ends of the earth*.

Line 4 continues this imagery of the word/instruction of this prophet-priest figure, specifically in its impact upon חשוכא “the darkness.” This poetic line is a tricolon where the A-colon uses the identical verb תניר from line 3A. The subject of this verb is the noun שמש from line 3A. This previously mentioned “sun” will not only shine eternally (line 3A), it will also על חשוכא תניר “shine on the darkness” (line 4A). The impact of this fiery image is provided in the following two cola which describes the departure of “darkness” (חשוכא) and “gloom” (ערפלא) from the world. The B-colon / C-colon form a pairing that is evidenced in the gapping of the verb יערה of the B-colon in the C-colon. So “darkness will depart from the earth / And gloom (will depart) from the dry-land //.”

In addition to the verb gapping, therefore, the word-pairing of **חשוכא** and **ערפלא** along with **מין** **יבישתא**¹⁹ and **מין** **ארעא** is also clearly observable.

Line 5 provides a more concrete image of the “darkness” from line 4 as those who speak maliciously against the prophet-priest. Where lines 2-4 describe the *words* of the protagonist using vivid and rich images, so lines 5-6 describe the *words* of his adversaries. Notice the contrast in the types of words that are being uttered by the two opposing sides. The A-colon states broad generalities. No subject is specified; the verb **יאמרו** “they will speak” is used without identifying the speakers. The colon also does not specify what they are saying, only that they will speak **מלין עלוהי** “many words against him.” The B-colon provides some specifics by stating that these “many words” are actually **שגה** **[כרב]** “a multitude of lies.” So, although there is a similarity between these two cola in their use of verbal images, the differences bring out the specific deceptive nature of the speech of the enemies.

The phrase **שגה** **[כרב]**²⁰ clearly corresponds with **מלין** **שניא** from the A-colon, although there are some interesting differences between them. The first difference is the

¹⁹ Regarding the restoration of **מ** in **[מין]**, Puech comments that parallelism assures this restoration; see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 244.

²⁰ Puech suggests that **שגה** can be interpreted as the construct form of a noun and proposes the restoration **שניא** **מלין** **[כרב]** for the lacuna: “a multitude of li[es].” This parallels **שניא** **מלין**. Puech suggests a second (and less persuasive) option where **שגה** is from the a geminate root **שגג**, meaning “an error,” the lacuna is a finite verb **יירעון**, meaning “to spread” – “[they will spre]ad error;” see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 244. I follow Puech’s first restoration, which seems fitting for a poetic passage. As mentioned above, the word in the lacuna, if not **[כרב]** is probably one that has a similar meaning.

obvious specification of the type of “words” that are spoken. The B-colon says they are כִּרְבִּי [כִּרְבִּי] “lies.” This analysis is weakened due to the fact that it is based on the proposed restoration of כִּרְבִּי [כִּרְבִּי]. Regardless of the accuracy and reliability of this proposal, the parallelism in this line suggests that the original word, if not כִּרְבִּי [כִּרְבִּי], communicated a *verbal* assault.

The second difference, and most interesting, is the correspondence between שְׁנֵי and שְׁנֵי. שְׁנֵי in the A-colon is a clear attributive adjective. שְׁנֵי in the B-colon, however, is not an adjective since it lacks the masculine plural suffix required to describe the noun כִּרְבִּי [כִּרְבִּי]. This is more likely a *qutl*-noun, meaning “multitude” (*śugēh*) which is in construct with כִּרְבִּי [כִּרְבִּי], “a multitude of lies.” There is, then, a derivational correspondence where the A-colon uses an adjectival form and the B-colon uses a noun form of the same root שְׁנֵי. The placement of this noun in this construct chain may have influenced the placement of its counterpart, the attributive adjective in the A-colon, which may explain its place in preceding its head noun although the attributive adjective שְׁנֵי can be either before or after its head noun. I suggest that it is placed before in the A-colon in order to mirror the word order of this construct phrase in the B-colon.

This B-colon seems to be syntactically dependent on the A-colon. Either it is merely a phrase that specifies the “many words” of the A-colon, or it is another example

of verb gapping where **יאמרוֹן** is also meant to be read in the B-colon – “They will speak many words against him / and (they will speak) an enormity of lies.”²¹

Line 6 continues the verbal attack of the adversaries of the prophet-priest. The A-colon uses a cognate accusative construction where both the verb and its direct object are derived from the same root **בדִּי** – “they will *fabilize* (fabricate) *fables* against him.”²²

The B-colon reiterates this same idea by saying “they will speak every disparagement against him.” Therefore, the two cola correspond as well as the individual elements within them: **יבדון** and **ימללון**; **עלוהי** and **עלוהי**; and **בדיאן** and **גנואין** **כול**. The added element **כול** in the B-colon widens the scope of the abuse to include every kind of verbal attack, not just **יבדון** [כדב] “lies” (line 5B) and **בדיאן** “fables.”

Poetic analysis becomes impossible with the remainder of col. 1 due to the fragmentary condition of the manuscript. The phrase **דרה באיש ואפִיך** “His generation is evil and perverse”²³ is followed by a lacuna in the manuscript. This is followed by a series of terms that express deceit and violence, **שקר וחמס** “falsehood and violence.” I proposed above that these elements form a tricolon, but that is a mere conjecture.

²¹ This gapping of the verb may be what Puech means when he says that the verb is “sous-entendu;” see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 244.

²² See the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542) col. 1.1 for another example of this use of a cognate accusative.

²³ Puech translates as “Le mal changera, pervertira, détournera sa generation,” meaning his people will be turned against the hero; see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 244.

The phrase **בְּיוֹמוֹהִי עָמָא יִשְׁטַח** [ו] “And the people will wander in his days” would be the A-colon of a new poetic line with **וַיִּשְׁתַּבְּשׁוּן** as the beginning of the B-colon. Again, this is just a conjecture.

8.4.2 TERSENESS OF 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

In addition to the clear parallelism as seen above this text also demonstrates the constraints that are associated with poetic lines. The majority of the cola are composed of one clause, 2 phrasal constituents, and 3 words. These are the expected measurements for poetic lines as seen in other poetic texts.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	2	4
	1B	1	2	4
	2A	1	2	3
	2B	1	2	3
	3A	1	2	3
	3B	1	3	5
	4A	1	2	2
	4B	1	3	3
	4C	1	2	2

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	5A	1	3	4
	5B	0	1	2
	6A	1	3	3
	6B	1	3	4
	7A	1	3	3
	7B	?	?	?
	7C	0	2	3
	8A	1	3	3
	8B	?	?	?

8.4.3 REPETITION IN 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

Repetition is a regular occurrence in the legible portions of this poem. Some of these may be incidental and lack significance since the nature of parallelism will bring about such repetition. By the use of this technique, those elements in poetic lines that do not repeat naturally stand out as the points of interest and focus, often more so than the repeated elements themselves. There are two uses of repetition that are noteworthy, one in line 1 and the other in lines 3-4. As I will suggest below, these appear to be intentionally used by the author of this text for literary reasons.

Line 1 has the most repetitive elements between cola in this poem. In fact, they are nearly mirror reflections of each other:

ויכפר על כול בני דרה

וישתלח לכול בני [עמ]ה

The use of prepositions is repeated. The fact that they are different prepositions is insignificant since this is due to their relation to their respective finite verbs. The phrase **כול בני** is also identical to each other. Due to all these repeated elements, the differences stand out. Those two differences are at the very beginning and end of each line, specifically the finite verbs **יכפר** / **ישתלח** and the end nouns of the construct chains **דרה** / **[עמ]ה**. The differences in the two verbs help to identify the hero of the text and his role. The priestly ministry of this protagonist is brought out by the use of the verb **יכפר** in line 1A. The use of repetition then draws attention to the second finite verb **ישתלח** “he will be sent.” This priestly figure is one who is sent; it becomes evident that “he is sent” with a divine word of from heaven. This describes his second function, namely that of a prophet. The picture of the Old Testament prophets portrays them as those who have been called by God into His divine counsel where they receive their prophetic message. Then they are “sent” from that divine presence as His emissaries with His divine mission and message (Isa. 6; Jer. 25:7; 2 Chr. 36:15-16). This prophetic identity is often overshadowed by his priestly character, which is unfortunate since the use of repetition gives them equal significance.

The second element that is emphasized by the use of repetition in line 1 is the pairing of **דרה** and **[עמ]ה**. As has often been the case in the Aramaic poetry of Qumran,

the B-colon has a broader and larger group in focus when compared to the target group in the A-colon. Frequently, this gives the B-colon a universal or cosmic scope. Usually this is achieved with the use of כול in the B-colon alone (see line 6 below and frag. 24 col. 2.5; see also 1QapGen col. 20.4, 4-5; 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.21, 22; 4Q246 col. 2.3, 5, 6, 7, 8-9; 4Q542 frag. 1 col. 1.2, 9). In this case כול is present in both cola which again heightens the significance in the different words even more. The repetition-parallelism brings out the clear significance of דרה and [עמ]ה. It also brings out a movement from a familial focus to an ethno-national one.

Lines 3A and 4A both have the finite verb תניר where שמש עלמה is its subject in both occurrences, “his eternal sun will shine.” Repetition between cola in a poetic line is a consistent occurrence in the visible portions of this poem. For example, see the discussion above for line 1; see also the repetition of כ in line 2, נון in line 4B/4C²⁴, עלוהי in line 6. Line 5 repeats the use of the root שגי in two different words, שניאן and שנה, in the A-colon and B-colon respectively. Interestingly, there are two unexpected occurrences of repeated elements within lines 3-4. The first is in lines 3A and 3B. Not only do lines 3A and 4A repeat the use of a fiery image of the sun, as stated above they both also repeat the use of the verb תניר. Line 3A says שמש עלמה תניר²⁵ “His eternal sun will shine,” and line 4A says ועל חשוכא תניר “and it will shine against the

²⁴ I will comment on line 4A below.

²⁵ This is the verbal form of the word נורה, which occurs in line 3B (col. 1.4) above.

darkness.” The second unexpected use of repetition is in the B-colon of lines 3 and 4 respectively. The repetition of lines 3A and 4A were discussed above. Line 3B and line 4B also use the repetition of a second image, namely **ארעא** “the earth.” Line 3B describes how a fire will shine throughout **ארעא קצוי** “the ends of the *earth*.” Line 4B describes how darkness will depart **ארעא מן** “from the *earth*.” In fact, not only are these repetitions of **תניר** and **ארעא** obvious and clear, they all occur syntactically at the end of their respective cola, which makes it easy to observe their repetitions:

שמש עלמה תניר
ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא
ועל חשוכא תניר
אדין יעדה חשוכא מן ארעא

These observations raise speculations about the possibility of mismatched and misplaced coordination of cola. On a related note, we should also note the imbalance in lines 3 and 4 as noted above. Since repetition seemed so closely associated with the coordination of cola in this poem and a slight anomaly is also noticeable in regards to the length of these lines, these might be clues for a form-critical analysis of this portion of the text.

If we put coordinate lines 3A and 4A together, we would have a perfectly poetic bicolon, // **שמש עלמה תניר / ועל חשוכא תניר**. The subject of the B-colon is not

mentioned since it is clearly the same as the A-colon. In its place there is the addition of the new phrase על חשוכא. This may be an example of a ballast variant. The two lines, then, seem to come together to form a single thought – “His eternal sun will shine against the darkness.”²⁶ Whereas the A-colon describes the eternal nature of the sun, so the B-colon describes the negative impact that this “eternal sun” will have upon the darkness. The repetition of the verb תניר places the focus of attention upon the nature of the radiant sunlight and its impact upon the darkness.

If we also pair line 3B and 4B/4C, we would have another perfectly poetic line – this being a tricolon:

ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא

אדין יעדה חשוכא מן ארעא

וערפלא מן יבישתא

The portrait in this tricolon, then, is identical to what is envisioned in the previous bicolon. In other words, these two poetic lines repeat the depiction of the same image. The A-colon in this tricolon describes the same image as in the A-colon above, that is the radiance of a fire. The B-colon/C-colon describes the image of the antithetical impact that this fire will have upon the darkness. As the radiance of the fire spreads throughout

²⁶ This is analogous to what Stephen Geller called the “reconstructed sentence” in his analysis of Hebrew poetry; see Stephen Geller, *Parallelism*. He defines a “reconstructed sentence” as a reduction of “the couplet to a single statement which has been restated binarily” (*Parallelism*, 16).

“the ends of the earth,” so the darkness (and gloom in the C-colon) will depart “from the earth.” See the chart below as a summary:

Bicolon	Translation	Commentary
Line A	His eternal sun <i>will shine</i>	The sun is said to belong to the prophet-priest; this will shine for eternity (a temporal description)
Line B	<i>It will shine</i> against the darkness	The repetition of the verb is what suggests that this was the original B-colon of the poetic line. It describes the antithetical relationship of the fire with the darkness.

Tricolon	Translation	Commentary
Line A	A fire will radiate throughout all the ends of <i>the earth</i>	The fire is now given a spatial description regarding the expanse of its illumination by using the imagery of “the earth.”
Line B	Then darkness will depart from <i>the earth</i>	The imagery of “the earth” is repeated, as would be expected given the pattern of repetition demonstrated in this poem. In this colon the antithetical relationship of the darkness with the fiery imagery is described, just as it was in the previous B-colon in the line above.
Line C	And gloom (will depart) from the dry-land	This C-colon continues that antithesis between the fiery radiance and the darkness, in this case the “gloom.”

Because of the identical word choice and syntax, even the matching line length in these poetic lines, I suggest that the above reconstruction was in fact the original form of this portion of the poem and that what is currently written in this manuscript was the result of an editor. The B-colon of the original bicolon was intentionally switched with the A-colon of the original tricolon. By doing this, two distinct lines of poetry were

interwoven together to form a larger poetic unit (strophe). This reconstruction truly is seamless since the newly formed poetic lines maintain the pattern of repetition that is characteristic of this poem. Regarding the current line 3, the root of the verb תניר in the A-colon is repeated in the word נורהא in the B-colon. Regarding line 4, חשוכא is repeated in both the A-colon and B-colon. I see these repetitions as an artifact and secondary, not original and primary.

We can only speculate on such a possibility, although the fact that these two lines would have formed a solid original bicolon/tricolon respectively that demonstrates a stronger pattern of repetition is very compelling. If any such redaction did occur, a careful examination of the current text shows that the existing poetic lines 3 and 4 above still use poetic features.

8.4.4 IMAGERY IN 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

This poem is rich in its use of images, especially those of light and darkness. There are two images used to describe the speaking ministry of the prophet-priest. The first is in line 2 where a simile is employed to describe the words of this protagonist. They are כמאמר שמיין “like the word of heaven.” As described above, the B-colon apparently provides the way in which we are to understand the image by stating that his instruction is “according to the will of God.” In other words, the words that he speaks can be said to be “of heaven” because they are in fact “of God.” He is not speaking his

own words or his own opinions. Rather he comes with divine revelation. This interpretation is confirmed by the use of the phrase **כרעות אל** in line 2B. The allusion of this image with the formal function of the prophetic ministry is hard not to notice where the prophet is specifically commissioned to speak the word of the Lord (see Ex. 4:12; Deut. 18:18; Isa. 51:16; Jer. 1:9).

The second use of imagery in this text is found in line 3, where a new image is used to describe the same revelatory message from above. Instead of comparing two objects with the use of the preposition (a simile), it uses a metaphor and says “His eternal sun will shine.” The first image compared the word/instruction of this prophet-priest as “like” the word of heaven. In this image, it is associated with the fiery radiance of the sun. It cannot be determined if the image expressed in this line represents just the aforementioned words, or if this is a representation of his prophetic-priestly mission as a whole, which would then include his atoning work as well. Given the fact that the “word of heaven” is contrasted later to the type of *words* that his adversaries are speaking, I would take this image as a representation of his word/instruction alone. Line 3A describes the eternal nature of this divine word; line 3B describes the way in which it will spread throughout the ends of the earth.

The same image of an eternal sun is used further in line 4. In this case it is not the burning hope of **נורהא** “its fire” that is envisioned, but rather the impact that this has on **ערפלא** “the gloom” and **חשוכא** “the darkness.” As a result of this sun/fire, “darkness

will depart from the earth.” What precisely is being envisioned in this is not certain. It is enough, however, to observe that there are further details provided for this metaphor.

8.4.5 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF 4Q541 FRAG. 9.1.2-7

The remains of this fragment do not offer much text. It is difficult, therefore, to discern any clear strophic organizations. From what is available, it appears that lines 1-2 above describe both the actions and the instructions of this prophet-priest figure. Lines 3-4 describe the general impact of his words/instruction. The uses of repeated elements do seem to tie these lines together into an organized strophe (see above for further details in the organization of this strophe). Lines 5-6 then describe the verbal reaction of his adversaries. It is possible that lines 5-6 are providing the details of the “darkness” image mentioned in the previous section. The darkness and gloom is said to depart from the earth because of the divine fiery nature of the words of the protagonist. It appears that the darkness represented those who are speaking maliciously against the prophet-priest. So lines 3-4 describe the words of the hero where lines 5-6 describe the words of the anti-heroes. They are portrayed as being in an antagonistic relationship.²⁷

Again, the organization of this poem is difficult to determine. It does seem that regardless of how they are grouped together, the strophes that are apparent seem to fall into groups of 2-3 bicola each. This is consistent with the number of cola that comprise strophes in other Aramaic texts as well.

²⁷ See Jean Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme,” for further details and discussions on the connection of the theme of the suffering servant of Deut-Isaiah with the priest-prophet of this manuscript.

8.5 TRANSCRIPTION OF 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

2. אל תתאבל בשק[י]ן על [ואל ת]עבד שגיאן די לא להוין
3. [מ]ריקן או שגיאן [מסתרן כמה די להוין מגליאן וא]ל [צ]דיקא יברככה
4. בקר ובעי ודע מא יונא בעה ואל תמחי להי ביד שחפא ותליא כ[די]ן []
5. וצצא אל תקרוב בה ותקים לאבוכה שם חדוא ולכול אחיכה יסוד []
6. ת[צ]א[ו] ותחזה ותחדה בנהיר עלמא ולא תהוה מן שנאא *vacat*

The transcription of the first two lines is based on the reading of Puech from *DJD XXXI*. When compared to the photograph, it is apparent that he is very bold in much of his restorations and proposed readings. The actual condition of those first two lines is very poor and virtually unreadable. It seems to show only the phrase אל תתאבל ב[ה] “do not mourn in/with....” אל is the negative which is used for the prohibitive. From the photograph we can see another אל that comes before a *waw*-conjunction, which could be the beginning of another negative plus the prohibitive (second person jussive). If this is indeed the correct reading of this line, then it is reasonable to suggest that these two form a bicolon where two negative exhortations are given. This also shows that the poetry of frag. 24, unlike frag. 9, is in the context of direct discourse. The negative jussives as well as the imperatives later in this text demonstrate that shift. The only word that can be read with confidence in line three is מגליאן “revealed things.”

Although lines 1-3 are not readable, the following three (4-6) are in good condition for the most part. We, therefore, limit our poetic analysis to that section of the fragment, namely frag. 24:2-4-6.

8.6 STICHOMETRY OF 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

- 1A. בקר ובעי ודע מא יונא בעה⁴
 2B. ואל תמחולהי ביד שחפא
- 2A. ותליא כן []
 2B. וצצא אל [ת]קרוב בה⁵
- 3A. ותקים לאבוכה שם חדוא
 3B. ולכול אחיכה יסוד []⁶ ת{צ}ר"א
- 4A. ותחזה ותחדה בנהיר עלמא
 4B. ולא תהוה מן שנאא *vacat*

8.7 TRANSLATION OF 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.2-6

- 1A. ⁴*Examine and ask and know what will vex a seeker /*
 1B. *And do not neglect it with a feeble hand //*
- 2A. [] /
 2B. ⁵*And (as for) the lamella, do not touch it //*
- 3A. *And you will set up for your father a joyous name /*
 3B. ⁶*And you will bring forth for your brothers a [] foundation //*
- 4A. *And you will see and rejoice in eternal light /*
 4B. *And you will not be of the enemy //*

Frag. 24 has been a crux for scholars. There are two columns of this fragment. Column 1, however, shows only the outlines of one consonant that cannot be identified. For this reason, the interest in this fragment has been exclusively on column 2. Col. 2.1-3 is hard to decipher due to its fragmentary condition. Col. 2.4-5a, the portion of the manuscript that can be read, is filled with words and phrases that pose difficulties in reading and interpretation. Col. 2.5b-6 offers the clearest lines of text which are very reminiscent of the exhortation found in the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542 frag. 1.1.10-11). This is the only portion of the fragment that allows for complete comments on a possible poetic structure. With so little of the fragment that is visible for analysis it raises questions on whether this text is indeed to be considered as poetry. Since it seems to be part of the same text as frag. 9 above, which is a clear example of poetry, and since it shares similar terminology with another poetic text (*Testament of Qahat* mentioned above), we will presume a poetic structure and analyze it accordingly and determine if there are evidences of the uses of poetic features within it to support the poetic identity of this text.

8.8 POETIC FEATURES IN 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

8.8.1 PARALLELISM IN 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

Line 1 begins the portion of this manuscript that provides full and continuous lines of text. This line begins a series of three imperatives, “seek and ask and know...”

which governs the following phrase **בַּעַה יִוְנָא בִּמָּא**. There is difficulty of interpretation at this point. Puech translates this phrase as “que demande l’agitateur.”²⁸ In his original publication on this fragment Puech translated this phrase as “qu’a demandé la colombe.”²⁹ This is also the interpretation taken by García Martínez and Tigchelaar.³⁰ In critique of this avian interpretation Cook says that this cannot be the case since the masculine verb **בַּעַה** in the perfect would have been feminine **בַּעַת** since **יִוְנָא** is a feminine noun. He also cites Puech himself who turned away from the translation of “dove” because the suffix on **תַּמְחֻלָּהִי**, which he takes as a reference to this noun, is masculine. As an alternative, Cook offers a convincing reanalysis of this phrase where he proposes that **יִוְנָא** is to be interpreted as a verb, specifically the C-stem imperfect third person singular from the root **יָנִי**, meaning “to vex, oppress.”³¹ He also suggests that **בַּעַה** is to be interpreted as its direct object, specifically as the masculine singular participle, meaning “a seeker.” The entire phrase, then, would be understood as “seek and ask and know what will vex a seeker.” The precise thing that is being sought after, as suggested by Cook, is wisdom. He cites 4QLevi^a frag. 1-2.2.5, where the phrase **בִּעָא חִכְמָה** “he who seeks wisdom” is mentioned.

The B-colon presents another difficulty of interpretation. As it stands the line reads **אֵל תַּמְחֻלָּהִי בִּיד שְׁחָפָא**. In his original publication Puech translates this as “ne

²⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 253.

²⁹ Puech, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi,” 475-476.

³⁰ F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1080.

³¹ Edward Cook, “4Q541 Fragment 24 Reconsidered,” forthcoming, 3-5.

châtie pas un affaibli,” incorrectly reading **אל תמחי להי**.³² He later corrects this and reads “ne le *repousse/l'affaiblis* pas au moyen d'épuisement/*bâton*.”³³ Again, Cook is helpful. He comments that the meaning of **מחל** is “to neglect” and cites the attestation of this same verb in a similar context in 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.13, **אל תמחולו חכמתא למאלף**, “do not neglect the study of wisdom.” He also correctly reads **שחפא** as an attributive adjective describing **יד**, “with a feeble hand.” The entire line, then, reads “do not neglect it/him with a feeble hand.” The antecedent to the third masculine object suffix on **תמחולהי** cannot be determined with certainty. It is possible that it is referring to “knowledge” or a similar word that the hearer is to discern and learn from observing his life. Cook suggests that it may refer to a book of wisdom that was mentioned previously in the missing portion of this text.³⁴

An accurate reading of these two lines shows that they form a bicolon “Seek and ask and know what will vex a seeker / and do not neglect it/him with a feeble hand //.” The correspondence between the cola is then clear to observe. The A-colon is a *positive* exhortation to discern the consequences that troubles **בעה** “a seeker.” The object of this “seeking” is presumably wisdom, although this cannot be determined from the context. The B-colon provides a *negative* exhortation to “not neglect it/him with a feeble hand,” possibly suggesting that once “it/him” is attained it should be grasped firmly and not released or let go.

³² Puech, “Fragments d’un apocryphe de Lévi,” 475, 477.

³³ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 252-253.

³⁴ Cook, “4Q541 Fragment 24,” 6.

The elements within this bicolon also correspond to each other. The A-colon begins with a series of three imperatives that comprise this positive exhortation. This triad of imperatives is paralleled by a single negative exhortation of “do not neglect it/him.” The remaining portions within each of the two cola are a pairing of phrases, which describe what can potentially deter one from “it/him.” In the A-colon this is the phrase “what will vex a seeker.” In the B-colon it is the phrase “with a feeble hand.”

Line 2 is missing what appears to be the A-colon in a bicolon. Therefore, no poetic analysis is possible. There is a difficulty with one word that appears in the B-colon, that being נצץ. The precise meaning of this word is unclear. Puech translates it as “nail,”³⁵ García Martínez as “night-hawk.”³⁶ Still, Cook says it could be a type of magical amulet, or “lamella.”³⁷ I go with the reading of Cook, but there can be little certainty as to the exact understanding of this word.

Line 3 moves on to describe the result that will come to familial relationships when one heeds the warnings that were just provided. The A-colon focuses on the father. As mentioned above, it is very similar to the poetic line in the *Testament of Qahat*, 4Q542 frag. 1.1.10-11, וחדוא ללוי, לי ביניכון שום טב “you shall give to me (Qahat) among you a good name and joy to Levi.” The B-colon turns its focus upon “all of the brothers.” The familial progression is evident in these cola.

³⁵ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 253, 255.

³⁶ F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1080.

³⁷ Cook, “Frag. 24 Reconsidered.”

