The following grammatical sketch of the Hazon Gabriel (HazGab) inscription is based on the readings provided by Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky and Elisha Qimron, whose analysis covered primarily lines 11–32 and 64–80.1 While an occasional string of letters in the remaining lines of the epigraph may yield a word here or there, in the main we refrain from invoking such evidence, given the extremely fragmentary nature of these sections (lines 1–10, 33–63, 81–87) and the overall difficulty of reading the ink on the stone.2 The only exception is a string of four-
teen words in lines 57–59, for which there is general agreement on the reading; and thus this passage will be included in our investigation. In general, we do not include partially reconstructed words, except where absolutely certain, e.g., "[Israel],” in line 30, “[prophets]” in line 79, and so on. In addition, we shall not comment on the very enigmatic נב (line 22), except in one place as an aside (see §2.2.7). It is only natural to compare the language of Hazon Gabriel with the linguistic profiles of other varieties of ancient Hebrew, namely, (a) Biblical Hebrew (BH), in particular, in its Tiberian Masoretic garb—at times to be divided between Standard Biblical Hebrew (SBH) and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH); (b) Qumran Hebrew (QH), representing the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS); (c) the Hebrew of the Judean Desert documents (HJDD), that is, Nahal Hever, Wadi Murabba‘at, and other sites; and (d) Mishnaic Hebrew (MH), including the language of not only the Mishnah but of other Tannaitic works as well. We will make such comparisons along the way (with occasional nods to Samaritan Hebrew [SH] and to the Hebrew of Ben Sira as well); and then at the article’s end we will provide a summary assessment of the language of Hazon Gabriel.

1. Phonology and Orthography

1.1. Plene and Defectiva Spelling

As one can see from the following lists, the scribe of HazGab favors plene over defectiva orthography, very much in keeping with the spelling tendencies in the DSS.

The fuller spelling system occurs in the following vocables:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>כל</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שָׂבָא</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שלש</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נביא</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Elizur read only a partial ה at the beginning of the word and nothing thereafter.) While I follow Yuditsky and Qimron’s readings herein, I also devote a brief Appendix (see below) to some of Yardeni and Elizur’s readings, if only for the sake of completeness.

3. In such cases, a superscript ‘ is placed after the line number.

4. For an excellent attempt to extract meaning from these words, see Yuditsky and Qimron, “He’arot ‘al ha-Ketovet,” 138.

5. For an earlier treatment, see Bar-Asher, “‘al ha-Lašon be-’Hazon Gavri’el,” 196–99, though his data are based on the readings of Yardeni and Elizur.

6. I do not include here examples of the masculine plural ending, whether י- or אני, even though these include yod, since these are always written this way in HazGab. Some such forms are recorded here, though their inclusion in the list is due to the presence of another mater lectionis, either waw or yod earlier in the word. Nor do I include words that are always written plene in ancient Hebrew sources, such as חֲלָב (18) and בִּצְר (23).
Forms with *defectiva* spellings—that is, where one would expect a *waw* or *yod* based on the usual orthography in BH and/or the preponderance of *plene* spellings in *HazGab* as revealed by the above list—occur as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemma</th>
<th>Line Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>שאלח</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אנגד</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>וד</td>
<td>16, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>לפלך</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>גבהת</td>
<td>28, 68, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ההאבינ</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- The active participle typically uses *waw* to represent the first /ō/ vowel, as in *
  צִוְבְאִים* (14), *
  עומד* (22), *
  וְיִהְיֶה* (68), *
  לשונת* (74), and in a noun derived from this grammatical form, that is, *
  רְﬠִים* (75), *
  והאהבין* (28). Both of these are the result of what James Barr termed “affix effect,” which is to say, the addition of morphological elements to a lexeme typically yields a *defectiva* orthography. In two instances, however, the form occurs without *waw*, viz., *
  שאלח* (11) and *
  ההאבינ* (28).

7. In the Bible spelled always as *
  רְﬠִים* (cstr. *
  רְﬠֵי*).

I have not included the many instances of the feminine plural ending וֹתְּ in the plene list above, since this is the standard usage, e.g., גדלות (12), הַמְּרָכֹבָּה (26), and the many instances of הַצבָּא (11, 18, 20, 26, 29, 58). The only feminine plural ending written defectiva is הַצבָּאת (28r, 68, 69), most likely due to the scribe’s desire to introduce variation into his orthography.

As expected, given both BH and QH orthography, the long /ī/ vowel of Hiph’il forms is indicated throughout with mater lectionis yod—with one exception. Thus, one finds (and these are not included in the first list above)

יֹבֶן [הש] (17), ואגיד (21), מַרְעִיש (24), תְצִילָם (78), ציֹלו (78), versus only דָּה ואג (12) without yod. Again, I would explain this spelling (along with the presence of final he) as simply for the sake of variation; see further §2.5.9, first bullet.

As expected, matres lectionis are used mainly for long vowels. In one sure instance, however, yod is used to represent a short /i/ vowel, viz., "trembling" (24). For a parallel from the DSS, note 1QH+ 16:18 מֶפָּהוֹת, מֶפָּהוֹת, מֶפָּהוֹת.

The name "David" is spelled defectiva: דוד (16, 72). This spelling dominates in the Bible and in Ben Sira (5x), whereas the plene form דויד dominates in LBH (264x in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah) and in QH (19x [e.g., 1QM 11:2] vs. 1x without yod [CD 7:16 citing Amos 9:11])

An unusual spelling occurs with ולֶפֶך (17), a spelling attested once elsewhere in an ancient Hebrew source, viz., Mur.


10. On this word and its possible meanings and interpretations, see Rendsburg, “Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription,” 108–10; Bar-Asher, “al ha-Lašon be-‘Hazon Gavri’el,” 211–17; and Yuditsky and Qimron, "He’arot ‘al ha-Ketovet," 141.

11. See Rendsburg, "Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription," 110 and n. 11. To my mind, the attempt by Elisha Qimron (Megillot Midbar Yehuda, vol. 1, ha-Hibburim ha-’Ivriyim [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010], 82–83) to read this form as פתאים, "simpletons," fails, given the context in 1QH a 16:18.


14. In addition, 1QIsa always utilizes the longer spelling דויד, whereas Isaiah MT always has the shorter form דויד. See Edward Y. Kutscher, ha-Lašon ve-ha-Resha’ ha-Leshoni šel Megillat Yeša ha-Yahu ha-Selemi mi-Megillot Yam ha-Melah (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959), 5, 75; and Edward Y. Kutscher, A History of the Hebrew Language (Jerusalem: Magnes/Leiden: Brill, 1982), 94.

15. See already Bar-Asher, “al ha-Lašon be-‘Hazon Gavri’el,” 197.
30:24. Note, by contrast, $\ell^\circ$ 107$x$ in the Bible, 15$x$ and 42 in the DSS, etc. Once more, one notes an attempt by our author to vary his text and orthography; cf. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ, “from before you” (17) and מִלְפָּנֶךָ, "from before you" (79).17

- On the spelling הִלְךָ, “to you” (21), see §2.1.2, first bullet.18

1.2. The Spelling of “Jerusalem”

_HazGab_ evinces several different spellings of the city name “Jerusalem”:

- ירושלם (12, 14, 27),19 without the second yod, as per BH (save for five examples, chiefly LBH)—see also Ben Sira 36:18; 47:11; ca. 10$x$ in the DSS (e.g., 1QpHab 9:4, 12:7); three coins from Year 1 of the First Revolt; and four Bar-Kokhba coins.20

- רֹושלים [י] (66), with the second yod, as per the dominant QH spelling (ca. 25$x$ in the DSS [e.g., 1QM 1:3, 3:11]).21 See also 5$x$ in BH (chiefly LBH); and seven coins from Years 2–4 of the First Revolt.22

- רֱושלים [י] (32), with the second yod hanging, no doubt added secondarily.

