

## QUMRAN HEBREW (WITH A TRIAL CUT [1QS])\*

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One would think that after sixty years of studying the scrolls, scholars would have reached a consensus concerning the nature of the language of these texts. But such is not the case—the picture is no different for Qumran Hebrew (QH) than it is for identifying the sect of the Qumran community, for understanding the origins of the scroll depository in the caves, or for the classification of the archaeological remains at Qumran. At first glance, this is a bit difficult to comprehend, since in theory, at least, linguistic research should be the most objective form of scholarly inquiry, and the facts should speak for themselves—in contrast to, let's say, the interpretation of texts, where subjectivity may be considered necessary at all times. But as we shall see, even though the data themselves are derived from purely empirical observation, the interpretation of the linguistic picture that emerges from the study of Qumran Hebrew has no less a range of options than the other subjects canvassed during this symposium.

Before entering into such discussion, however, let us begin with the presentation of some basic facts. Of the 930 assorted documents from Qumran, 790, or about 85% of them are written in Hebrew (120 or about 13% are written in Aramaic, and 20 or about 2% are written in Greek). Of these 930, about 230 are biblical manuscripts, which

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\* It was my pleasure to present this paper on three occasions during calendar year 2008: first and most importantly at the symposium entitled “The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: The Scholarly Contributions of NYU Faculty and Alumni” (March 6), next at the “Semitic Philology Workshop” of Harvard University (November 20), and finally at the panel on “New Directions in Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship” at the annual meeting of the Association of Jewish Studies held in Washington, D.C. (December 23). My thanks to the organizers of all three events, respectively, Lawrence Schiffman, John Huehnergard, and Alex Jassen, and to the participants at each who provided valuable feedback. To a large extent I have retained the oral nature of my three presentations in this written version of the paper. Note the following abbreviations: EBH = Early Biblical Hebrew; SBH = Standard Biblical Hebrew; LBH = Late Biblical Hebrew; SH = Samaritan Hebrew; QH = Qumran Hebrew; GQH = General Qumran Hebrew; MH = Mishnaic Hebrew; DSS = Dead Sea Scrolls; MMT = Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah (4Q394–399); MT = Masoretic Text.

naturally are in Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> so in actuality the percentage of Hebrew texts is 80%. On the other hand, our Hebrew texts are the longest ones, such as the *Temple Scroll*, the *Community Rule*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Hodayot*—with only the *Genesis Apocryphon* as a lengthy Aramaic scroll. This might, of course, be the accident of preservation—that is to say, the Aramaic documents are much more fragmentary than the Hebrew ones—but in general we may state that the language of choice for the Qumran community was Hebrew and that the percentage of Hebrew material among the Dead Sea Scrolls is actually higher than the aforementioned 80%, perhaps even approaching 90%.<sup>2</sup>

An immediate question that arises is to what extent does this distribution reflect the actual daily use of the three languages at Qumran. By even asking such a question, of course, I adhere to the majority view that the scrolls discovered in the caves were produced by the community that lived at the archaeological site of Qumran—a point which I now consider proven, based on the work of Hanan Eshel, Jodi Magness, et al.<sup>3</sup>—as opposed to alternative reconstructions, which suggest, for example, that the scrolls were brought to these caves from Jerusalem or elsewhere. Accordingly, I return to the question: to what extent does the fact that 80% of our documents are composed in Hebrew reflect the linguistic reality of the Qumran community? Or to put it in simpler terms: did they speak Hebrew?—as opposed to Aramaic, for example, or to Greek. There seems to be no other approach possible than to say: yes, the individuals at Qumran spoke Hebrew. Of course, it is possible for certain speech communities to write in one language and to speak another—an example from the ancient Near East is the site of Nuzi, whose texts are in Akkadian but almost undoubtedly the residents of the city spoke Hurrian on a daily basis—but in such cases

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<sup>1</sup> Or at least the vast majority thereof, since we have a few Aramaic texts from Ezra and Daniel included among the biblical manuscripts. See conveniently David L. Washburn, *A Catalogue of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Text-Critical Studies 2; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 81, 136–38.

<sup>2</sup> I am well aware, of course, that I have levelled all the data for “the Qumran community,” since I include in my calculations both sectarian and non-sectarian compositions.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Hanan Eshel, “A History of Discoveries at Qumran,” in *A Day at Qumran: The Dead Sea Sect and Its Scrolls* (ed. Adolfo Roitman; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1997), 11–17 (along with the other essays in this volume); idem, “Qumran Studies in Light of Archaeological Excavations Between 1967 and 1997,” *Journal of Religious History* 26 (2002): 179–88; and Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

the linguistic interference from the daily patois to the language of the written texts is almost always self-evident, especially within the lexicon (and again, Nuzi is a good case-in-point, given the high percentage of Hurrian words appearing within these Akkadian texts).<sup>4</sup> As we shall see, this is not the case at Qumran, where only rarely does one encounter an Aramaic word within the Hebrew documents—and this is even more true of any Greek incursions. So while it remains possible that the Qumran sect—and yes, I am now conscious of my use of this specific term—spoke Aramaic, the overall picture clearly points to Hebrew as the common language of the community, both in writing and in everyday speech. In fact, as we shall see, one of the views concerning Qumran Hebrew proposes that the peculiar linguistic structure of the written texts reflects the spoken language of the Qumran community—but we jump ahead of ourselves here.

Let us begin our survey of the various understandings of QH by returning to the 1950s, when the first studies of the language were produced, mainly by scholars from the Hebrew University, including Hanoch Yalon, Chaim Rabin, E. Y. Kutscher, Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, and Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim. While I would not group all of these individuals under the same rubric necessarily, we nevertheless may suggest a general agreement in the first decade or two of Qumran studies, which concluded that QH represented a continuum of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH). This finding was emphasized most of all by Kutscher in his monumental and magisterial book on 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (Hebrew edition, 1959; English version, 1974),<sup>5</sup> in which he demonstrated that this text reflects an updated version of the biblical book, with its Hebrew “reflecting the linguistic situation prevailing in Palestine during the

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<sup>4</sup> For a recent work on the subject, albeit with a focus on one particular aspect thereof, see Scobie P. Smith, “Hurrian Orthographic Interference in Nuzi Akkadian: A Computational Comparative Graphemic Analysis,” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> E. Y. Kutscher, *Ha-Lashon ve-ha-Reqa' ha-Leshoni shel Megillat Yesha'yahu ha-Shelema mi-Megillot Yam ha-Melaḥ* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959); and E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)* (STDJ 6; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974). In the footnotes below, I cite pages from the Hebrew original (hereinafter *Megillat Yesha'yahu*) only. For a convenient summary of the results of this major research project, see E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 93–106 (with occasional references to other DSS as well). Another valuable survey of QH is Ángel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 130–46.

last centuries before the Common Era.”<sup>6</sup> Thus, for example, one finds the following contrasts between the Masoretic Text (MT) of Isaiah, which clearly reflects an older version of the book, and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (shortened to Q below), with its linguistic updatings of the biblical book:

- MT דמשק  
~ Q דרמשק
- MT ישעיהו, חזקיהו, etc.  
~ Q ישעיה, חזקיה, etc.

In the first of these items, MT דמשק ‘Damascus’ has been replaced by the LBH (and Aramaic) form דרמשק (cf. 1 Chr 18:5, 18:6, 2 Chr 24:23; 28:5, 28:23).<sup>7</sup> In the second of these items, the older theophoric element יהו- ‘-yahu’ has been replaced by the LBH form יה- ‘-yah’.<sup>8</sup>

One also notes the replacement of archaic forms by standard forms, as seen, for example, in the following passage:<sup>9</sup>

- MT כָּל חֵיתוֹ שְׂדֵי אֶתִּיּוֹ לֶאֱכֹל כָּל-חֵיתוֹ בֵּיעֵר (Isa 56:9)  
~ Q כּוֹל חֵיּוֹת יִשְׁדֶּה אֶתִּיּוֹ לֶאֱכֹל וְכוֹל חֵיּוֹת בֵּיעֵר

in which the archaic forms חיתו and שדי of the MT have been replaced by the standard forms חיות (using a plural noun now) and שדה.