The elements within the cola also correspond to each other. The two verbs in this bicolon, תִּקִּים and תִּצְוֶא, are C-stem imperfect second masculine singular, although they do not share a similar semantic meaning. The direct objects are composed of two elements. The A-colon is a construct chain of two nouns, שֵׁם חֲדָוּא “name of joy.” In the B-colon only the noun יְסוֹד “foundation” can be detected from the photograph with a portion of text that is too damaged to read. Puech suggests restoring [מִבְּחִן]³⁸, a possible Hebraism, and translates this as “la fondation [éprouvée],” meaning “a [proven] foundation.” He says this reading best fits the traces of consonants, yet with an irregular base for ב. García Martínez and Tigchelaar propose the same restoration.³⁹ It seems reasonable to presume that either an attributive adjective, an attributive participle, or even another noun in construct with יְסוֹד was present. This makes the direct object of the B-colon also a compound element composed of two words, just like the object of the A-colon. Finally, the phrase לְאֲבוֹכָה in the A-colon parallels לְכֹל אַחִיכָה in the B-colon. The B-colon broadens the scope of the recipients of the blessing to include “all your brothers” where only a single “father” is specified in the A-colon.⁴⁰

³⁸ Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 256. With a prefix-בִּ this appears to be the Dp-stem participle from the root בָּחַן. Puech cites 1QS 8.7 which quotes from Isa. 28:16 אֶבֶן בִּיחִין “a stone of testing” and 1QH^a XIV 29 (=VI 26) and XV 12 (=VII 9) to support his proposed restoration. He also says that the concept of a foundation is significant in the Qumran community since “la fondation éprouvée qui sortira de Lévi rappelle le passage de *Jub.* 31:14-15 contenant la bénédiction d’Isaac sur son petit-fils Lévi;” see Puech, *DJD XXXI*, 256.

³⁹ F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1080.

⁴⁰ There are several “forefathers” mentioned in the *Testament of Qahat*, 4Q542 frag. 1.1.7-8 and 1.1.10-12. In 4Q534 col. 1.7, the phrase וּבְאֲבוֹהֵי וּבְאֲבִי הַתּוֹרָה “with his father and with his forefathers” also occurs.

Line 4 continues the positive results that come from heeding the exhortations provided above. Line 3 describes the “name of joy” that will come to “your father” and a “foundation” for “all your brothers.” In this poetic line the result is given a positive description in the A-colon: תחזה “you will see” and עלמא בנהיר ותחדה “you will rejoice in the light of eternity.” The B-colon provides the negative description – that is, what this image does not mean, לא תהוה מן שנאא “you will not be among the enemy.” Since this phrase is paralleled to the image of being עלמא בנהיר “in the light of eternity,” it must express being part of a righteous community which is poetically described as being in the light. The precise community that is envisioned here is not clear. There does not seem to be much context left to help our understanding of that phrase since there is a clear *vacat* at the end of this line with the margins of the manuscript immediately under that. This suggests that this fragment may have preserved the actual end of the text, or possibly the end of a substantial section.

As seen in lines 4 and 5 above, there is a clear coordination between the elements within this bicolon. תחזה ותחדה in A-colon clearly parallel לא תהוה in the B-colon. עלמא בנהיר in the A-colon also parallels מן שנאא in the B-colon. There were three imperatives corresponding to a single negative jussive in line 3 above. Similarly, there are two imperfects that correspond to a single negative imperfect in this line. This may suggest that the interest of the author of this text was to elaborate and articulate on the *positive* aspects of his exhortation and their subsequent *positive* results as a motive for his

audience as opposed to a *negative* exhortation and *negative* consequences that may result by not heeding them.

8.8.2 TERSENESS OF 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	3	4	5
	1B	1	2	3
	2A	?	?	?
	2B	2	3	3
	3A	1	3	4
	3B	1	4	5
	4A	2	3	4
	4B	1	2	2

Line 1A has an unexpected series of three imperatives, each of which is counted as a single clause. This gives three clauses in a single colon. From the observation of measurements in previous Aramaic poems, it is typical to have one clause per colon. On rarer occasions there have been two. This is the only occurrence of three clauses. No additional elements appear to be added in the B-colon to balance the line. I can only conclude that the imbalance caused by this series of three imperatives is directly proportional to the intent of the author who did not want his audience to merely “seek” or

“seek and ask.” He stresses the importance of knowing “what will vex a seeker” by using all three imperatives, “seek and ask and know.” Line 4 is also imbalanced for presumably the same reason.

8.8.3 IMAGERY IN 4Q541 FRAG. 24.2.4-6

The use of light as an image is vividly depicted in frag. 9 above. It is used again here in frag. 24, but it represents a different reality. In line 4A there is a metaphor in the phrase **בְּנֹהֵר עֹלָמָא** “in the eternal light.” Line 4B then parallels this image with the phrase “among the enemy.” Being “in eternal light” must refer to being in a particular type of community that is antithetical to **שְׂנְאָא** “the enemy.” In frag. 9 the image of light was associated the “sun” and “fire,” which represented the word/instruction of the prophet-priest figure.

The Qumran literature often makes use of this kind of image in the division of humanity. 1QS col. 1.9-11 divides humanity between “sons of light” and “sons of darkness.” These two groups of light and darkness are the respective domains of the Prince of light and an Angel of darkness who heads heavenly hosts and possess dominion over human beings, the first “over all sons of justice” who “walk in the path of light,” the second over “sons of deceit” who “walk in the paths of darkness” (1QS col. 3.17-25; 1QM col. 13.1-6, 9-12). We cannot be too certain if the community of light in this text was interpreted by the Qumran community as a reference to themselves, or a more narrow group like the children of Levi. The use of this image in this bicolon does suggest

that a specific group of allies is to be associated with the phrase “in the light” that is diametrically antagonistic with their enemies.

8.9 CONCLUSION

In summary 4Q541 frag. 9 demonstrates all the features that make up Aramaic poetry. The parallelism in this text can be clearly discerned with little difficulty. This poem uses repetition consistently and significantly throughout the visible portions of text. The repetition of terms between cola accentuates the areas where there are differences. By observing these differences, we are provided a proper identity to the hero of the passage (prophet and priest) which in turn gives a better understanding of his mission. Also through the use of repetition, strophic organizations of the poem stand out which contrasts the verbal message of the prophet-priest with that of his adversaries. It is unknown if the document as a whole used this tool of repetition in a similar way.

The poetic features in frag. 24 cannot be observed as clearly as in frag. 9 for several reasons. First, the fragment is smaller, which means there is less text to work with. We have seen strophes composed of 2-3 bicola in previous poems and I would expect the same in this case as well. The lack of text makes such observations difficult. Second, the first half of this manuscript is fragmented which makes reading very difficult, practically impossible. Third, several of the phrases in the visible portions of this fragment also pose interpretive difficulties. In spite of these obstacles, several lines of text can be read and those lines do seem to demonstrate poetic traits.

Both fragments are rich in their use of images of light (also darkness in the case of frag. 9) in certain phrases and verb forms that is not attested anywhere else. There is no doubt that 4Q541, specifically frag. 9, makes a large contribution in aiding the overall understanding of messianic expectations in Second Temple Judaism. An appreciation of its poetic intricacies can also enhance our understanding of the high literary quality of this text as well.

CHAPTER 9

POETRY OF THE “BEAUTY OF SARAI” IN THE *GENESIS APOCRYPHON*

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) is a highly fragmentary text that was among the seven major scrolls of Cave 1 at Qumran. Only four columns (columns 20-23) are more or less completely preserved; three others (2, 12, 19) have a substantial portion that is legible and other columns have only preserved a few words or lines. It can perhaps be best defined as a retelling of the stories of the Patriarchs. Although the Aramaic at times translates literally the Hebrew text of Genesis (e.g. Gen. 14:1-24 in 1QapGen 21.23-22.24), it more frequently renders the biblical text freely. Some of its expansions resemble elements found at times in classical midrashim of the later rabbinic period, although the text as a whole is not a midrash on Genesis. It is a form of para-biblical literature, resembling *The Book of Jubilees*. According to Joseph Fitzmyer, it is not simply a midrash, just as it is not simply a targum. He says that “it represents then an example of late pre-Christian Jewish narrative writing, strongly inspired by the canonical stories of the patriarchs, but abundantly enhanced with imaginative details (accounts of journeys, reports of plagues, a description of beauty, accounts of journeys, explanations of geographical terms, and modifications of the text to eliminate difficulties or apparent

contradictions). It is hardly likely that this text was used in liturgical-services as a targum, but it was most likely composed for a pious and edifying purpose.”¹

The text narrates in a continuous tale in prose the story of the Patriarchs from the Book of Genesis. In column 20, however, there are seven lines (lines 2-8) which may be considered a special kind of Aramaic poetry. These lines make up a lyrical description of the physical and mental beauty of Sarai, the wife of the Patriarch Abraham prior to her name change. Column 20.2 may not be the initial line of the poem because it appears after a considerable gap in the text. The bottom portion of column 19 is completely lost and line 1 as well as the first half of line 2 of column 20 is illegible due to rotting leather. Regardless of the location of the beginning of this poem, the context discloses that the many declarations of Sarai’s beauty comes from the courtiers of Pharaoh who had visited Abraham and are now reporting to their master regarding this woman. It seems to be an elaboration of the statement “they praised her to Pharaoh” in Gen. 12:15.

The majority opinion amongst scholars, including Jonas Greenfield² and James VanderKam³, is that this brief section of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is indeed poetic. Even Joseph Fitzmyer, who had been the most well known to deny its poetic character, has recently published materials that state otherwise.⁴ Matthew Black has suggested that this

¹ Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (3rd ed.; Rome; Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 20.

² Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” 45-51.

³ VanderKam, “The Poetry of 1 Q ap Gen,” 55-66.

⁴ Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 193, where he cites the previous article of VanderKam as well as the article by Greenfield on “Early Aramaic Poetry.” In the second edition of his commentary, Fitzmyer was well known for challenging the poetic nature of this poem when he said, “It is, however, rather difficult to discern in either of these places anything that might suggest that they are Aramaic poetry – aside from the *descriptive* nature of the passages, which are rather prosaic and banal;” see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (2nd ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18A; Rome: Biblical Institute

“descriptive” portion on the beauty of Sarai and the account of Abram’s dream of the palm and the cedar (1QapGen 19.14-17) are “the closest literary parallels we possess in Aramaic to the original (poetic) parables and poems of Jesus.”⁵ Although it is doubtful that the account of the cedar and palm is expressed in poetry, the same cannot be said regarding the beauty of Sarai. The purpose of this chapter is to offer a systematic analysis on its poetic nature. We will begin by examining a brief survey of the previous work of other scholars and their poetic treatment of this portion of text. We will then move onto my own stichometric reconstruction and translation, followed by a description of the poetic features that can be discerned within this passage.

9.1 PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS ON THE POETIC NATURE OF THE TEXT

9.1.1 JONAS GREENFIELD

Jonas Greenfield was one of the earliest scholars to offer a poetic treatment on this section on the beauty of Sarai.⁶ Before presenting his analysis of the poem, he comments on earlier sections in the *Genesis Apocryphon* that demonstrate “poetic

Press, 1971), 111. The other alleged poem that he refers to is the dream narrative of Abram in col. 19. In his third edition, he maintains the “banalness” of col. 19, but not so for col. 20. The first sense of this change in the position of Fitzmyer could be detected in his article on the “Genesis Apocryphon” in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), where he apparently seems to acknowledge that the description of the beauty of Sarah is indeed “poetic” (p. 303).

⁵ Matthew Black, “The Recovery of the Language of Jesus,” *NTS* 3 (1956-57), 313. In his *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3rd ed.: Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), he has nuanced his statement slightly, “These are probably the closest literary parallels we possess,” 41 (*italics mine*).

⁶ Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” 48-50.

elements.” He identifies various word-pairs,⁷ such as **שנא ושהת**, “changed and spoiled” (col. 2.17); **למקץ ולעקר** “to chop down and uproot” (col. 19.15); **תקפו וגברו** “became severe and intense” (col. 20.18); and **שבק ושלח** “set free and sent away” (col. 22.25-26).

He also refers to one example that demonstrates what he refers to as “the breakup of stereotyped phrases.” He points to several examples where the biblical *Vorlage* is expanded by Aramaic rhetorical means. So, Gen. 12:13, which says **וְחַיְתָּה נַפְשִׁי בְגִלְלֶךָ**, “and my soul shall live because of you (fem. sg.),” is rendered in the *Genesis Apocryphon* as **ואחי בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי**, “and I will live because of you and my life will be saved due to you” (col. 19.20).⁸ Greenfield says that this tendency to break up phrases is connected with the use of various types of *parallelismus membrorum*.

His comment on word-pairs above is not compelling since the totality of the pairs that he lists occur in the context of prose and narrative. The Aramaic expansion is an interesting phenomenon, but again not compelling in identifying poetry.

Greenfield moves on to offer his comments on col. 20.2-8 and presents it as follows:⁹

⁷ Greenfield does not use the term “word-pairs,” but simply states these examples as “rhetorical and poetic elements.”

⁸ For a similar breakup of phrases in Aramaic, see the rendering of Gen. 15:1 in col. 22.30-32 and Gen. 20:4 in col. 20.17 in the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

⁹ Each scholar that we survey present their work in various ways. Greenfield shows only the consonants in transcription. VanderKam offers a fully vocalized text, but again in transcription. Pereira also gives his text vocalized, but in the Aramaic script. The text for each scholar is presented as they published it in their respective works.

kmh nšyḥ wšṗyr lh šlm ʾnpyhʾ
 wkm [...w]kmʾ rgyq lh šʿr rʾyšh
 kmʾ yʾyn lhyn lh ʿynyhʾ
 wmʾ rgg hwʾ lh ʾnphʾ
 wkl nš ʾnpyhʾ

kmʾ yʾʾ lh ḥdyh
 wkmʾ špyr lh kwl lbnhʾ
 drʿyhʾ mʾ špyrn wydyhʾ kmʾ klyln
 w[] kwl mḥzh ydyhʾ
 kmʾ yʾyn kpyh wmʾ ʾrykn wqṭynn kwl ʾšbʿt ydyhʾ
 rglyhʾ kmʾ špyrn wkmʾ šlmʾ lhn lh šqyhʾ

wkl btwln wklʾn dy yʿln lgnwn lʾ yšprwn mnhʾ
 wʿl kwl nšyn šwpr šprh
 wʿlyʾ šprhʾ l ʿlʾ mn kwlhn
 wʿm kwl šprʾ dn ḥkmʾ šgyʾ ʿmhʾ
 wdl ydyhʾ yʾʾ

Translation

*How splendid and beautiful the shape of her face,
 And how [and] how fine the hair of her head,
 How lovely are her eyes,
 How pleasing is her nose,
 And all the radiance of her face.*

*How lovely is her breast,
 And how beautiful all her whiteness,
 Her arms, how beautiful, and her hands how perfect.
 And [] the appearance of her hands;
 How lovely are her palms
 How long and thin the fingers of her hands
 How beautiful are her feet,
 And how perfect are her legs.*

*No virgin or bride who enters the bridal-chamber is more beautiful than she;
 Her beauty is above that of all other women,
 Her beauty surpasses that of all of them;
 And with all of this beauty,
 She has much wisdom,
 And her handiwork is fine.*

Although he gives no detailed analysis on any specific poetic devices or features, he does organize the poem into three parts. The first describes Sarai's facial features, the second her body and the third her beauty in general with a few words about her wisdom and ability. It is unclear when he is reading bicola and tricola due to the manner in which he presents the lines, as seen above. Such stichometry would help our understanding of his view of the pairing of lines since both bicola and tricola occur in this passage.

9.1.2 JAMES VANDERKAM

Whereas the work of Jonas Greenfield provided the preliminary foundation in the comprehension on the poetry of the beauty of Sarai, so the work of James VanderKam takes large leaps forward in our understanding of the prosody of this passage. Having acknowledged the need for a more detailed poetic analysis, VanderKam offers his comments on such an approach in defense of the poetic nature of this passage. His work is the most insightful in bringing out a greater understanding of the poetic features used in this text. His stichometry and translation is offered below:¹⁰

¹⁰ VanderKam reproduced the text from Fitzmyer's commentary on the *Genesis Apocryphon* (second edition). It is presented here in transliteration, organized into stanzas, and with vocalization since this is the manner in which he lays out the text in his article. The reason he provides a fully vocalized text is to highlight the meter of the lines, which for VanderKam is syllable counting.

Stanza I

- A. kēmāh naṣṣ[î]^aḥ wēšappîr lah šēlēm ʾanpēhāʾ
 B. ûkēmāʾ [wē] raqqiq lah šēʿar r(ʾ)îṣah

Stanza II

- C. kēmāh yāʾyān lēhēn lah ʿaynēhāʾ
 D. ûmāʾ rēgîg hûʾ lah ʾanpēhāʾ
 E. kôl nēṣ ʾanpēhāʾ []

Stanza III

- F. kēmāʾ yāʾēʾ lah ḥaḍyah
 G. ûkēmāʾ šappîr lah kôl lobnēhāʾ

Stanza IV

- H. dērāʿēhāʾ māʾ šappîrān
 I. wîdēhāʾ kēmāʾ kallîlān
 J. []yd kôl maḥzēh yēdēhāʾ

Stanza V

- K. kēmāʾ yāʾāyān kappēhāʾ
 L. ûmāʾ ʾārîkān wēqaṭṭîṇān
 M. kôl ʾeṣbēʿāt yēdēhāʾ

Stanza VI

- N. raglēhāʾ kēmāʾ šappîrān
 O. ûkēmāʾ šēlîmāʾ lēhēn lah šaqēhāʾ

Stanza VII

- P. wēkôl bētûlān wēkallān
 Q. dî yēʿôlān lēginnûn
 R. lāʾ yišpērān minnēhāʾ

Stanza VIII

- S. wēʿal kôl nēšîn
 T. šûpar šāpērāh
 U. wēʿillāyāʾ šuprēhāʾ
 V. lēʿellāʾ min kûllēhēn

Stanza IX

- W. wě'im kôl šûprā' dēn
 X. ʰokmā' śaggiyā' 'immēhā'
 Y. wēdul yēdēhā' yā'ē'

Translation

Stanza I

- A. How bright and beautiful is the expression of her face
 B. And how [and] fine is the hair of her head.

Stanza II

- C. How comely are her eyes,
 D. And how pleasant is her nose;
 E. The entire radiance of her face [].

Stanza III

- F. How lovely is her breast.
 G. And how beautiful is all her whiteness.

Stanza IV

- H. Her arms – how lovely,
 I. And her hands – how perfect.
 J. [] all the appearance of her hands.

Stanza V

- K. How lovely are her hands,
 L. And how long and slender
 M. Are all the fingers of her hands.

Stanza VI

- N. Her legs – how beautiful,
 O. And how perfect are her limbs.

Stanza VII

- P. And no virgins and brides
 Q. Who enter the bridal chamber
 R. Are more beautiful than she.

Stanza VIII

- S. And more than all women
- T. She is truly beautiful,
- U. And with her beauty she ranks high
- V. Above all of them.

Stanza IX

- W. But with all this beauty
- X. She possesses great wisdom,
- Y. And her handiwork is lovely.

According to VanderKam, this poem is made up of nine stanzas.¹¹ He further groups them into two units of stanzas I-VI and stanzas VII-IX. The criteria for this two-unit organization are vocabulary, syntax, and content. Regarding vocabulary, the first unit (stanzas I-VI) is dominated by the repetition of the interrogative *kēmāʾ* and *māʾ* which appear a total of 12 times. In contrast to this, the second unit (stanzas VII-IX) does not use either of these terms. Regarding syntax, two finite verbs (*yēʿōlān* in line Q and *yispērān* in line R) mark the end of the first section. There are no finite verbs in the second unit. VanderKam also suggests that the word *kōl* occurs in the last line of each stanza in the first unit whereas it occurs in the last line of each stanza in the second unit, with the exception of stanza VIII. Furthermore, he says in the first unit the conjunction *wəʾ(u)* is used to begin the second colon in a line (absent in the third cola of a tricola), but it occurs at the beginning of the first cola in the second unit. Regarding content, the first

¹¹ Although he never states as such, it does appear that for VanderKam each stanza is also equivalent to a bicolon/tricolon.

unit acclaims specific parts of Sarai's anatomy where the second unit praises her general beauty and wisdom.

Where Greenfield presents the stanzas of the poem only, VanderKam goes beyond this by adding a general description of the poetic features that he detects which include parallelism, meter, chiasm, paronomasia, repetition of similar sounds, and inclusion. In regards to parallelism, VanderKam mentions the manner in which the poet uses both "complete and incomplete parallelism."¹² Although he does not define these terms, it is clear that by "complete parallelism" he means the type where each element in one colon corresponds with an element in the second colon. He apparently has semantic parallelism in mind only. By "incomplete parallelism," he is referring to a clause that extends beyond a single colon thus making the two (or three) cola in the poetic line syntactically dependent on each other. His stichometry provided above demonstrates that he analyzes several poetic lines as "incomplete parallelism."

In regards to the meter of this text, VanderKam bases his measurements on the counting of syllables. He took the risk of vocalizing the Aramaic words in order to highlight the meter of these lines; wherever possible, the vocalization follows the patterns of Biblical Aramaic. He comments that the poet favored shorter lines, normally, of 7-9 syllables; 15 of the 22 which are fully extant fall into these categories. The remaining lines are very long – made up of 11-13 syllables each. VanderKam suggests that the reason for the extra long lines is due to grammatical and syntactical requirements. He says, "In some cases of completely parallel cola grammatical necessity overrides the

¹² VanderKam, "1QapGen," 63-64.

attraction of strictly regular meter.”¹³ This area of his analysis is the least persuasive and demonstrates more conjecture than convincing evidence.¹⁴

Beyond parallelism and meter, which he acknowledges as the primary devices of poetry, he offers descriptions on several other secondary poetic elements. His examples of chiasm (which I would consider a sub-type of parallelism) are helpful, although several examples he offer violate his stanza divisions (e.g., he says lines V and W are chiastically arranged in a way that crosses over stanzas VIII and IX). His comments concerning inclusion are less helpful.

VanderKam points out one example of paronomasia. In Stanzas VII and VIII, the poet takes the opportunity to use the similarity between the roots *עלל* and *עלי*. In line Q in Stanza VII the verb *yēʿōlān* appears near the vicinity of terms related to a similar root: *ʿal* in line S, *ʿillāyāʿ* in line U, and *ʿēllāʿ* in line V. Also, he mentions how the poem juxtaposes several words that are related to the root *שפר*: *yišpērān* in line R, *šûpar* and *šāpērāh* in line T, *šuprēhāʿ* in line U, and *šûprāʿ* in line W. In regards to the repetition of similar sounds he mentions the abundance of similar sounds used throughout the poem. For example, he mentions the repetition of the long *a* sound, the endings *-ah* and *-an* which is prevalent due to the gender of Sarai as well as the fact that so many parts of the

¹³ VanderKam, “1QapGen,” 64.

¹⁴ VanderKam states, “Disagreement arises when attempts are made to specify the nature of the meter...or the best measure of it. Nevertheless, all would concur in the view that poetic lines assume regular or fairly regular rhythmic patterns – at least to a greater extent than lines of prose do,” 58. According to this quote, VanderKam assumes that meter is a well accepted feature of Semitic poetry, which is not the case. Several scholars, at least in the area of Hebrew poetry, deny such a claim that meter is a formal requirement (e.g. Adele Berlin, Michael O’Connor, to name a few). The case may differ with Aramaic poetry, but the evidence marshaled by VanderKam is not persuasive.

body are mentioned throughout the poem. At this stage, one must question whether this repetition of sound is a true poetic device. There seems no doubt that the repetition of certain words exists in the poem, which accounts for several of the sound repetitions mentioned by VanderKam. When we consider the $-\bar{a}^2$ suffix, which has no poetic significance, is its repetition indeed a poetic device, or is it a mere by-product as the result of regular rules of grammar? Even the repetition of the feminine endings $-ah$ and $-an$ has a simple explanation: Sarai is a woman and the parts of the human body are also feminine in gender; thus finite verbs, adjectives and relevant pronouns must agree with their subject/antecedents.

9.1.3 A. S. RODRIGUES PEREIRA

Yet another treatment on the poetic nature of this passage is presented by A. S. Rodrigues Pereira.¹⁵ After making detailed philological comments on the text, Pereira offers the following stichometry of the poem:

- 1a. כְּמָה שְׁלֹם וְשִׁפּוּר לָהּ צֶלֶם אֲנִפְיָהּ
 1b. וּכְמָה [וּכְמָה] רִקִּיק לָהּ שֶׁעַר הָאִישָׁה
 2a. כְּמָה יָאִין לְהִינן לָהּ עֵינִיָּהּ
 2b. וּכְמָה רִגְג הוּא לָהּ אֲנִפְיָהּ
 2c. וְכֹל נִין אֲנִפְיָהּ []

¹⁵ A. S. Rodrigues Pereira, "The Ode to Sarai's Beauty," 11-26.

- 3a. כָּמָא יֵאָא לָהּ חֲדִיָּה
 3b. וְכָמָא שְׁפִיר לָהּ כּוֹל לְבָנָהּ
- 4a. דְּרַעֲיָהּ מָא שְׁפִירָן
 4b. וִידִיָּהּ כָּמָא פְּלִילָן
 4c. וְ[חֲמִיד] כּוֹל מַחְזָה יִדִּיָּהּ
- 5a. כָּמָא יֵאָין כַּפִּיָּה
 5b. וְמָא אֲרִיכָן וְקִטִּין כּוֹל אֶצְבָּעַת יִדִּיָּהּ
- 6a. רַגְלִיָּהּ כָּמָא שְׁפִירָן
 6b. וְכָמָא שְׁלֵמָא לְהִין לָהּ שְׁקִיָּהּ
 6c. וְכָל בְּתוּלָן וְכָלָאן דִּי יַעֲלֵן לְגִנּוּן לֹא יִשְׁפֹּרן מִנָּהּ
- 7aa. וְעַל כּוֹל נִשִּׁין¹⁶
 7ab. שׁוּפֹר שְׁפָרָה
 7ba. וְעֲלִיא שְׁפָרָהּ
 7bb. לְעֵלָא מִן כּוֹלָהּן
- 8a. וְעַם כּוֹל שְׁפָרָא דִּין
 8b. חֲכָמָא שְׁנִיא עֲמָהּ
 8c. וְדִלִּידִיָּהּ יֵאָא

Translation

- 1a. *How perfect and beautiful is the form of her face,*
 1b. *And how [...and] how fine is the hair of her head.*
- 2a. *How comely are her eyes,*
 2b. *And how charming is her nose,*
 2c. *And all the radiance of her countenance [].*
- 3a. *How comely is her breast,*
 3b. *And how beautiful all her whiteness.*

¹⁶ Pereira's analysis of line 7 is not clear. He repeatedly uses charts to illustrate his poetic analysis without any detailed explanations. From his "colometric topography" (his term) above, one can only assume that he sees a quatra-colon in this line, but that remains unclear. In another chart that illustrates the parallelism in this poem, he says that line 7 shows chiasm lexically and semantically (*Studies*, 22), but that chiastic structure is again not clear.