While one hesitates to summon the explanation of variable spelling as a stylistic aspect continually, such may be the best approach for the variant spellings of "Jerusalem" in _HazGab_. In analogous fashion, note that among the five passages in the Bible in which the "long" spelling occurs, two of the verses (2 Chr 25:1,
32:9) witness the “short” spelling as well, while in a third instance (1 Chr 3:5) the previous verse bearing on the same subject includes the “short” spelling.  

1.3. Pronunciation of Various Consonants

Unusual or unexpected spellings reveal changes in the consonantal phonology represented in HazGab.

- The spelling גאים, "nations" (13) discloses the shift of intervocalic /y/ > /i/. One assumes a pronunciation gōîm, as opposed to MT גּוֺיִם gôyîm; see further §2.3.1, first bullet.
- The spelling אלהי, "God" (cstr.) (68) is most odd and apparently reflects something like אֱלֹיֵי elōyê (thus Yuditsky and Qimron), as opposed to MT אֱלֺהֵי elōhê, with shift of intervocalic /h/ > /y/.
- The form נטוּא, "outstretched" (74) implies a pronunciation nĕtûa, as opposed to MT נְטוּיָה nĕtiyâ, with shift of intervocalic /y/ > /w/.
  Alternatively, one could imagine the pronunciation nĕtûhâ, with the waw marking the /ā/ vowel and the he marking the consonant /h/, with a following /â/ vowel unmarked in the orthography. If this were the case, then the consonantal shift would be intervocalic /y/ > /h/.
- These three unusual spellings demonstrate the weakening of intervocalic /y/ in particular, which presumably could be realized as either /i/ (based on example 1) or /w/ (based on example 3, the first explanation), and perhaps /h/ as well (based on example 3, the second explanation). Though regardless of how one explains נטוּא, "outstretched" (74), the shift of intervocalic /y/ to /h/ is independently suggested by what is presumably hypercorrection reflected in the second example, with intervocalic /h/ > /y/.
- On the other hand, none of the weakening of the laryngeals (e.g., /h/ > /?/) and pharyngeals (e.g., /h/ > /h/) inherent in QH and SH is evident in HazGab.  
  The spelling of תירא, “fear” (23) = MT תִּירָא is insufficient evidence to suggest any general weakening of this group of consonants.
- On the fluctuation between final mem and final nun, see §2.6.

1.4. Non-Assimilation of nun before Following Consonant

On this feature, see §2.2.4.

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23. Does the author of Jer 26:18 utilize the “long” spelling, since the passage quotes Mic 3:12 with the “short” spelling?
24. See also the ketiv תירא in Isa 3:16, with qere תִּירָא nētiyôt.
2. Morphology

2.1. Pronouns

2.1.1. Independent Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>אני (17, 24, 77)</td>
<td>אנחנו (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>אתה (11, 22, 77)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>הוא (22)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>היא (24)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- The attested forms are exactly those of BH.
- According to Yardeni and Elizur, אני occurs in line 77, and indeed I discussed this word in a previous publication. Yuditsky and Qimron, however, now read this word as אתה, so that only אני is listed in the chart above. As such the 1st com. sg. independent personal pronoun matches LBH especially.
- For the form מהו (31), a contraction of הוא מה, see below on the interrogative pronoun, §2.1.5.

2.1.2. Suffix Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c (with nouns)</td>
<td>י (16, 18, 18, 70)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c (with verbs)</td>
<td>ני (11, 17, 21)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>נ (17, 23, 66, 73, 78, 79)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>נב (21)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ת (67)</td>
<td>ב (76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ל (76)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26. For a recent comprehensive treatment of the subject, presenting the evidence from BH, QH, and MH (notwithstanding the title’s spotlight on QH), see Moshe Morgenstern, "Ma’areket ha-Kinnuyim ha-Perudim be-Qumran: Le-Še’elat Toldot ha-’Ivrit bi-Yme ha-Bayit ha-Šeni,” in Ša’are Lašon: Mehqarin ba-Lašon ha-’Ivrit, ba-’Aramit, u-ve-Balšanut ha-Yehu- dim Mugašim le-Moše Bar-1Ašer, vol. 1 (ed. Aharon Maman, Steven Fassberg, and Yohanan Breuer; Jerusalem: Bialik, 2007), 44–63.
27. Rendsburg, "Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription,” 111.
Notes:

- For the 2nd masc. sg. form, HazGab clearly prefers the shorter ħ- to the longer 惔-. This stands in contrast to the distribution of these two orthographic variants in the DSS, with about 900 of the former and about 160 of the latter.28 The single instance of 惔- in line 21 may be due to its use on the uniconsonantal preposition -ל, thereby giving the form לַ isa “to you” greater “bulk” than would occur with לַך.29

- I would explain the two alternative 3rd masc. pl. forms in line 76 as follows. The text reads: אֶם שָׁה בְּכֶם אֶם שָׁה בְּכֶם “if there is among [lit. ‘in’] them, if there is among [lit. ‘in’] them,” repeating the same expression essentially, with שלושה Rubin, “three shepherds” (75) or whatever is to be restored at the end of said line as the antecedent. Apparently the scribe wrote שָׁה בְּכֶם first, but then realized that he had used an Aramaizing form instead of the proper Hebrew form.30 Accordingly, he wrote the phrase again, this time using the proper Hebrew form. Perhaps, though, with a moment to consider his options at this point, our author selected the more archaic Hebrew form בְּכֶם, instead of the later Hebrew form בְּכֶם.31 Note that the form בְּכֶם is the one that dominates in the DSS (בְּכֶם 98x vs. בְּכֶם 33x; to select a single important text, note בְּכֶם 9x vs. בְּכֶם 0x in 1QS), running against the trend of LBH continuance into QH.32

2.1.3. Demonstrative Pronouns
The masc. sg. form זה (BH זֶה, the default form throughout the history of the Hebrew language) occurs in line 22, in the combination סמך זֵר הָעָר הַזֶּה “this evil plant,” serving as a demonstrative adjective. The fem. sg. form זו occurs in line 67, in the combination מַרְכָּבָה זו “this is the chariot,” where it serves in the nominative slot. The latter form, of course, is rare in the Bible (occurring as זו 2x and as זו 11x); it never occurs in QH; it appears twice in HJDD, both times with the definite article (Mur. 44:6 זָה, N.H. 49:7 זָהוֹ), though note that זָהוֹ also appears 2x);33 and then זו becomes the standard form in MH.