On the syntactic level, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reflects a decrease in the use of *wayyiqtol* and *wəqatal* forms, another feature well known from LBH,<sup>10</sup> as the following passages (one for each form) illustrate:<sup>11</sup>

- MT וְאֶת-כָּל-אֱלֹהִים יְדִי עָשְׂתָה וַיְהִי כָּל-אֱלֹהִים  
~ Q וְאֵת כָּל אֱלֹהִים יְדִי עָשְׂתָה וַיְהִי כָּל אֱלֹהִים
- MT וּבִרְאָה יְהוָה עַל כָּל-מְכוֹן הַר-צִיּוֹן  
~ Q וַיְבַרְא יְהוָה עַל כּוֹל מְכוֹן הַר צִיּוֹן

<sup>6</sup> Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 93.

<sup>7</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 77; Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 93; and Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 134. See further Avi Hurvitz, *Ben Lashon le-Lashon* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972), 17–18.

<sup>8</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 78–81, 85–86, 89, 93; Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 93; and Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 134. See further the detailed study by Ziony Zevit, “A Chapter in the History of Israelite Personal Names,” *BASOR* 250 (1983): 1–16.

<sup>9</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 29, 294; and Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 98.

<sup>10</sup> In general see Mark S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 27–33.

<sup>11</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 271, 273.

In the first passage, MT ויהיו, a *wayyiqtol* form, has been replaced by ורהי, a simple suffix-conjugation form indicating past tense preceded by conjunctive *waw*, in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. While in the second passage, MT וברא, a *wəqatal* form, has been replaced by ויברא, a simple prefix-conjugation form indicating future tense preceded by conjunctive *waw*, in the Isaiah scroll.

As one final illustration from the realm of syntax, we observe how asyndetic relatives are eliminated by the inclusion of the relative pronoun אשר, for example:<sup>12</sup>

- MT בְּדֶרֶךְ תִּלְךָ (Isa 48:17)  
~ Q בדרך אשר תלך

These examples allow us to see a parallel between MT Isaiah and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, on the one hand, and Samuel/Kings and Chronicles, on the other. In both cases, the latter text presents a linguistically updated version of the former, allowing latter-day readers to comprehend more easily an ancient text—a point emphasized by Kutscher time and again in his many publications.

In addition to the above examples, which link 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> to LBH, we may note several linguistic features that link up with other varieties of Hebrew from the general period. Thus, for example, in the great Isaiah scroll from Qumran one finds a weakening of the pharyngeals and laryngeals, a feature known from Samaritan Hebrew (SH)<sup>13</sup> and to some extent from Mishnaic Hebrew (MH).<sup>14</sup> The following comparisons illustrate the point well:<sup>15</sup>

- MT נִרְחַב ~ Q נרהב (Isa 30:23)
- MT יִחַיָּה ~ Q יהיה (Isa 7:21)
- MT הִנֵּה ~ Q אנה (Isa 8:18)
- MT יַעֲבֹר ~ Q יבור (Isa 28:15)

In the last instance, note that the pharyngeal consonant is omitted altogether.

<sup>12</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 341; and Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 99–100.

<sup>13</sup> See Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2000), 38–42.

<sup>14</sup> See Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 11–12.

<sup>15</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 42; and Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 96.

As final illustrations of the modernization process manifested in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, we offer two lexical items, with older words updated with newer equivalents:

- Isa 47:2 קָחִי רַחִים וְטַחֲנִי קָמַח גְּלִי צִמְתָּד חֲשָׁפֵי־שָׁבֵל גְּלִי־שׁוֹק עֲבָרִי נְהָרוֹת

The hapax legomenon שָׁבֵל ‘hem, skirt’, apparently no longer understood several centuries after this text was composed, was replaced by the 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> scribe with the more familiar word שׁוֹלֵיךְ ‘your skirts’—a term that appears 11× in the Bible and commonly in the Mishna as well.<sup>16</sup>

- Isa 9:16 עַל־כֵּן עַל־בַּחוּרָיו לֹא־יִשְׂמַח | אֲדַנִּי וְאֶת־יְתֻמָּיו וְאֶת־אֱלֻמְנָתָיו לֹא יִרְחִם

In this passage the usual meaning of the verb שָׂמַח ‘rejoice’ makes no sense, especially when the parallel verb is רָחַם ‘have pity’. As Jonas Greenfield recognized, the former verb means here—and only here in the Tanakh—‘have compassion’, based on its Arabic cognate *smḥ* (even if we expect Arabic *šmḥ*, in light of the Hebrew *śin*).<sup>17</sup> But clearly this sense of the verb was long forgotten, or at least not widely recognized, by the time the Qumran scribe put pen to parchment, and therefore the word was changed in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> to יַחְמִיל (with *waw* hanging), a better known verb, which serves as the parallel to רָחַם in two other biblical texts (Jer 13:14, 21:7).

All of the above information, I repeat, derives from Kutscher’s detailed study of a single scroll, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. When the other Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the sectarian ones, are brought into the picture, we see many of the same features, pointing to the same connections between LBH and QH. In what follows, I will derive the vast majority of my examples from the major documents, such as 1QS, 1QM, 1QH, and 11QT,<sup>18</sup> with a special emphasis on 1QS. In fact, as the title of this article adumbrates, this essay could be designated “a linguist reads

<sup>16</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha’yahu*, 218; and Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 135.

<sup>17</sup> See Jonas C. Greenfield, “Lexicographical Notes II,” *HUCA* 30 (1959): 141–42. The issue is treated briefly by Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha’yahu*, 179 (with n. 38).

<sup>18</sup> I realize, of course, that many scholars consider the *Temple Scroll* to be a pre-Qumran document (see, for example, Joseph L. Angel, “The Historical and Exegetical Roots of Eschatological Priesthood at Qumran,” in this volume, following Lawrence Schiffman, *inter alia*), so that caution is advised when referring to 11QT as a sectarian document. For our present purposes, however, this question is less germane: the fact remains that the *Temple Scroll* was found at Qumran.

1QS in order to provide a ‘snapshot’ or ‘trial cut’ of QH.<sup>19</sup> I present the evidence in no particular order, though by the end of this section (and see also towards the end of the paper) I trust that the reader will have gained a good sense of the nexuses between LBH and QH.

A stellar example of a LBH feature that appears in the DSS is the **לא לקטול** form to express the prohibitive. This feature occurs only 3× in the Bible, two of which are in Chronicles (1 Chr 5:1, 1 Chr 15:2),<sup>20</sup> 3× in Biblical Aramaic; and about 12× in the DSS.<sup>21</sup> The two Chronicles passages are:

- 1 Chr 5:1 **וְלֹא לְהִיחֵשׁ**
- 1 Chr 15:2 **לֹא לְשֹׂאֵת**

The Biblical Aramaic examples are:

- Ezra 6:8 **לֹא לְבַטֵּלֶנּוּ**
- Dan 6:9 **לֹא לְהַשְׁנִיחַ**
- Dan 6:16 **לֹא לְהַשְׁנִיחַ**

A sample Qumran passage is 1QS 1:13–15, which contains four instances of this usage, including the well-known proscription against adjusting the dates of the festivals:

<b>וְלֹא לְצַעֲוֵךְ בְּכוֹל אֶחָד</b>	13
<b>מְכוֹל דְּבָרֵי אֵל בְּקִצֵּיהֶם וְלֹא לְקַדְמֵם עֲתִיהֶם וְלֹא לְהִתְאַחֵר</b>	14
<b>מְכוֹל מוֹעֲדֵיהֶם וְלֹא לְסוּרֵם מִחוּקֵי אִמְתּוֹ לִלְכַת יָמִין וּשְׂמֹאל</b>	15

True, the SBH usage **לבלתי קטול** is still to be found in 1QS, e.g.:

- 1QS 3:6 **לְבַלְתִּי הִיִּסֵר**
- 1QS 10:11 **לְבַלְתִּי שׁוּב**

But very clearly the **לא לקטול** usage has become more common and has become part and parcel of QH.

<sup>19</sup> I will not delve into the question of the language of two specific documents, namely, MMT and the *Copper Scroll*, since scholars agree that the language of these two texts differs from General Qumran Hebrew (GQH). Though on one occasion (regarding the personal pronouns), I will present the evidence of MMT, if only to round out the picture more fully.