- 4a. *Her arms, how beautiful,*
 4b. *And her hands, how perfect,*
 4c. *And [attractive] is the whole look of her hands.*
- 5a. *How comely are the palms of her hands,*
 5b. *And how long and slender all the fingers of her hands.*
- 6a. *Her feet, how beautiful,*
 6b. *And how flawless her legs,*
 6c. *And no virginal bride that enters the bridal chamber is more beautiful than she.*
- 7aab. *And above all women; she is beautiful indeed*
 7bab. *And she ranks high above them all by her beauty.¹⁷*
- 8a. *Yet with all this beauty*
 8b. *there is much insight in her.*
 8c. *In short: whatever is hers is comely.*

Pereira begins his analysis of the poem by describing several poetic devices as he understands them. He begins with what he calls “rhythm.” From his description, it is evident that by “rhythm” he means what scholars traditionally refer to as “meter.” He suggests that in biblical poetry the “rhythm” was basically a free accentual one and the number of beats per colon was usually restricted to 2, 3, or 4.¹⁸ Pereira critique’s VanderKam’s measurement of syllable-counting by saying he doesn’t see what kind of “rhythmical pattern could emerge from this counting.”¹⁹ He makes a distinction between biblical and post-biblical poetry and says the latter demonstrates shifts that tend to adhere

¹⁷ See note 15 above on the lack of clarity of Pereira’s treatment of this line.

¹⁸ Such comments like this reveal his presumed commitment to an accentual based approach to metrics.

¹⁹ Pereira, *Studies*, 21.

to a more regulated and stricter type of rhythm, primarily 4+4.²⁰ This is an interesting comment since his own analysis of the “rhythm” in this poem reflects the freedom and lack of restriction that characterizes biblical poetry. One can clearly see this in the chart that he provides. See below:

Line	Number of Beats
1a/b	5+5
2a/b/c	4+3+...
3a/b	3+3
4a/b/c	3+3+3
5a/b	3+5
6a/b/c	3+4+6
7aa/ab	2+2
7ba/bb	2+2
8a/b/c	3+3+2

In regards to parallelism, Pereira insightfully notices the way in which the text can be arranged as an alternation of bicola and tricola, possibly to avoid the monotony that could occur by the repetition of a single pattern. Earlier, in commenting on the rhythm of the text, he says that the rhythmical pattern of lines 1-6 is different from that of lines 7

²⁰ Pereira, *Studies*, 20.

and 8. He says that lines 7 and 8 also deviate from lines 1-6 in regards to the alternation of parallelism and chiasm. He provides the following chart to illustrate this point:

Colon	Word-Order	Pattern	Kind
1a-1b	Parallelism	abc-abc	Sound ²¹ /syntax
2a-2b	Parallelism	abc-abc	Syntax
2b-2c	Chiasmus(?) ²²	ab-ba	Lexeme/syntax
2c-1a ²³	Chiasmus(?)	ab-ba	Lexeme/syntax
3a-3b	Parallelism	abc-abc	Syntax
3b-4a ²⁴	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Lexeme/syntax
4a-4b	Parallelism	abc-abc	Sound/Syntax
4b-4c	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Sound/lexeme/syntax
5a-5b	Parallelism	abc-abc	Sound/syntax
5b-6a	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Sound/syntax
6a-6b ²⁵	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Sound/Semantics/Syntax
7aa-7ab	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Lexeme/Semantics
8a-8b	Chiasmus	ab-ba	Sound

²¹ The sound parallelism that he refers to is unclear. With the exception of the repetition of the adverb **כִּמְהֵרָה**, this line possesses very few phonologic parallels.

²² The uncertainty is due to the fact that line 2c is not intact.

²³ Apparently, Pereira suggests that the “parallelism” is more an inclusio, most likely triggered by the repetition of **אֲנִי יְהוָה**. He makes no direct reference to such a connection between lines 1a and 2c.

²⁴ Pereira sees a chiastic (or syntactic) parallelism between the final cola of line 3 with the first colon in line 4. This is an unusual pairing of cola since each is already part of a poetic line. His suggestion of a chiastic parallelism is also unclear.

²⁵ For unknown reasons, lines 6c and 8c are not listed in this chart.

Pereira offers few or no descriptions in each case listed above. This is unfortunate since several of his suggested pairing of lines are dubious, unclear and require further elaboration. Several of his lines are extremely long, and thus not very poetic. This is a point that Pereira admits to. In his own defense he states that these lines are only long when compared to biblical poetry, with which he says that he is not concerned. He acknowledges a greater interest in post-biblical poetry. Such a statement does not seem very helpful since part of the task in hand is to understand what makes post-biblical poetry poetic. In other words since there remains unclarity on a precise model of post-biblical poetry, it raises the question of what exactly is Pereira interested in. One cannot simply make a statement like this and merely ignore the obvious difficulty of the absence of a poetic model.

He also puts forward an analysis on the sound repetition/effects in the poem that is very similar to the comments presented by VanderKam.

In regards to the overall organization of the poem, Pereira says that it can be divided into two parts (or stanzas) that are distinguished by content, as well as by structure and by rhythmical and sound patterns. This broad organization is not new – it is similar to that of VanderKam. He continues beyond VanderKam by saying that the first stanza can be sub-divided into three strophes with identical structure whereas there is only one strophe in the second stanza. Each of the strophes in the first stanza consists of one bicolon and a tricolon. The two cola in the bicola and the first two cola in the tricolon either begin or contain the interrogative pronoun **מַה** or **מָה**; the final colon in the tricolon begins or contains **כֹּל**.

Overall, I find the comments of Pereira in terms of the broad organization of the poem (i.e. stanzas and strophes) helpful. His specific analysis of poetic devices and features, however, leaves much to be desired. Since he depends so heavily on unhelpful charts to illustrate and elaborate the details of the poetry, his precise understanding of certain specific poetic lines, the nature of specific pairings, and even the justification for a strong distinction between biblical and post-biblical poetry is uncertain at times. When we consider the difficulties that remain in understanding many specific aspects of biblical poetry that elude scholars to this day, to make such a strong distinction when post-biblical poetry is even more unclear seems dubious.

One final comment concerning the work of Pereira: he says that there are $3 \times 5 = 15$ exclamations in the first stanza that describe the beauty of Sarai. He believes that this plays an important role in Jewish tradition since the numeric value of the divine name is fifteen. Fitzmyer is the one who initially observed this count of fifteen descriptions.²⁶ Neither Greenfield or VanderKam comment on this. The significance of the number fifteen may in fact be true in Jewish tradition, but the question at hand is if such a numerical use is significant in understanding the poetic nature of a text. In answer to this specific question, Pereira offers no concluding comment.

After this brief (yet exhaustive) survey of the works of various scholars who have worked on the poetry of 1QapGen 20.2-8, I now turn to my own poetic analysis. I begin by discussing the genre of this poem, then move on to a stichometric outline and

²⁶ Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 122.

translation. This will be followed by descriptions of its poetic features, namely parallelism, terseness, and word/sound repetition, and strophic organization. Since there are currently many detailed publications that comment on the nature of this text at a philological level, I see no compelling reason to do that type of analysis here.²⁷ I only make a few comments as necessary to articulate the poetry in this text or to illustrate where various scholars differ in their reading.

9.2 *Wasf* GENRE OF “THE BEAUTY OF SARAI”

At a very early stage Moshe Goshen-Gottstein pointed out the poetic character of this passage by identifying it as the only extant Jewish example of a *wasf*.²⁸ Such an identification has been confirmed and agreed upon by every scholar who has published work on this text. *Wasf*, the Arabic word meaning “description,” is the technical term for love songs that describe prospective brides and bridegrooms. Its application to biblical scholarship originated with the research of J. G. Wetzstein in the nineteenth century.²⁹ As he attended local weddings in Syria, he noted similarities between the customs and

²⁷ See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*; E. Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon: A Preliminary Study,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Moshen, 1958), 1-35; “Dating the Language of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JBL* 76 (1957), 288-292; “The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1,” *Orientalia* 39 (1970), 178-183; N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Facsimiles, Transcriptions and Translation of columns II, XIX-XXII* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Heikhal ha-Sefer, 1956); Elisha Qimron, “Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JSP* 10 (1992), 11-18; T. Muraoka, “Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *RQ* 8 (1972-1975), 7-51; “Further Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *RQ* 16 (1993-1995), 39-48.

²⁸ Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, “Philologische Miszellen zu den Qumrantexten,” *RQ* 2 (1959-1960), 43-51; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165-187.

²⁹ J. G. Wetzstein, “Die syrische Dreschtafel,” *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 5 (1873), 270-302.

songs of the day and what he read in the Song of Songs. In correspondence with the biblical scholar Franz Delitzsch, he talked about songs where the groom and the bride would describe the physical beauty of one another as a prelude to physical intimacy. In the immediate context of the *Genesis Apocryphon*, the poem does not serve this purpose. As a result of the report of his courtiers, however, Pharaoh does indeed make Sarai part of his harem later in the narrative.

The physical beauty of Sarai is described in descending anatomical order. In the Song of Songs, there are three examples of such “description” poems: 4:1-7; 5:10-16; 7:1-6. Of these, only 5:10-16 is a description of the man by the woman.³⁰ All except 7:1-6 follow the pattern of starting at the head and descending down the body.³¹ When we list the order of the anatomy treated in each poem, we can definitely see striking similarities between them.³²

³⁰ The poem in Song 5 opens with an explanation on why the woman’s lover is absent from her. This leads to the charge to the group of women around her to help her find her love. The woman’s speech to these daughters of Jerusalem elicits the question, “How is your lover better than (another) love?” The answer to this question is the trigger for this *wāsf*, the only one that describes the attractiveness of a man.

³¹ The general pattern seems to be a top-bottom description. Instead of starting with the head, the man starts in this poem in Song 7:1-6 with a description of the feet. This reversal is most likely due to the fact that the poem begins with her dancing, which brings greater attention to the feet. A. Brenner, in “Paradox and Parody in the Song of Solomon: Towards a Comic Reading of the Most Sublime Song,” in *Humour and the Comic in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. A. Brenner and Y. T. Raddy; Almond: Sheffield, 1990), 251-76, suggests that this *wāsf* is parody of the previous ones; she says that this parody is signaled by the reversal of direction in the poem.

³² Pereira presents a similar chart; *Studies*, 18.

Song 4:1-7	Song 5:10-16	Song 7:1-6	1QapGen 20.2-8
Eyes	Head	Feet	Face
Hair	Locks	Hips	Hair
Teeth	Eyes	Hands	Eyes
Lips	Cheeks	Navel	Nose
Mouth	Lips	Belly	Breasts
Temples	Hands	Breasts	Arms
Neck	Belly	Neck	Hands
Breasts	Legs	Eyes	Palms
	Mouth	Nose	Fingers
		Head	Feet
		Locks	Legs
Descending	Descending	Ascending	Descending

This evidence is compelling to identify this poem describing the beauty of Sarai truly as an example of a *wasf* in early Jewish poetry. The survey of scholarly contributions that offer a poetic analysis of this passage demonstrates that such a task is indeed difficult; each has struggled to articulate the specific poetic devices that are present in this text and what makes this poem poetic. If it is the case that this passage is an early Jewish poem that is related to a *wasf*, then it stands to reason that the elements and features of poetry would be present within it (e.g. parallelism). To discern and describe these poetic devices is thus warranted.

9.3 TRANSCRIPTION OF 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

2. [] ל[] כמה נצ[י]ח³³ ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא וכמא
 3. [] [ור]קיק³⁵ לה שער ראשה כמא יאין להון³⁴ לה עיניהא ומא רנג הוא לה אנפיהא כול נין
 4. אנפיהא [] כמא יאא לה חדיה וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא דרעיהא מא שפירן וידיהא כמא
 5. כלילין ו[³⁶] כול מחזה ידיהא כמא יאין כפיהא ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא רגליהא
 6. כמא שפירן וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא ועל כול
 7. נשין שופר שפרה³⁸ ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולתן ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא שניא עמהא ודל ידיהא³⁷
 8. יאא

³³ This reading is not certain. Traces of a *yod* can be detected, but not with confidence. It is, however, the reading of Greenfield, Fitzmyer and VanderKam. Pereira reads שלם, translating it as “perfect.” In fact, he does not use any sigla to indicate any uncertainty in his reading.

³⁴ The reading of this word להון is very unclear in the photograph. I read a G-stem imperfect 3fp with an initial *lamed*. Such a form of the imperfect is attested in Biblical Aramaic in Dan. 2:20, 28, 41, 45; 3:18; 4:22; 5:29; 63; Ez. 4:12; 5:8; 6:9; 7:23, 26. The expected form, however, is להוין, most likely vocalized להוין. The amount of space available makes such a reading highly unlikely. Avigad and Yadin also read *lhwn*, although they mark the *waw* as doubtful. There seems to be a similar expression in line 6B where the phrase להן לה is clearly read. For this reason, Kutscher reads להין, not להון, where it is understood as another ethical dative, referring back to “eyes” in line 2A and the “legs” in line 6B. The use of הוא as a copula, a verbal idea, in the following colon suggests that להון is to be read as a parallel verbal element. The use of להן in line 6B may be in fact similar to the use of לה. I am not persuaded to read an unclear grammatical construction, especially in light of the clear parallelism of cola in this line.

³⁵ Greenfield, and Pereira read [...]. Fitzmyer and VanderKam reads [קיק]. Avigad and Yadin only read [קיק] after the lacuna. The photograph shows traces of consonants, but nothing definitive. In critique of Greenfield, VanderKam comments that there are no other cases in which כמא or מא is used twice in a single colon.

³⁶ Several consonants are partially visible from the photograph. Fitzmyer’s suggested restoration, חמיד, meaning “attractive,” is possible. Pereira follows Fitzmyer.

³⁷ See below for further discussion on this phrase.

³⁸ I take this as the abstract noun plus the feminine singular form of the adjective. My proposed vocalization is *šupār šappirah*, literally “she is beautiful in beauty,” meaning the beauty of Sarai is the highest form of beauty, the standard by which all others are measured. This differs from Fitzmyer and VanderKam who read שופר as an abstract noun used to intensify a feminine singular participle שפרה (*šāpārāh*) of the same root. VanderKam’s translation “she is truly beautiful,” does not reflect accurately the Aramaic in the line.

9.4 STICHOMETRY OF 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

- 1A. ²כמה נצ[י]ח ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא
 1B. וכמא ³[] ו[רק]יק לה שער ראישה
- 2A. כמא יאין להון לה עיניהא
 2B. ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא
 2C. וכול נץ ⁴אנפיהא []
- 3A. כמא יאא לה חדיה
 3B. וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא
- 4A. דרעיהא מא שפירן
 4B. וידיהא כמא ⁵כלילן
 4C. ו[] כול מחזה ידיהא
- 5A. כמא יאין כפיהא
 5B. ומא אריכן וקטינן
 5C. כול אצבעת ידיהא
- 6A. רגליהא ⁶כמא שפירן
 6B. וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא
- 7A. וכל בתולן וכלאן
 7B. די יעלן לגנון
 7C. לא ישפרון מנהא
- 8A. ועל כול ⁷נשין
 8B. שופר שפרה
- 9A. ועליא שפרהא
 9B. לעלא מן כולהן
- 10A. ועם כול שפרא דן
 10B. חכמא שניא עמהא
 10C. ודל ידיהא ⁸יאא

9.5 TRANSLATION OF 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

- 1A. *How splen[di]d and beautiful is the image of her face /*
 1B. *How []and [fi]ne is the hair of her head //*
- 2A. *How lovely are her eyes /*
 2B. *And how desirable is her nose /*
 2C. *All the radiance of her face [] //*
- 3A. *How fair is her breast /*
 3B. *And how beautiful is all her whiteness //*
- 4A. *Her arms how beautiful /*
 4B. *And her hands how perfect /*
 4C. *And [] is all the appearance of her hands //*
- 5A. *How lovely are her palms /*
 5B. *And how long and delicate /*
 5C. *Are all the fingers of her hands //*
- 6A. *Her feet how beautiful /*
 6B. *And how perfect are her legs //*
- 7A. *And no virgin and bride /*
 7B. *Who enters into a bridal-chamber /*
 7C. *Is more beautiful than she /*
- 8A. *And above all (other) women /*
 8B. *Her beauty is beautifulness //*
- 9A. *And her beautifulness is the highest /*
 9B. *Higher than all of them //*
- 10A. *And along with all this beauty /*
 10B. *Much wisdom is with her /*
 10C. *And her handiwork is lovely //*

9.6 POETIC FEATURES IN 1QAPGEN 20.2-8

Before beginning my poetic analysis, a few preliminary remarks are in order. The first concerns the dubious poetic nature of lines 8-10 above. As in other examples of Aramaic poetry, we see that the parallelism in this poem is a multi-dimensional phenomenon at the semantic and syntactic levels. Lines 1-6 offer acceptable examples of the type of parallelism that we would expect in poetry. Lines 8-10, however, do not.³⁹ Previous scholarly analyses on the poetry of this passage consistently struggled in the examination of this section, offering at best uncertain comments. In the first half of this section (lines 1-6) there is a predominance of the primary marker of poetry, namely parallelism. The elevated style of this section is a by-product of the parallelism as well as another primary device of poetry, namely the terseness of lines. Of course, this is to be expected if, in fact, this poem is an early Jewish example of a *wasf*, as discussed above. In the second half of this section (lines 8-10), we must conclude that without exception every apparent poetic line is “incomplete.”⁴⁰ That is, they all demonstrate syntactic dependency.⁴¹ Although such cases are not unusual in Aramaic poetry, it is highly suspect to find such a cluster in one portion of a supposed poem. Their presence makes the previous section of lines 1-6 seem even more poetic by comparison. Another factor

³⁹ I am preparing to make the case that the poem of Sarai’s beauty only covers lines 1-6 and that lines 8-10 are to be considered elevated narrative. Line 7 is a summation statement to end the *wasf* poem.

⁴⁰ This is the term that VanderKam used to describe the parallelism in this section of the poem. See “Poetry of 1QapGen,” 63.

⁴¹ A case could be made that lines 8 and 9 are a quatra-colon that are chiastically arranged at the word-level as well as the line-level. The repetition of שופר, “beauty,” in lines 8B and 9A ties the lines together.

to consider concerning lines 8-10 is the fact that each clause begins with the *waw*-conjunction when each poetic line in lines 1-6 does not.⁴² This use of the *waw* is more prosaic than it is poetic. Yet, a third factor is the fact that lines 8-10 do not contain a “description” of any anatomy of Sarai; instead it has broad and general statements on the beauty and wisdom of Sarai.

This leads me to conclude that lines 8-10 are not poetic and thus not part of the poem that describes the beauty of Sarai.⁴³ I consider line 7 to be a prosaic summation of the previous poem that transitions the text from the poetry of lines 1-6 with the elevated prose of lines 8-10. Line 7 essentially states that there is no one whose beauty surpasses Sarai. That is also the essential message in lines 8-9. The message is identical, yet articulated in two different ways, and this thematic overlap provides a bridge that connects the two sections together.

If one struggles as greatly as scholars have to determine the poetic nature of a passage, the difficulty is most likely caused by the fact that it is not poetry. One could easily take a line of prose, arbitrarily create cola and call it a poetic example of syntactically dependent lines. Apparently, this seems to be the approach taken by previous scholars with lines 8-10. Although repetition is prevalent in this section, it occurs independently of the two primary markers of poetry, namely parallelism and terseness. The theme of the “beauty” (שֹׁפֵר) of Sarai being the “highest” (עֲלִי) dominates each line of this section, and repetition of these words helps to focus on that specific

⁴² See below for more descriptions on the paratactic construction in the poem.

⁴³ I provide a stichometric outline for lines 7-10 above for the sake of discussion, reference, and comparison with previous publications on this section. Although the text is highly stylized, it is not what I would consider poetry.

message. It is apparent that this use of repetition creates elegance and aesthetic to the narrative. Consequently, it adds to the elevated nature of the discourse. Yet, there remains a distinction between what is *like* poetry (lines 8-10) and what is *actual* poetry (lines 1-6).

Fitzmyer suggests that the *wasf* poem of Sarai “has all the characteristics of an insertion that is not really an essential part of the story, given the biblical basis of the account itself.”⁴⁴ This is a comment with which I agree. Yet, in col. 20.8b and following, it states that “when the king [of Egypt] *heard the words* of Hirqanos and the words of his two companions...he coveted [Sarai] very much” (italics mine). He then had her sent to him quickly where he marveled at all her beauty. Such a reaction from Pharaoh leads one to ask, “If not the *wasf* poem, what words did he hear to elicit such a strong and immediate response?” If the form critical analysis of Fitzmyer is accurate, then it is possible that the words that Pharaoh heard were the words of lines 8-10. As mentioned above, there are approximately six or seven lines missing at the bottom of col. 19 and possibly one additional missing line at the top of col. 20. This is a total of seven or eight lines that remain unaccounted for in the narrative. The extant portion of col. 19 describes the approach of the courtiers of Pharaoh towards Abram. If we skip over the passage on the beauty of Sarai, the narrative continues with Pharaoh sending for her in col. 20. To reach that point, the missing lines must have narrated the initial contact between Pharaoh’s messengers with Abram and Sarai, their amazement at her beauty, their return to Egypt and entrance into the royal courtroom, possibly even a deferential

⁴⁴ Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 193.

address to their sovereign where they begin to explain where they were and what (or who) they encountered. All this can easily take up the space of seven to eight lines. The narrative then continued with the description of Sarai that is found in lines 8-10: a description of her immeasurable beauty that is beyond the beauty of all other women. The insertion of the *wasf* poem adds further elaboration to the attractiveness of Sarai, which would add to Pharaoh's interest and amazement at her beauty. Since the poetry is limited to only lines 1-6 above, I offer a poetic analysis for these lines only below.

A second preliminary comment is regarding the semantic parallelism expected in the B-colon (or on occasion the C-colon). We normally would expect similarity and correspondence of discrete parallel terms between cola. Normally, the second term is marked in some way in relation to the first that articulates a description with further precision. In this sense, the B-colon is usually not synonymous with the A-colon in the sense of "saying the same thing in different words." Rather, it tends to sharpen what was said in the A-colon. This, however, is not the case in this poem. Since the objects being described are various anatomical parts of a woman's body that are listed in descending order, the relation of comparative terms between cola is not similarity or contrast. The same can be said in regards to the adjectives used in the description. In general the adjective in any given A-colon will not be semantically related to the adjective that is found in the B-colon. All descriptions in this poem are various terms related to beauty, but there is no sense of word-pairing. The semantic parallelism is found in the repetitive use of certain key phrases, such as כֹּל, לָהּ, and כִּמְאָה.

The third and final preliminary comment is the paratactic style of the poem as a whole. Cola are often placed one after another with the conjunction *waw*. The A-colon in these lines often begins without the conjunction, whereas the B-colon (and often the C-colon) is perceived as connected to it due to the use of the conjunction (in addition to the fact that they are contiguous lines), while the exact relationship between them is left unspecified.

We will begin now to describe the precise nature of the connection in each line.

9.6.1 PARALLELISM IN 1QAPGEN 20:2-8A

Line 1, from the perspective of parallelism, presents a very well coordinated poetic line at both the macro (colon-level) and micro level (word-level). Line 1A describes the beauty of the overall face of Sarai. Line 1B begins the descriptions of the various features of Sarai, starting with the fineness of her hair. The correspondence between the cola is evident since the components that make up each clause are syntactically identical. Each begins with the adverb **כִּמְהָרָה**, or in the case of line 1B **כִּמְהָרָה**. This is followed up by two successive adjectives. Only line 1A shows these two adjectives. Line 1B has only one that is visible; the paralleling of syntactic elements leads me to assume that there was originally an adjective in the lacuna of this line. This

is immediately followed by לָהּ.⁴⁵ Each colon has a construct chain as its final grammatical constituent. Therefore, the word order in each cola is identical. The first three lines follow the similar syntactic order of grammatical elements as found in this line. The variation is in the different adjectives and the descending order of facial features of Sarai being described.

Line 2 is a tricolon. The first two cola are paired and the third functions as a way to conclude this initial section of the poem. At the semantic level, this line lacks a certain level of originality with respect to what came before. The only variation is at two significant points. The first is the portion of the face that is described as well as the different adjectives in use. The adjectives used to describe the “eyes” and the “nose” in this line do not share any semantic correlation – they are neither paradigmatic nor syntagmatic word-pairs. They appear to be merely individual adjectives used for a descriptive purpose. The second significant difference is the use of לָהּוֹן in the A-colon and הוּא in the B-colon, each serving a verbal function. I take לָהּוֹן as a G-stem 3mp imperfect from הוּהָ with a ל prefix and הוּא as the 3ms independent pronoun used as a copula. As mentioned above, the line follows a syntactic pattern that is nearly identical with the previous line: adverbial particle (כִּמְאָ) – adjective – verbal idea – prepositional phrase – noun. The presence of the verbal elements ties these two cola together and

⁴⁵ The exact understanding of לָהּ, which is also found in the succeeding lines, is not clear. Fitzmyer compares this to an Indo-European ethical dative. VanderKam agrees. The function of this particle remains unclear and it generally is not reflected in translations.

distinguishes each from the previous line. The final C-colon uses the word כּוֹל, which appears to be characteristic for every third colon in lines 1-6. Also found in this final colon is the word אֲנִפִּיהָ, which occurred earlier in line 1A. The repetition of this word creates a sub-unit in the poem made up of lines 1-2. The content also gives this section its own identity as it focuses particularly on the facial features of Sarai.