29. This practice would be in line with a general trend in the MT, as summarized by Barr, Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible, 118: “it seems as if there may be a certain tendency for the spelling with he to appear with short words such as particles, monosyllables.”
30. בְּכֶם prevails in MH as well, occurring 215x in the Mishnah vs. 41 attestations of בְּכֶם (data according to Ma‘agarim; the same situation obtains in the other Tannaitic texts).
2.1.4. Relative Pronoun
The form -ש occurs in line 71, prefixed to a finite verb, thus: שראיתי, "that I saw." The preceding vocable is חֹר, which Yuditsky and Qimron restore as [81] חור. If their restoration is correct, we would have here the equivalent of a clause-connecting particle with temporal force, indeed one known from MH, e.g., Mekhilta Kaspa 20:20, "after you taught." Though other options instead of the waw also are possible, such as lamed to create the particle -לאחר and mem to create the particle -מאחר, both of which are more common in MH. See m. Ter. 5:4; m. Qidd. 3:5; etc., for the former; and m. Git. 8:4; m. ‘Ed. 4:7; etc., for the latter.

A functional parallel, using the relative marker אשר instead of -ש, occurs once in BH and once in QH: Ezekiel 40:1 והָﬠִירהֶ֑הָ הֻכְּתָה֙ אֲשֶׁר אַחַר֙ וַחֲרֵי hāi̇r, "after the city was defeated"; and 4Q227 (4QpsJubc?) 2:1, "after we taught him."

On the genitive particle של, "of" (67), which incorporates the relative pronoun -ש, see §2.2.1.

2.1.5. Interrogative Pronouns
The interrogatives מה, "What?," and מי, "Who?," occur in lines 21 and 77, respectively—exactly as one would expect, since these forms occur in all varieties of Hebrew, ancient through modern.

In line 31, we encounter the form מהיו, "What is it?," a contraction of הוא מה. The two-word phrase appears 3x in the Bible (Exod 16:15; Num 16:11; Esth 8:1), while the one-word contraction appears in Mur. 46:9 and is characteristic of MH (m. Mo‘ed Qat 3:9; m. Yad. 4:8; Mekhilta Pisha 16–18; Mekhilta Be-Shalah 1–3; etc.).

2.2. Particles

2.2.1. Genitive Particle
The form של occurs in line 67 in the expression של המרכבה, "this is the chariot of," though unfortunately one cannot be certain of what follows at this point, so caution is advised. Yardeni and Elizur read the full word שליה here, though, as indicated, Yuditsky and Qimron are less confident. Assuming that the genitive

34. There are more examples with the longer form 멸켜ש שלאחר: Josh 7:8; 9:16; 23:1; 24:20; Judg 11:36; Judg 19:23; 2 Sam 19:31 (though in the last two the effect may be more causal than temporal).

35. The closest parallel in the Bible to a contraction of this sort is the ketiv שלמה = qere מיה פַּ֣הי mah zeh, "What is this?" in Exod 4:2. Observe, however, the employment of this unique usage as a (chiefly) visual literary device to imitate and anticipate the word מַטֶּה matheh, "staff," three words later in the verse.

36. Mor, "Diqduq ha-‘Ibrit," 196.

particle של occurs in line 67 (regardless of what follows), we provide here the number of attestations in our other corpora: 7x in the Bible; 25x in 3Q15 Copper Scroll; one other attestation in QH, viz., 4Q385 (4QpsEzek) 6:9, "and one of a man"; 18x in the Bar Kokhba letters and associated documents; and of course as a standard usage in MH.

2.2.2. Particle of Existence

ו, "there is, there are," occurs twice in line 76, though probably we have a scribal rewriting of the same phrase (see §2.1.2, second bullet). In any case, this particle is fully in use in all stages of ancient Hebrew, from BH through MH, and of course beyond.

2.2.3. Presentative Particle

The particle הנה, "behold," occurs twice: הנה כל הגרים בצאו והגאים, "behold, all the nations are besieging Jerusalem" (13[−14]), and הנה ים ההם אלהים יקראו, "behold, the glory of YHWH, God of Hosts, God of Israel" (25[−26]). This form occurs throughout BH and is attested 17x in QH.40 In MH, on the other hand, the presentative particle is הנה, serving in all contexts where BH/QH הנה would be expected.40

2.2.4. Prepositions

The following prepositions are attested in HazGab:

- ב (12, 18, 73, 76)
- ל (19, 19, 21, 22, 28, 67, 68, 74, 75, 79, 80)
- כ (32)
- אל (70, 71)
- על (66, 67)

Nothing about these occurrences requires comment.

For the forms of the preposition מ, "from," on the other hand, discussion is required, and thus we list here all the attestations, including the specific phrases:

- מ לפני, "from before me" (16)
- מ לפני, "from before you" (17)
- מ לפני הצדק, "from before the righteousness" (21)

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38. For the attestations, see Mor, "Diqduq ha-‘Ivrit," 58 (see also p. 200).
39. According to the Ma’agarim database, DSSEL lists many more attestations, though most of these either are fragmentary or are biblical citations embedded in DSS compositions (e.g., Exod 14:10 in 4Q365 [4QRP] 5:1).
Of the five attestations of the preposition (דָּמֶן), “from,” one is struck by several points. First, four of the five occur in the compound preposition מִלְפֶּנְיָךְ, “from before.” One is not sure what to make of this point, except to suggest that the usage is a favorite of the writer (for the record, this preposition occurs 73x in the biblical corpus and 40x in QH, including cases with pronominal suffixes).

More strikingly, though, in three of the five instances the nun is not assimilated to the next consonant, as one would expect in Hebrew. One sees here the influence of Aramaic, exactly as one sees in LBH, with fifty-one examples in Chronicles and a few additional ones in Daniel and Nehemiah, and in HJDD, with many such examples (e.g., Mur. 24.2:7 מִמְּקוֹמִין, “a portion of land” [lit. “from some dust”]).

Most remarkable is the example in lines 23–24, "blessed is the glory of YHWH God from its place," since it is based on Ezek 3:12 מִמְּקוֹמּוֹ, with the standard form מִמְּקוֹמִין, “from its place.”

2.2.6. Adverbs

The temporal adverb עוד, “still” occurs in line 24, though the passage here is adapted from Hag 2:6. HazGab 24 reads עודָּבְדָּאָא וְדַעְשׁ, while Hag 2:6 states עודָּבְדָּאָא וְדַעְשׁ with the continuation of each passage the same. Obviously, this adverb is common to all varieties of ancient Hebrew and beyond.

41. According to the counts of Avraham Even-Shoshan, Qonqordansya Hadasa (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1993), 605–6; and DSSEL, respectively.

42. See Robert Polzin, Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976), 66.

43. Mor, "Diqduq ha-'Ivrit," 90.

44. Seventy-five times according to DSSEL, though some of these occur in fragmentary texts where considerable restoration is necessary.

The second adverb that appears in *HazGab* is the logical marker **כו/כה**, “thus,” spelled with *waw* in lines 11, 17, 19, 29, 57, 58 and with *he* in line 69, each time used to introduce variations of “thus says YHWH” statements.\(^46\) This form is standard in BH, especially to introduce divine speech (153x in Jeremiah alone). It does not occur in QH and in effect not in MH either (see only *t. Sotah* 5:13; *Sifra* 2:Ahare Mot 6:1).

2.2.7. Negative Marker

The negative marker **אל** occurs in the expression **אל תירא** “do not fear,” in line 23. This morpheme occurs throughout ancient Hebrew to express (one-time) prohibitions,\(^47\) and thus its presence in *HazGab* is perfectly normal and expected.

If Yuditsky and Qimron are correct in their interpretation of **לו** in line 22 (Yardeni and Elizur read these letters the same) as a nonstandard spelling of BH **לא**, QH **לא**,\(^48\) then a second negative marker appears in our inscription.