<sup>20</sup> The sole other passage is Amos 6:10 **לֹא לְהִזְכִּיר**, where we may suspect an IH feature with an isogloss with Aramaic. The expression **לא להוריֵשׁ** in Judg 1:19 represents a different (and equally unusual) syntagma, since the words refer to the past tense and not to a prohibitive.

<sup>21</sup> Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 78.

As another example linking QH and LBH, I present another syntagma relating to the expression of the negative, the use of לֹא־ followed by an infinitive or an abstract noun to express the notion of ‘without’. This usage is found 8x in the Bible, with the following distribution:

Ezra 9:14	לֹא־יִשְׂרָאֵל שְׂאֵרֵיטָהּ וּפְלִיטָהּ	2 Chr 14:12	לֹא־יָהָם מִחַיָּהּ
Neh 8:10	לֹא־יִנְכוּן לֹא־	2 Chr 20:25	לֹא־יִמְשָׁא
1 Chr 22:4	לֹא־יִמְסַפֵּר	2 Chr 21:18	לֹא־יִמְרָפֵא
2 Chr 14:10	לֹא־יִכָּחַ	2 Chr 36:16	לֹא־יִמְרָפֵא

And then about 40 times in QH,<sup>22</sup> including the following four examples in 1QS:

- 1QS 2:7 לֹא־יִרְחַמִּימ
- 1QS 2:14–15 לֹא־יִסְלִיחַהּ
- 1QS 4:14 לֹא־יִשְׂרִית
- 1QS 5:13 לֹא־יִשְׂרִית

As an additional example of a DSS feature that links with LBH, I present an important finding by Gid'on Haneman, who studied the syntactic use of the word בֵּין ‘between’ in BH, QH, and in MH as well.<sup>23</sup> The norm in BH is the expression Y-בֵּין X-בֵּין, as can be seen in the following phrase:

- Gen 1:4 בֵּין הָאֹר וּבֵין הַחֹשֶׁךְ

The alternative form ל...בֵּין is used when the two elements are the same, that is X-ל X בֵּין, as is in the following phrase (and in several other specific syntagmas):

- Gen 1:5 בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם

In two places, however, we encounter Y-ל X בֵּין, and they appear in two of the latest biblical books:

- Dan 11:45 בֵּין יָמִים לְהַרְצֵב־יִקְדָּשׁ
- Neh 3:32 וּבֵין עֲלִית הַפְּנֵה לְשַׁעַר הַצֵּאֵן

<sup>22</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 77, 79.

<sup>23</sup> Gid'on Haneman, “Al Millat ha-Yahas ‘bên’ ba-Mishna u-va-Miqra’,” *Leshonenu* 40 (1975–76): 33–53.



This usage, in turn, becomes more common in MH:<sup>24</sup>

- Berakhot 1:5 בין תכלת ללבן
- Berakhot 2:2 בין ברכה ראשונה לשנייה
- Pe'ah 1:1 בין אדם לחברו
- Pesahim 9:3 בין הראשון לשני

Thus, it is not surprising to find this late usage in QH as well:

- 1QS 4:14 בין רוב למועט
- 1QS 5:21 בין איש לרעהו

We next turn our attention to the two words for 'T' in ancient Hebrew: **אנכי** and **אני**. Among the distinctions between the two forms, one can state uncategorically that the former occurs in EBH and SBH, but greatly recedes in LBH, until only the latter form occurs. As illustration thereof, note the data from the following contrastive biblical books:

	Samuel/Kings	Chronicles/Ezra-Nehemiah
אנכי	59	2
אני	102	47

In the earlier corpus, the ratio is 1:1.6; while in the latter corpus, the ratio is 1:23.5—the only two instances of **אנכי** are Neh 1:6, 1 Chr 17:1.

When we turn to the Scrolls, we note that **אני** is normal, occurring 57 times in all types of literature, whereas **אנכי** is used only in the *Temple Scroll*, no doubt due to that text's imitation of Deuteronomy (along with one [or perhaps several] instance[s] in 1Q22 [2:4 for sure]).<sup>25</sup> As examples of the use of **אני** in QH, we note the following passages from the concluding section of 1QS, where the author turns to speaking in the first person:

- 1QS 11:2 כִּי אֲנִי לֹאֵל מִשְׁפָּטִי
- 1QS 11:9 וְאֲנִי לְאָדָם רִשְׁעָה
- 1QS 11:11–12 וְאֲנִי אִם אֲמוֹט

<sup>24</sup> M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 142–43; Moshe Z. Segal, *Diqduq Leshon ha-Mishna* (Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1936), 163; and Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*, 167.

<sup>25</sup> Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57.

As a final feature that links QH with LBH, I present one noted earlier, in conjunction with the data forthcoming from the Isaiah scroll. We noted the decreased use of the *wəqatal* form, with the illustration from Isa 66:2—and here we note a similar instance, the citation of Deut 29:18 in 1QS 2:12–13:

- Deut 29:18 וְהָיָה בְּשִׁמְעוֹ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים הַזֵּאת וְהִתְבָּרַךְ בְּלִבָּבוֹ
- 1QS 2:12–13 וְהָיָה בְּשִׁמְעוֹ אֶת דְּבָרֵי הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת וְיִתְבָּרַךְ בְּלִבָּבוֹ

In the biblical passage, the form וְהִתְבָּרַךְ occurs, while in the Qumran version the simple prefix-conjugation form יִתְבָּרַךְ occurs to mark the future.

Of course, the *wəqatal* form וְהָיָה appears in the Qumran reworking of the Deuteronomy passage, but I would suggest that this is more a “frozen” sentence introducer than a naturally productive usage. On the other hand, note that at times even this word is omitted, as in the following example from the *War Scroll*:

- Deut 20:2 וְהָיָה כִּקְרִיבְכֶם אֶל־הַמִּלְחָמָה וְנִגַּשׁ הַכֹּהֵן וְדִבֶּר אֶל־הָעָם
- 1QM 10:2 בְּקִרְבְּכֶם לְמַלְחָמָה וְעַמֵּד הַכֹּהֵן וְדִבֶּר אֶל הָעָם

And while one must admit that two other *wəqatal* forms have been retained in this sentence (וְעַמֵּד and וְדִבֶּר), the main point stands nonetheless.

I do not, however, wish to relay the impression that *wəqatal* forms and the corresponding *wayyiqtol* forms decrease to the point of non-use. Clearly this is not the case, as the passage just cited reveals. Indeed, as Mark Smith demonstrated (see the following chart for a convenient digest of the data), there are plenty of *wəqatal* forms in QH, along with a good number of *wayyiqtol* forms,<sup>26</sup> though naturally the lack of historical texts among the DSS means far fewer of the latter in comparison to BH prose.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive*, 35–63.

	FUTURE TIME		PAST TIME	
	converted <i>perfect</i>	unconverted <i>imperfect</i>	converted <i>imperfect</i>	unconverted <i>perfect</i>
CD	8	12	37	1(?)
Pesharim	11	no clear cases	10	ZERO
1QS, 1QSa and 1QSB	23	4	at least 5	ZERO
<i>War Scroll</i>	57	at least 1	3	ZERO
<i>Temple Scroll</i>	136	43	ZERO	ZERO
4QMMT	at least 2	ZERO	ZERO	ZERO

[Mark S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive* (1991), 59]

Nevertheless, there is an undeniable decrease in the use of such forms in QH, which thereby continues the trend noticeable in LBH. Smith summed up the point nicely, “The usage of converted tenses in QL more closely resembles that in a late BH book such as Esther rather than Mishnaic Hebrew.”<sup>27</sup> The question remains whether the use of *wāqatal* and *wayyiqtol* forms is a natural feature of QH, stemming from a period several centuries after the last biblical books (save Daniel) were written,<sup>28</sup> or whether these forms are used in imitation of BH, which was Kutscher’s contention.<sup>29</sup> As we shall see, this question can be asked over and over again when referring to the linguistic data present in the DSS.

While we have the passage from 1QM 10:2 before us, let us note two other linguistic changes here: a) the replacement of לְאִתּוֹ with לְ, at least in the first instance, which reflects the situation in LBH, most likely due to Aramaic influence, since the longer prepositional form לְאִתּוֹ does not occur in that language; and b) the replacement of שְׁנֵי with שְׁנֵי, which reflects the radically reduced use of the former and the dramatically increased use of the latter in LBH.