Line 3 returns to a bicolon. It continues the description of the beauty of Sarai. Where the first two lines focused on her facial features, this initial line continues the descending progress to other parts of her body. The objects of description here are “her breasts” and “her whiteness.” With the exception of the specific parts of the anatomy and the adjectives, this line is identical semantically and syntactically with the previous two lines.

Line 4 offers the first significant variance in the poem. It is a tricolon that describes the arms and hands of Sarai. The previous section mentions the breasts, and thus we would naturally expect the next object to be the “belly.” Interestingly, that is not the case. Rather, it is “her hands.” In fact, the following lines focus exclusively on features of her hands. Line 4 differs from the previous three in two significant ways. The first is in the word-order. Until now, the word-order had been consistently: adverbial particle (כִּמּוֹנִי) – adjective – prepositional phrase (לָהּ) – object of description. The syntactic order in this line is: object of description – adverbial particle (כִּמּוֹנִי) –

adjective. The second significant difference in this line is the absence of the phrase לֵהָ.

The reason for its absence is not certain.⁴⁶ The mechanical repetition of vocabulary and syntactic structure makes this line a refreshing change of pace.

Line 5 is another tricolon. Greenfield and Pereira differ and read a bicolon with an extremely long B-colon; their analysis, however, results in exceedingly imbalanced lines. VanderKam also sees a tricolon, and places כּוֹל in the C-colon; this is consistent with the previous tricolon seen in this poem. It also creates more balanced poetic lines.

The B-colon and C-colon are syntactically dependent. With regard to the syntax of the line, it returns to the original word order that we observed in the earlier lines. With regard to the lexical-semantic aspect, there is a sense of a more narrow focus of attention. The previous line observed the hand of Sarai. This line, however, looks specifically at her palms, then even more specifically to the intricacies of her fingers. We saw earlier the detail in the features of the face of Sarai; now we read about a similar detailing of the hand of Sarai. Clearly, the poet is very interested in her face and hands over against the remainder of her body.

Line 6 is a bicolon. The poem has now reached the feet, and thus the lower part of her body. The syntactic structure of this line is a composite of the two variations seen thus far. The A-colon follows the word order of line 4, where the B-colon is syntactically

⁴⁶ I offer a suggestion on the reason for its repetition in the previous lines and its absence here. See below under “Strophes.”

identical to line 2A. Therefore, it seems that this line is a syntactic summary of the entire poem. The reason for this combination may be to not only signal the end of another sub-unit within the poem, but also to bring the first strophe of the poem to a close.⁴⁷

9.6.2 TERSENESS OF 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

For the most part, the lines in the poem demonstrate the constraints in the number of clauses, phrasal constituents, and words that are characteristic of poetic lines. Admittedly, the lines in this poem are longer than what would be expected, particularly line 1. There seems to be no reasonable explanation to account for this phenomenon. The length of these lines gives the poem a sense more of the length of lines associated with prose.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	1	4	6
	1B	1	4? ⁴⁸	6?
	2A	1	5	5
	2B	1	5	5
	2C	1	3? ⁴⁹	4?

⁴⁷ See below under “Strophes” for more details.

⁴⁸ The uncertainty in this line is due to presence of a lacuna. Although I have little doubt that the missing portion was originally some type of an adjective, this cannot be determined with absolute certainty. The measurements for this line assume that the missing element was indeed an adjective.

⁴⁹ This lacuna was most likely an adjective. That is the assumption for the measurement in this line.

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	3A	1	4	4
	3B	1	4	5
	4A	1	3	3
	4B	1	3	3
	4C	1	3 ⁵⁰	4
	5A	1	3	3
	5B	1	3	3
	5C	0	1	3
	6A	1	3	3
	6B	1	5	5

9.6.3 SOUND/WORD REPETITIONS IN 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

Repetition is a regular part of the poetry in this passage. Of the fourteen exclamations describing the beauty of Sarai, four use a form of the word שָׁפָר (lines 1A, 3B, 4A, and 6A). Other adjectives semantically related are used throughout to add to the extravagant description of the beauty of Sarai. The regular repetition of כְּמוֹאֵהָ and לֵהּ is so consistent that it becomes expected as one reads (or hears) this poem. As mentioned above, the repetition of כּוֹל in the C-colon of tricola is also another consistent factor in the poem. These regularities make each of the body parts and their descriptive adjectives

⁵⁰ This is the same situation as in line 2C. Again, the assumption for the measurement is that there is a missing adjective.

stand out even more, which highlights those elements in the poem and communicates very strongly its overall message.

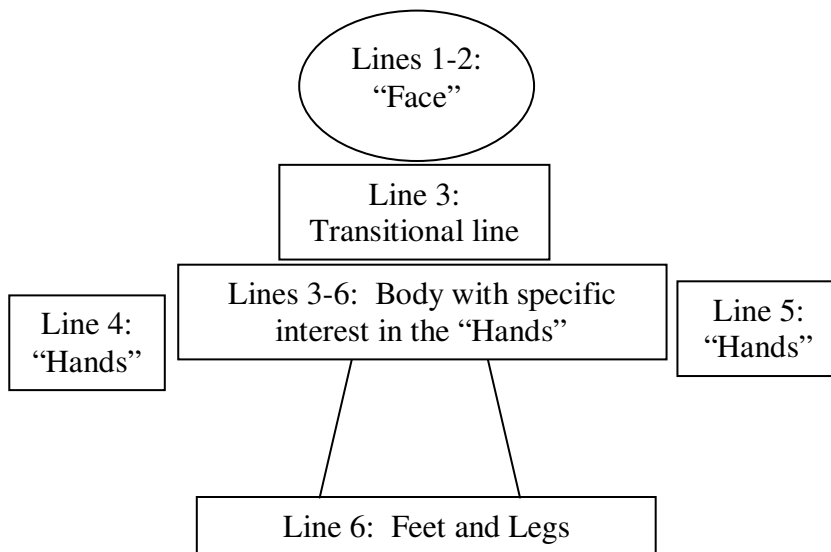
9.6.4 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION OF 1QAPGEN 20.2-8A

The repetition of words and phrases mentioned above also create larger poetic units, or strophes, that provide an unexpected, yet vivid image in the poem. **אנפיהא** is in line 1A and again in line 2C. This bracketing marks off the beginning and the end of the first unit, namely the description of the “face” of Sarai. Facial features make up the object of focus within this section; the content of lines 1-3 also supports this as the first poetic strophe. The repetition of **לה** provides a literary “spine” that extends beyond this first strophic unit into the body of the poem; it occurs in the first line after this section in lines 3A and 3B, which moves into the body (specifically the “breasts”) of Sarai.

The “breasts” and “whiteness” are only mentioned without further description. The poem quickly moves on to “her arms,” but attention is brought to focus on “her hands” and specific features associated with the hand: “her palms” **כפיהא** in line 5A and the “fingers of her hands” **אצבעת ידיהא** in line 5C. The phrase “her hands” **ידיהא** occurs three times in lines 4 and 5: in line 4B, 4C and again at 5C. Again, as we saw the first unit bracketed by the repetition of **אנפיהא** (lines 1-2) so we see that the second strophic unit is bracketed by the repetition of **ידיהא** (lines 4-5).

As mentioned above, line 3 provides a literary “spine” between the two units. It can be read with what came before due to the repetition of לָהּ. It can also be read with what follows since it has moved beyond describing the features of the face. Line 6, which describes the feet and legs, serves as the base and end of the poem. From the stichometric outline provided below, a chiastic structure can be observed in the distribution of bicola and tricola from lines 3-6: line 3 bicolon – line 4 tricolon – line 5 tricolon⁵¹ – line 6 bicolon. The regular repetition of כָּנָה provides a literary “skin” that covers the poem as a whole.

With all the elements portrayed above, one cannot help but to imagine a literary reflection of the body of Sarai in the organization and structure of this poem. If this analysis is correct, then the organization of the poem is as follows:



⁵¹ I read line 5 as a tricolon, as does VanderKam. Pereira, however, does not and reads a bicolon with an extremely long B-colon. Since כָּנָה has consistently appeared in the C-colon in this poem plus the need for terse lines, I suggest that this is in fact a tricolon.

From this analysis, it is clear that the interest of the poem is in two specific areas: the “face” and the “hands” of Sarai. The attention on the face of Sarai is obviously due to her beauty that surpasses all others. The description of the hands, however, are not described as “beautiful.” Rather, they are portrayed as אריכן “long” and קטינן “delicate.”⁵² The reason for this unique depiction of the hand-features is most likely due to lines 8-10, which is the original description of Sarai by the messengers of Pharaoh prior to the later insertion of this poem. Their account in lines 8-10 focuses on her unsurpassed physical beauty, but also on her חכמא שניא, “much wisdom” (line 10B). They continue in line 10C by saying, דל ידיהא יאא, “the work of her hands is lovely.” I take דל as a separate word which means “work” from the Akkadian word *dullu*. This is also the reading of Greenfield and VanderKam, as well as of H. L. Ginsberg⁵³ and T. Muraoka.⁵⁴ According to VanderKam, it is noteworthy that the Talmudic passages read precisely the phrase that is found here (*[m]dwył ydyh*) and that the same phrase occurs in Akkadian, *dullu qātēšu*.⁵⁵ This is the preferred reading over against those who read this as one word that consists of the relativizer ד, the preposition ל and ידיהא, “that which belongs to her hands,” meaning whatever is hers.⁵⁶ Greenfield suggests the exact sort of “work of her hands,” or “handiwork” is most likely weaving. He cites Exodus 35:25-26

⁵² The כפיהא, “palms” are described as יאי, “lovely” in line 5A and the description of intricacy is specifically focused on her fingers.

⁵³ H. L. Ginsberg, “Notes on Some Old Aramaic Texts,” *JNES* 18 (1959), 147.

⁵⁴ T. Muraoka, “Further Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon,” 41.

⁵⁵ VanderKam, “1QapGen,” 61-62, note 16.

⁵⁶ This is the reading of Fitzmyer and Pereira.

where spinning is a sign of חִכְמַת לֵב, “wisdom of the heart” among women.⁵⁷ In Prov. 31:19, the אִשֶּׁת חַיִּל is praised for her skill at weaving.

It stands to reason that one with “long” and “delicate” fingers would be particularly gifted in such a craft like that of weaving. This is an item in the description which is unusual for a traditional *wasf*, yet appropriate here due to the praise given to her “wisdom.” I suggest that the account of the messengers of Pharaoh in lines 8-10, which focuses on both the “beauty” and the “wisdom” of Sarai, was the reason for the composition of this poem with a two-part structure, focusing on her “face” and “hands” respectively.

9.7 CONCLUSION

This passage on the “beauty of Sarai” is indeed an early Jewish example of a *wasf*. Due to this genre identity, it follows that we would see poetic features in this passage. One can clearly distinguish both parallelism and terseness, the markers of poetry. The use of these features, however, is not as standard as we have seen in other cases of Aramaic poetry (e.g. 4Q246 the “son of God” text; 4Q542 *Testament of Qahat*; 4Q541 *Apocryphon of Levi*). Parallelism is more evident in the syntax of the lines where grammatical correspondences is more obvious and clear. The semantic parallelism,

⁵⁷ Greenfield, “Early Aramaic Poetry,” 50.

however, is seen more in the repetition of key phrases and words. Although we can rightly call this semantic parallelism, there is no sharpening in the B-colon (or C-colon); there lacks similarity or contrast. The use of various adjectives that focus on the anatomies of Sarai in a descending order bind the whole poem together and gives more of a “staircase” effect than the actual pairing of lines. The use of repetition is prevalent and helps to create parameters for the overall organization and structure of the poem, which I have suggested above is designed to be a literary reflection of the anatomy of Sarah. The elegance of the poetry is the literary equivalence to the “beauty” of Sarai. For these reasons, we may conclude that although the poetry in this poem does not offer the best example of Aramaic poetry, it is still nonetheless a poem and should be read and analyzed in that way.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

Within the six Aramaic poetic texts from Qumran (not including 4QDan^a), there are approximately 72 observable poetic lines. Due to the poor condition of the manuscripts, not all of these lines are intact.¹ These extant lines, therefore, provide only a small portion of the Aramaic poetic texts that were originally kept within Qumran. In addition to these 72 discernible lines of Qumran Aramaic poetry are added the 51 poetic lines in the Book of Daniel. This study accounts for and provides a detailed analysis of 123 lines of poetry that covers 15 poetic passages (7 in Biblical Aramaic and 8 in Qumran Aramaic²).

Provided below is a compilation/summary of the poetic data observed in this study. This material is organized according to the various poetic techniques that were identified and analyzed for each manuscript. The actual list under each category follows the chapter order of this study – with the exception that the passages from the Book of

¹ For example, only column 2 of 4Q246 was readable. Half of column 1 was missing. It is safe to presume that column 1 of that manuscript was also poetic with an approximately similar amount of poetic lines. This data does not account for the fact that those two columns were most likely part of an even larger poetic text of unknown length.

² Recall that 4Q541 contains two different poetic passages in two different fragments. Also, Dan. 2:20-23 is grouped with the Qumran texts since it is the only passage of the Book of Daniel that is extant in the Qumran copies.

Daniel are placed at the end of each category. References are made according to the lineation of the Qumran manuscripts; references to the Book of Daniel follow the versification of the MT. The abbreviations used below are as follows:

4Q246 = The “son of God” text
 4QLevi^a = *The Aramaic Levi Document (ALD)*
 4Q534 = The “elect of God” text
 4Q542 = *The Testament of Qahat*
 4Q541 = *The Apocryphon of Levi*
 1QapGen = *The Genesis Apocryphon*
 Dan. = The Book of Daniel

10.1 PARALLELISM

As defined in chapter two on “The Model of Poetic Analysis,” parallelism is the correspondence between two elements at the semantic, syntactic, and phonologic levels between cola. The list below attempts to categorize the type of parallelism found in every poetic line within the Qumran Aramaic corpus. The poetry observed and analyzed in the Book of Daniel is also included below. Due to the multidimensional nature of parallelism it is possible that one poetic line can concurrently have at least two linguistic interactions. Therefore, for example, a bicolon can demonstrate semantic parallelism as well as syntactic parallelism. The list provided below is intended to exhibit the wide-ranging types of correspondences that were discovered and analyzed in each of the texts investigated in this study.

10.1.1 SEMANTIC

Semantic parallelism was observed at three different levels: word, phrase, and colon. Word level parallelism is the word pair. They were of two different types: paradigmatic and syntagmatic. The following list provides the occurrences of both. The categories listed below are intended to be an exhaustive reflection of the type of correspondences discovered within the Aramaic poetic texts of Qumran. The element in the A-colon is on the right-side of / and the B-colon on the left.

Paradigmatic word pairs:

- יתאמר / יקרונה (4Q246 col. 2.1)
- עם / מדינה (4Q246 col. 2.3)
- שמעו / אציתו (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5)
- מאמר / פקדי (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5)
- מפקד / מחוה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-6)
- בני / חביבי (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.6)
- [רחמו]הי ושאלי שלמה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.18)
- שג[י]אין / רברבין (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.18)
- ירותתכון / אחסנותכון (4Q542 frag. 1.1.5)
- לנכראין / לכילאין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.5-6)
- אחדו / אתקפו (4Q542 frag. 1.1.7-8)
- קד[יש]ין / דכין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.8-9)
- ואחדין / ואזלין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9)
- קושטא / ישירותא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9)
- מאמרה / אלפונה (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3)
- ארעא / יבישתא (4Q541 frag. 9.1.5)
- חשוכא / ערפלא (4Q541 frag. 9.1.5)
- יאא / שפיר (1QapGen col. 20.4)
- שפירן / כלילן (1QapGen col. 20.4-5)

- מזהקים / מזהדה (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.2 = Dan. 2:21 – Internal parallelism)
- חכמתא / ומנדעא (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.3 = Dan. 2:21)
- חכימין / ידעי ב[י]נה (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.3 = Dan. 2:21)
- חשוכא / נהירא (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.4 = Dan. 2:22)
- אַתְוָהִי / תְּמַהוּהִי (Dan. 3:33 MT)
- רַבְרַבִּין / תְּקִיפִין (Dan. 3:33 MT)
- מַלְכוּתָהּ / שְׁלֹטָנָהּ (Dan. 3:33 MT; cf. 4:31; 6:27; 7:14, 27)
- וִידְחַלְנִי / יְבַהֲלִנִי (Dan. 4:2 MT)
- גִּדְדִי / קַצְצִי (Dan. 4:11 MT – internal parallelism)
- אֵילָנָא / עֲנְפוּהִי (Dan. 4:11 MT – internal parallelism)
- אַתְרוֹ / בִּהְרוֹ (Dan. 4:11 MT – internal parallelism)
- חִיּוֹתָא / צִפְרִיָּא (Dan. 4:11 MT)
- חִיָּא / קִים (Dan. 6:27 MT)
- מְשִׁיב / מִצָּל (Dan. 6:28 MT)
- דִּינָא / סִפְרִין (Dan. 7:10 MT)
- עֲלָהָהּ / עֲלִיוֹנִין (Dan. 7:25 MT)

Syntagmatic word pairs:

- ברה די אל / בר עליון (4Q246 col. 2.1)
- עממין / כלהן (4Q246 col. 2.8-9)
- [לכל קניה / ל]ידעיה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.20-21)
- ינסבון / יבוזון (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.21a-21b)
- תותבין / ראשין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.7)
- אנפיהא / אנפהא / עניהא (1QapGen col. 20.3-4)
- חדיה / לבנהא (1QapGen col. 20.4)
- דרעיהא / ידיהא (1QapGen col. 20.4)
- רגליהא / שקיהא (1QapGen col. 20.5-6)
- רומה / חזותה (Dan. 4:8 MT)
- שְׁמִיָּא / אֲרַעָא (Dan. 4:8 MT; cf. Dan.6:28)
- מְזוֹן / אֲנִיָּה / עֲפִיָּה (Dan. 4:9 MT – tricolon; cf. Dan. 4:11 MT)
- יְדוּרִין / תְּטַלֵּל / יְתוּזִין (Dan. 4:9 MT)
- עֲלָהָהּ / חִי עֲלָמָא (Dan. 4:31 MT)
- כְּרִסְוִין / עֲתִיק יוֹמִין (Dan. 7:9 MT)
- רְמִיו / יִתְבִּי (Dan. 7:10 MT)
- יַעֲדָהּ / תְּתַחַבֵּל (Dan. 7:14 MT)
- יִמְלֵל / יִבְלָא (Dan. 7:25 MT)

Phrase-level parallelism:

- ברה די אל / בר עליון (4Q246 col. 2.1)
- למאמר לוי אבוכון / לפקדי ידיד אל (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5)
- דזרע טב / די זרע ביש (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.8-9)
- די אלף חכמה / די שאט חכמתא (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.11-12)
- [די כלהון י]הבין לה בה יקר / בדי כלא צבין [למאלף חכמתה] (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.17-18)
- עותר רב די יקר / שימה טבה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.20)
- אלה עלמיה / מרא כול מעבדיא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2)
- יודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון / די מ'שלמא לכון (4Q542 frag. 1.1.4-5)
- צדקת לוי / בדיני אברהם / בממר יעקב (4Q542 frag. 1.1.7-8)
- בלבב דכא / ברוח קשיטה וטבה (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9-10)
- כול בני דרה / כול בני ³[עמ]ה (4Q541 frag. 9.1.2-3)
- כמאמר שמין / כרעות אל (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3)
- קל-בשרא / צפרי שמיא / חיות בקרא (Dan. 4:9 MT)
- ברכת / שבחת והדרת (Dan. 4:31 MT)

Colon-level parallelism:

- ✓ *Synonymous Parallelism*: The most common type of colon-parallelism is what can accurately be called "synonymous," meaning, the colon within a bicolon (or tricolon) states similar ideas. There is always a nuance of difference and those differences are also significant.

- ברה די אל יתאמר / ובר עליון יקרונה (4Q246 col. 2.1)
- עממין ינתן בידה / וכלהן ⁹ירמה קדמוהי (4Q246 col. 2.8-9)
- [שמעו למאמר לוי אבוכון / ואציתו לפקדי ידיד אלה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5)
- ואחדין בקושטא / ואזלין בישירותא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9)
- ככול די פקדתון / ככול די ^{2.1}אלפתכון (4Q542 frag. 1.1.13-1.2.1)
- ויכפר על כול בני דרה / וישתלח לכול בני ³[עמ]ה (4Q541 frag. 9.1.2-3)
- מאמרה כמאמר שמין / ואלפונה כרעות אל (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3)
- רחמון ^aהי שג[י]אין / ושאלי שלמה [רברבין] (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.18)
- אַתוהי כְּמָה רַבְרָבִין / וְתַמְהוּהִי כְּמָה תְּקִיפִין (Dan. 3:33 MT)
- מְלָכוּתָהּ מְלָכוּת עֲלָם / וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ עַסְדָּר וְדָר (Dan. 3:33 MT)
- וְלַעֲלָאָה בְּרִכְתָּ / וְלַחֵי עֲלָמָא שְׁבַחַת וְהִדְרַת (Dan. 4:31 MT)
- דִּי שְׁלִטָנָה שְׁלִטִין עֲלָם / וּמְלָכוּתָהּ עַסְדָּר וְדָר (Dan. 4:31 MT)
- לְבוּשָׁהּ כְּתִלְגַּ חוּר / וְשַׁעַר רֵאשִׁיהּ כְּעִמָּר נִקָּא (Dan. 7:9 MT)

- ✓ *Antithetic*: Often, the meaning in the first colon of a poetic line is in contrast, or antithesis, with the meaning of the second colon.
- 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.8-9) דזרע טב טב מעל / [ודי זרע ביש עלוהי תאב זרע] ה
 - די אלף חכמה יקר [הוא לה / ודי שאט חכמתא לב] סרון ולשיטו מתיבה (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.10-11)
 - 4Q542 frag. 1.1.9-10) ולא בלבב ולבב / ¹⁰להן בלבב דכא / וברוח קשיטה וטבה
 - 4Q541 frag. 24.2.6) ותחזה ותחדה בנהיר עלמא / ולא תהוה מן שנאא
- ✓ *Interpretative*: There were several cases where the A-colon contains an image, phrase, or word that is interpreted by the B-colon.
- 4Q246 col. 2.1-2) כזיקיא ²די חזיתא / כן מלכותה תהוא
 - 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.11-12) חזו לכן בני [ליוסף אחי / די מאלף ספר ומוס] ר חכמה
 - 4Q542 frag. 1.1.1) ו'נהר נהירה עליכון / ויודענכון שמה רבא
 - 4Q542 frag. 1.1.6) ותהון לשפלו ולנבלו בעיניהון / ויבסרון עליכון
 - 4Q542 frag. 1.1.11-12) די נטרתון ¹²והולכתון ירות[תא / ד]י שבקו לכון אבהתכון
 - 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1 = Dan. 2:20) להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך / [מן ע]למא ועד עלמא
 - (Dan. 7:24 MT) והוא ישנא מן-קדמא / ותלתה מלכין יהשפל
- ✓ *Image Correspondence*: There were a few occurrences where the paralleling elements were two poetic images.
- 4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-4) שמש עלמה תניר / ⁴ויחזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא
 - (Dan. 7:9 MT) לבושהא כתלנ חזר / ושער ראשה כעמר נקא
- ✓ *Protasis / Apodosis*: Here is one case where the correspondence between the two cola formed an implied hypothetical clause where the A-colon was the protasis and the B-colon the apodosis.
- 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.6-7) ש כל עבדכן [יהוה קשטא / ועד עלם יהוה עמ] כן קאם

- ✓ *Cause / Effect*: There were numerous examples where the A-colon contained a cause and the B-colon the effect that was brought about by that cause.

- (4Q246 col. 2.4) ⁴עד יקום עם אל / וכלא יניח מן חרב
- (4Q246 col. 2.5-6) ידין ⁶ארעא בקשט / וכלא יעבר שלם
- (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.21b) [אוצרי חכמתא לא יבוזון / ולא ישכחון] מטמוריה
- (4Q534 frag. 1.1.7) ⁷ובאבוהי וב[א]בהתוהי / [רז]י[י] אחין יזקונה
- (4Q534 frag. 1.1.7-8) עמה להוון מלכה וערמונה / ⁸[ו]ידע רזי אנשא
- (4Q541 frag. 9.1.4-5) ועל חשוכא תניר / אדין יעדה חשוכא ⁵מן ארעא / וערפלא מן יבישתא
- להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך
[מן ע]למא ועד עלמא
(4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-2 = Dan. 2:21) די חכמתא וגברתא די לה ה'יא [
- לך לאלה אבהתי
מהודא ומשבח[אנה]
(4QDan^a frag. 3.1.4-5 = Dan. 2:23) די חכמתא ונהי [] יהב[ת] לי
- (Dan. 4:2 MT) – internal parallelism חלם חזית וידחלנני
- (Dan. 4:31 MT) אנה נבוכדנצר עיני לשמאי נטלת / ומנדעי עלי יתוב
- (Dan. 7:14 MT) ולה יהיב שלטון ויקר ומלכו / וכל עממאי אמאי ולשניא לה יפלחון (MT)
- (Dan. 7:27 MT) מלכותה מלכות עלם / וכל שלטניא לה יפלחון וישתמעון:

- ✓ *Vertical / Horizontal*: Similar to the parallelism above, there was one occurrence where the vertical growth of an object was described in the A-colon and its horizontal expansion in the B-colon.