2.3. Nouns

2.3.1. Common Nouns

With two exceptions (see the third and fourth bullets below), every noun in *HazGab* is a relatively common lexeme in ancient Hebrew. Here follows the list of common nouns (including construct forms) and their attestations:\(^49\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Attestations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>נביאות</td>
<td>28, 68 (written <em>defectiva</em> in line 28 and <em>plene</em> in line 68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מצוה</td>
<td>17, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אמרות</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ארץ</td>
<td>25, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בית</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בן</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ברית</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בשר</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ארצות</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נ problèmes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>דם</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>חסד</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{46}\) On these statements, see Rendsburg, “Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription,” 114–16. Some of what I wrote there needs to be rephrased, in light of the readings by Yuditsky and Qimron, but the main point stands nonetheless.

\(^{47}\) If anything, its use increases in QH, on which see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 80–81.

\(^{48}\) Yuditsky and Qimron, “He’arot ‘al ha-Ketovet,” 138.

\(^{49}\) In both this list and the list of proper nouns below, I have not marked letters of uncertain reading with the dots or circles above.
A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

Notes:

• גזאים, "nations" (13), is never written this way in any ancient Hebrew text. The spelling גואים, with mater lectionis waw to mark the /ō/ vowel, appears 22 times in QH, e.g., 1QM 12:14; 16:1; 11QT 56:13; 57:7; 60:21; 62:12; 64:10. In addition, the spelling גואים occurs in N.H. 51:6 (an extremely difficult text to read)—but the specific form גואים as attested in HazGab 13

50. On an alternative explanation for this word, see n. 70 below.
51. Data according to DSSEL, updating the 14 attestations mentioned by Qimron, Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 31.
is unknown from elsewhere. Naturally, one would reconstruct the same pronunciation for גאים and גואים, viz., gōîm (see §1.3, first bullet), but the unique orthography is noteworthy nonetheless. In theory, the word גֵּאִים, "haughty ones," could be read here (cf. Pss 94:2; 140:6; Prov 15:25; 16:19), but the two passages in Isa 29:7–8 (ﬠַל־אֲרִיאֵל הַצֹּבְאִים כָּל־הַגּוֹיִ֔ם, kol haggôyîm hasōbê’îm ‘al har siyyôn, "all the nations that besiege Mt. Zion") make this highly unlikely.

- HazGab 19 and 80 attest the expected plural form ימים, "days" (on the final nun in place of final mem, see §2.6). In HazGab 32, the atypical form ימות occurs in the expression עו֯לם יְמ֣ו֯ת יְמֵי (as opposed to יְמֵי עֶלְלֵי), "days of eternity," clearly borrowed from Deut 32:7, ימַֽהְמַּת ַֽלַּמַּת עֶלְלֵי, ימות עֶלְלֵי. One should note that this form is not attested in QH, though it continues to be productive in MH, as witnessed through an assortment of phrases: ימות המשיח, "days of the Messiah" (e.g., m. Ber. 1:5), ימות השנה, "days of the year" (e.g., m. Šeqal. 7:2; 8:1), ימות החימה, "days of the festival" (e.g., m. Sukkah 3:13; 4:8), ימות השמש, "days of sunshine" (e.g., m. B. Mesi’a 8:6), ימות הגשמים, "days of rain" (ibid.), etc.—even if the phrase עולם ימות, "days of eternity," does not occur in the Tannaitic corpus.

- The first rare word in the above list is קיטוט, "trembling" (24), treated in two earlier articles—by the present writer, with said definition, and by Bar-Asher, who would define the word as "just, only, little." In either case, one notes that the form of the noun קיטוט is the verbal substantive qitūl, relatively rare in BH, but which appears more prominently in MH.

- The second rare word in the above list is שבין, "elders" (15), an Aramaism in HazGab. In the Bible, the noun שָׂב, "old man," occurs in Job 15:10; the verb שַׂבְתִּי, "I am old/gray," appears in 1 Sam 12:2; and the unusual nominal form שֶׂיבוֹ, "his old age," occurs in 1 Kgs 14:4. (I do not deal here with

52. The only other occurrence of ימות in the Bible is Ps 90:15. In Isa 63:9; 63:11, we encounter the expected phrase עוֹלָם יְמֵי, "days of eternity," clearly borrowed from Deut 32:7. The use of the plural construct ימות in Deut 32:7. Phoenician, and MH suggests that this form is an Israelian Hebrew (IH) feature (even if Ps 90:15 cannot be explained thereby). See further Gary A. Rendsburg, “The Galilean Background of Mishnaic Hebrew,” in The Galilee in Late Antiquity (ed. Lee I. Levine; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992), 233.

53. Rendsburg, "Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription," 108–10; and Bar-Asher, "al ha-Lašon be-‘Hazon Gavri el,'" 211–17. See also Yuditsky and Qimron, "He’arot ‘al ha-Ketovet," 141.


56. This distribution suggests that the root is an IH feature, since in one passage the speaker is Samuel from the hill country of Ephraim, while in the other the setting is Shiloh. Its presence in Job 15:10 fits into the much larger picture of numerous Aramaisms in that book;
the standard noun "שֵׂיבָה," old age," which occurs 19x in the Bible.) This lexeme appears three times in Ben Sira (8:9; 32:3; 42:8), according to Aramaic influence on postbiblical Hebrew. The first occurrence (from ms A) is plural שֵׂיבָיָם; the latter two (from ms B) singular שֵׂיב. Interestingly, the well-known Aramaic noun סב is spelled with samek, while both HazGab and Ben Sira follow the biblical orthography in using sin.

- On the plural endings י- vs. יִ-; see §2.6.

2.3.2. Proper Nouns

The proper nouns (including the various forms meaning "God") attested in HazGab are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proper Noun</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>אלה, &quot;God&quot;</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אלהים, &quot;God&quot;</td>
<td>11, 20, 23, 25, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אלהי, &quot;God&quot; (cstr.)</td>
<td>13', 18, 20, 26, 29, 58, 58, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אלה, &quot;God&quot; (cstr.)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נבּרָאֵל, &quot;Gabriel&quot;</td>
<td>77, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>דוד, &quot;David&quot;</td>
<td>16, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יהודה, &quot;Judah&quot;</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יהוה, &quot;YHWH&quot;</td>
<td>11, 13, 18', 20, 23, 25, 29, 57, 58, 68, 69, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ירושלם, &quot;Jerusalem&quot;</td>
<td>12, 27, 32', 57, 66' (line 32 with hanging yod, line 66 with plene spelling)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ישראל, &quot;Israel&quot;</td>
<td>12, 13, 18, 19, 20, 26, 30', 58, 59, 68, 69, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מיכאל, &quot;Michael&quot;</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- The shorter form אלה, "God," appears in line 26, in the expression אלה יְתֵרְבּות, "God of the chariots." While one might be inclined to assume here the Masoretic Hebrew vocalization, viz., אלה, אֱלוֹה, אֱלוֹה, one should note that this word is almost always written plene in MT as אלהא (55x), with only three instances of the defectiva orthography אלהא, each of which can be explained. In Deut 32:17, the expression אלהא אָל, "non-god," creates a single unit, which leads to the non-use of waw; in Hab 1:11, the presence of the suffix pronoun explains the spelling אלהא אָל, "to his god"; and in Dan

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57. Ben Sira 32:3, according to the numeration system of Pancratius C. Beentjes (The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts [VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 58), as opposed to 35:3, according to the numeration system of Sefer Ben Sira (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 5733), 31.