As an inexact indication thereof, note the following statistics:

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>28</sup> This is largely Smith’s position, as I understand it.

<sup>29</sup> Kutscher, *Megillat Yeshā’yahu*, 41–41, 351–58, 427–28; and Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 99.

	Samuel/Kings	Chronicles/Ezra-Nehemiah
עמד	97	109
נגש	36	6

In addition, one notes that the root עמד occurs 5× in Qohelet, 12× in Esther, 12× in Zechariah, and an amazing 46× in Daniel.<sup>30</sup> In contrast to these cumulative 75 attestations, the root נגש never occurs in these four books. I need to state, however, that the verb נגש appears 42 times in the DSS corpus, so clearly it remains a productive verb. A more detailed study of this root—with an eye towards a) identifying its specific semantic nuances and then b) determining if the pattern from Chronicles/Ezra-Nehemiah and the other late books is continued in any way—remains a desideratum. Regardless, once more we need to raise the question: given the radically reduced use of נגש in LBH, are we to conclude that the presence of this verbal root in the DSS is in some fashion imitative of biblical style?

Now, if the picture were as simple as I have presented it until this juncture, this essay could be concluded with a simple repetition of the basic finding thus far—QH shares much in common with LBH and thus should be considered a natural continuation thereof. The picture, however, is much more complicated—and it is to those complications that we now turn. The most striking feature of QH, which I have not mentioned until now, although it is very well recognized, is the use of longer forms of the independent personal pronouns, that is, forms ending in *-ā<sup>h</sup>*. The specific data are as follows:<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In addition to these statistics, note that in BH overall the root עמד is the 23rd most frequent verbal root, while in QH it is the 17th most frequent verbal root. While a full study of verbal frequency (for all frequently attested verbs) in the two corpora remains a desideratum, this datum suggests, at least at first glance, that עמד is more common in QH than in BH, thereby continuing the trend that emerges in LBH. I have culled these rankings, for BH and QH respectively, from Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, *The Vocabulary of the Old Testament* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1992), 451–67 (the section entitled “Part IV: Verb Formations”); and *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Brigham Young University; Leiden: Brill, 2006), using the Search function, which includes a ranking of all attested lexical forms by frequency.

<sup>31</sup> These figures are derived from Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57–58.

GQH:

הוא	65×	הואה	45×
היא	21×	היאה	19×
אתם	3×	אתמה	5×
אתן	–	אתנה	–
הם	17×	המה	70×
הן	–	הנה	2× [המה is used for the feminine 3×

In this particular case, since the information is so readily available, I also provide the data from MMT, in which the longer pronoun forms are used less frequently.

MMT:

הוא	5×	הואה	1×
היא	4×	היאה	3×
אתם	4×	אתמה	1×
אתן	–	אתנה	–
הם	6×	המה	3×
הן	–	הנה	–

And just to keep in mind the biblical data, I include a chart of the attestations of the BH pronouns, though naturally there is no need to include the 3rd person singular forms, since only the shorter forms הוא and היא are attested.<sup>32</sup>

Bible:<sup>33</sup>

אתם	278×	אתמה	–
אתן	1×	אתנה	4×
הם	237×	המה	284×
הן	–	הנה	30×

How to analyze the QH data? The evidence for the 3rd person masculine plural forms is only mildly surprising. In BH the two forms occur as free variants (apparently),<sup>34</sup> while in QH the longer form is

<sup>32</sup> When I use the word “Bible” in the following chart and in other presentations of linguistic data appearing below, I mean specifically the MT.

<sup>33</sup> These figures reflect the total number of occurrences, even though in some instances אתם, הם, and המה are used as common dual forms and/or as feminine plural forms. See the examples listed in Gary A. Rendsburg, “Dual Personal Pronouns and Dual Verbs in Hebrew,” *JQR* 73 (1982): 39–40 (for the former); and idem, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew* (AOS 72; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990), 44 (for the latter). These few instances, however, do not effect the statistical distribution of these forms.

<sup>34</sup> Note the following expressions in consecutive verses: טַמְאִים הֵם לָכֶם (Lev 11:27) and טַמְאִים הֵמָּה לָכֶם (Lev 11:28), used for the sake of variation, a literary device that

the more dominant one, though there still are ample occurrences of the shorter form. For the corresponding feminine forms, the picture is totally consistent with the biblical data, since in both BH and QH only הנה is attested (and not הן)—even if we are dealing with comparatively few attestations, 30× and 2×, respectively.

More surprising, of course, is the five-fold use of אתמה in QH for the 2nd person masculine plural form, since this form is not attested in the Bible—though naturally it could be modeled after אתנה, which occurs 4× in the Bible, against just one example of אתן. Nonetheless, the ratio of three shorter forms to five longer ones within the DSS corpus is noteworthy.

But most striking of all is the presence of the longer forms of the 3rd masculine singular pronouns: הוואה and היאה. And while the shorter forms הווא and היא are more common, the ratio between the two sets is relatively close to 1:1—indicating that for the authors of the DSS, the two forms are most likely free variants. The question immediately arises: whence these longer forms?—especially since no other layer or stratum or dialect of Hebrew in all its manifestations throughout the ages attests to these forms, הוואה and היאה.

As is well known, the reconstructed proto-Semitic forms for the 3rd singular pronouns are exactly what one encounters in QH: *hû'a* and *hî'a*. Through a shift of the glottal stop to the corresponding off-glide, the Arabic and Ugaritic forms *hūwa* and *hīya* developed.<sup>35</sup> Is it possible that the Qumran forms hark back to proto-Semitic times, or at least to proto-Hebrew? Is it possible that הוואה and היאה were used in some dialect of Hebrew throughout the millennium-long biblical period, from the earliest texts such as Exodus 15 until the latest texts in the book of Daniel, without even a single attestation in the very large canon which is the Bible, not to mention the many Hebrew inscriptions from throughout this period—only to surface in a group of texts from the 1st century B.C.E.? Such is the opinion of an important scholar such as Takamitsu Muraoka,<sup>36</sup> though to my mind the scenario that these longer forms are derived directly from proto-Semitic or from proto-Hebrew is highly unlikely.

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I continue to explore in lectures (most recently at Tel-Aviv University, December 25, 2007) and which one day I plan to present in published form.

<sup>35</sup> The Ugaritic spellings are *hw* and *hy*.

<sup>36</sup> Takamitsu Muraoka, "Hebrew" in *EDSS* 1: 340–45, in particular 342.

Before presenting a proper answer to the issue of these forms, we need to expand the discussion now to include the 2nd and 3rd person pronominal suffixes, which are as follows:

2mpl	כֶּם—26×	כִּמָּה—31× (28x in 11QT)
2fpl	[not attested]	
3mpl	ם(ה)—c. 650×	מה(ה)—c. 250×
3fpl	ן(ה)—14×	נה(ה)—[not attested] <sup>37</sup>

In addition, the 2nd masculine plural ending of the suffix-conjugation verb is relevant here, for alongside the standard ending ת-ם occurs the longer form תמה-, with the following distribution:

קטלתם—30×
קטלתמה—31× (19× in 11QT)

Upon the discovery of the DSS it was immediately noticed by scholars, with H. L. Ginsberg and Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim leading the way,<sup>38</sup> that these forms correspond to the oral reading tradition among the Samaritans, even when the final *he* is not indicated in the orthography. Ben-Hayyim went so far to advocate the position that QH and SH are variants of the same late Second Temple period Hebrew dialect, sharing not only this key feature, but other isoglosses as well.<sup>39</sup> Ben-Hayyim's position has not found many advocates, and I also would reject the main part of it—but for the moment, let us set this issue aside, to return to it later.

What we can state positively at this juncture is that QH shows a clear proclivity for the pronominal forms, both independent and suffixed, with final *-ā<sup>h</sup>*—and that this feature most of all demands explanation. Since the most regular forms among these pronoun forms, that is, regular in BH, are the 3rd person plural independent forms המה and הנה, we should consider them first. The Qumran scribes no

<sup>37</sup> Though cf., e.g., 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> ויִשְׁבִּיהֶנָּה = MT וְיִשְׁבִּיֶהֱן (Isa 37:27), on which see Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 352.