- (Dan. 4:7 MT) ואלו אילן בגוא ארעא / ורומה שניא

- ✓ *Quantitative / Qualitative*: On several occasions the A-colon would describe a quantitative description and the B-colon described a qualitative one.

- (4Q246 col. 2.5) ⁵מלכותה מלכות עלם / וכלא ארחתה בקשוט
- (Dan. 4:9 MT) עפיה שפיר / ואנבה שניא
- (Dan. 4:13 MT) לבבה מן-אנשא ישנון / ולבב חיוה יתהב לה / ושבעה עדנין יחלפון עלוהי
- (Dan. 6:27 MT) ומלכותה די-לא תתחבל / ושלטנה עד-סופא:
- (Dan. 7:14 MT) שלטנה שלטן עלם די-לא יעדה / ומלכותה די-לא תתחבל:

- ✓ *Verbal (Oral) /Physical*: This line depicts a verbal attack in the A-colon where the B-colon describes a physical one.

- (Dan. 7:25 MT) וּמִלִּין לְצַד עֲלָאָה יִמְלָל / וּלְקַדְיִשִּׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין יִבְלָא

- ✓ *Temporal/Spatial*: There was one occurrence where the A-colon described a temporal dimension of an object while the B-colon described a spatial one.

- (4Q246 col. 2.2-3) שְׁנִין יִמְלֹכוֹן עַל אֶרְעָא³ / וְכֹלָא יִדְשֹׁן

- ✓ *General / Specific*: Often the A-colon provided a general description and the B-colon focused upon a specific aspect of that general picture.

- הֵן יֵאֲתוֹן מַלְכִין [תְּקִיפִי] וְעַם [רַב / וְחִיל פִּרְשִׁין וְרִתִּיכִין שְׁגִיֵּאִין עִמָּהֶן (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.21-21a)
- כִּמְאָ יֵאִין כְּפִיָּהָ / וּמָא אֲרִיכִין וְקִטִּינִין / כּוֹל אֲצַבְעַת יִדְיָהָ (1QapGen col. 20.5)
- לְבָבָהּ מִן-אֲנָשָׁא יִשְׁנֹן / וּלְבָב חַיָּהּ יִתְיָהֵב לָהּ (Dan. 4:13 MT – two cola of tricolon)
- כְּרִסְיָהּ שְׂבִיבִין דִּי-נֹר / גִּלְגֻּלְוָהּ נֹר דְּלָק: (Dan. 7:9 MT)
- וְתֹאכַל כָּל-אֶרְעָא / וְתִדְשְׁנָהּ וְתִדְקַנָּה: (Dan. 7:23 MT)
- מִנָּהּ מַלְכוּתָהּ עֲשָׂרָה מַלְכִין יִקְמוֹן / וְאַחֲרָן יָקוּם אַחֲרֵיהֶוֹן (Dan. 7:24 MT)

- ✓ *Enumerative*: There were a few cases where the parallelism between cola was uncertain since the line was an enumerative list. The location of the mid-pause in such lines are unclear and often arbitrarily placed.

- לְהֵן אַחֲדוֹ בַּמִּמְרָ יַעֲקֹב אֲבוּכוֹן / אַתְקֹפוֹ בְּדִינִי אֲבֵרָהֶם / וְצִדְקַת לֹוי וְדִילִי (4Q542 frag. 1.1.7-8)
- קוֹשְׁטָא וְצִדְקָתָא וְיִשִּׁירוּתָא / וְתַמְיָמוּתָא וְדַכְ[וּתָא וְקַ] וְדִשָׁא וְכַהֲוֹנָתָא (4Q542 frag. 1.1.12-13)

- ✓ *Purpose*: Often the B-colon provides the purpose of an action mentioned in the A-colon.

- וְכַעַן סַפֵּר וּמוֹסֵר חֲכָמָה [אֲלָפוֹ לְבִנִּיכִין / וְתַהוּוּ חֲכָמָתָא עִמָּכִין] לִיקָר עֲלֵם (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.6-7)
- [וְעַל כְּרִסֵּי דִי יָקָר לָהּ מוֹתְבִין] / לְמַשְׁמַע מִלִּי חֲכָמָתָהּ (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.19)
- (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3) וְשִׁלִּיט³ בְּכוֹלָא / לְמַעַבְדַּ בַּהוֹן כְּרַעוּתָהּ
- (Dan. 7:26 MT) וְדִינָא יִתֵּב וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ יִהְיֶדוֹן / לְהַשְׁמָדָהּ וּלְהוֹבְרָהּ עַד-סוּפָא:

- ✓ *Sequence*: There is a logical or temporal sequence of actions from the A-colon to the B-colon.
 - להון תותבין לכון / ולהון עליכון ראשין (4Q542 frag. 1.1.6-7)
 - מנה מלכותה עשרה מלכין יקמון / ואחרון יקום אחריהון (Dan. 7:24 MT)
- ✓ *Progressive*: There is progressive movement from the A-colon to the B-colon. From this perspective the “beauty of Sarai” can be a large “progressive” poem since the description begins with her face and moves down ultimately to her feet.
 - גדרו אילנא וקצצו ענפיה / אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה (Dan. 4:11 MT)
- ✓ *Heavenly / Earthly Perspective*: The A-colon provides the description from the viewpoint of God and His eternal, heavenly perspective while the B-colon provides an earthly description.
 - מלכותה מלכות עלם / ושלטנה עסדר ודר (Dan. 3:33 MT)
 - די שלטנה שלטן עלם / ומלכותה עסדר ודר (Dan. 4:31 MT)
- ✓ *Internal Parallelism*: There were several occurrences where a bicolon was within a single colon.
 - וחדוא¹¹ ללוי ושמה לי[עקוב (4Q542 frag. 1.1.10-11)
 - ודיאין לישחק ותשובחא לאברהם (4Q542 frag. 1.1.10-11)
 - מהעדה [מלכין ומהקים מלכין (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.2 = Dan. 2:21)
 - חלם חזית וידחלנני (Dan. 4:2 MT)
 - קרא בחיל וכן אמר (Dan. 4:11 MT)
 - גדרו אילנא וקצצו ענפיה (Dan. 4:11 MT)
 - אתרו עפיה ובדרו אנבה (Dan. 4:11 MT)
 - ודינא יתב ושלטנה יהעדון (Dan. 7:26 MT)
- ✓ *Expansive*: On numerous occasions the word כל occurs in the B-colon. This is one way in which the line provides some form of “expansion” in its meaning. In several cases this expansionistic nuance gives the overall connotation of the line a degree of totality in either the temporal (“eternity”), spatial (e.g. “all the earth”), or universal (“all peoples”) sense. In others it broadens the scope in the B-colon. This seems to have been a common form of parallelism, as evidenced from the list below.
 - שנין ימלכון על³ ארעא / וכלא ידשון (4Q246 col. 2.2-3)
 - עד יקום עם אל / וכלא יניח מן חרב⁴ (4Q246 col. 2.4)

- (4Q246 col. 2.5-6) ידִין⁶ אַרְעָא בַקְשָׁט / וְכֹלָא יַעֲבֹד שְׁלָם
- (4Q246 col. 2.6-7) חֲרַב מִן אַרְעָא יִסְף / וְכֹל מְדִינְתָא לֵה יִסְגְּדוּן
- (4Q246 col. 2.8-9) עֲמֻמִּין יִנְתֵּן בִּידָה / וְכֹלָהֶן⁹ קִדְמוּהִי
- (4Q246 col. 2.9) שְׁלֹטְנָה שְׁלֹטֵן עֲלֵם / וְכֹל תְּהוּמִי []
- (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.21a-21b) וִינְסַבּוֹן נִכְסֵי מַת וּמְדִינָה / וִיבּוּזוֹן כָּל דִּי בְהֵן
- (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2) { } וְתִנְדְּעוֹנָה { } דִּי הוּא אֱלֹהַ עֲלָמִיָּה / וּמְרָא כּוֹל מַעֲבָדִיא
- (4Q542 frag. 1.1.3-4) וּשְׁמַחָא לְבִנִּיכּוֹן / בְּדָרִי⁴ קִשּׁוּטָא לְעֲלָמִין
- (4Q542 frag. 1.1.8-9) וְהוּא קִדְ[י]שִׁין / וּדְכִין מִן כּוֹל [עַר]בְרוּב
- (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-4) שְׁמֵשׁ עֲלָמָה תְּנִיר / וְיִתְזָה נּוֹרְהָא בְּכוֹל קְצוּי אַרְעָא
- (4Q541 frag. 9.1.6) וּבְדִיאֵן עֲלוּהִי יְבִדּוֹן / וְכוֹל גְּנוּאִין עֲלוּהִי יִמְלָלוֹן
- (4Q541 frag. 24.2.6) וְתִקִּים לְאַבּוּכָה שֵׁם חֲדוּא / וְלִכּוֹל אַחִיכָה יִסּוּד [] תְּצִוְּאָ
- (1QapGen col. 20.4) כִּמָּא יֵאָא לֵה חֲדִיָּה / וְכִמָּא שְׁפִיר לֵה כּוֹל לְבִנְהָא
- (1QapGen col. 20.3-4) כִּמָּא יֵאִין לֵהוֹן לֵה עֵינִיָּהָ / וּמָא רִגַּג הוּא לֵה אֲנַפְהָא / וְכוֹל נִץ אֲנַפִּיָּהָ []
- (1QapGen col. 20.4-5) דְּרַעִיָּה מָא שְׁפִירִין / וִידִיָּהָ כִּמָּא כְּלִילִין / וְ [] כּוֹל מַחְזָה יִדִּיָּהָ
- (Dan. 4:9 MT) עֲפִיָּה שְׁפִיר / וְאַנְבִּיָּה שְׁנִיא / וּמִזּוֹן לְכָל־בֵּה
- וּבְעִנְפֹהִי יְדוּרִין צִפְרִי שְׁמִיא
(Dan. 4:9 MT) וּמִנֵּה יִתְזִין כָּל־בְּשָׂרָא:
- (Dan. 7:10 MT) וְרִבּוֹ רִבְבִין קִדְמוּהִי יְקוּמוֹן / אֱלֹף אֱלִפִּין יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה

10.1.2 SYNTACTIC:

- ✓ *Pronoun / Antecedent:* The independent pronoun parallels the main noun that it represents.

- (4Q246 col. 2.7-8) אַל רַבָּא בְּאִילָה / הוּא⁸ יַעֲבֹד לֵה קִרְב
- (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2) { } וְתִנְדְּעוֹנָה { } דִּי הוּא אֱלֹהַ עֲלָמִיָּה / וּמְרָא כּוֹל מַעֲבָדִיא
- (Dan. 6:27 MT) דִּי־הוּא אֱלֹהָא חֵיא / וְקִים לְעֲלָמִין
- (Dan. 7:24 MT) וְהוּא יִשְׁנָא מִן־קִדְמוּיָא / וְתִלְתָּה מְלָכִין יְהִשְׁפֹּל:

- ✓ *Inflectional-Morphological*: The inflectional form of words often parallel where the A-colon may contain a word or verb in the singular and paralleling element in the B-colon is in the plural, or vice versa.

- יקרונה / יתאמר (4Q246 col. 2.1) – singular/plural
- להוון / [ו]ידע (4Q534 frag. 1.1.7-8) – prefixal/non-prefixal³
- תהך / ידע (4Q534 frag. 1.1.8) – prefixal/non-prefixal
- רבה אילנא ותקף / ורומה ימטא לשמיא (Dan. 4:8a) – non-prefixal/prefixal
- נטלת / יתוב (Dan. 4:31 MT) – perfect/imperfect
- רמיו / יתב (Dan. 7:9 MT) – Gp stem/G stem
- יתב / פתיחו (Dan. 7:10 MT) – singular/plural
- מטא / הקרבוהי (Dan. 7:13 MT) – singular/plural
- יקמון / יקום (Dan. 7:24 MT) – plural/singular
- שביבין די-נור / גלגלוהי נור דלק (Dan. 7:9 MT) – plural/singular interconnection

- ✓ *Derivational-Morphological*: Although the majority of cases of this type parallels two different verbal stems, there is one occurrence where a noun parallels its cognate adjective.

- יקרונה / יתאמר (4Q246 col. 2.1) – G stem/Gt stem
- יניח / יקום (4Q246 col. 2.4) – G stem/C stem
- ישתלח / יכפר (4Q541 frag. 9.1.2) – G stem/Gt stem
- תניר / יתזה (4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-4) – G stem/Gt stem
- שגה / שניאן (4Q541 frag. 9.1.5-6) – noun/adjective
- ישנון / יתיהב (Dan. 4:13 MT) – D stem/Gt stem
- רמיו / יתב (Dan. 7:9 MT) – Gp stem/G stem
- יתב / פתיחו (Dan. 7:10 MT) – G stem/Gp stem
- מטא / הקרבוהי (Dan. 7:13 MT) – G stem/C stem
- תחתוהי תטלל חיות בר / ובענפוהי ידורן צפרי שמיא / ומנה יתזין כל-בשרא (Dan. 7:13 MT) – C stem/G stem/Gt stem

³ The “non-prefixal” terminology is used since it cannot be determined if the verb is a participle or a perfect. What is clear is that it is paralleled with a “prefixal,” or imperfect. In the examples from Biblical Aramaic the vocalization is helpful and determinative. For the sake of consistency, the same terminology is maintained throughout this section.

- ✓ *Gapping*: In most cases the gapped element is the verb. There are several occurrences of non-verbal gapping also.
- (4Q246 col. 2.3) עם לעם ידוש / ומדינה למד[ינ]ה
 - (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-6) ו[אנה לכן] [מפקד בני / ואנה קשטא לכן מחוה חביבי – this is an example of backwards gapping, where the word קשטא in the B-colon is presumed backwards in the A-colon.
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.3) – two cola of a tricolon ויעבד לכון חדוא / ושמחא לבניכון
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.5-6) ואל תתנו ירותכון לנכראין / ואחסנותכון⁶ לכללאין
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.10-11) ותנתנון לי ביניכון שם טב / וחדוא¹¹ ללוי ושמח לין[ע]קוב
 - (4Q541 frag. 9.1.4-5) אדין יעדה חשוכא⁵ מן ארעא / וערפלא מן יבישתא
 - (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.3 = Dan. 2:21) יהב חכמתא לחכימין / ומנדעא לידעי ב[י]נה
 - (Dan. 4:1 MT) אָנֶה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר שָׁלַח הָיוּת בְּבֵיתִי / וְרַעַן בְּהִיכְלִי:
 - (Dan. 4:11 MT) תִּגְדַּח חֵיוֹתָ מִן־תַּחְתּוֹהִי / וְצַפְרֵיָא מִן־עֲנָפוֹהִי:
- ✓ *Verbless clauses*: Two verbless clauses are often in parallelism with each other.
- (4Q246 col. 2.5) מלכותה מלכות עלם / וכלא ארחתה בקשוט
 - כמא יאין להון לה עיניהא / ומא רגג הוא לה אנפיהא / וכול נץ אנפיהא [] (1QapGen col. 20.3-4)
 - (1QapGen col. 20.4) כמא יאא לה חדיה / וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא
 - (1QapGen col. 20.4-5) דרעיהא מא שפירן / וידיהא כמא כלילן / ון [] כול מחוה ידיהא
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9-10) ולא בלבב ולבב / ¹⁰להן בלבב דכא / וברוח קשיטה וטבה
 - (Dan. 4:7 MT) וְאֵלֹהֵי אֵילָן בְּנוֹא אֲרַעָא / וְרוּמָה שְׁגִיָא:
 - (Dan. 4:9 MT) עֲפִיָה שְׁפִיר / וְאַנְבִּיָה שְׁגִיָא / וּמִזֶּון לְכֻלָּא־בָּהּ
 - (Dan. 6:27 MT) וּמִלְכוּתָהּ דִּילָא תַחְחַבֵּל / וְשִׁלְטָנָה עַד־סוּפָא:
 - (Dan. 7:9 MT) כְּרִסִּיָה שְׁבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר / גִּלְגֻלוֹהִי נֹר דִּלְק:
 - (Dan. 7:14 MT) שְׁלִטָנָה שְׁלִטָן עָלֵם דִּילָא יַעֲדָה / וּמִלְכוּתָהּ דִּילָא תַחְחַבֵּל:
- ✓ *Verbal-Verbless*: On several occasions a colon with a finite verb corresponds with a verbless cola.
- (4Q246 col. 2.7-8) אל רבא באילה / ⁸הוא יעבד לה קרב
 - די אלף חכמה יקר [הוא לה / ודי שאט חכמתא לב] סרון ולשיטו מתיב (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.10-11)

- 1QapGen col. 20.3) – כמא יאין להון לה עיניהא / ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא – in the B-colon is functioning as a copula.
 - (Dan. 4:8 MT) רבָּה אֵילָנָא וְתִקְרָא / וְרוּמָה יִמְטָא לְשִׁמְיָא / וְחִזּוּתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל־אַרְעָא:
 - (Dan. 7:27 MT) מַלְכוּתָהּ מַלְכוּת עָלָם / וְכָל שְׁלִטְנֵיָא לָהּ יִפְלְחוּן וַיִּשְׁתַּמְעוּן:
- ✓ *Syntactic Dependency*: There are numerous examples where a clause is extended over a single colon and continues into the next. Therefore, the two cola are syntactically dependent. There are also cases where the antecedent to a suffix in the B-colon is in the A-colon, or the subject of a verb in the B-colon is in the A-colon. All these are also examples of syntactic dependency.
- (4Q246 col. 2.1-2) כְּזִיקִיא ²דִּי חֲזִיתָא / כֵּן מַלְכוּתָהּ תְּהוּא
 - (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.11-12) חֲזוּ לִכְן בְּנֵי [לְיוֹסֵף אַחִי / דִּי מֵאֲלָף סָפֵר וּמוֹסֵר חֲכֻמָּה
 - (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.19) [וְעַל כִּרְסֵי דִי יִקְרָא לָהּ מוֹתְבִי] / לְמִשְׁמַע מוֹלֵי חֲכֻמָּתָהּ
 - (4Q534 frag. 1.1.6) [ב]אֲדִין יַעֲרֵם וַיִּדַּע / שְׁב[ילֵי חֲכָמִין חֲזִין / לְמֵאֲתָהּ לָהּ עַל אֲרֻכּוּבָתָהּ
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3) וְשִׁלִּיט ³בְּכוּלָּא / לְמַעַבְדָּא בְּהוֹן כִּרְעוּתָהּ
 - וְכַעֲן בְּנֵי אֲזֻדְהָרָא בִּירוּתָתָא / דִּי מִשְׁלָמָא לְכוּן / יְהִיבּוּ לְכוּן אֲבַהֲתָכוּן (4Q542 frag. 1.1.4-5)
 - (4Q542 frag. 1.1.11-12) דִּי נִטְרָתוֹן ¹²וְהוֹלְכָתוֹן יִירוּתָתָא / דִּי שְׁבָקוּ לְכוּן אֲבַהֲתָכוּן
 - (4Q541 frag. 9.1.5-6) שְׁגִיָּאן מִלִּין עֲלוּהִי יֵאֲמְרוּן / וּשְׁגָה ⁶[כְּדָב]ִין
 - (1QapGen col. 20.5) כְּמֵא יֵאִין כְּפִיָּהּ / וּמֵא אֲרִיכֵן וְקִטִּינֵן / כּוֹל אֲצַבְעַת יִדְיָהּ
 - (4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1 = Dan. 2:20) לְהוּא שְׁמָהּ דִּי אֱלֹהָא רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ / [מִן ע]לְמָא וְעַד עֲלְמָא
 - (Dan. 4:7 MT) וְאֵלּוּ אֵילָן בְּגוּא אַרְעָא / וְרוּמָה שְׁגִיָּא
 - (Dan. 4:8 MT) וְרוּמָה יִמְטָא לְשִׁמְיָא / וְחִזּוּתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל־אַרְעָא
 - (Dan. 6:27 MT) דִּי־הוּא אֱלֹהָא חֲזָא / וְקִיָּם לְעֵלְמִין
 - (Dan. 6:28 MT) מְשִׁיזְבּ וּמִצֵּל / וְעַבְדֵּן אֲתִין וְתִמְהִין / בְּשִׁמְיָא וּבְאַרְעָא
 - (Dan. 6:28 MT) דִּי שִׁיזִיב לְדִנְיָאֵל / מִן־יַד אֲרֻתָּא:
 - (Dan. 7:10 MT) נְהָר דִּי־נֹר נִגְדֵּן / וְנִפְקֵן מִן־קִדְמוּהִי
 - (Dan. 7:13 MT) וְאֲרוֹ עֲסִדְעִנִּי שְׁמִיָּא / כְּבֵר אֲנִשׁ אֲתָהּ הוּא
 - (Dan. 7:26 MT) וְדִינָא יִתְבֵּן וְשְׁלִטְנָהּ יִהְיֶדוּן / לְהַשְׁמָדָהּ וּלְהוֹבְדָהּ עַד־סוּפָא:
 - וְשְׁלִטְנָא וְרַבּוּתָּא / דִּי מַלְכוּתֵּן תַּחֲתֵּן כָּל־שְׁמִיָּא / יְהִיבֵת לְעָם קִדְיָשִׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין וּמַלְכוּתָהּ (Dan. 7:27 MT)

10.3 PHONOLOGIC: Although not as common, there are several cases where phonemes parallel each other.

- **ואנה לכן** [מפקד בני / ואנה קשטא לכן מחוה חביבי (4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-6): repetition of **לכן** and **ואנה** in the A-colon and B-colon.
- **כמה נצ[ח] ושפיר לה צלמ אנפיהא / וכמא [] ו [רק]יק לה שער ראישה** (1QapGen col. 20.2-3): repetition of **כמה** parallels the *k-m-h* phonemes.
- **כמא יאא לה חדיה / וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא** (1QapGen col. 20.4): repetition of **כמא** and **לה** parallels the *k-m* and *l-h* phonemes.
- **רגליהא כמא שפירן / וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא** (1QapGen col. 20.5-6): *k-m* and *s* phonemes parallel.
- **ולא בלבב ולבב / להן בלבב דכא** (4Q542 frag. 1.1.9-10) – two cola of tricolon: *l* and *b* phonemes parallel.
- **אתוהי פמה רברבין / ותמהוהי פמה תקיפין** (Dan. 3:33 MT): *k-m* phonemes parallel.
- **חלם חזית וידחלנני / והרהרין עלמשכבי וחזוי ראשי יבהלנני** (Dan. 4:2 MT): **ח** and **ל** phoneme parallel each other, especially –*nani* pattern at the end of each cola.
- **לבבה מן-אנשא ישנן / ולבב חיוה יתייב לה** (Dan. 4:13 MT) – two cola of tricolon: *l-b* phonemes parallel.
- **ולעלאה ברכת / ולחי עלמא שבחת והדרת** (Dan. 4:31 MT): *l* phoneme and the G-stem perfect 1cs suffix phoneme *-ēl* parallel.
- **ותדושנה ותדקנה:** (Dan. 7:23 MT) – internal parallelism: *t* and *d* phonemes parallel, as does the 3ms suffix *-ēh*.
- **מלכו רביעאה תהנא בארעא / די תשנא מן-כל-מלכותא** (Dan. 7:23 MT): *m-l-k* phonemes parallel each other.
- **ומלין לצד עלאה ימלל / ולקדישי עליונין יבלא** (Dan. 7:25 MT): *l* phoneme parallel.

10.2 TERSENESS

Two charts are provided below. The first provides a summary of the data gathered from each poetic text investigated in this study. The number of poetic lines and cola are provided. The numbers in the remaining sections are the averages in each category that were counted to measure the syntactic constraint on a colon.

The second lists the various line-forms that were analyzed and how many of each was found within the Aramaic poetic corpus. Recall that there are three numbers that make up the syntactic form of a line: the first is the number of clauses, the second is the number of phrases, and the third is the number of words.⁴

There are approximately 123 poetic lines total in the extant portions of the Aramaic manuscripts that were examined. Due to the fragmented condition of these manuscripts, only 113 poetic lines could be analyzed; 10 were so fragmented that no syntactic analysis could be done. These 113 lines were composed of a total of 252 cola. The numbers below represent the average numbers of clauses, phrases, and words per cola within each document.

At the end of this section, there will be a few concluding comments made based on the data that was collected.

⁴ Refer to “Chapter Two: Model of Poetic Analysis” for a description on the basis of what is counted or not counted.