11:38, the use of לֶאֱלֹהַ֙, “and to the god,” allows for variation in light of ולָאָלֹ֖ה, “and to the god,” later in the verse. Given the propensity for plene spelling in HazGab (see §1.1), one wonders if לָאָלֹ֖ה in line 26 should not be vocalized as in Aramaic, viz., אֱלָהִּֽי (Dan 2:28; etc.).

- On the construct form אֱלָהִּֽי in line 68 in the expression אֱלָהִּֽי, “God of Israel,” presumably to be read as אלהי (thus Yuditsky-Qimron), see §1.3, second bullet.

2.3.3. Construct Phrases
The following construct phrases are attested:

- בִּיתָּא, “house of Israel” (12)
- יָרָשְׁלָם, “great things of Jerusalem” (12)
- בְּבוֹרֵיהּ, “glory of YHWH” (23, 25)
- אֱלֹהַּ, “God of the chariots” (26)
- שֶֽׁמֶשׁ, “violence of Jerusalem” (27)
- יְרִי סְדַרְיָֽה, “cities of Judah” (27)
- מַלְאַֽךְ, “armies of the angel” (28)
- יוֹמָֽיִם, “days of eternity” (32)
- [ ], “years of [ ]” (32)
- קְדַשְּׁיָֽהוֹ, “holy-ones of eternity” (65)
- יַעֲבֹֽד, “servant of YHWH” (72)

In addition to the above list, one finds the repeated expressions יהוה צבאות, “YHWH of armies” (traditionally “LORD of Hosts”) and אלהי ישראל, “God of Israel” (with variant spellings and phrasings). Interestingly, we also encounter the following expressions, in which the absolute form אלהים, “God,” is used:

- אלהים צבאות (11)
- יהוה אלהים צבאות (20, 25–26, 29)

These phrases are not original to HazGab, since they occur in the Bible: the former in Ps 80:8, 15; the latter in Ps 59:6; 80:5, 20; 84:9.60

2.3.4. Adjectives
Four adjectives are attested, in the following adjectival clauses:

- בְּהֵדֹרָתָּה, “new covenant” (18–19)
- זָרְעָֽתָּה, “this evil plant” (21–22)

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59. The construct of the numeral 2 is possible here, though given the presence of יָוֵֽלֶם יָוֵֽלֶם, “days of eternity,” immediately preceding in line 32, one assumes that “years of [ ]” is the correct understanding (with Yuditsky and Qimron).

60. For more on these usages, see Rendsburg, “Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscriptiion,” 115.
2.3.5. Definite Article
The definite article -ה occurs in lines 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 22, 25, 26, 28, 64, 67, 72, 73, 74, 80. It is used regularly and exhibits no peculiarities or departures from the grammatical norm of BH. Thus, for example, the definite article is attached to all three elements in the adjectival clause: "this evil plant" (21–22); it appears after each use of את (24–25, 73, even if both of these passages derive from biblical verses); etc.

2.4. Numerals
The following numerals are attested:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Line(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>&quot;one&quot; (fem.)</td>
<td>15′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אeder</td>
<td>&quot;one&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שתו</td>
<td>&quot;two&quot; (fem.)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שתו</td>
<td>&quot;two&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שלוש</td>
<td>&quot;three&quot; (fem.)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שלוש</td>
<td>&quot;three&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30, 65, 70, 75, 79, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שעל(ת)</td>
<td>&quot;three&quot; (masc. cstr.)</td>
<td>19, 80 (the form is written defectiva in line 19, plene in line 80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ארבע</td>
<td>&quot;four&quot; (fem.)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ארבע</td>
<td>&quot;four&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>חמיש</td>
<td>&quot;five&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ששה</td>
<td>&quot;six&quot; (masc.)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>אלף</td>
<td>&quot;thousands&quot;</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- In line 15, we have a simple counting of 1 through 4, using the feminine forms, even if it is not clear what is being enumerated here. The nouns that follow are all masculine: "the prophets, and the elders, [and] the pious ones."
- In line 30, we have a simple counting of 1 through 6, using the masculine forms. In this instance, there are no nouns following, so again one must assume a basic enumeration.
- The fact that line 15 uses the feminine (that is, unmarked) forms, while line 30 uses the masculine (that is, marked) forms, should be ascribed to

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61. Almost without a doubt the word ובזרועך, "and with your arm," is to be restored in the brackets representing the end of line 73, as per Yuditsky and Qimron.
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As an aside, one may observe that these two sequences of numerals represent the oldest simple counting in an ancient Hebrew text.

- Use of numerals beyond simple counting occurs in the following phrases:
  - "three holy-ones of eternity" (65)
  - "three shepherds" (70)
  - "three shepherds" (75)
  - "three shepherds" (79)
  - "three [pro]phets" (79r)
  - "for three days" (19)
  - "for three days" (80)

- One observes the use of the absolute form שלשה when counting individual items (holy ones, shepherds, prophets), but the use of the construct form שלש when counting items more naturally counted, such as “days.” This pattern accords generally with the BH standard. Note, for example, 27 occurrences of ימים שלשה in the Bible vs. only 4 occurrences of ימים שלש.

- All seven instances above reflect the dominant order in SBH, QH, and MH, that is, with numeral preceding the item counted.

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62. We have mentioned variant phraseology as a stylistic device several times above. For a convenient introduction to the subject, see Rendsburg, “Linguistic and Stylistic Notes to the Hazon Gabriel Inscription,” 116. Such variations are legion in the Bible; see, e.g., Lev 11:27, להם הם טמאים, and Lev 11:28, להם הם טמאים, both meaning “they are impure to you.” I plan to present a study of this stylistic device in the near future.

63. No such sequences occur in BH, QH, etc., though hardly anyone seems to have noticed this point. For a brief comment, see Saul Levin, “A Theory of Grammatical Gender, Suggested by the Anomalous Agreement of the Semitic Numerals,” in The Seventh LACUS Forum 1980 (ed. James E. Copeland and Philip W. Davis; Columbia, S.C.: Hornbeam, 1981), 297. For three later instances from the Tannaitic corpus, see m. Bek. 9:7, t. Ta'an. 2:2, and Sifra Zavim 5:2. All three of these passages use the masculine form, since days are being counted.


65. For the situation in MH, see Moshe Azar, Tahbir Lešon ha-Mišna (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1995), 189–90. The author claims that the absolute forms of the numerals 3 to 10 are used when the counted item is unknown, and that the construct forms are used when the counted item is known—though measurements may take the construct forms regardless. At any rate, we note here that the MH standard for the specific phrase under discussion is שלשה ימים, with over 50 such examples, vs. only 3 instances of ימים שלש (m. Šabb. 1:9; m. Mo’ed Qat. 3:5; m. Sanh. 3:5).

66. For the situation in LBH, see Polzin, Late Biblical Hebrew, 58–60; though note the corrective presented in Gary A. Rendsburg, “Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of ‘P’,” JANES 12 (1980): 71.
2.5. Verbs

The following verbs are attested, presented here with root, specific form, gloss, and parsing.