<sup>38</sup> H. L. Ginsberg, "The Hebrew University Scrolls from the Sectarian Cache," *BASOR* 112 (1948): 19–23, esp. 20, n. 3. For Ben-Hayyim, see the next footnote, though naturally he would have noticed the parallel between the QH and SH pronunciation traditions during the decade between the discovery of the scrolls and his 1958 article.

<sup>39</sup> Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, "Traditions in the Hebrew Language, with Reference to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 200–214.

doubt strove to retain these forms, believing them to be in some way archaic and authentic, or at least more archaic and authentic than the shorter forms—and as we have implied above, they were correct in their assumption. Given the very strict adherence by the DSS sect to legal, cultic, and social mores, which were more conservative than those held by other contemporary Jewish groups, one is warranted to conclude that the Qumran community extended this conservatism to their Hebrew language as well. This position was enunciated first by Chaim Rabin in an important article in 1958,<sup>40</sup> who suggested that various phrases within the DSS themselves refer to the dialect of their opponent(s) in pejorative ways, for example:

- לשון אחרת 1QH 2:19, 4:16
- ערוּל שפה 1QH 2:7, 2:18–19
- לוּ[ע]ג שפה 1QH 12:16
- לשון גדופים 1QS 4:11, CD 5:11–12

This position has found a latter-day adherent and proponent in William Schniedewind, who introduced the term “anti-language” into the scholarly literature—or at least borrowed that term from the realm of sociolinguistics and brought it to the attention of Hebraists.<sup>41</sup> When I first encountered Schniedewind’s position, expressed in two articles published in 1999 and 2000, I admit that I was skeptical. Now, however, after reading the breadth of the scholarly literature during the past year, in preparation for my presentation to the NYU conference, I have come to embrace his position. In my own attempts to come to grips with the peculiarities of QH, of the various interpretative routes before us, all of them proposed by leading scholars, I now accede to Schniedewind’s view as the one that explains best the nature of QH.

We will return to this point in a moment, but here I also must note—as I continue to survey the various scholarly opinions concerning QH—the view of Elisha Qimron and Shelomo Morag, that QH

<sup>40</sup> Chaim Rabin, “Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 144–61.

<sup>41</sup> William M. Schniedewind, “Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 235–52; and idem, “Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew,” in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245–55. See also Steve Weitzman, “Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?” *JAOS* 119 (1999): 35–45.



represents the spoken dialect of the DSS sect.<sup>42</sup> The authority of both these scholars provides this view with a major voice. Qimron, after all, knows more about the Hebrew of the DSS than any scholar alive (his grammar, of course, is the standard work on the subject); while Morag focused the bulk of his scholarly work on the various pronunciation traditions of Hebrew throughout the ages.

Could QH indeed represent the spoken Hebrew of the DSS sect? I highly doubt it. True, it is possible that all the long pronominal forms developed from the force of analogy, which is indeed a major force in the natural development of all languages—that is to say, from *המה* and *הנה*, for example, developed all the other forms, including *הואה* and *היאה*. But it is hard to imagine that some of the very conservative features of QH—and we will see some more in a moment—are elements of a spoken, living language, especially when one recalls all the evidence presented above which links QH and LBH so closely. It is more likely, to my mind, that a text such as MMT, which diverges from core QH, reflects the actual spoken Hebrew of the Qumran community.<sup>43</sup> I could go on at length, with all due respect, to refute the view of Qimron and Morag that QH as reflected in our texts represents a living spoken Hebrew—but I am absolved of the necessity to do so because Joshua Blau already has addressed the issue in his concise and informative article.<sup>44</sup> As Blau noted, with italics to emphasize, “*even dead languages, only used in literature, change*,”<sup>45</sup> at which point he presented the evidence from Middle Arabic (his term, both in this

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<sup>42</sup> Of the many studies of the former scholar which one may cite, see Elisha Qimron, “The Nature of DSS Hebrew and Its Relation to BH and MH,” in Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 232–44. The seminal article of the latter scholar is Shelomo Morag, “Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations,” *VT* 48 (1988): 148–64. I do not mean to imply that the views expressed by Morag and Qimron are identical, though there is clear overlap between them. I add here this fond reminiscence: during the period January–June 1987 I had the distinct privilege of being Professor Morag’s neighbor in Nayot (a neighborhood in Jerusalem). As we walked together to and from synagogue on Friday evenings, he shared with me his views on QH, then in germination stage, which eventually appeared in his classic 1988 article. As I tell my own students, the experience of shared walks with Professor Morag during those six months was the equivalent of a graduate seminar at the feet of a master.

<sup>43</sup> That is to say, Hebrew at Qumran was diglossic. For the subject in general, see Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*.

<sup>44</sup> Joshua Blau, “A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Muraoka and Elwolde, *Diggers at the Well*, 20–25. See also Avi Hurvitz, “Was QH a ‘Spoken’ Language? On Some Recent Views and Positions: Comments,” in *Diggers at the Well*, 110–14.

<sup>45</sup> Blau, “A Conservative View of the Language of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 20.

and many other publications), which is based in the main on classical Arabic, but with deviations due to a “rather free alternation of (post-)classical, vulgar (Neo-Arabic) and pseudo-correct elements,”<sup>46</sup> and with features derived from “various traditions, genres, fashions, scribal schools, and personal inclinations.”<sup>47</sup> The analogy with QH is clear—and here I would add another parallel as well, that of medieval Latin, based on classical Latin to be sure, but with admixtures of all sorts and stripes. Thus, with all due respect to the authoritative voices of both Morag and Qimron, I cannot accede to their notion that the distinctive traits of QH reflect the spoken language of the sect.

And so we return to the view expressed early on by Rabin and more recently endorsed by Schniedewind that the distinguishing elements of QH are the result of an intentional and ideologically motivated shift away from the varieties of Hebrew that characterized the writings of their opponents. Of course, caution is advised here, because in truth we lack the writings of the other Jewish communities at this time. The closest text chronologically is Ben Sira, but since that text is in poetry and is in many ways derivative of the book of Proverbs and other wisdom texts from the Bible, the language of Ben Sira is not as helpful as one might hope—and in any case, as a text that belonged to common Judaism, without any overriding theological or ideological stance, one would not expect the DSS sectarians to be composing literature in any major way in response to the language or content of Ben Sira.<sup>48</sup> In the other direction, we have the writings of the rabbis, with views diametrically opposed to the Qumran sect, but the problem here, of course, is the distance between the documents found at Qumran and the later Tannaitic corpus (Mishna, Tosefta, Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre BeMidbar, Sifre Devarim, etc.). And while I adhere to the view that much of the content of the rabbinic corpus harks back to earlier centuries, I do not believe that we can assume that 2nd and 1st century B.C.E. Pharisees and others were composing texts in MH per se. Nonetheless, even with this caveat, as I indicated above, I have come to embrace the “anti-language” view, as the one which best explains the (pseudo-archaizing) QH pronominal forms and much more.

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> While the main point about Ben Sira still holds, see now Jonathan Klawans, “Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism,” *Numen* 56 (2009): 44–90.

In short, I believe that the long pronominal forms are invented, in order to give a patina of antiquity to the writings of the Qumran sect. They were created on the analogy of the הַמָּה and הִנֵּה forms, no doubt, but not in a living spoken language, *pace* Morag and Qimron, but rather in the hands of thoughtful scribes with purposeful intention. In an attempt to distinguish their language in a particular fashion, with an eye towards some kind of antiquity, whether real or faux, the scribes opted as much as possible for forms such as the independent pronouns הוּאָה, הִיאָה, אַתְּמָה, אַתְּנָה, the suffixed pronouns כַּמָּה-, כַּנָּה-, הַמָּה-, הִנֵּה-, and the suffix-conjugation forms קִטְלַתְּמָה and קִטְלַתְּנָה—even if not all of these specific forms are attested in the corpus.<sup>49</sup>

And here I would return to Ben-Hayyim's view concerning certain isoglosses between QH and SH, the long pronominal forms prime among them. Quite possibly, the Samaritans likewise set out to distinguish themselves from the (other) Jews in their oral reading tradition of the sacred text in the sacred language. In this way, there may be some contact between the DSS sect and the Samaritans, or at least a strong parallel between them—with each in its own way advocating the position of the “true Israel”—but I would not go so far as to claim that SH and QH derive from the same dialect of Hebrew in the Second Temple period.