10.2.1 STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF TERSENESS

	Poetic Passage	Number of poetic lines	Number of cola	Number of clausal constituents	Number of phrasal constituents	Number of words
	4Q246	11	21	1	2-3	3
	4QLevi ^a	19	32	1	3	4
	4Q534	7	11	1	2-3	3
	4Q542	17	37	1	2-3	3
	4Q541 frag. 9	8	16	1	2	3
	4Q541 frag. 24	4	7	1	3	4
	1QapGen	6	15	1	2-3	3

	4QDan ^a frag. 3 (=Dan. 2:20-23)	6	14	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 3:33-4:2	4	8	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 4:7b-14	13	32	1	2-3	3
	Dan. 4:31-32	5	10	1	3	3-4
	Dan. 6:27b-28	4	9	1	2	2
	Dan. 7:9-10	6	12	1	2	3
	Dan. 7:13-14	4	8	1	2	3-4
	Dan. 7:23-27	9	20	1	2-3	3

	TOTALS	123	252	—	—	—
	AVERAGE	—	—	1	2-3	3

10.2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF LINE-FORMS IN ARAMAIC POETRY FROM QUMRAN

	Line-Forms	Cola	Total # of cola
	0-1-2	4Q542 frag. 1.1.9d, 1.1.10a 4Q541 frag. 9.1.5d-6a Dan. 4:12a, 12d Dan. 6:28e Dan. 7:13a	7
	0-1-3	1QapGen 20.5d 4Q542 frag. 1.1.2b, 1.1.10b Dan. 4:12c	4
	0-2-2	4Q542 frag. 1.1.2-3, 1.1.4c, 1.1.13b, 1.1.13c-2.1.1a 4Q534 frag. 1.1.7a 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.1b Dan. 6:28c	7
	0-2-3	4Q246 col. 2.4a 4Q542 frag. 1.1.3-4a, 1.1.8c 4Q541 frag. 9.1.7b 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.4c Dan. 7:23b, 27b	7
	0-2-4	4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.2a	1
	0-2-5	4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.15b	1
	0-3-3	4Q246 col. 2.1-2a 4Q534 frag. 1.1.6b 4Q542 frag. 1.1.5a, 1.1.12b, 1.1.12c Dan. 7:27a	6
	0-3-4	Dan. 7:25e	1
	0-3-5	4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.21c-21aa	1
	0-4-4	4Q542 frag. 1.1.13a	1
	1-1-2	4Q542 frag. 1.1.8d	1

	Line-Forms	Cola	Total # of cola
	1-2-2	4Q246 col. 2.2b, 2.2-3a, 2.3b, 2.3d 1QapGen 20.4d, 20.4-5, 20.5b, 20.5c, 20.5-6 4Q542 frag. 1.1.3c, 1.1.5-6a, 1.1.6c, 1.1.9b, 1.1.9c 4Q541 frag. 9.1.4b, 9.1.5b frag. 24.2.6c 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.18b, 1.1.21bc 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.3d-4a Dan. 3:33a, 33b; 4:1b Dan. 4:7b, 7c, 9a, 9b, 11e, 12b, 14c Dan. 4:31c Dan. 6:27c, 27d, 27e, 28d Dan. 7:9a, 10b, 10e, 10f Dan. 7:13d, 14d Dan. 7:25d	42
	1-2-3	4Q246 col. 2.1a, 2.1b, 2.5a, 2.5b, 2.9a 4Q534 frag 1.1.8a, 1.1.10b 4Q542 frag. 1.1.1b, 1.1.8b, 1.1.8d-9a 4Q541 frag. 9.1.3b, 9.1.3c, 9.1.3d; frag. 24.2.4b 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.18c, 1.1.19b, 1.1.21b α , 1.1.21bb 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.3b, 3.1.5b Dan. 3:33c, 33d Dan. 4:12e, 14a, 14b Dan. 4:31e, 31f, 32c Dan. 6:27b, 28b Dan. 7:9b, 9c, 9e, 9f; 10a Dan. 7:13c Dan. 7:23c, 24e, 25b, 27d	40
	1-2-4	1QapGen 20.5b 4Q534 frag. 1.1.8c 4Q541 frag. 9.1.2a, 9.1.2b-3a 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.5b, 1.1.20b-21a Dan. 4:8c Dan. 7:9d Dan. 7:13b Dan. 7:27c	10

	Line-Forms	Cola	Total # of cola
	1-3-3	4Q246 col. 2.3b, 2.4b, 2.5-6, 2.6b, 2.6c, 2.7b, 2.8b, 2.8-9 1QapGen 20.4b 4Q534 frag. 1.1.6c, 1.1.11b 4Q542 frag. 1.1.1a, 1.1.3a, 1.1.3b, 1.1.5b, 1.1.6-7a, 1.1.7b 4Q541 frag. 9.1.4c-5a, 9.1.6b, 9.1.6d, 9.1.7c 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.21bd 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.3a, 3.1.4b Dan. 4:8b, 9c, 11d, 13a Dan. 4:31b, 32d Dan. 7:24c, 24d, 25a	33
	1-3-4	4Q246 col. 2.7a 1QapGen 20.4c 4Q534 frag. 1.1.7c, 1.1.8b, 1.1.9a 4Q542 frag. 1.1.2a, 1.1.7c-8a 4Q541 frag. 9.1.5c, 9.1.6c; frag. 24.2.5b 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.5a, 1.1.7b, 1.1.8d, 1.1.12b, 1.1.19a, 1.1.21ab 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.2b, 3.1.3c, 3.1.4e-5a Dan. 4:9d, 9e, 9f, 10b, 12f, 13b, 13c, 14d, 14e, 14f Dan. 7:10c, 10d Dan. 7:14c Dan. 7:23a, 24b	34
	1-3-5	1QapGen 20.2, 20.3a 4Q534 frag. 1.1.9b 4Q541 frag. 9.1.4a 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.6c-7a, 1.1.9b-10a, 1.1.20a, 1.1.21b 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.1a Dan. 4:2b Dan. 4:32a Dan. 7:14a, 14b	13
	1-4-4	4Q246 col. 2.8a 1QapGen 20.3b, 20.3c, 20.5a 4Q542 frag. 1.1.6b, 1.1.10d-11a, 1.1.11b 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.5c-6a, 1.1.16b, 1.1.17c-18a	10
	1-4-5	4Q542 frag. 1.1.10c 4Q541 frag. 24.2.5c-6a 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.6b, 1.1.10b, 1.1.11b Dan. 4:1a Dan. 4:31a	7
	1-4-6	Dan. 4:32b	1

	Line-Forms	Cola	Total # of cola
	1-5-5	4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.17b	1
	2-2-2	4Q534 frag. 1.1.6a Dan. 6:28a Dan. 7:23d	3
	2-3-3	4Q542 frag. 1.1.4b, 1.1.11d-12a 4Q541 frag. 24.2.5a 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.4d Dan. 4:2a Dan. 4:8a Dan. 7:26b	7
	2-3-4	4Q541 frag. 24.2.6b 4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.10c-11a Dan. 4:31d Dan. 7:25c	4
	2-4-4	4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.13b Dan. 4:11a, 11b, 11c Dan. 7:26a	5
	2-4-5	4QLevi ^a frag. 1.1.9a, 1.1.11c-12a 4QDan ^a frag. 3.1.2c Dan. 7:27e	4
	3-4-5	4Q541 frag. 24.2.4a	1
	TOTAL		252

Conclusions: The chart provides the distribution of the various line forms within the Aramaic poetic texts. From the data above we can make several preliminary conclusions:

- The dominant line type in Aramaic poetry in Qumran is: 1 clause, 2-3 phrases, and 3-4 words. Of course, the data above cannot account for the metrical balance between the cola within a poetic line. For that, specific texts need to be reexamined.

- The poetry of Daniel and Qumran Aramaic are nearly identical. Given the wide range of authors of the various texts under examination, it suggests that there was a general sense of what was poetry.
- Of the 27 different line-forms, 4 were clearly the most common: 42 cola were 1-2-2; 40 were 1-2-3; 33 were 1-3-3; and 34 were 1-3-4. These 4 line-forms comprised 149 cola. This is approximately 59% of the total amount of cola. It seems clear that there is a general sense of understanding what makes a poetic text terse.
- The number of line-forms in the outer edges of the chart above is not infrequent. There were a number of occurrences of line-forms on the outer extremes of the chart above. For example, there were 7 cola with the line-form 0-2-3, 4 with 0-1-3, 7 with 0-2-2, and 7 with 0-2-3. This constitutes nearly 10% of the total amount of cola. On the other extreme, there were 7 cola with the line-form 2-3-3, 4 with 2-3-4, 5 with 2-4-4, and 4 with 2-4-5. This constitutes approximately 8% of the total amount of cola. Although the dominant line-form of 1-2/3-3/4 is clear and undeniable, the data above also suggests cola in Aramaic poetry can not unfrequently be longer than what might be expected. The data above could easily be misinterpreted to mean that Aramaic poetic lines all fall into the parameters of the dominant line-form when in fact a cola can be longer by comparison without calling into question the poetic quality of that line.

10.3 STROPHIC ORGANIZATION

As was demonstrated throughout this study, the formation of strophes was often very intricate and detailed. The most common method was thematic unity. That seemed to be the common means in every case. In addition to this thematic organization there were various other methods used.

Like the discussion on parallelism and terseness above, the list provided below is intended to be an exhaustive representation of the means used and observed in the Aramaic corpus investigated in this study. Examples are provided below for reference. For a more detailed treatment on any specific use, please refer to the analysis of the examples found within their respective chapters.

1. **Separation of Word-Pairs:** Often a word pair in a line was divided where each word became the thematic focus for the subsequent lines or even strophes:
 - a) 4QDan^a frag. 3.2.1-4=Dan. 2:20-22.
2. **Literary “Markers”:** A word, or phrase were used to mark the beginning and even the end of the strophic unit:
 - a) 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5 and 9-10, where imperatives marked the beginning of each strophic unit.
 - b) 4Q534 frag. 1.1.5, 11 uses two *vacats* to mark the strophe.
 - c) Dan. 4, where the use of the particle לל marked the start of a new stanza unit in v.7 and 10.

- d) Dan. 4:12 uses two finite verbs, one at each end of the strophe. These are the only finite verbs in that strophic unit; cf. Dan. 7:9-10 which uses the same verb (נָתַן) as its markers; Dan. 7:27 where the strophe begins and ends with a metrically imbalanced line. The imbalanced terseness, syntax and vocabulary is similar in both lines.
 - e) Dan. 7 where the two major images to be interpreted from a previous vision was specifically mentioned in a scribal notation in v.23 and 24.
3. **Division of a poetic line:** A bicolon is divided and placed at the beginning and end of a strophe to mark its parameters, or relocated in such a way to bring multiple lines of poetry together to form a larger strophe.
- a) 4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-5.
 - b) Dan. 4:9
4. **Chiasm:**
- a) Dan. 4:7-8.
5. **Alliteration:** The repetitive occurrence of a single phoneme was used to tie strophes together.
- a) Dan. 4:12 had the repetitive use of the preposition *bet* at the start of each colon.
6. **Alternation:** Within a strophe two concepts are alternating.
- a) Dan. 4:12, in addition to the repetition of *bet*, that preposition alternated between its instrumental and locative uses.
 - b) Dan. 7:25 had the alternation between two themes: blasphemy of a king and his persecution of the holy ones.
7. **Progression:** Within a strophic unit, there is a sense of thematic progression.
- a) 1QapGen 20:2-8 – the entire poem is essentially a progression from the face to the hands/feet of Sarai.
 - b) Dan. 7:9-10 has a numeric progression. The strophe begins where a single figure is introduced, namely the “Ancient of Days.” From this point, the poem develops the numeric image until it finally reaches the innumerableness of the angelic council.

8. **Repetition:** Certain words, phrases, or even syntactic concepts are repeated through a section that binds it into a strophe.
- a) 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-10 uses an intriguing repetition chain where a series of repeated words in sequence create that strophe.
 - b) 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.11-18 uses the verb-object bond of “teach-wisdom” in each line of this strophe.
 - c) 4Q542 frag. 1.1 – each strophic unit begins by referencing the “fathers.”
 - d) 4Q541 frag. 9.1.3-5 repeats certain key words throughout this section.

Conclusions:

- Strophic units seem to be an integral part of Aramaic poetry. As mentioned earlier, this appears to be the case in the examples of Hebrew poetry from Qumran.
- Like parallelism, there seemed to be no limit to the ways in which a strophe could be formed, as is evident from the list above. In general the list above can be grouped into two separate types: 1) *inclusio*, where the beginning and end of that unit is marked off by the use of various means (#1-3 above); 2) *unity*, where there is a general constant found within the internal structure of the strophe (#4-7 above).
- Thematic organization is a constant in every case.

- The average length of a strophe is approximately 2-3 lines. Occasionally, there are some that group together 4 lines, very rarely were there 5-line strophes (see 4QLevi^a for examples of both 4-5 line strophic units).

10.4 IMAGERY

The images used in Aramaic poetry are rich and vivid. The five texts that used images frequently are: 1) 4QLevi^a (fragment from the Aramaic Levi Document; 2) 4Q534, “The Elect of God;” 3) 4Q541, the Apocryphon of Levi; 4) the beauty of Sarah in 1QapGen, 20:2-8; 5) Dan. 7:9-10.

4QLevi^a uses three different metaphors, each of which are designed to encourage the listener (i.e. the sons of Levi) to pursue “truth” and “wisdom.” The first calls truth as “chief” of all their deeds. The image communicates truth as one that will lead the sons of Levi if they grasp it. The second uses harvesting images of “sowing” truth and wisdom. The final image portrays wisdom alone as a treasure house that cannot be gained through military means.

4Q534 personifies three virtues, namely “counsel,” “prudence,” and “wisdom.” The text describes a young child who comes to know “three books.” Although the text as we currently have it does not connect the three virtues with the three books, it is an appealing idea. The text also depicts this child as the “elect of God,” who “fulfills” the “calculations” concerning all the living.

1QapGen 20:2-8 describes the beauty of Sarai. The poem as a whole can possibly be seen as an entire image, where Sarai is the target domain and the source domain is beauty itself. In other words, we are given an illustration on how to comprehend the concept of beauty – Sarai.

Dan. 7:9-10 uses various images to depict the components of the throne of God. God Himself is portrayed as an old man, an “Ancient of Days.” His throne is described with the use of fiery image, surrounded by an innumerable angelic council.

Each image mentioned above is directly connected to the message of the text. For example, 4Q246 is an apocalyptic text that describes a vision and its interpretation. There is one image in that text, which is one that indeed interprets one part of a large image.

10.5 SOUND REPETITION

I distinguish sound repetitions from phonologic parallelism, which is the correspondence of sounds and phonemes between cola. Sound repetition, however, is limited to the context of one colon. Provided below is a list of all the occurrences of sound repetition.

- כ, ל, מ, מְלָכוּתָהּ / מְלָכוּת עֲלֵם / וּשְׁלֹטָנָה עִם־דָּר וְדָר (Dan. 3:33 MT) – repetition of מ, ל, כ in the A-colon and ד and ד in the B-colon.
- ט, ל, ש, דִּי שְׁלֹטָנָהּ / שְׁלֹטָן עֲלֵם / וּמְלָכוּתָהּ עִם־דָּר וְדָר (Dan. 4:31 MT) – repetition of ש, ל, ט in the A-colon and ד and ד in the B-colon.

- ל. וְאֵלֶּי אֵילָן בְּנוֹא אֲרָעָא (Dan. 4:7 MT) – repetition of ל.
- נ. נִהָר דִּי־נֹר נָגַד / וְנִפְקֵי מִן־קִדְמוֹהִי (Dan. 7:10 MT) – repetition of נ.
- שְׁלִטְנָה שְׁלִטָּן עַל־ם דִּי־לֹא יַעֲרֶה / וּמְלָכוּתָהּ דִּי־לֹא תִתְחַבֵּל (Dan. 7:14 MT) – repetition of ש, ל, ט in the A-colon and ל and ת in the B-colon.
- ל. וּמַלְיִין לְצַד עֲלֵאָהּ יְמַלְל / וּלְקַדְיִשִּׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין יְבֻלָּא and א.

FINAL THOUGHTS

It is to be expected that Aramaic poetry shares many similarities with Hebrew poetry, especially given the fact that such a similarity has been recognized between Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry. That is not to say that there are no differences. For example, Hebrew poetry often uses a narrow, poetic vocabulary. This is not the case with Aramaic poetry. Hebrew also tends to lack the use of prosaic markers, such as the direct object marker, the definite article, the relativizer אֲשֶׁר. This also is not the case of Aramaic poetry. The similarity that has been demonstrated by this study is the use of key poetic devices – namely parallelism and terseness – in the forming of poetic texts. Both these features in high concentrations make Aramaic and Hebrew poetry poetic. There is little need to continue presuming that they are similar. Aramaic poetry, however, does seem to place more integrity and priority in strophic organizations, which are formed in similar means as a poetic line. Since similar methods seem to also be used in the writing of Hebrew poetry of Qumran, this may not be an Aramaic peculiarity but a development of Jewish poetry as a whole.

The poetic passages in the Book of Daniel have been generally recognized in previous publications. The texts in Qumran, however, have lacked such recognition. Of the six manuscripts examined in this study, the beauty of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon* has received the most poetic analysis and treatment by previous scholars. The poetic nature of the “wisdom-prayer” of Levi to his sons at the end of *ALD* had also been previously identified as poetry, yet lacked any thorough poetic analysis. Due to the magnetic attention of the “son of God” figure in 4Q246, few have identified this manuscript as poetic. The poetic nature of the remaining three documents – the “Elect of God” text (4Q534), the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542), and the *Apocryphon of Levi* (4Q541) – have escaped scholarly recognition until now. Although these various texts were undoubtedly composed by different authors, they do share homogeneity in their poetic use of parallelism, terseness, strophic formations, use of images, and sound repetition. As James Lindemberger says in the introduction to his work on the proverbs of *Ahiqar*, the main difficulty in discerning poetic passages (specifically for him in the *Proverbs of Ahiqar*) is due to the fact that “we have no corpus of Aramaic poetry which we might compare and from which we might derive a more detailed knowledge of poetic conventions in that language.”⁵ This study is intended to provide an early step in developing that model.

⁵ Lindemberger, *Ahiqar*, 24.

APPENDIX A:

POETRY OF JEREMIAH 10:11: A PROPOSAL

Jeremiah 10:11 is part of a larger literary unit that ranges from verse 1 to 16. This consists of an interlacing between the description and mockery of idols with praises of Yahweh. In spite of this, there is a flow and thematic development within this section. Vv. 2-5 begins by exhorting the reader to not learn the idolatrous ways of the nations or to fear them. This is followed by vv.6-7 that praises Yahweh as the great God, whom the nations (and presumably Israel) should rightly fear. Vv.8-9 returns to the theme of the manufacturing of these lifeless idols, which is followed by another praise of Yahweh as the true, living God, the king of eternity. The Aramaic verse 10:11 appears at this point. In light of the identity of Yahweh, 10:11 provides a condemnatory response which Israel is to give to the nations regarding their idols. The final section, vv.12-16, is a closing praise of Yahweh that uses themes seen previously in 10:11. The idols of the nations did not create the heavens and the earth, thus they are to perish. Yahweh is the true Creator and is to be praised and worshipped.

Although the thematic progression within 10:1-16 can be discerned as described above, the actual literary history of the passage is truly complex and has been discussed

in detail by scholars.¹ The wide variances in the ancient versions also attest to its literary complexity.² Of course, 10:11 is a crux on various levels: why is this in Aramaic, what precise purpose does it serve within the context of 10:1-16, was it incorporated into the passage or was it always part of the original composition, why does it utilize two different words for “earth” (אַרְקָא and אַרְעָא)? As compelling as it may be to pursue the answer to these questions, I will limit my comments to a proposed poetic analysis.

A single Aramaic verse in the context of a Hebrew text raises the question on whether this verse is indeed poetry. The assumption in earlier commentators is that 10:11 is not poetry but prose. The poetic nature of this passage can possibly be determined by analyzing the other poetic lines in 10:1-16. A simple reading of Jer. 10:11 is “Thus you shall say to them: ‘Let the gods who did not make the heavens and the earth perish from the earth and these heavens.’” As a point of discussion for the proposed analysis below, it should be pointed that in this reading the demonstrative אֵלֶּה is interpreted as describing אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּשָׁמַיָּא וְאֲרֻקָּא לֹא עֲבָדוּ יְיָ בָּרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל, and the subject of the verb יִשְׂרָאֵל is אֱלֹהֵי הַיָּשָׁמַיָּא וְאֲרֻקָּא.

The proposed poetic identity of this verse requires a different grammatical analysis than what was presented above. The proposed poetic line would be a bicolon

¹ For such detailed descriptions on the literary intricacies of Jer. 10:1-16, see William McKane, *Jeremiah 1, I-XXV* (ICC; Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 217-220, “The History of the Text of Jeremiah 10, 1-16,” in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor* (ed. A. Caquot et al.; AOAT 215; Butzon & Bercker: Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 297-304; William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 1, 1-25* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 324-328.

² Verses 6-8 and 10 are present in the MT, but absent in the LXX. Verse 9 is present in the LXX, but after יִשְׂרָאֵל in v.5 of the MT. In fact, the LXX places these verses in a different sequence than the MT: vv.1-4, 9, and 5. In 4QJer^b, there is no room on the manuscript for MT vv.6-8, and 10. 4QJer^a, however, does have room for v.10; the manuscript is torn so that the presence of v.10 and the immediately preceding verses 6-8 cannot be determined with any certainty. Interestingly, each of these versions all have the Aramaic line of Jer. 10:11.

where the A-colon is a preposed topic. The resumption is in the final element in the B-colon, אֵלֶּה, which is used substantively serving as the subject of the verb יִאבְדּוּ.³

Therefore, at a broad level, the A-colon is syntactically dependent upon the B-colon.

This type of parallelism – where the A-colon is a preposed topic resumed by an element in the B-colon – is not unique to this passage; it is also attested in two other poetic lines within 10:1-16. V.3c-4a is a similar bicolon with the identical type of parallel as 10:11, where the A-colon, מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵי־חָרָשׁ בַּמַּעַצָּד, is preposed and resumed in the object suffix יִפְהֹג in the B-colon. Thus, I would translate that line as “(As for) the work of the hands of a craftsman with a chisel / with silver and gold he beautifies it //.” Another example of this type of parallelism is also seen in v.9b. This poetic line is a tricolon, but the parallelism between the A-colon and the B-colon is the same as explained above. The A-colon, מַעֲשֵׂה חָרָשׁ ויְדֵי צוּרָף, is preposed and resumed in the third personal plural suffix לְבוֹשָׁם within the B-colon. “(As for) the work of the craftsman and the hands of the metal-smith / their clothing is violet and purple //.” There is a high concentration of the use of preposed elements in 10:1-16. Beyond its use to coordinate cola together, it is also seen internally within single cola in v.3a, 3b,⁴ and 8b. It appears to have been a preferred writing technique of the poet. Jer. 10:11, thus, demonstrates this use of parallelism which makes it poetically native within the context of 10:1-16.

³ More will be said below regarding the multifaceted layers that make up the parallelism of this verse.

⁴ In this colon I suggest that עֵץ is preposed and resumed in the direct object suffix on the verb כָּרְתוּ. Thus, I translate as “(As for) a tree, he cuts it from a forest.” This also appears to be the interpretation taken by the Masoretes since the accent above עֵץ is the disjunctive accent pašṭā².

STICHOMETRY OF JEREMIAH 10:11 (MT)

Six fragmentary copies of the Book of Jeremiah have been discovered in Qumran. One was discovered in Cave 2.⁵ The remaining five were from Cave 4.⁶ A few words and phrases of Jer. 10:11 are extant in 4QJer^a. Although this manuscript is similar to the MT, there are a few variants. These are mentioned below.

- כְּדִנָּה⁹ תֹּאמְרוּ⁸ לָהֶם⁷
- 1A אֱלֹהִיָּא דִּי־שְׁמִיָּא וְאַרְקָא לֹא עֲבָדוּ
1B יֵאבְדוּ מֵאַרְעָא¹¹ וּמִן־תַּחֲתֵּי שְׁמִיָּא אֱלֹהִיָּא¹⁰

TRANSLATION OF JEREMIAH 10:11 (MT)

Thus you shall say to them,

- 1A “(As for) the gods who did not make the heavens and the earth,
1B Let these perish from the earth and from under the heavens.”

⁵ See Maurice Baillet, “Textes des grottes 2Q,” in *Les ‘Petites Grottes’ de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, et R. de Vaux; *DJD III*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 62-69

⁶ See Emanuel Tov, “4QJer^a, 4QJer^b, 4QJer^c, 4QJer^d, 4QJer^e,” in *Qumrân Cave 4 X: The Prophets* (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al; *DJD XV*; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 145-207.

⁷ 4QJer^a col. 5.3 spells this defectively, לָהֶם; see Tov, *DJD XV*, 158.

⁸ 4QJer^a col. 5.3, the final *nun* in תֹּאמְרוּן is supralinear in the manuscript. A similar supralinear *nun* occurs in col. 11.14 (Jer. 17:24); see Tov, *DJD XV*, 158.

⁹ 4QJer^a col. 5.3, the right portion of הָ from the word כְּדִנָּה is visible; see Tov, *DJD XV*, 158.

¹⁰ 4QJer^a col. 5.4 begins with this final word of the verse; see Tov, *DJD XV*, 158.

¹¹ 4QJer^b, line 7 shows only the phrase מִן אַרְעָא יֵאבְדוּ. The prepositional phrase מִן אַרְעָא is without the assimilation of *nun*; see Tov, *DJD XV*, 173.

POETIC FEATURES OF JEREMIAH 10:11 (MT)

PARALLELISM OF JEREMIAH 10:11 (MT)

The poetic line begins after the opening phrase, כְּדָנָהּ תִּאמְרוּן לַהֹם. In addition to the syntactic parallelism mentioned above (i.e. the preposed topic of the A-colon resumed in the B-colon by the demonstrative אֵלֶּה), there is also a semantic correlation. The A-colon mentions the idols of the nations negatively – they are the gods “who did not make the heavens and the earth.” Although the B-colon does not use the negative particle, it does describe a negative future for these idols – “let them perish.”

There is a striking and intricate chiasmic structure amongst the individual elements of the bicolon that has been well analyzed in past works in the Book of Jeremiah:



Given this chiasm, the parallelism between each pair becomes self-evident. The A-elements correspond אֱלֹהֵי־אֶרֶץ in the A-colon with אֱלֹהֶּה in the B-colon. One can easily see the similarities that these words share. As mentioned above, אֱלֹהֶּה in the B-colon is the resumption of the preposed topic, אֱלֹהֵי־הַיָּשָׁמַיִם וְאֶרֶץ לֹא עָבְדוּ, in the A-colon. Thus, it is the subject of the finite verb in the B-colon, יֵאבְדוּ.

The B elements are not merely *corresponding* words. Rather, they are the *identical* word, שָׁמַיִם. The pairing of “heavens” and “earth” is common throughout the Hebrew Old Testament. They are in reverse order in the B-colon.