2.5.1. Suffix Conjugation (SC)
-אמר (11, 13, 17, 19, 29, 57, 58, 69), "he said" (Qal 3rd masc. sg. SC)
-בקש (16), "he requested" (Pi'el 3rd masc. sg. SC)
-בקשו (28), "they requested" (Pi'el 3rd masc. pl. SC)
-יצא (75), "they went out" (Qal 3rd masc. pl. SC)
-ראה (71), "I saw" (Qal 1st com. sg. SC)
-שוב (17r), "he answered me" (Hiphil 3rd masc. sg. SC + 1st com. sg. obj. pron.)
-שלח (70), "I sent" (Qal 1st com. sg. SC)
-שמע (26), "he heard" (Qal 3rd masc. sg. SC)

2.5.2. Prefix Conjugation (PC)
-ידע (19), "you will know" (Qal 2nd masc. sg. PC)
-ירא (23), "do not fear" (Qal 2nd masc. sg. PC)
-esda (12), "and I will tell" (Hiphil 1st com. sg. PC)
-אדג (21), "and I will tell" (Hiphil 1st com. sg. PC)
-느냐 (27), "he will console" (Pi'el 3rd masc. sg. PC)
-נהבו (78), "you will save them" (Hiphil 2nd masc. sg. PC + 3rd masc. pl. obj. pron.)
-ותיל (78), "they will save" (Hiphil 3rd masc. pl. PC)

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68. As with the long list of nouns above, here too I omit dots or circles marking letters of uncertain reading.
2.5.3. wayyiqtol Forms (wyqtl)

** formas **

"and I said" (31)  Qal 1st sg. wyqtl

"and I saw" (32)  Qal 1st sg. wyqtl

2.5.4. Imperative (impv.)

"ask me" (21)  Qal masc. sg. impv. + 1st com. sg. obj. pron.

2.5.5. Participle (ptc.)

"request" (17)  Pi

"stand" (22)  Qal masc. sg. ptc.

"(he) does" (74)  Qal masc. sg. ptc.

"will shake" (24)  Hiph'il masc. sg. ptc.

"besiege" (14)  Qal masc. pl. ptc.

"ask me" (11)  Qal masc. sg. ptc. + 1st com. sg. obj. pron.

2.5.6. Passive Participle (pass. ptc.)

"are certain" (66)  Qal masc. pl. pass. ptc.

"is blessed" (23)  Qal masc. sg. pass. ptc.

2.5.7. Infinitive Construct (inf. cstr.)

"in supporting you" (23)  Qal inf. cstr. + 2nd masc. sg. obj. pron.

2.5.8. Uncertain forms:

- "break," though it is unclear whether the word to be read as a SC (= BH "נִשְׁבַּר") or as a participle (= BH "נִשְׁבָּר"). Knohl rendered the phrase "the evil has been broken," suggesting the former. 71

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69. See also הָרְעַב, "lovers" (28, 68), "shepherds" (70, 75, 79), morphologically participles, though treated above under §2.3.1 Common Nouns.

70. See also הָסְדִית, "outstretched" (74), treated above under §2.3.4 Adjectives.

71. Israel Knohl, "Gabriel’s Revelation' in English Translation,” sidebar to Israel Knohl,
Yuditsky and Qimron would agree vis-à-vis the form, though they prefer to see the time reference as קרוב, futuro, that is, the imminent future.72

The root is clearly בקש, though one cannot be certain if the form is prefix conjugation or participle (suffix conjugation is less likely).

2.5.9. Suffixed ו- on 1st com. sg. PC and wayyiqtol Forms

- Two variant forms of "and I will tell you" occur in the inscription: ואגדה (12) and ואגיד (21). Unfortunately, the words preceding ישראל, בית ירושלים וגדלת, "... house of Israel, and I will tell the great things of Jerusalem," cannot be read. Accordingly, one cannot determine if the verb here bears cohortative force or not.73 I suspect not: to my mind a new statement begins here, in which case the cohortative preceded by conjunctive -ו would be unusual. Instead, we should see here the PC long form serving as the indicative, with no cohortative force. If this be the case, then the two forms in lines 12 and 21 are simply variants of one another, with no real distinction. Which is to say, once more we are dealing with the stylistic device of variation with repetition: in the first case the scribe used the long form ending in ו, without internal mater lectionis yod; while in the second instance he used the standard form, with internal mater lectionis yod.74

- Note further that the two 1st com. sg. wayyiqtol forms, ואמרה (31) and ואראה (32) include the additional ו- ending. This usage is especially characteristic of LBH and QH.75

- The trend visible in three of the aforementioned forms, to affix ו- to 1st com. sg. (and 1st com. pl.) PC verbs (both wĕyiqtol and wayyiqtol), which lack this ending in SBH, is a distinguishing feature of LBH (see the previous bullet), SH,76 and QH (even if we cannot always distinguish the two in QH, given the lack of vocalization).77
2.6. **Final mem/nun**

With nouns, adjectives, numerals, and participles now presented, we may address the issue of the variant endings ים- and יין-. 78

The following seven forms bear the ים- suffix: 79

| נלמי | (13) |
| אוביאט | (14) |
| אמהים | (16) |
| ברוב | (68) |
| נבואים | (70) |
| אלפיס | (74) |
| רועים | (79) |

More dominant, however, is the יין- suffix, carried by eight different plural forms for a total of twelve attestations:

| נביאין | (15, 79) |
| שבין | (15) |
| חסידין | (16) |
| ימין | (19, 80) |
| ראב | (28, 68) |
| בטוחין | (66) |
| רועין | (70, 75) |
| קדושין | (76) |

More dominant, however, is the יין- suffix, carried by eight different plural forms for a total of twelve attestations:

In addition, the two forms of the numeral 2 bear the nun ending: שִׁים (15) and שַׁין (30). On the other hand, the common noun שמים, “heavens” (25, 73) retains the expected mem.

To my mind, no discernible pattern can be established for these data. 81 Clearly, HazGab does not cohere with BH, Ben Sira, and QH, in which forms with mem

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78. See the earlier treatment by Bar-Asher, "מלוח תבשיל קרמיה," 199–200, though his data are based on the readings of Yardeni and Elizur.

79. I do not include here אלהים, “God,” which always appears, not surprisingly, with final mem.

80. Again, in line 79, the reading is [לכד]. Even if another lexeme were to be read here (which is highly unlikely), the form ends with nun nonetheless.

81. See already Yuditsky and Qimron, “He’arot ʿal ha-Ketovet,” 199–200, though his data are based on the readings of Yardeni and Elizur.
dominate, with a smattering of forms with nun. The two corpora in which the two endings occur with more or less equal frequency are MH and HJDD, but in these two cases at least some order is present. For MH, Shelomo Naeh established basic rules—dealing not only with the masculine plural ending but with personal pronouns and suffix pronouns as well—which interface with both phonology (depending on the nature of the preceding vowel) and morphology (depending on whether the form is a noun, adjective, or participle). These rules are not operative in HazGab, however. Thus, for example, the masculine plural active participle occurs with both endings, viz., צובאים (14), הבין (28, 68), and two common nouns, נביאים and רועים, appear with both endings (on which see further below). In the case of HJDD, Uri Mor determined that individual documents typically witness either mem or nun, indicating that individual scribes favored one ending over the other—but though naturally this issue is not relevant to our inscription, a single text written by a single scribe.