Are there other linguistic facts that support the view that QH intentionally diverges from the Hebrew language of contemporary Jewish communities? Again, one cannot claim this unequivocally, given the lack of real data for other varieties of Hebrew contemporary with the DSS community—and even the non-sectarian texts found in Qumran do not allow us this comparison, since they have been copied and manipulated by the Qumran scribes, in much the same way that 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> reflects QH, as noted at the outset. But in so far as we are able to identify several features that are extremely archaic and/or

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<sup>49</sup> For a parallel to the effect that linguistic ideology can have on pronoun usage, see Michael Silverstein, “Language and the Culture of Gender: At the Intersection of Structure, Usage, and Ideology,” in *Semiotic Mediation: Sociocultural and Psychological Perspectives* (ed. Elizabeth Mertz and Richard J. Parmentier; New York: Academic Press, 1985), 219–59, esp. 242–51, with particular reference to the development of English ‘you’ as the sole 2nd person pronoun used by the general population in the 17th century C.E., as a reaction to the Quaker insistence on ‘thou’. My thanks to my colleague Laura M. Ahearn (Department of Anthropology) for this reference and for our ongoing dialogue on linguistic ideology and other related matters.

very atypical of all other varieties of ancient Hebrew, we may suggest that these features likewise serve as evidence for the “anti-language” hypothesis, including the following two identified by Schniedewind.

First, there is the presence of suffixed  $-ā^h$  in a variety of adverbials, most famously מאדה / מאודה / מואדה / מודה, which occurs c. 30×, vs. only 9 attestations of מאד / מאוד. Note other forms as well, including the following:

- 4Q177 (4QCatena A) 1–4:13 ויקום משמה ללכת
- 4Q365a (4QTemple?) 2:ii:9 ולחוצה מזה הנשכה
- 4Q365a (4QTemple?) 3:4 ולימה
- 4Q405 (4QShirShabb<sup>f</sup>) 15:ii:6 מבייתה ליקרה הדביר

The adverbial ending  $-ā^h$  is known from BH, of course, but in the Bible it is used very consistently, in forms such as צפנה, ימה, ארצה, השמימה, קדמה, and many others—with its force understood throughout. In post-biblical times, the force of this morpheme was lost, and it became a linguistic fossil apparently, to be used or not to be used, perhaps by personal predilection. The Qumran scribes, accordingly, seized upon this feature and used it regularly in the creation of their prose, suffixing it to a host of forms—once more, as per the present argument, to provide a patina of antiquity and archaism and by extension authenticity to the force of their words.

A ready English analogy comes to mind: as the word “whence” has become archaic and no longer standard in our language, people occasionally employ the word, to show an air of sophistication perhaps, though typically they do so by adding “from” before the word, to create the neologism “from whence,” when in fact the word “whence” by itself means “from where.” In short, if you hear someone say “from whence,” he or she presumably is trying to add some authority to his or her language, but in truth this two-word phrase produces a cringe in many learned ears.<sup>50</sup> In similar fashion, we latter-day readers of QH may recoil upon encountering forms such as מאודה, but presumably this word produced a more positive ring in the ears of the sectarians.

We also should note that the use of this ending may have been influenced by the use of the same suffix  $-ā^h$  on the personal pronouns, discussed above—since the two are functionally one and the same, even though their origins are distinct. But the main point, again, is to

<sup>50</sup> One must admit, however, that the phrase has an excellent pedigree, as both Shakespeare and Dryden already used it!

note how the authors of these documents, by their inclusion of this feature, evoke something old and different—and which, if they succeeded in their effort, gave added force to their rhetoric.

Schniedewind has paid particular attention to the use of **שם** and **שמה** in the *Temple Scroll*, especially in comparison to the base text of Deuteronomy.<sup>51</sup> I refrain from presenting his statistical analysis—the following two examples should suffice to demonstrate the point:

- Deut 21:4 אֶל־נַחַל אֵיתָן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יַעֲבֹד בּוֹ וְלֹא יִזְרַע וְעִרְפוּ־שָׁם  
אֶת־הָעֵגְלָה  
11QT 63:2 אל נחל איתן אשר לוא יעבד וערפו שמה  
את העגלה  
Deut 18:7 כְּכֹל־אֲחִיו הַלְוִיִּים הָעֹמְדִים שָׁם לִפְנֵי יְהוָה  
11QT 60:13–14 ככול אחיו הלוויים ישרת העומדים שמה לפני

The one additional example from Schniedewind's work that I will present here is the use of **אביהו**, which appears 24× in the DSS, as opposed to only three instances of **אביו**.<sup>52</sup> Both forms are attested in the Bible, but the ratio between them is quite the opposite:

DSS (see below for texts)

- אביו—3×
- אביהו—24×

Bible

- אביו—217×
- אביהו—7× (Judg 14:10, 14:19, 16:31, 1 Kgs 5:5, Zech 13:3, 1 Chr 26:10, 2 Chr 3:1)

The attestations in the Dead Sea Scrolls are as follows:

אביו—3×:

- 4Q225 (4QpsJub<sup>a</sup>) 2:ii:4
- 4Q416 (4QInstr<sup>b</sup>) 2:iv:1
- 11QT 64:2—quoting Deut 21:18 (the law of the wayward son)

אביהו—24×, e.g.:

- 1Q19 (1QNoah) 3:4
- 4Q221 (4QJub<sup>c</sup>) 4:1–2 (2×)
- 4Q418 (4QInstr<sup>d</sup>) 9–9c:17
- 11QT—11× (15:16, 25:16, etc.), including quotations/reworkings of Deuteronomy and other biblical texts, e.g., the laws of incest from Leviticus 18 and 20, along with the next line in the law of the wayward son (11QT 64:3)

<sup>51</sup> Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," 252–53.

<sup>52</sup> Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage," 237, 245.

To the material adduced by Schniedewind, I would add several additional characteristic features, the first being the exceedingly frequent use of אֱל for ‘God’ in the DSS, especially in 1QS—with 694 occurrences in the corpus, 56 of which appear in the composition under consideration here.<sup>53</sup> Note the following phrases, for example, just from Column 1:

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| • 1:2 לדרוש אֱל | • 1:12 חוקי אֱל  |
| • 1:7 חוקי אֱל  | • 1:14 דברי אֱל  |
| • 1:8 עצת אֱל   | • 1:16 לפני אֱל  |
| • 1:10 עצת אֱל  | • 1:19 אל ישועות |
| • 1:11 נקמת אֱל | • 1:21 צדקות אֱל |
| • 1:12 יחד אֱל  |                  |

One notes the same dominance of אֱל in other key texts. For example, one finds the following attestations in the *Damascus Document* (citing examples from the first two columns only):

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| • 1:10 אֱל | • 2:7 אֱל  |
| • 2:1 אֱל  | • 2:15 אֱל |
| • 2:3 אֱל  | • 2:18 אֱל |

And similarly in the *War Scroll* (citing examples from Column 1 only):

- |            |            |
|------------|------------|
| • 1:5 אֱל  | • 1:12 אֱל |
| • 1:8 אֱל  | • 1:14 אֱל |
| • 1:9 אֱל  | • 1:14 אֱל |
| • 1:11 אֱל |            |

In the *Hodayot* scroll, we note the following occurrences, to the exclusion of the longer form אֱלֵהִים, including three instances of אֱל written in paleo-Hebrew script (one of them actually אֱלִי).

- |                                      |                   |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| • 7:25 אֱל                           | • 11:34 אֱל       |
| • 9:26 אֱל                           | • 12:12 אֱל       |
| • 9:37 (restored from 4Q432 1–2) אֱל | • 12:31 אֱל עליון |
| • 10:34 אֱל                          | • 12:31 אֱל       |
|                                      | • etc.            |

In light of this evidence, with four major scrolls preferring אֱל to אֱלֵהִים, typically to the exclusion of the latter, I would suggest that the

<sup>53</sup> Data according to the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* program.

Qumran sect's preference for אֱל derives once more from its desire to present a variety of Hebrew that is ancient and archaic—in contrast to the use of אֱלֹהִים, which is the dominant form in the Bible (especially in the later books) and which presumably was the form used by common Judaism at the time of the composition of the DSS.