The C elements correspond two different spellings for the same word “earth” – אֶרֶץ and אֲרֶץ. Walter Baumgartner has suggested that the date of 10:11 is the fifth-century BCE on the basis of this alternation since it was characteristic of the fifth century to use אֶרֶץ, and even long before.¹² Spelling variations, however, need not date the origins of a passage. From a poetic analysis, the use of an older term in contrast to a contemporary one fits the message of the line. The idols of the nations are depicted in the A-colon as “gods who did not make the heavens and the earth.” The use of an older form of “earth” gives the line an archaic sense, in which the “earth” envisioned is an ancient world. Only the “true” and “living” God (v.10) is the Creator of this world by “His power” and “His wisdom” (v.12a). These idols, however, in the B-colon will suffer an

¹² Walter Baumgartner, “Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel, ZAW 45 (1927), 101.

ill-fated destiny of destruction where they will perish “from the earth” of their own period.

The D elements are the two finite verbs respectively. The A-colon uses the perfect, whereas the B-colon uses a short imperfect (jussive).

Due to the similarity of each pair above, a phonologic correspondence is also apparent. The A elements in the chiasm above parallel the ל; the remaining consonants are more difficult to determine given the silent quality of the א. The B elements parallel ש, נ, and י, the C elements נ and the D element parallel the כ and ד. Such correspondences may be coincidental due to repetition of words, such as “heavens” and “earth” in the B and C elements above. This does not account, however, for the phonemic parallelism that is evident in the A and D elements.

In summary the parallelism in this bicolon can be observed at various levels. A general negativity is communicated in each colon where the A-colon uses the *negative* particle אֵל and the B-colon describes the pending *negative* future for the idols of the nations. This semantic parallelism, however, is apparently limited only at this broad level. The individual components within each colon do not consistently follow a semantic correspondence. The only example of this is the repetitious use of words (e.g. אֲרָקָא / אֲרָעָא and שְׁמֵיָא). Grammatically, the individual elements do not correspond. The repeated words mentioned previously serve different grammatical functions from one colon to the next. Whereas שְׁמֵיָא and אֲרָקָא / אֲרָעָא in the A-colon are the direct objects

of a finite verb in a relative clause, they are in two separate prepositional phrases in the B-colon. What is clear is that the A-colon (the subject) is syntactically dependent to the B-colon (the predicate), as mentioned above. Thus, at the semantic and syntactic levels, the parallelism in this line is best observed not between the individual elements, but rather from the broad view of the relations between the two cola. From the chiasmic structure of the verse, a phonemic parallelism seems much more apparent, consistent and discernible between the individual elements.¹³ Although the most common forms of parallelism as observed and commented upon by scholars are the semantic and syntactic type, the phonologic kind as seen in this line should not be judged to be a “lesser” form of parallelism, thus a lesser quality of poetry.¹⁴ It should be analyzed as a deeper appreciation of the multidimensional nature of parallelism as utilized by poets in Aramaic poetry.

TERSENESS OF JEREMIAH 10:11

	Line #	Number of Clauses	Number of Phrasal Constituents	Number of Words
	1A	0	1	5
	1B	1	4	4

¹³ Leslie Allen comments on the “assonance” that is expressed by the chiasmic structure; see Leslie Allen, *Jeremiah (OTL)* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 127.

¹⁴ See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 325-326, where he describes the “raggedness” of the poem in this passage. He also says that “there is no question that the passage gives an impression of carelessness.”

The initial observation of this bicolon gives the impression of a well balanced poetic line due to the obvious chiastic structure above. Further analysis suggests that this is not as well balanced as it may appear. Since the A-colon is essentially a preposed topic with a relative clause, I do not count this as a clausal constituent. It is dependent upon the B-colon, which can grammatically stand independent of the A-colon. Also, since the A-colon is a preposed topic, I treat it as a single phrasal constituent. In the B-colon אֲרַעֲבֶנָּה and אֶשְׂמִי are governed by their own separate preposition, thus they are counted as two separate phrasal constituents. The balance of the line is brought by the exact number of words in each colon. This broad picture of the bicolon overrides the grammatical particulars of the line and provides the impression of a balanced poetic line. Although it seems evident that the poet took considerable care to create the chiastic arrangement, he did not seem so concerned with the precise balance at the semantic or grammatical level. The preposed topic of the A-colon could easily have been a main clause by not using the relative pronoun. In other words, the A-colon could have read, “The gods (referring to the idols) did not make the heavens and the earth.” This would bring the line into better balance at numerous levels with the B-colon. The reasons for which he did not do so is unknown, but it would seem that his interest was not to balance the bicolon at that level.

APPENDIX B:
POETRY OF 4QLEVI^B FROM THE ARAMAIC LEVI DOCUMENT

A word must be said in regards to the text witness of *ALD* in 4QLevi^b, which is the record of a prayer of Levi.¹ A translation of this prayer is also found in the Greek manuscript from Mount Athos, Monastery of Koutloumous, Cod. 39 (catal. no. 3108) of the eleventh century.² This Greek fragment is significant since it contains several additional passages to the text of the *Testament of Levi* previously unknown. The first³ of these additions is the Prayer of Levi, the original of which is preserved for the most part with the Aramaic fragments of 4QLevi^b frag. 1 and 2. According to Stone and Greenfield, this overlap implies that the Greek text of the prayer found in the Koutloumous manuscript is indeed an insertion within the *Testament of Levi* and also a translation of part of that parallel section of *ALD*.⁴ Of all the fragments in 4QLevi^b, only fragments 1 and 2 witness to those parallel sections with the Greek Koutloumous

¹ This fragment was first published by J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen," *RB* 62 (1955), 398-408.

² For further details, see M. de Jonge et al, *Testaments*. Bibliography on the manuscript may be found there.

³ The second deals with cultic matters and is inserted in the manuscript following *TPL* 18:2. The third interpolated passage, following *TPL* 7:2, apparently is of Christian origin and deals with various doctrinal and other matters. See M. de Jonge et al, *Testaments*, xvii.

⁴ Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," *JBL* 112/2 (1993), 247.

manuscript.⁵ Both fragments are triangular shaped. From the photographs it is evident that these were originally two sheets that were sewn together to form one larger triangular shaped manuscript; stitching marks remain in the documents which are clear and visible. The top portion of this joined manuscript is missing. Stone and Greenfield offer a reconstructed translation of this prayer which includes those parts of the extant text in the fragments of 4QLevi^b, filled out from the Koutlounous manuscript which corresponds to the missing top portions of fragments 1 and 2.⁶ From their translation, it becomes evident that this prayer demonstrates the features of poetry that are also present in other Aramaic poems. Provided below is their translation which I set out stichometrically so that the poetic nature of the text can be better appreciated. Text that survived in Aramaic is in **bold characters**. Unfortunately, no further description can be provided in regards to the poetic features and devices that were used since so little of the Aramaic text of the prayer has been preserved. Stone and Greenfield do note, however, the following series of word-pairs that are perceivable from the Aramaic text that demonstrates a small portion of the original poetic features in this text: זנותא and באישתא; טב and שפיר; חכמה and מנרע; גבורה and [עטה].

⁵ There are six fragments preserved in 4QLevi^b. Fragments 3 and 4 seem to deal with the Dinah story, which is a major topic in *Testament of Levi*. Frag. 5 contains the expression כהנות עלמא “eternal priesthood” which confirms its Levitical character.

⁶ This reconstruction can be found in numerous publications: Stone and Greenfield, “Prayer of Levi,” 255-259; *Aramaic Levi Document*, 60-63; and in the *editio princeps* in the *DJD* volume.

	From 4QLevi ^b frag. 1	Translation
	Line 5] this
	Line 6	Then I laundered my garments And having purified them with pure water
	Line 7	I also [washed] my whole self in living water, And I made all my paths upright.
	Line 8	Then I lifted up my eyes ⁷ And my countenance to heaven , And I opened my mouth and spoke.
	Line 9	And I stretched out the fingers of my hands ⁸ And my hand [] for truth over against (towards) the holy ones,
	Line 10	And I prayed and said , “ O Lord, you know all hearts,
	Line 11	And you alone understand all the thoughts of minds.
	Line 12	And now my children are with me, And grant me all the paths of truth .
	Line 13	Make far from me, O Lord, the unrighteous spirit, And evil thought and fornication , And turn pride away from me.
	Line 14	Let there be shown to me, O Lord, the holy spirit, And counsel and wisdom and knowledge And grant me strength ,
	Line 15	In order to do that which is pleasing to you And find favor before you , ⁹

⁷ Stone and Greenfield read this line as joined with what preceded and they read a bicolon (see *Aramaic Levi Document*, 60). From their translation, it is a clear example of verb gapping which requires this colon to be the B-colon that is distinct with what comes before. This, then, would create a tri-colon.

⁸ The word here is **פפ**, literally “palms.”

	Line 16	And to praise your words with me, O Lord.And that which is pleasant and good before you.
	Line 17	And let not any satan have power over me, To make me stray from your path.
	Line 18	And have mercy upon me and bring me forward, To be your servant and to minister well to you.
	From Greek manuscript	
		So that the wall of your peace is around me, And let the shelter of your power shelter me from every evil. Wherefore, giving over even lawlessness, Wipe it out from under the heaven, And end lawlessness from the face of the earth. Purify my heart, Lord, from all impurity, And let me, myself, be raised to you. And turn not your countenance aside From the son of your servant Jacob.

⁹ The phrase is literally לא[שכחה רחמין, meaning “to find your favor.”

	From 4QLevi ^b frag. 2 ¹⁰	
	Line 5	[
	Line 6	You, O Lord , blessed Abraham my father And Sarah my mother.
	Line 7	And you said (that you would) give them a righteous seed blessed forever.
	Line 8	Hearken also to the prayer of your servant Levi to be close to you,
	Line 9	And make (me) a participant in your words, To do true judgment for all time, Me and my children For all the generations of the ages.
	Line 10	And do not remove the son of your servant From your countenance all the days of the world.

¹⁰ The stichometry of Stone and Greenfield in fragment 2 is difficult to discern in regards to poetry. A glance of their treatment does not reveal the clear paralleling of poetic lines as is evident in fragment 1.

APPENDIX C:

TRANSCRIPTIONS, STICHOMETRIES, AND TRANSLATIONS

For convenience and practicality transcription of Qumran texts (when available), stichometric reconstruction and translation of all the poetic passages discussed in this study are provided below.

Transcription of 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:19-24)

1. לאלה שמיא ענה דניאל [וא]מר להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך [מן ע]למא ועד עלמא די
2. חכמתא וגברתא די לה [יא^{v.21}] והוא משנא [עד]ניא וזמניא מהעדה [מן]לכין ומהקים מלכין
3. יהב חכמתא לחכימין ומנדעא לידעי ב[י]נה^{v.22} הוא גלא עמיקתא ומסתרתא וידע מה
4. בחשוכא ונהירא [עמה] שר[א^{v.23}] לך לאלה אבהתי מהודא ומשבח[אנה] די חכמתא
5. ונהי[] [יהב]ת לי ו[כען]הוד[עתנ]י [די בעינא מנך די מל]ת^{v.24} [ל] []

Stichometry of 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:19-24)

- ענה דניאל [וא]מר^{v.20}
- | | |
|----|--|
| 1A | להוא שמה די אלהא רבא מברך |
| 1B | [מן ע]למא ועד עלמא |
| 1C | די ² חכמתא וגברתא די לה [יא] |
| 2A | והוא משנא ^{v.21} [עד]ניא וזמניא |
| 2B | מהעדה [מן]לכין ומהקים מלכין |

- 3A יִהְיֶה חֲכָמָתָא לְחַכְיָמִין³
 3B וּמִנְדַּעָא לִידְעֵי ב[י]נָה
- 4A הוּא גִלָּא עֲמִיקְתָּא וּמִסְתָּרָתָא^{v.22}
 4B וִידַע מָה⁴ בְּחִשּׁוּכָא
 4C וְנִהִירָא [עֲמָה] שְׂר[א] []
- 5A לְךָ לֵאלֹהֵי אֲבֹהָתִי^{v.23}
 5B מִהוּדָא וּמִשְׁבַּח[אנָה]
 5C דִּי חֲכָמָתָא⁵ וְנִהִי[] יְהִב[ת] לִי
- 6A ו[כֶּעַן] [הוּד]עֲתָנִי[] דִּי בְעִינָא מִנְךָ
 6B דִּי מַלְ[ת] [] ל[] []

Translation of 4QDan^a frag. 3.1.1-5 (Dan. 2:19-24)

- ^{v.20} *Daniel answered and said,*
- 1A *May the name of the great God be blessed /*
 1B *From eternity and until eternity /*
 1C *For the wisdom and strength belongs to Him //*
- 2A ^{v.21} *He changes the times and seasons /*
 2B *He removes kings and establishes kings //*
- 3A *He gives wisdom to the wise /*
 3B *Knowledge to the knowers of discernment //*
- 4A ^{v.22} *He reveals the deep and hidden things /*
 4B *And He knows what is in the darkness /*
 4C *And the light dwells with him //*
- 5A ^{v.23} *To you, to the God of my fathers /*
 5B *I give thanks and praise /*
 5C *For you have given me wisdom and li[ght] //*
- 6A *And now, you have made known to me what we have asked of you /*
 6B *For the word of [] //*

Stichometry of Daniel 3:33-4:2 (MT)

- 1A אֲתוּהִי כְּמֶה רַב־כִּין^{v.33}
1B וְתִמְהוּהִי כְּמֶה תִּקְיִין
- 2A מִלְּכוּתָהּ מִלְּכוּת עֲלָם
2B וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ עִם־דָּר וְדָר:
- 3A אֲנִי נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר שְׁלָה הָיִיתִי בְּבֵיתִי^{v.1}
3B וְרַעְנָן בְּהִיכְלִי:
- 4A חֲלֵם חֲזִית וַיִּדְחַלְנִי^{v.2}
4B וַהֲרַהֲרִין עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי וַחֲזוֹן רֹאשִׁי יִבְהַלְנִי:

Translation of Daniel 3:33-4:2 (MT)

- 1A ^{v.33} *How great are His signs /*
1B *How mighty are His wonders //*
- 2A *His kingdom is an eternal kingdom /*
2B *His dominion is from generation to generation //*
- 3A ^{v.1} *I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at ease in my house /*
3B *Flourishing in my palace //*
- 4A ^{v.2} *I saw a dream and it frightened me /*
4B *And the fantasies on my bed and the visions of my head disturbed me //*

Stichometry of Daniel 4:7b-14 (MT)

v.7 וַחֲזוֹנִי רֹאשִׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי חֲזָה הָיְתָה

1A וְאֵלֹהֵי אֵילָן בְּגוֹא אֶרֶעָא
1B וְרוּמָה שְׁגִיָּא:

2A רְבָה אֵילָנָא וַחֲקָף v.8
2B וְרוּמָה יִמְטָא לְשִׁמְיָא
2C וַחֲזוֹתָהּ לְסוּף כָּל־אֶרֶעָא:

3A עָפְיָה שְׁפִיר v.9
3B וְאַנְבָּה שְׁגִיָּא
3C וּמִזֹּון לְכָל־בָּהּ

4A תַּחְתּוֹהִי תַטְלִל חַיּוֹת בְּרָא
4B וּבְעִנְפוֹהִי יְדוּרֵן צִפְרֵי שְׁמִיָּא
4C וּמִנָּה יִתְזִין כָּל־בִּשְׂרָא:

v.10 חֲזָה הָיְתָה בְּחֲזוֹנִי רֹאשִׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבִי

5A וְאֵלֹהֵי עִיר וְקִדְיֵשׁ מִן־שְׁמִיָּא נָחַת:
5B קָרָא בְּחִיל וּבֵן אָמֹר v.11

6A גָּדוּ אֵילָנָא וְקִצְצוּ עִנְפוֹהִי
6B אֲתִירוּ עָפְיָהּ וּבִדְרוּ אֲנָבָה

7A תִּגְדַּח חַיּוֹתָא מִן־תַּחְתּוֹהִי
7B וְצִפְרֵיָא מִן־עִנְפוֹהִי:

8A בְּרִם עֵקֶר שְׁרִשׁוֹהִי v.12
8B בְּאֶרֶעָא שְׁבִקוּ
8C וּבְאַסּוּר דִּי־פְרוּזִל וּנְחָשׁ

9A בְּדַחְתָּא דִּי בְרָא
9B וּבִטְלָ שְׁמִיָּא יִצְטַבַּע
9C וְעַם־חַיּוֹתָא חִלְקָהּ בְּעֵשֶׁב אֶרֶעָא:

- 10A לְבָבָהּ מִן־אִנְשָׁא יִשְׁנֹן^{v.13}
 10B וּלְבַב חַיָּוָה יִתְיַהֵב לָהּ
 10C וּשְׂבַעָה עֲדָנִין יַחְלִפֹן עָלֶיהָ:
 11A בְּגִזְרֵת עִירִין פִּתְגָמָא^{v.14}
 11B וּמֵאִמָּר קִדִּישִׁין שְׁאַלְתָּא
 12A עַד־דְּבִרְתָּ הֵי יִנְדַּעֹן חַיָּיָא
 12B דִּי־שְׁלִיט עֲלָאָה בְּמַלְכוּת אִנְשָׁא
 13A וּלְמִן־דִּי יֵצֵא יִתְנַה
 13B וּשְׁפַל אִנְשִׁים יָקִים עָלֶיהָ:

Translation of Daniel 4:7b-14 (MT)

- ^{v.7} *And I saw the visions of my head upon my bed*
- 1A *And behold, there was a tree in the middle of the earth /*
 1B *And its height was great //*
- ^{v.8} *The tree grew great and became strong /*
 2B *Its height reached to the heavens /*
 2C *The sight of it was to the ends of all the earth //*
- ^{v.9} *Its leaves were beautiful /*
 3B *And its fruits were abundant /*
 3C *And food for all was in it //*
- 4A *Under it the beasts of the field find shade /*
 4B *And in its branches the birds of the heavens dwelt /*
 4C *And from it all flesh was nourished //*
- ^{v.10} *I was seeing in the vision of my head upon my bed*
- 5A *And behold, a watcher, yes, a holy one descended from heaven /*
 5B ^{v.11} *He called aloud and said thus: //*
- 6A *Cut down the tree and cut off its branches /*
 6B *Make fall its leaves and scatter its fruits //*

- 7A *Let the beasts flee from under it /*
7B *And the birds from its branches //*
- 8A ^{v.12} *However, the stump /*
8B *Leave in the earth /*
8C *But in bonds of iron and bronze //*
- 9A *In the grass of the field /*
9B *And let it get wet with the dew of heaven /*
9C *And his portion is in the grass of the earth with the beasts //*
- 10A ^{v.13} *Let his heart be changed from human /*
10B *And let the heart of a beast be given to him /*
10C *And let seven years pass over him //*
- 11A ^{v.14} *By the decree of the watchers is the pronouncement /*
11B *And the command of the holy ones is the decision //*
- 12A *So that the living shall know /*
12B *That the Most High has dominion over the kingdom of man //*
- 13A *And to whom He desires He will give it /*
13B *And the lowest of men He will establish over it //*

Stichometry of Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

- וּלְקַצֵּת יוֹמֶיהָ ^{v.31}
- 1A אָנֹכִי נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר עֵינַי לַשָּׁמַיִם נִטְלֵת
- 1B וּמִנְדְּעִי עָלַי יָחֻב
- 2A וּלְעֹלָאָה בִּרְכָת
- 2B וּלְחַי עֲלֵמָא שְׁבַחַת וְהִדְרַת
- 3A דִּי שְׁלֹטְנָהּ שְׁלֹטָן עָלַם
- 3B וּמַלְכוּתָהּ עִם־דֵּר וְדֵר:
- 4A וְכָל־דִּירֵי אֶרֶץ כְּלָהּ חֲשִׁיבִין ^{v.32}
- 4B וְכַמְצֻבִיָּה עֲבַד בְּחִיל שְׁמַיָא וְדִירֵי אֶרֶץ
- 5A וְלֹא אִיתִי הִי־יִמְחָא בִידָהּ
- 5B וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מָה עָבַדְתָּ:

Translation of Daniel 4:31-32 (MT)

- ^{v.31}At the end of days
- 1A I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven /
- 1B And my reason returned to me //
- 2A I blessed the Most High /
- 2B I praised and glorified the Living One of eternity //
- 3A Whose dominion is an eternal dominion /
- 3B And whose reign is with every generation //
- 4A ^{v.32}And all the inhabitants of the earth are considered as nothing /
- 4B And He does as He wishes with the hosts of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth //
- 5A And no one can stay His hand /
- 5B And say to Him, "What have you done?" //

Stichometry of Daniel 6:27b-28 (MT)

- 1A הֵי־הוּא | אֱלֹהֵא חַיָּא ^{v.27}
1B וְקִיָּם לְעַלְמִין
- 2A וּמַלְכוּתָהּ הֵי־לֹא תִתְּחַבֵּל
2B וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ עַד־סוּפָא:
- 3A מְשִׁיב וּמַצִּיל ^{v.28}
3B וְעֹבֵד אֲתִין וְתַמְהִין
3C בְּשָׁמַיָא וּבָאֲרֶעָא
- 4A הֵי שִׁיבִיב לְדַנְיָאֵל
4B מִן־יַד אַרְיוֹתָא:

Translation of Daniel 6:27b-28 (MT)

- 1A ^{v.27} *For He is the Living God /*
1B *And the One who endures forever //*
- 2A *His kingdom will not be harmed /*
2B *His dominion is until the end //*
- 3A ^{v.28} *He saves and delivers /*
3B *And He performs signs and wonders /*
3C *In the heavens and in the earth //*
- 4A *For He saved Daniel /*
4B *From the power of the lions //*

Stichometry of Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

	^{v.9} חָזָה הָיִית עַד הָי
1A	כָּרְסוֹן רְמִיז
1B	וְעֵתִיק יוֹמִין יִתָּב
2A	לְבוּשָׁה כְּתֹלֵג חֲזֹר
2B	וְשַׁעַר רֹאשָׁה כְּעֶמֶר נָקֵא
3A	כְּרִסִּיהָ שְׁבִיבִין דִּי־נֹר
3B	גִּלְגְּלוּהִי נֹר דִּלְק:
4A	^{v.10} נָהַר דִּי־נֹר נָגַד
4B	וְנִפְק מִן־קִדְמוּהִי
5A	אֶלֶף אֲלָפִין יִשְׁמְשׁוּנָה
5B	וְרִבּוֹ רִבְבִין קִדְמוּהִי יְקוּמוֹן
6A	דִּינָא יִתָּב
6B	וְסִפְרִין פְּתִיחוֹ:

Translation of Daniel 7:9-10 (MT)

	^{v.9} <i>I was looking until...</i>
1A	<i>Thrones were set /</i>
1B	<i>And the Ancient of Days sat //</i>
2A	<i>His clothes were like white snow /</i>
2B	<i>The hair of His head was like the wool of a lamb //</i>
3A	<i>His throne was flames of fire /</i>
3B	<i>Its wheels were a burning fire //</i>
4A	^{v.10} <i>A river of fire flowed /</i>
4B	<i>And it came out from before Him //</i>
5A	<i>A thousand of thousands were serving Him /</i>
5B	<i>And ten thousand of ten thousand were standing before Him //</i>
6A	<i>The court sat /</i>
6B	<i>And books were opened //</i>

Stichometry of Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

- חֲזָה הָיִיתָ בְּחֻזֵּי לַיְלָא^{v.13}
- 1A וְאָרְוָה עִם־עַנְנֵי שָׁמַיָא
1B כְּבָר אִנָּשׁ אֶתְהָה הָוָה
- 2A וְעַד־עֵתִיק יִזְמִינָא מָטָה
2B וְקִדְמוּהִי תִקְרְבוּהִי
- 3A וְלֵה יִהְיֶה שְׁלֹטָן וְיִקְרַר וּמַלְכוּ
3B וְכָל עַמֻּמֵּיָא אִמְיָא וְלִשְׁנֵיָא לָהּ יִפְלַחוּ
- 4A שְׁלֹטָנָהּ שְׁלֹטָן עָלַם דִּי־לֹא יַעֲדָה
4B וּמַלְכוּתָהּ דִּי־לֹא תִתְחַבֵּל

Translation of Daniel 7:13-14 (MT)

- ^{v.13}*I was looking in the visions of the night*
- 1A *And behold along with the clouds of the heavens /*
1B *One like a son of a man was coming //*
- 2A *And he came unto the Ancient of Days /*
2B *And they presented him before him //*
- 3A ^{v.14}*And to him was given dominion, glory, and kingship /*
3B *And all peoples, nations, and tongues will serve him //*
- 4A *His dominion is an eternal dominion which does not pass /*
4B *And his kingdom is one that is not harmed //*

Stichometry of Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

v.23 כֵּן אָמַר חִיּוֹתָא רְבִיעִיתָא

- 1A מַלְכוֹ רְבִיעָאָה תְּהוּא בְּאַרְעָא
- 1B דִּי תִשְׁנָא מִן־כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא

- 2A וְתֵאכֹל כָּל־אַרְעָא
- 2B וְתִדְרֹשְׁנָהּ וְתִדְקַנְנָהּ:

v.24 וְקִרְנִיָּא עֶשֶׂר

- 3A מִנָּהּ מַלְכוּתָהּ עֶשְׂרֵה מַלְכִּין יִקְמוּן
- 3B וְאַחֲרָן יָקוּם אַחֲרֵיהוֹן

- 4A וְהוּא יִשְׁנָא מִן־קִדְמָיָא
- 4B וְתִלְתָּהּ מַלְכִּין יִהְשָׁפֵל:

- 5A v.25 וּמַלְכִּין לְצַד עֲלֵאָהּ יִמְלֹל
- 5B וּלְקַדִּישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין יִבְלֵא

- 6A וַיִּסְבֵּר לְהִשְׁנִיָּהּ זְמַנִּין וְדַת
- 6B וַיִּתְּיֶהבּוֹן בִּידָהּ
- 6C עַד־עָדָן וְעַד־נִין וּפְלַג עָדָן:

- 7A v.26 וְדִינָא יִתֵּב וְשִׁלְטָנָהּ יִתְעַדּוֹן
- 7B לְהִשְׁמָדָהּ וּלְהוֹבְדָהּ עַד־סוּפָא:

- 8A v.27 וּמַלְכוּתָהּ וְשִׁלְטָנָא וּרְבוּתָא
- 8B דִּי מַלְכוּת תַּחֲוֹת כָּל־שְׁמַיָּא
- 8C יִהְיֶיבַת לָעַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֲלִיוֹנִין

- 9A מַלְכוּתָהּ מַלְכוּת עָלָם
- 9B וְכָל־שִׁלְטָנָא לָהּ יִפְלָחוּן וַיִּשְׁתַּמְעוּן:

Translation of Daniel 7:23-27 (MT)

v.23 Thus he said: the fourth beast

1A *A fourth kingdom will be on the earth /*
1B *One which will be different from all the kingdoms //*

2A *And it will consume all the earth /*
2B *And it will trample it and crush it //*

v.24 And the ten horns

3A *Ten kings will arise from that very kingdom /*
3B *And another (king) will arise after them //*

4A *And he will be different than the former ones /*
4B *And he will bring low three kings //*

5A *v.25 And he will speak words against the Exalted One /*
5B *And he will wear down the holy ones of the Most High //*

6A *And he will intend to change times and decrees /*
6B *And they will be given into his hand /*
6C *For a time, times, and half a time //*

7A *v.26 But the court will sit and they will remove his dominion /*
7B *To destroy and annihilate (him) until the end //*

8A *v.27 And the kingdom and dominion and greatness /*
8B *Of the kingdoms under all the heavens /*
8C *Will be given to the people of the holy ones of the Most High //*

9A *Their kingdom will be an eternal kingdom /*
9B *And all the rulers will serve and obey them //*

Transcription of 4Q246 col. 2.1-9

1. ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה כזיקיא
2. די חזיתא כן מלכותה תהוא שנין ימלכון על
3. ארעא וכלא ידשון עם לעם ידוש ומדינה למד[ינ]ה
4. עד יקום עם אל וכל ינוח מן חרב
5. מלכותה מלכות עלם וכלא ארחתה בקשוט ידי[ן]
6. ארעא בקשט וכלא יעבד שלם חרב מן ארעא יסף
7. וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון אל רבא באילה
8. הוא יעבד לה קרב עממין ינתן בידה וכלהן
9. ירמה קדמוהי שלטנה שלטן עלם וכל תהומי [

Stichometry of 4Q246 col. 2.1-9

- | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 1A. | ברה די אל יתאמר ¹ |
| 1B. | ובר עליון יקרונה |
| 2A. | כזיקיא ² די חזיתא |
| 2B. | כן מלכותה תהוא |
| 3A. | שנין ימלכון על ³ ארעא |
| 3B. | וכלא ידשון |
| 4A. | עם לעם ידוש |
| 4B. | ומדינה למד[ינ]ה |
| 5A. | עד יקום עם אל ⁴ |
| 5B. | וכלא ינוח מן חרב |
| 6A. | מלכותה מלכות עלם ⁵ |
| 6B. | וכלא ארחתה בקשוט |
| 7A. | ידי[ן] ⁶ ארעא בקשט |
| 7B. | וכלא יעבד שלם |
| 8A. | חרב מן ארעא יסף |
| 8B. | וכל מדינתא לה יסגדון ⁷ |

- 9A. אל רבא באילה
 9B. הוא יעבד לה קרב⁸
- 10A. עממין ינתן בידה
 10B. וכלהן קרמוהי⁹
- 11A. שלטנה שלטן עלם
 11B. וכל תהומי []

Translation of 4Q246 col. 2.1-9

- 1A. *It will be said (that he is) the son of God /*
 1B. *And the son of the most-high they will call him //*
- 2A. *Like the comets which you saw /*
 2B. *So shall be their kingdom //*
- 3A. *(A few) years they will rule over the earth /*
 3B. *And they will trample everything //*
- 4A. *People will trample people /*
 4B. *Provinces (will trample) provinces //*
- 5A. *Until the people of God arise /*
 5B. *And he will bring rest to everything from the sword //*
- 6A. *His kingdom will be a kingdom of eternity /*
 6B. *All his ways will be righteous //*
- 7A. *He will judge the earth justly /*
 7B. *And he make everyone to be at peace //*
- 8A. *The sword shall cease from the land /*
 8B. *And every province shall pay homage to him //*
- 9A. *The great god will be his strength /*
 9B. *He himself will make war for him/them //*
- 10A. *He will give the nations into his hand /*
 10B. *And all of them he will place before him/them //*
- 11A. *His dominion will be a dominion of eternity /*
 11B. *And all of the deeps... [] //*

Transcription of the Reconstructed text of 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-21b

5. [שמעו למאמר לוי אבוכן ואציתו לפקודי ידיד אל⁸⁴ ו]אנה לכן
6. [מפקד בני ואנה קשטא לכן מחוה חביבי⁸⁵ רא]ש כל עבדכן
7. [יהוה קשטא ועד עלם יהוה עמ]כן [קאם] צדקתא⁸⁶ וקשטא
8. [] תעלון עללה ברי]כה⁸⁷ דזרע טב טב מעל
9. [ודי זרע ביש עלוהי תאב זרע]ה vacat⁸⁸ וכען ספר ומוסר וחכמה
10. [אלפו לבניכן ותהוה חכמתא עמכן] ליקר עלם⁸⁹ די אלף חכמה יקר
11. [הוא לה ודי שאט חכמתא לב]סרון ולשיטו מתיבה⁹⁰ חזו לכן בני
12. [ליוסף אחי מאלף הוא ספר ומוס]ר חכמה ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין
13. [אל תמחלו חכמתא למאלף⁹¹
14. כ]ל גבר די אלף חכמה כל
15. ל [ל]ה לכל מת ומדינה די יהך לה
16. [אח א] בה ולא דמא בה לנכרי ולא
17. [דמה בה לכילני]ן די כלהון י]הבין לה בה יקר בד יכלא צבין
18. [למאלף חכמתה⁹² רחמו]הי שג]י אין ושאלי שלמה רברבין
19. [ועל כרסי די יקר לה מותבי]ן למשמע מלי חכמתה⁹³
20. [עותר רב די יקר היא חכמתה ל]ידעיה ושימה טבה⁹⁴
21. [לכל קניה⁹⁵ הן יאתון מלכין] תקיפ]י ו]עם [רב וחיל פרשין
- 21a. [ורתיכין שניאין עמהן וינסבון נכסי מת ומדינה
- 21b. [ויבוזון כל די בהן אוצרי חכמתא לא יבוזון ולא ישכחון]

Stichometry of the Reconstructed text of 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-21b

- 1A. [שמעו למאמר לוי אבוכן^{ln.5}]
- 1B. ואציתו לפקדי ידיד אל
- 2A. ו]אנה לכן [מפקד בני^{ln.6}
- 2B. ואנה קשטא לכן מחוה חביבי
- 3A. רא]ש כל עבדכן [יהוה קשטא^{ln.7}
- 3B. ועד עלם יהוה עמ]כן [קאם]

- 4A. צדקתא וקשטא ^{ln.8}]]
 4B. [תעלון עללה ברי] כה
- 5A. דזרע טב טב מעל
 5B. ^{ln.9} [ודי זרע ביש עלוהי חאב זרע] ה
- 6A. וכען ספר ומוסר וחכמה ^{ln.10}]אלפו לבניכן
 6B. ותהוה חכמתא עמכן [ליקר עלם
- 7A. די אלף חכמה יקר ^{ln.11}]הוא לה
 7B. ודי שאט חכמתא לב[סרון ולשיטו מתיבה
- 8A. חזו לכן בני ^{ln.12}]ליוסף אחי
 8B. די מאלף ספר ומוסר חכמה
 8C. ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין ^{ln.13}]
- 9A. אל תמחלו חכמתא למאלף
 9B. כל גבר די אלף חכמה ^{ln.14}
 9C. כל ^{ln.15}]ל[ה
- 10A. לכל מת ומדינה די יהך לה
 10B. ^{ln.16}]אח א [בה
- 11A. ולא דמא בה לנכרי
 11B. ולא ^{ln.17}]דמה בה לכילני [ן
- 12A. די כלהון י ^{ln.18}]הבין לה בה יקר
 12B. בדי כלא צבין ^{ln.18}]למאלף חכמתה
- 13A. רחמו ^{ln.19}]הי שג[י אין
 13B. ושאלי שלמה ^{ln.19}]רברבין
- 14A. ועל כרסי די יקר לה מותבי ^{ln.19}
 14B. למשמע מלי חכמתה

15A. [עותר רב די יקר היא חכמתה ל]ידעיה^{ln.20}

15B. ושימה טבה^{ln.21} [לכל קניה]

16A. הן יאתון מלכין [תקיפ]ינ ועם [רב]

16B. וחיל פרשין^{ln.21a} ורתיכין שניאין עמהן

17A. וינסבון נכסי מת ומדינה

17B. ויבוזון כל די בהן^{ln.21b}

18A. אוצרי חכמתא לא יבוזון

18B. ולא ישכחון [מטמוריה]

19A. ולא יעלון תרעיה

Translation of the Reconstructed text of 4QLevi^a frag. 1.1.5-21b

1A. *Listen to the word of Levi, your father /*

1B. *And pay attention to the instruction of the friend of God //*

2A. *I am instructing you, my children /*

2B. *And I am telling you the truth, my beloved //*

3A. *Let the chief of all your deeds be truth /*

3B. *And it will remain with you forever //*

4A. *Righteousness and truth [] /*

4B. *[] you will bring in a blessed harvest //*

5A. *He who sows good brings in a goodly (harvest) /*

5B. *And (as for) the one who sows evil, his sowing turns against him //*

6A. *And now reading and teaching of wisdom teach your children /*

6B. *And wisdom will be with you for eternal glory //*

7A. *(As for) the one who studies wisdom, glory he will have /*

7B. *But he who scorns wisdom is given over to disdain and scorn //*

8A. *Observe for yourselves, my children, my brother Joseph /*

8B. *He was one who was teaching reading and the discipline of wisdom /*

8C. *For honor and for majesty; and for kings [] //*

- 9A. *Do not be lax in the study of wisdom /*
 9B. *[eve]ry man who studies wisdom /*
 9C. *All [] //*
- 10A. *To every land and country to which he will go /*
 10B. *[Brother] //*
- 11A. *And he is not like a foreigner in it /*
 11B. *And he is not [like a scoundrel] //*
- 12A. *Since all of them will accord him honor because of it /*
 12B. *Since all wish [to learn his wisdom] //*
- 13A. *His [friends] are many /*
 13B. *And his well-wishers are [numerous //*
- 14A. *[And they seat him on the throne of honor] /*
 14B. *To hear his wise words //*
- 15A. *[Wisdom is an abundant wealth of honor for those familiar] with it /*
 15B. *And a fine treasure [to all those who acquire it] //*
- 16A. *If there will come [mighty] kings and a [numerous] people /*
 16B. *And a force of horsemen and many chariots with them //*
- 17A. *And they seize the possessions of land and country /*
 17B. *And they plunder everything in them //*
- 18A. *The treasure houses of wisdom they will not plunder /*
 18B. *[And they will not find] its secrets //*
- 19A. *And they will not enter its gates /*
 19B. *[] //*

Transcription of 4Q534 frag. 1.1.5-11

5. [י]נדע תלתת ספריא *vacat*
6. [ב]אדין יערם וידע ש[]ן חזון למאתה לה על ארכובתה
7. ובאבוהי וב[אבה]תוהי []חין וזקינה עמה להוון מלכה וערמומ[תה]
8. [ו]ידע רזי אנשא וחוכמתה לכול עממיא תהך וידע רזי כול חייא
9. [וכ]ול חשבונהון עלוהי יסופו ומסרת כול חייא שניא תהוא
10. [ח]שבונהי בדי בחיר אלהא הוא מולדה ורוח נשמוהי
11. []וח[שבונהי להוון לעלמין *vacat*

Stichometry of 4Q534 frag. 1.1.5-11

[י]נדע תלתת ספריא

- 1A. ⁶[ב]אדין יערם וידע
- 1B. ש[]ן חזון
- 1C. למאתה לה על ארכובתה
- 2A. ⁷ובאבוהי וב[א]בהתוהי
- 2B. []חין וזקינה
- 3A. עמה להוון מלכה וערמומ[תה]
- 3B. ⁸[ו]ידע רזי אנשא
- 4A. וחוכמתה לכול עממיא תהך
- 4B. וידע רזי כול חייא
- 5A. ⁹[וכ]ול חשבונהון עלוהי יסופו
- 5B. ומסרת כול חייא שניא תהוא
- 6A. ¹⁰[ח]שבונהי
- 6B. בדי בחיר אלהא הוא
- 7A. מולדה ורוח נשמוהי ¹¹[]
- 7B. []וח[שבונהי להוון לעלמין

Translation of 4Q534 frag. 1.1.5-11

He knows the three books

- 1A. ⁶*[Th]en he will become clever and know /*
 1B. *[] visions /*
 1C. *To come to him on his knees //*
- 2A. ⁷*And because of his father and his [fore]fathers /*
 2B. *[]life and old age //*
- 3A. *With him there will be his counsel and [his] prudence /*
 3B. ⁸*[And] he will know the mysteries of humanity //*
- 4A. *And his wisdom will go to all the nations /*
 4B. *And he will know the mystery of every living thing //*
- 5A. ⁹*[And all] their plans against him will cease /*
 5B. *Although the opposition of all the living will be great //*
- 6A. ¹⁰*[] his plans /*
 6B. *For he is the elect of God //*
- 7A. ¹¹*[] his birth and the spirit of his breath /*
 7B. *[And] his plans will be for eternity //*

Transcription of 4Q542 frag. 1.1.1-2.1a

1. ואל אלין לכול עלמין ונהר נהירה עליכון ויודענכון שמה רבא
 2. ותנדעונה {ותנדעונה} די הוא אלה עלמיה ומרא כול מעבדיא ושליט
 3. בכולא למעבד בהון כרעותה ויעבד לכון חדוא ושמחא לבניכון בדרי
 4. קושן ט" לעלמין וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא די מ^(א)שלמא לכון
 5. ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ואחסנן לכון {ותכון}
 6. לכילאין ותהון לשפלו {ת} ולנבלו בעיניהון ויבסרון עליכון די
 7. להון תותבין לכון ולהון עליכון ראשין להן אחדו בממר יעקב
 8. אבוכון ואחקפו בדיני אברהם וצדקת לוי ודילי והוא קדן [יש] ודכון
 9. מן כול [ער] ברוב ואחדין בקושטא ואזלין בישראל ולא בלבב ולבב
 10. להן בלבב דכא וברוח קשיטה וטבה ותנתון לי ביניכון שם טב וחדוא
 11. ללוי ושמח לי [ע] קוב ודיאין לישחק ותשבוחא לאברהם די נטרותן
 12. והולכתון ירות [תא] די שבקו לכון אבהתכון קושטא וצדקתא וישראל
 13. ותמימותא ודכ [ותא] וק [ודשא] וכהונתא ככול די פקדת כ-ן וככול די
- col. 2.1 אלפתכון בקושט מן כען ולעד כול]

Stichometry of 4Q542 frag. 1.1.1-2.1a

0. ואל אלין לכול עלמין¹
- 1A. ונהר נהירה עליכון
- 1B. ויודענכון שמה רבא
- 2A. ותנדעונה די הוא אלה עלמיה²
- 2B. ומרא כול מעבדיא
- 3A. ושליט³ בכולא
- 3B. למעבד בהון כרעותה
- 4A. ויעבד לכון חדוא
- 4B. ושמחא לבניכון
- 4C. בדרי⁴ קושט לעלמין
- 5A. וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא
- 5B. די מ⁷שלמא לכון
- 5C. ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון⁵

- 6A. ואל תתנו ירותכון לנכראין
 6B. ואחסנותכון⁶ לכילאין
- 7A. ותהון לשפלו ולנבלו בעיניהון
 7B. ויבסרון עליכון
- 8A. די⁷ להון תותבין לכון
 8B. ולהון עליכון ראשין
- 9A. להן אחדו בממר יעקב⁸ אבוכון
 9B. ואתקפו בדיני אברהם
 9C. ויצדקת לוי ודילי
- 10A. והוא קד[יש]ין
 10B. ודכין⁹ מן כול [ער] ברוב
- 11A. ואחדין בקושטא
 11B. ואזלין בישרותא
- 12A. ולא בלבב ולבב
 12B.¹⁰ להן בלבב דכא
 12C. וברוח קשיטה וטבה
- 13A. ותנתון לי ביניכון שם טב
 13B. וחדוא¹¹ ללוי ושמה לי[ע] קוב
 13C. ודיאץ לי שחק ותשבוחא לאברהם
- 14A. די נשרתון¹² והולכתון ירות[תא]
 14B. ד[י] שבקו לכון אבהתכון
- 15A. קושטא וצדקתא וישרותא
 15B.¹³ ותמימותא ודכ[ותא וק]ודשא וכהונתא
- 16A. ככול די פקדת<כ>ון
 16B. וככול די^{col. 2.1} אלפתכון
17. בקשוט מן כען ולעד כול []

Translation of 4Q542 frag. 1 col. 1.1-2.1a

0. ¹*And God of gods forever //*
- 1A. *May he make his light shine upon you /*
1B. *And may he make you know his great name //*
- 2A. ²*And you shall know him that he is the god of the ages /*
2B. *And the lord of all deeds //*
- 3A. *And the ruler ³over all /*
3B. *To do with them according to his will //*
- 4A. *And he will make joy for you /*
4B. *And gladness for your children /*
4C. *In the generations ⁴of truth forever //*
- 5A. *And now, my sons, be careful with the inheritance /*
5B. *Which has been vouchsafed to you /*
5C. ⁵*Which your fathers gave to you //*
- 6A. *And do not give your inheritance to strangers /*
6B. *And your heritage ⁶to assimilation //*
- 7A. *And you will become low and foolish in their eyes /*
7B. *And they will despise you //*
- 8A. *For ⁷they will become foreigners to you /*
8B. *And they will be authorities over you //*
- 9A. *Therefore, hold onto the word of Jacob ⁸your father /*
9B. *And hold-fast to the judgments of Abraham /*
9C. *And to the righteous acts of Levi and of me //*
- 10A. *And be holy /*
10B. *And pure ⁹from all intermixture //*
- 11A. *And holding onto truth /*
11B. *And walking in honesty //*

- 12A. *Not with a double heart /*
 12B. ¹⁰*But with a pure heart /*
 12C. *And with a good and true spirit //*
- 13A. *And you will ascribe among you a good name to me /*
 13B. *And joy ¹¹to Levi and gladness to Jacob /*
 13C. *And happiness to Isaac and praise to Abraham //*
- 14A. *For you have kept ¹²and passed on the inheritance /*
 14B. *Which your fathers left for you //*
- 15A. *Truth and righteousness and honesty /*
 15B. *And ¹³perfection, and purity, and holiness, and priesthood //*
- 16A. *According to all that I have commanded you /*
 16B. *And according to all that ^{col. 2.1}I have taught you //*
- 17A. *In truth from now and until all [] /*

Transcription of 4Q541 frag. 9.1.2-7

2. [ח] כמתה ויכפר על כול בני דרה וישתלח לכול בני
3. [ע]מה מאמרה כמאמר שמין ואלפונה כרעות אל שמש עלמה תניר
4. ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא ועל חשוכא תניר אדין יעדה חשוכא
5. [מ]ן ארעא וערפלא מן יבישתא שניאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון ושגה
6. [] ין ובדיאן עלוהי יבדון וכול גנואין עלוהי ימללון דרה באיש ואפיך
7. [] להוה ודי שקר וחמס מקמה [ו]יטעה עמא ביומוהי וישתבשון

Stichometry of 4Q541 frag. 9.1.2-7

- 1A. ²ויכפר על כול בני דרה
- 1B. וישתלח לכול בני ³[ע]מה
- 2A. מאמרה כמאמר שמין
- 2B. ואלפונה כרעות אל
- 3A. שמש עלמה תניר
- 3B. ⁴ויתזה נורהא בכול קצוי ארעא
- 4A. ועל חשוכא תניר
- 4B. אדין יעדה חשוכא ⁵[מ]ן ארעא
- 4C. וערפלא מן יבישתא
- 5A. שניאן מלין עלוהי יאמרון
- 5B. ושגה ⁶[כדב]ין
- 6A. ובדיאן עלוהי יבדון
- 6B. וכול גנואין עלוהי ימללון
- 7A. דרה באיש ואפיך
- 7B. ⁷[] להוה
- 7C. ודי שקר וחמס מקמה
- 8A. [ו]יטעה עמא ביומוהי
- 8B. וישתבשון []

Translation of 4Q541 frag. 9.1.2-7

- 1A. ²*And he shall atone for all the sons of his generation /*
1B. *And he will be sent to all the sons of ³[h]is people //*
- 2A. *His word is like the word of heaven /*
2B. *And his teaching is according to the will of God //*
- 3A. *His eternal sun will shine /*
3B. ⁴*And its fire will give warmth into all the ends of the earth //*
- 4A. *And it will shine on the darkness /*
4B. *Then darkness will depart ⁵[fr]om the earth /*
4C. *And gloom from the dry-land //*
- 5A. *They will say many words against him /*
5B. *And a multitude of ⁶li[es] //*
- 6A. *And they will fabricate fables against him /*
6B. *And they will speak every disparagement against him //*
- 7A. *His generation is evil and perverse /*
7B. ⁷*[] will be /*
7C. *And whose position is deceit and violence //*
- 8A. *[And] the people will go astray in his days /*
8B. *And they will be terrified [] //*

Transcription of 4Q541 frag. 24.2.4-6

2. אל תתאבל בשק[י]ן על [ואל ת]עבד שניאן די לא להוין
 3. [מ]ריקן או שניאן [] [מסתרן כמה די להוין] מוגליאן וא[ל] צ[דיקא יבריככה]
 4. בקר ובעי ודע מא יונא בעה ואל תמחי להי ביד שחפא ותליא כ[די]ן []
 5. וצצא אל תקרוב בה ותקים לאבוכה שם חדוא ולכול אחיכה יסוד []
 6. ת[צ]א[ו] ותחזה ותחדה בנהיר עלמא ולא תהוה מן שנאא
vacat

Stichometry of 4Q541 frag. 24.2.4-6

- 1A. בקר ובעי ודע מא יונא בעה⁴
 2B. ואל תמחול להי ביד שחפא
 2A. ותליא כן [] אל תדין
 2B. וצצא אל [ת]קרוב בה⁵
 3A. ותקים לאבוכה שם חדוא
 3B. ולכול אחיכה יסוד [] ת[צ]א⁶
 4A. ותחזה ותחדה בנהיר עלמא
 4B. ולא תהוה מן שנאא
vacat

Translation of 4Q541 frag. 24.2.2-6

- 1A. ⁴Examine and ask and know what will vex a seeker /
 1B. And do not neglect it with a feeble hand //
 2A. [] /
 2B. ⁵And (as for) the lamella, do not touch it //
 3A. And you will set up for your father a joyous name /
 3B. ⁶And you will bring forth for your brothers a [] foundation //
 4A. And you will see and rejoice in eternal light /
 4B. And you will not be of the enemy //

Transcription of 1QapGen 20.2-8a

2. [] ל[] כמה נצ[י]ח ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא וכמא
3. [] [] קיק לה שער ראשה כמא יאין להון לה עיניהא ומא רנג הוא לה אנפהא כול נץ
4. אנפיהא [] כמא יאא לה חדיה וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא דרעיהא מא שפירן וידיהא כמא
5. כלילן ו[] כול מחזה ידיהא כמא יאין כפיהא ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא רגליהא
6. כמא שפירן וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא ועל כול
7. נשין שופר שפרה ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא שניא עמהא ודל ידיהא
8. יאא

Stichometry of 1QapGen 20.2-8a

- 1A. $2^{\text{כמה נצ[י]ח ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא}}$
- 1B. $3^{\text{וכמא [] ו[רק]יק לה שער ראשה}}$
- 2A. כמא יאין להון לה עיניהא
- 2B. ומא רנג הוא לה אנפהא
- 2C. וכול נץ $4^{\text{אנפיהא []}}$
- 3A. כמא יאא לה חדיה
- 3B. וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא
- 4A. דרעיהא מא שפירן
- 4B. וידיהא כמא $5^{\text{כלילן}}$
- 4C. ו[] כול מחזה ידיהא
- 5A. כמא יאין כפיהא
- 5B. ומא אריכן וקטינן
- 5C. כול אצבעת ידיהא
- 6A. רגליהא $6^{\text{כמא שפירן}}$
- 6B. וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא
- 7A. וכל בתולן וכלאן
- 7B. די יעלן לגנון
- 7C. לא ישפרון מנהא

- 8A. ועל כול⁷ נשין
 8B. שופר שפרה
 9A. ועליא שפרהא
 9B. לעלא מן כולהן
 10A. ועם כול שפרא דן
 10B. חכמא שניא עמהא
 10C. ודל ידיהא⁸ יאא

Translation of 1QapGen 20.2-8a

- 1A. *How splen[di]d and beautiful is the image of her face /*
 1B. *How [] and [fi]ne is the hair of her head //*
 2A. *How lovely are her eyes /*
 2B. *And how desirable is her nose /*
 2C. *All the radiance of her face [] //*
 3A. *How fair is her breast /*
 3B. *And how beautiful is all her whiteness //*
 4A. *Her arms how beautiful /*
 4B. *And her hands how perfect /*
 4C. *And [] is all the appearance of her hands //*
 5A. *How lovely are her palms /*
 5B. *And how long and delicate /*
 5C. *Are all the fingers of her hands //*
 6A. *Her feet how beautiful /*
 6B. *And how perfect are her legs //*
 7A. *And no virgin and bride /*
 7B. *Who enters into a bridal-chamber /*
 7C. *Is more beautiful than she /*
 8A. *And above all (other) women /*
 8B. *Her beauty is beautifulness //*

- 9A. *And her beautifulness is the highest /*
9B. *Higher than all of them //*
- 10A. *And along with all this beauty /*
10B. *Much wisdom is with her /*
10C. *And her handiwork is lovely //*

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