The only possible tendency that governs this issue in HazGab is dependency on the biblical text. This would explain the use of גאים (13) and צובאים (14) (cf. Isa 29:7 for both); אלפים (16) (assuming reliance on Prov 22:21); and עביד (74) (cf. Exod 20:6 // Deut 5:10). On נביאים (70) and רועים (79), see the next paragraph. This leaves only the adjective ריבים (68) without a proper explanation. Though one must consider the possibility that the potential explanation offered here results merely from coincidence.

Finally, on the assumption that the last word in line 69 can be restored as שלושה (as per Yuditsky and Qimron), one observes the stylistic device of repetition with variation between the following two passages:

- שלושה נביאים ... שלושה רועים (69–70)
- שלושה חמשה שלושה נביאים (נביא) (79r)

Note both (a) the order of “prophets > shepherds” in the first passage vs. “shepherds > prophets” in the second; and (b) how the first plural noun in each case ends in ים, while the second one ends in ינ. This device yields attestations of both רועים and נביאים.
3. Syntax

3.1. Object of the verb

As can be seen above (in the various subsections in §2.5), the object of the verb is suffixed to the verb on four occasions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יָבֵן</td>
<td>Hiph'il 3rd masc. sg. SC + 1st. com. sg. obj. pron.</td>
<td>&quot;he answered me&quot; (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>תִּצְלוּמ</td>
<td>Hiph'il 2nd masc. sg. PC + 3rd masc. pl. obj. pron.</td>
<td>&quot;you will save them&quot; (78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שָאָלֵנִי</td>
<td>Qal masc. sg. impv. + 1st com. sg. obj. pron.</td>
<td>&quot;ask me&quot; (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שָאָלֵנִי</td>
<td>Qal masc. sg. ptc. + 1st com. sg. obj. pron.</td>
<td>&quot;(you) ask me&quot; (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Coincidentally, each of the four principle parts of the verbs (SC, PC, imperative, and participle) is represented here.85

By contrast, there is only one instance of the object of the verb expressed via the independent morpheme, that is, אֹתָך֗ in the phrase אֹתָך֗ תִּצְלוּמ, “they will save you” (78).

This distribution accords with LBH, QH, HJDD, and MH, in which the former system prevails.86 Once more we may invoke the stylistic device of variation to explain the lone counterexample in HazGab, as we observe how אֹתָך֗ תִּצְלוּמ, “they will save you,” follows immediately upon אֹתָך֗ תִּצְלוּמ, “you will save them,” in line 78, with the same verb utilized in these two instances.87

3.2. Word Order

3.2.1. Word Order with Noun Subjects and Finite Verbs

In this section I treat verb clauses in which a noun serves as subject. I do not include the formulaic “thus says YHWH” clauses, in which the verb אמר always precedes the subject, due mainly to the presence of הָא בֶּית הָא מְכֹר, “thus,” at the head of the clause.

85. One also notes the infinitive construct with object pronoun in the form בָּסָמֵךְ, “in supporting you” (23), though in this instance there is no alternative usage.
87. For an instance of such in the Mishnah, see m. Bek. 9:7–8, with וּמוֹנַן (9:7) followed by אוֹתָן מוֹנֶה (9:8), as noted by Cohen, “ha-Šimmui be-Kinnuy ha-Musa’ ha-Davuq,” 211.
Subject–verb (SV) order occurs in the following:

- "my servant David requested from before me" (16)
- "three shepherds went out to Israel" (75)
- "a prophet and a shepherd will save you" (78)

By contrast, HazGab includes only one example of verb–subject (VS) order, perhaps owing to the passive voice:

- "the evil is broken before the righteousness" (20–21)

The predominance of SV over VS in HazGab accords with the increased use of the former (compared to SBH) in LBH, QH, and MH.88

3.2.2. Word Order with Pronouns and Participles

HazGab includes four cases of pronoun + participle, with no instances of the reverse order. The relevant examples are:

- "you ask me" (11)
- "you stand" (22)
- "and I cause-to-quake" (24)
- "we are certain" (66)

I provide here information regarding the question of pronoun + participle vs. participle + pronoun throughout the varieties of ancient Hebrew. While I know of no study that presents the raw data for BH, according to Joüon-Muraoka, “The pronoun can precede or follow the verb, apparently without any difference in meaning; in most cases it precedes.”89 An exception would appear to be Qohelet, where the norm is participle + pronoun.90 In QH, the more frequent order is

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pronoun + participle. To cite one famous text, 4QMMT, one finds six instances of אנחנו, “we,” preceding the participle (4Q394 4:5, 4Q396 1:3, 3:4–5, 4:2, 4Q397 1:7, 4:9) vs. only one case of אנחנו following the participle (4Q394 3:12). Most instances of the order participle + pronoun involve a performative act, most frequently with the passive participles ברוך, “blessed,” and אורר, “cursed,” e.g., 1QS 11:15: אתה ברוך, “blessed are you”; 1QS 2:7: אתה אorר, “cursed are you.” In the second-century C.E. Judean Desert documents, one finds the pronoun preceding the participle 3x (Mur. 174:5, N.H. 49:7, Yadin 49:3), and the pronoun following the participle 5x (Mur. 43:3, N.H. 6:1 [via restoration], Yadin 45:6, 46:3, Bet ‘Emer 4–5)—though four of these involve the verb הדר, “thank,” e.g., Yadin 45:6 והדר אני לך אני ודא מ, “I thank you today,” again a performative act. Nor do I know of a study that scrutinizes MH regarding this question, though apparently the more common usage is participle + pronoun. In light of these data, HazGab fits with BH, QH, and HJDD, against the idiosyncratic Qohelet and MH.

4. Lexicon

4.1. Individual Nouns and Verbs

As the above lists of nouns and verbs indicate (see §§2.3.1; 2.5) most of the vocabulary in HazGab is basic Hebrew. Only a few items provide fodder for the LBH–QH–MH continuum of Second Temple period (and beyond) Hebrew, three of which (the nouns) have been discussed above already.

- The verbal noun קיטוט, “trembling” (24), occurs in the qittul pattern, as treated elsewhere by the present author.95
- The noun שביב, “elders” (15), occurs under Aramaic influence.
- The vocable אלה, “God” (26), may reflect the Aramaic, as opposed to the Hebrew, pronunciation.
- The verbal root בקש, “request,” occurs 4x in HazGab (including the form in line 78, however it is to be restored). While this root appears in BH

92. Ibid., 200–203.
94. Moses H. Segal, A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew (Oxford: Clarendon, 1927), 164; and Segal, Diqduq Lešon ha-Mišna, 182. Unfortunately, Azar (Tahbir Lešon ha-Mišna, 29–61) is not as helpful as one would hope on this issue, since the material tends to be organized on a structural basis, without attention to the different parts of speech (noun vs. pronoun as subject; finite verb vs. participle as predicate).
texts of all periods, the verb becomes more common in LBH (e.g., 5x in Zechariah, 3x in Malachi, 10x in Ezra-Nehemiah, 9x in Esther, 7x in Qohelet), a trend that continues into postbiblical times, as it occurs 15x in Ben Sira, 49x in QH, and 200x in Tannaitic texts. The frequency of the verb בקש, “request,” in HazGab dovetails well with this picture.

### 4.2. Phraseology

While not strictly belonging to a grammatical sketch, I take the opportunity to present here comments on two phrases in HazGab that reflect developments central to the Hebrew of Second Temple period sources.