I should note, however, that the *Temple Scroll* does not participate in this pattern, though in this case one must recall that the *Temple Scroll* is evoking the language of Deuteronomy throughout, and thus not surprisingly one finds the typical Deuteronomic phrase in the *Temple Scroll*, e.g.:

- 43:7, 43:10–11, 53:8, 54:16, 55:9–10, 55:14 יהוה אלוהיכה
- 43:8, 54:13–14 יהוה אלוהיכמה

I do not want to leave the impression that אֱלֹהִים is not used by the Qumran scribes (the form occurs 414×). Nonetheless, the use of אֱל in the major texts is a distinct feature of the DSS, and this lexical trait should be understood as another manifestation of QH as an anti-language.

As a second additional feature that one does not expect to find in literature deriving from the late Second Temple period, I call attention to the word לָמוּ 'to them' (occasionally 'to him'), which occurs 22× in the DSS, including most of the major texts: CD, 1QS, 1QM, 1QH, and 1QpHab.<sup>54</sup> In the Bible, the form לָמוּ occurs 57×, all in poetry,

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<sup>54</sup> Since this last-cited document has been subjected to a thorough linguistic analysis by Ian Young (Ian Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Qumran Peshar Habakkuk," *JHS* 8 [2008] 38 pp.; available online at [http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article\\_102.pdf](http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/JHS/Articles/article_102.pdf)), with specific reference to the use of לָמוּ in 1QpHab 5:6 on p. 32 (along with other data presented herein noted by Young on p. 36), an additional word about the linguistic profile of *Peshar Habakkuk* is in order here. Young argues that 1QpHab reflects EBH (his term = what I prefer to call SBH) more than it does LBH; and he then uses this finding to demonstrate that well into post-biblical times authors could still write EBH/SBH, leading to the conclusion that "the current chronological approach to BH has to be abandoned" (p. 38). While this is not the time for a full rebuttal to this statement, I simply would note that to some extent Young proves what I am arguing for in this article—namely, that the Qumran scribes' linguistic ideology led to a register of Hebrew in imitation of EBH/SBH in order to give their prose a patina of antiquity. All the while, however, they were unable to swim totally against the stream of LBH. I believe that Young would agree with the greater part of my statement here vis-à-vis *Peshar Habakkuk* specifically and QH generally. I would not, however, accede to his statement that this finding calls into question the entire

mainly in Job, Psalms, and Isaiah, though also 2× each in the archaic poems of Deuteronomy 32 and Deuteronomy 33. Accordingly, only in the *Hodayot* scroll is the form למו expected, especially since this poetic text evokes biblical poetic language so often. It is truly striking, therefore, to find this archaic BH feature used in standard QH prose, as in 1QS, for example:

- 1QS 4:14 לאין שרית ופליטה למו
- 1QS 9:22 לעזוב למו הון

Once more, it appears, the Qumran writers sought an archaic form and revived it, as it were, to be part of their “natural” literary language.

As a third instance of the Qumran scribes electing an older grammatical form, especially when a newer one was very much on the rise, I present the evidence for the byforms במ and בהם. The BH data (including occurrences in selected late books) are as follows:

	בם	בהם
BH overall	133	159
Qohelet	2	4
Esther	0	2
Daniel	0	5
Zechariah	0	4
Nehemiah	3	10

Generally speaking the frequency of these alternative forms is about the same in the Bible. But a marked decrease in the shorter form occurs in post-exilic texts, with the longer form on the rise, no doubt due to Aramaic influence. It is therefore remarkable to witness the QH data:

	בם	בהם
QH overall	98	33
1QS	9	0

Running against the trend of LBH is the more frequent use of במ, especially in 1QS, where the shorter, older form occurs 9× to the exclusion of בהם. Once more, apparently, the Qumran scribes made a conscious choice to use an older Hebrew form.

And for one final point relevant to QH as anti-language, I would suggest that the desire to evoke antiquity and thus authority serves as

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enterprise of the diachronic study of BH. The two issues are not unrelated, but the questions should be kept distinct.



a ready explanation for the remarkable paucity of Greek, Aramaic, and Persian loanwords, a point that every student of the Dead Sea Scrolls has noticed.<sup>55</sup> Normally, native speakers of a language do not retain active knowledge of native words versus lexemes borrowed from other languages. But individuals who spend their lives with texts, who pay attention to such matters, and who contemplate the ideology behind word choice and lexical usage can—and indeed do—keep track of the distinction. In the Middle Ages, witness Thomas Aquinas and William of Tyre, both of whose Latin prose is well known for its avoidance of vulgarisms and colloquialisms that characterized the Medieval Latin stemming from the pen of their contemporaries.<sup>56</sup> It is very possible, therefore, that the Qumran scribes, who copied biblical texts and who evoked biblical language in their own compositions—in the *Temple Scroll*, in the Reworked Bible texts, and with constant allusions to biblical passages throughout<sup>57</sup>—could have recognized the difference between core Hebrew usages and incursions from outside. Naturally, they could not do this without the occasional slip, and thus, for example, the word רָז (derived from Persian *rāz* ‘secret, mystery’) became an important part of the DSS vocabulary, occurring 119× (plus 19× in Aramaic texts)<sup>58</sup>—but by and large the Qumran scribes succeeded.<sup>59</sup>

Try as they might, however, these learned individuals could not produce the pure anti-language that they so desired—such is the mighty force of diachronic language change. Time and again, accordingly, one encounters the LBH features with which I began this essay and to which we now return. I limit myself to a random sampling of such items in 1QS, presented here in brief fashion.

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Kutscher, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 100.

<sup>56</sup> For an example closer to our own time, witness J. R. R. Tolkien, who spent his scholarly career reading and teaching *Beowulf* and other Old English texts, and who decried the incursion of French words into our language from the Middle English period onward, and thus preferred to have Bilbo Baggins reside at Bag End instead of cul-de-sac.

<sup>57</sup> Again (see n. 18 above), for my present argument it matters not whether texts such as the *Temple Scroll* were actually composed at Qumran or were merely copied and collected by the Qumran scribes. The main point remains, regardless.

<sup>58</sup> As John Huehnergard pointed out to me, the foreign nature of the word רָז may not have been recognized, since it passes quite easily as a Hebrew form (cf. חָז, מָז, דָּז, דָּג, דָּם, עָז, רָז, רָע, זָז, אָז, etc.).

<sup>59</sup> As further evidence thereof—especially in light of the previous footnote, with reference to Hebrew nouns of the same structure—it is striking that a word such as רָז (also derived from Persian, namely, *dāta*) is wanting in the Hebrew texts and is attested only once in an Aramaic text (1QapGen ar 6:8).

- 1QS 1:17 ומצַרְפִּי נְסוּיִם בַּמַּשְׁלָה בְּלִיעַל

In the Bible, the root צרף occurs typically in the Qal form. Only in Mal 3:2, 3:3, in the last of the prophetic books, do we encounter the Pi'el form. The use of the Pi'el in 1QS 1:17, accordingly, links QH to LBH.

- 1QS 3:9 וְלֹהֵתִקְדַּשׁ בְּמִי דְוָבִי וְיִהְיֶינָּה פַעֲמִי לְהִלְכַת תְּמִים

As indicated above, the DSS are remarkably free of foreign loanwords, though now and then they do occur. More frequently, one encounters Aramaisms of a grammatical nature. In this passage we see one of each kind of foreign language interference. The noun דוכי 'purity' derives from the Aramaic root דכח, as opposed to the Hebrew equivalent זכה; while the *Hiph'il* prefix-conjugational verbal form יהכין retains the distinctive letter *he*, as in the Aramaic equivalent, in contrast to the standard Hebrew form יכין, reflecting elision of the *he*.

- 1QS 3:25 והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושב וְעֲלִיהֶנָּה יִסַּד כּוֹל עֲשֵׂה

Here one notes the Aramaic pronominal suffix -הון, as opposed to Hebrew -הם (or perhaps -המה as in QH). This form never occurs in BH, though clearly the Aramaic feature has influenced the Qumran scribe here.