In lines 23–24, מקומוelman יהוהברוך, “blessed is the glory of YHWH God from his place,” expands on Ezek 3:12, מימקוחברוכייהוהברוך, “blessed is the glory of YHWH from his place.” The inclusion of אלהים in the HazGab version reflects the growing trend in Second Temple sources toward less frequent use of the divine name יהוה, “YHWH,” with a concomitant increase in the use of אלהים, “God.” For example, in the Bible, יהוה occurs 6,828x, while אלהים (including construct אלהי, with suffixes, etc.) occurs ca. 2,500x. In Samuel–Kings, the data are 1,007 and 346, respectively; that is, these books use YHWH about 75 percent of the time. In Ezra-Nehemiah, by con-
strast, the data are 54 and 120, respectively, so that this material uses YHWH only about 31 percent of the time.\textsuperscript{100} In the DSS, יהוה occurs 333x, while אלהים occurs 414x—though these occurrences are outweighed by the more frequent use of אל 694x.\textsuperscript{101} Clearly, the author of HazGab could not simply delete יהוה in his paraphrase of Ezek 3:12, and thus the term remains in line 23. His inclusion of אלהים immediately thereafter, however, reflects the greater use of this divine term during the period of composition.

Yuditsky and Qimron have called attention to the idiom שבר, “break,” + לפני, “before,” as seen in lines 20–21 הצדק לפני הרע נשבר, “the evil is broken before the righteousness.” They cited two Qumran parallels: 4Q372 2:12 כי שברת לפני יוהו, “for he was shattered before him”; and 4Q373 1:6 וב שבר יהוה אלהינו לפני, “for YHWH our God shattered him before.” A check of the latter (including the photograph), however, reveals that לפני is not visible before the break. Better to read וב שבר יהוה אלהינו לפני, “for YHWH our God shattered him with the mouth of,” with presumably the word שיבת, “sword,” following. Another potential parallel is forthcoming from 4Q393 2:7 ונשבה לפני אתה, “broken before you,” though unfortunately little can be read with certainty before these words. Regardless, and more importantly, one will concur with Yuditsky and Qimron that the collocation derives from Aramaic, as per their noting \textit{Tg. Onq.} Deut 20:3 אלא יחשיבם ויאשורモノ, “and do not be in dread before them.”\textsuperscript{102}

5. Summary

5.1. Features shared by HazGab and BH

- Spelling of דוד
- Retention of laryngeals and pharyngeals
- Personal pronouns
- Suffix pronouns, especially use of בם
- Use of הנה
- Use of לפני
- Use of ה
- Order of numeral + noun
- Use of שלוש(ים), “three days”
- Order of pronoun + participle

\textsuperscript{100} I do not contrast Chronicles here, since much of the material parallels Samuel–Kings, including slavish copying of יהוה.

\textsuperscript{101} On this last divine name, see Rendsburg, “Qumran Hebrew,” 238–39.

\textsuperscript{102} Yuditsky and Qimron, “He’arot ‘al ha-Ketovet,” 138.
5.2. **Features shared by HazGab and LBH:**
- Retention of laryngeals and pharyngeals
- Personal pronouns
- Suffix pronouns, though not use of בּ
- Relative pronoun ש-
- Use of הָנָה
- Non-assimilation of nun in the combination מ + following consonant
- Use of לַמְעַן
- Use of כּ
- 1st com. sg. verbs ending in -ה
- Object of the verb expressed through suffix pronoun attached to verb
- SV word order

5.3. **Features shared by HazGab and SH**
- 1st com. sg. verbs ending in -ה

5.4. **Features shared by HazGab and Ben Sira**
- Spelling of דוד
- Retention of laryngeals and pharyngeals
- Use of לַמְעַן
- Use of ש-

5.5. **Features shared by HazGab and QH**
- Preponderance of plene spelling
- Pronunciation of גּוֹיִם > גוּיִים (spelled גוֹיִים typically in DSS)
- Use of של (3Q15 Copper Scroll only; not general QH)
- Use of הָנָה
- Order of numeral + noun
- שָׁנָה (3Q15 Copper Scroll only; not general QH)
- 1st com. sg. verbs ending in -ה
- Object of the verb expressed through suffix pronoun attached to verb
- SV word order
- Order of pronoun + participle

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103. Some of these features are not distinctive of LBH per se, but rather of BH as a whole; I include them here nonetheless. For an exceedingly long list of LBH traits identified by scholars in the last several decades (some of which are discussed herein), see the summary chart in Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (2 vols.; London: Equinox, 2008), 2:160–214—even if I disagree with the overall approach taken by the authors of this work. Incidentally, on p. 168, no. 32, the first word should be corrected from “decrease” to “increase.”
5.6. Features shared by HazGab and HJDD

- The form לפניך
- Pronunciation of גויים > נאום and גאים (spelled גואין 1x)
- Feminine singular demonstrative pronoun ז
- Use of מה
- Use of של
- Non-assimilation of nun in the combination מ + following consonant
- Use of שתין
- Final mem/nun fluctuation (albeit with no apparent pattern in HG)
- Object of the verb expressed through suffix pronoun attached to verb
- Order of pronoun + participle

5.7. Features shared by HazGab and MH

- Feminine singular demonstrative pronoun ז
- Relative pronoun -ש
- Use of מה
- Use of של
- קיטוט formation, as in קיטוט
- Order of numeral + noun
- Final mem/nun fluctuation (albeit with no apparent pattern in HG)
- Object of the verb expressed through suffix pronoun attached to verb
- SV word order

Any ancient Hebrew text will share features with other Hebrew texts of the general period, especially large corpora such as those underlying QH and MH. The above digest demonstrates this point clearly, with many links between Hazon Gabriel and the two largest text groups of late antiquity: the Dead Sea Scrolls, on the one hand, and the Tannaitic literature, on the other. At the same time, however, Hazon Gabriel uses several forms that are lacking in one or the other of these corpora. For example, HazGab uses ז andMah, which are lacking in QH but present in MH, while it uses כה and הנה, which are present in QH but lacking in MH—not to mention //$, which is wanting in both QH and MH.

In conclusion, I refrain from attempting to categorize the language of HazGab as closer to one variety of ancient Hebrew over another, though it is hoped that this grammatical sketch will serve researchers, especially as (hoffentlich) more such texts come to light in the future.
6. Appendix

As indicated at the outset of this article, I follow the reading of HazGab provided by Yuditsky and Qimron. If the readings proffered by Yardeni and Elizur were followed, we would gain the following forms, not treated above.

- "thus" (11, 29, 58)
- "forty" (15)
- "that" (17, 19, 57)
- "his seat" (24)
- "gates (of)" (27)
- "work" (28)
- "others" (28)
- "work" (31)
- "their" (67)
- "priest" (76)
- "sons (of)" (76)

All of these lexemes, once more, are part of the basic Hebrew vocabulary, spanning all of ancient Hebrew.

- The use of both "thus" (11, 29, 58), and "that" (17, 19, 57), to introduce "thus says YHWH" statements would be, as Yuditsky and Qimron have stressed, unusual—though it is hoped that the present author has provided a suitable explanation for their use, should the reading(s) of Yardeni and Elizur be sustained.

- If the reading "their," in line 67 is accepted, we would gain another attestation of the 3rd masc. pl. suffix pronoun חַלָּל, seen also in the form "in them" (line 76), treated above, §2.1.2.

104. Yuditsky and Qimron, "He‘arot ‘al ha-Ketovet," 137–39, s.v., lines 11, 17, 19, 29 (especially line 11).