- 1QS 5:3 עִינוּהִי
- 1QS 5:11 חוֹקוּהִי
- 1QS 6:13 רְגִלוּהִי
- 1QS 6:26 לְפָנוּהִי

In these four instances the author or scribe of 1QS employs the Aramaic 3rd masculine singular pronominal suffix -והי attached to plural and dual nouns. This form occurs once in the Bible, at Ps 116:12, in the word תגמולוהי, though there the explanation is regional dialectal, since this psalm includes a host of Israelian Hebrew features.<sup>60</sup> In 1QS, the pressure of Aramaic is felt once more, and thus four examples of this morpheme occur in our text.

We now turn to several lexical items:

- מדע 'knowledge'
  - 1QS 6:9 להשיב איש את מדעו לעצת היחד
  - 1QS 7:3 ואשר יחס במדעו ונענש ששה חודשים
  - 1QS 7:5 או יעשה רמיה במדעו ונענש ששה חודשים

<sup>60</sup> Gary A. Rendsburg, *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms* (SBLMS 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 83–86, esp. 85.

The noun מִדְּע 'knowledge' is a clear Aramaism and a clear marker of LBH, with the following six attestations:

- Qoh 10:20
- Dan 1:4
- Dan 1:17
- 2 Chr 1:10
- 2 Chr 1:11
- 2 Chr 1:12

The word occurs eight times altogether in the DSS, including the three above passages in 1QS.

- מִדְּרַשׁ 'study, investigation'
  - 1QS 6:24 יִשְׁפְּטוּ בָם בְּמִדְרַשׁ יַחַד
  - 1QS 8:15 הִיאָה מִדְרַשׁ הַתּוֹרָה
  - 1QS 8:26 בְּמוֹשֵׁב בְּמִדְרַשׁ וּבַעֲצָה

The word מִדְּרַשׁ occurs only twice in the Bible, both times in Chronicles:

- 2 Chr 13:22 בְּמִדְרַשׁ הַנְּבִיאָ עֵדוֹ
- 2 Chr 24:27 מִדְּרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים

In these two instances the word מִדְּרַשׁ appears in the name of a book, from which the reader of Chronicles can learn additional information about a particular subject (kings Abijah and Joash, respectively). Its use in the DSS is different, with the word serving a range of meanings, including "study, investigation, etc." Nonetheless, scholars who approach the Hebrew language from a diachronic perspective will see the immediate connection between this LBH feature and its presence in the DSS.<sup>61</sup> It occurs three times in 1QS, and another 9× in the remainder of the Qumran corpus.

- זָקַף 'stand, arise'
  - 1QS 7:11 וְאִם יִזְ{.}יָפוּ וְנִפְטָר וְנִעֲנַשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם

The text is difficult at this point, though regardless the root זָקַף 'arise' may be recognized here. This verb is another identifiable feature of

<sup>61</sup> See Avi Hurvitz, "Continuity and Innovation in Biblical Hebrew: The Case of 'Semantic Change' in Post-Exilic Writings," in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka; Abr-Nahrain Supplement Series; Louvain: Peeters, 1995), 7–10; and idem, "Can Biblical Texts Be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew," in *Congress Volume Oslo 1998* (ed. André Lemaire and Magne Sæbø; SVT 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 152–53. These two articles treat the noun מִדְּרַשׁ within the larger context of the verb דָּרַשׁ 'search, inquire'.

LBH. It is common in Aramaic and is attested in the Bible in two late Psalms only (the two passages have very similar wording):<sup>62</sup>

- Ps 145:14 לְבַלְיָהּ־כְּפֹפִיִּים לְזִלְזֹלָהּ
- Ps 146:8 יְהוָה זָקֵף כְּפֹפִיִּים

The root occurs three other times in the DSS, and is another clear nexus between LBH and QH.

➤ עולמים (vs. עולם) ‘forever, eternity’

This is an exceedingly common feature in our text; I limit myself here to examples from the first three columns only:

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| • 1QS 2:3 דעת עולמים  | • 1QS 2:17 ארורי עולמים |
| • 1QS 2:4 שלום עולמים | • 1QS 2:23 עצת עולמים   |
| • 1QS 2:8 אש עולמים   | • 1QS 2:25 סוד עולמים   |
| • 1QS 2:15 בלת עולמים | • 1QS 3:12 יחד עולמים   |

One of the characteristics of LBH identified by Avi Hurvitz is the use of עולמים in a variety of contexts, especially as the second element in a construct phrase, where previously the singular form עולם was utilized.<sup>63</sup> Clear LBH examples include the following:

- Isa 45:17 תְּשׁוּעַת עוֹלָמִים
- Isa 51:9 דְּרוֹת עוֹלָמִים
- Ps 145:13 כָּל־עוֹלָמִים
- Dan 9:24 צִדְקַת עוֹלָמִים

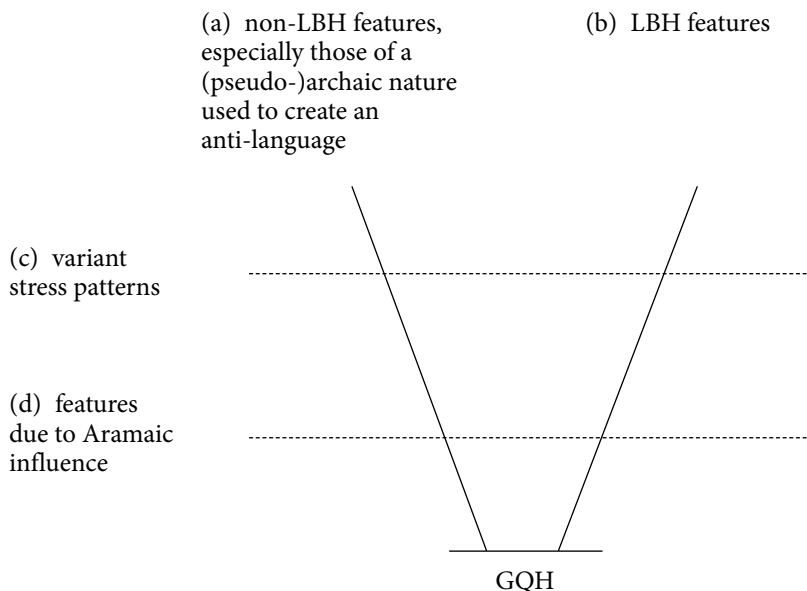
In QH this trend continues, as is visible from the eight examples in the first three columns of 1QS.

The present article provides a reading of 1QS through a linguistic lens, with special attention to the historical development of the Hebrew language. Two counter trends are visible in this document, which (as I hope to have demonstrated) may serve as a “trial cut” or sample text from among the many DSS compositions. The first trend, following Rabin and more recently Schniedewind, is the purposeful development and employment of an anti-language, in order to create an internal idiom for the members of the sect. This brand of Hebrew attempts as much as possible to utilize archaic features, in order to provide an air of authenticity and authority to the new documents

<sup>62</sup> Hurvitz, *Ben Lashon le-Lashon*, 93–95.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 100–104.

under formation in the hands of the sect's leaders. At the same time, though, a second trend is noticeable throughout: try as they might, the Qumran authors could not swim upstream against the billowing surge of LBH incursions into their prose. The result is a most unusual Hebrew dialect, which may be visualized in the following manner (adapting the chart developed by Shelomo Morag to depict his understanding of QH):<sup>64</sup>



Note: Item (c) refers to stress patterns that diverge from Tiberian Hebrew, a feature which unites QH and MH. We have not discussed this issue above, though the interested reader may find information on this topic in Morag's article and elsewhere.<sup>65</sup>

I repeat here Morag's words to explain his version of the chart: "In this diagram components (c) and (d) are represented by broken lines, to indicate their synchronic nature (representing factors that were operating during the Qumran period); the full lines, on the other hand, indicate diachronic relationship (that is, a relationship that has to be viewed in historical terms)." Although I have not acceded to Morag's main position concerning QH, I find his chart extremely helpful in

<sup>64</sup> Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations," 162.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 155. See also Kutscher, *Megillat Yesha'yahu*, 255–61. For a different approach, see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40–42, 50–52.

envisioning the historical development of the language of the DSS—with the one change from his “(a) non-LBH features, possibly Old Hebrew isoglosses” to my “(a) non-LBH features, especially those of a (pseudo-)archaic nature used to create an anti-language.”