A textual analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385 & 4Q386) in order to determine its dating in the light of ancient scribal practices

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by

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DECLARATION

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of the University of Pretoria's policy in this regard.

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J.J. Coetzee January 2019

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCE	Before the Common Era
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
c.	*circa* (Latin), meaning “approximately”
CD	Refers to a context dependent sentence, a kernel sentence also referred to as a semi-dependent sentence or sub-colon
CE	Common Era
Cf.	*confer* (Latin), meaning “compare”
D	Refers to a dependent sentence, a kernel sentence also referred to as a comma
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
I	Refers to an independent sentence, a kernel sentence also referred to as a colon
LXX	Septuagint; Greek translation(s) of the Old Testament
MT	One or several medieval manuscripts of the Hebrew Old Testament; Hebrew codex manuscript(s); Masoretic or Rabbinic texts of the Hebrew Old Testament
vv.	verses

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

Pertaining to the manner of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (hereafter referred to as DSS), James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint (2004:3) wrote as follows: "[W]ho has not heard about the Bedouin shepherd who threw a rock into a cave, heard a crash, went in to explore, and found the scrolls?" Although this description might be seated in truth, the exact circumstances regarding the discovery of the scrolls remain unknown. The discovery of the scrolls, and its eventual recognition by the scholarly community, happened amid turmoil and violence in the Middle East. "[T]ensions between Arabs and Jews were high during the British Mandate, and they grew higher and the mayhem increased as the United Nations debated the partition of Palestine" (VanderKam & Flint 2004:3-4). It was towards the end of the British Mandate in Palestine that the partition of land was ended in May 1948. At approximately this time three men, namely Khalil Musa, Jum'a Muhammad Khalil, and Muhammad Ahmed el-Hamed, from the Ta'amireh tribe of Bedouin, were tending to their flock of sheep and goats in the region of Ain Feshkha, on the northern side of the Dead Sea (VanderKam & Flint 2004:3-4). It is considered that the youngest of the three men, Muhammad Ahmed el-Hamed, was the first to enter a cave and found tall jars that lined the walls. It was within these jars that some of the first DSS were discovered (VanderKam & Flint 2004:4).

Since the existence of the scrolls came to the attention of scholars, academics have been labouring to determine their date, authorship, and provenance, especially of those scrolls found in caves around Qumran (VanderKam & Flint 2004:239). A characteristic of the Judaism(s) during the Second Temple Period in Palestine was that it comprised different groups, such as the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and those who lived at Qumran (Baumgarten 1997:1). Each group used specific terminology in Classical Hebrew to refer to or identify themselves. At Qumran this was also the case. The community occupying this site at the time referred to itself as יחד ("community"). This term occurs frequently in the Manual of Discipline, which focusses on the communal identity of the Qumran inhabitants, they who "ate together, prayed together, and decided together" (1QS vi line 3).[1]

[1] The sigla typically used to indicate specific texts from the Judean Desert are composed of a few elements, namely (1) The number of the cave where the manuscript was discovered (e.g., 1-11 for

Modern scholars came to describe some of the aforementioned Jewish groups as sectarian. "In employing the term sect scholars intend to evoke its etymology, indicating that there was some sense in which these movements cut themselves off from the larger institutions of their society" (Baumgarten 1997:5). This is especially the case with reference to the people who lived at Qumran. Albert I. Baumgarten (1997:7) described the Qumran community as a sect as they were

> a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms – the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders – to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity.

Between 1947 and 1956 alone approximately 200 scrolls of nearly all biblical books were discovered in the eleven caves around Qumran, except copies of the books of Esther and Nehemiah.[2] Amongst these manuscripts there were instances of more than one copy of a certain book. This has led to the conclusion that these were particularly popular amongst the members of the Qumran community (Tov 2001:103).

It has been suggested that the Qumran community was established after a group of Essenes resettled the site somewhere between 165 and 152 BCE. Florentino García Martínez (2007:8) wrote that a pre-Qumranic phase preceded the

> fruitful period from which were to proceed writings which establish the ideological bases of the break with the Essene movement and during which there develop the conflicts which are to issue in the sectarian group's trek to the desert.

Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon (1975:147) observed that the discovery of approximately three hundred fragmentary manuscripts from cave 4 at Qumran in 1952 can be dated before the First Jewish Revolt. This discovery, as well as the discovery of documents dating from the 1st and 2nd centuries CE in the region of Wadi Murabba'at, made advances in

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Qumran), (2) The identification of the site where the manuscript was discovered (e.g., Q for Qumran, Mas for Masada, Mur for Murabba'at, Hev for Hever), (3) The name of the biblical book it is a manuscript of (e.g., Gen for Genesis), and (4) The number of the copy of the manuscript. For papyrus fragments the abbreviation 'pap' is used, and for indicating the specific script of a fragment, the abbreviation for the script would be used, e.g., for a fragment written in paleo-Hebrew script it would be indicated with 'paleo' (see Tov 2001:103).

[2] The term "biblical" is used to refer to the collection of books constituting the Hebrew Bible, or Old Testament, unless otherwise indicated.

the study of Early / Biblical Hebrew palaeography possible. Based on the findings of such palaeographic study, a basic chronological framework for dating manuscripts from Qumran has been established, suggesting that texts from this site can largely be dated between 250 BCE and 50 CE (Dimant 2014:9).[3]

Casey Deryl Elledge (2005:88) states that prior to the discovery of the DSS, scholars possessed no complete biblical manuscript dating from this era. Understanding of the Hebrew Bible's development history was thus largely based upon comparisons with three prominent ancient textual traditions, namely (1) the Masoretic or Rabbinic texts (hereafter referred to as MT), (2) the Samaritan Pentateuch, and (3) the Septuagint (hereafter referred to as LXX). Only copies of these traditions' texts were available from late antiquity and medieval times (Elledge 2005:88).

The discovery of the so-called Qumran manuscripts greatly supplemented our knowledge of the development of the aforementioned textual traditions. According to Emanuel Tov and Cross, the largest number of manuscripts from Qumran resemble the later MT. These are therefore often described as "proto-Masoretic" or "proto-Rabbinic" texts, and it is Tov's estimation that approximately 40 percent of all biblical manuscripts discovered at Qumran represent a proto-Masoretic form of the Hebrew Bible (Elledge 2005:88). It is especially in relation to the dating of the scrolls, that the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts is significant. According to Matthias Henze (2005:2), the Qumran scrolls pre-date Codex Leningradensis by a millennium, with the scroll of Daniel (4QDan) dating from *c.* 125 BCE. Henze (2005:2) cites Frank Moore Cross, in explaining the discovery's relevance for the dating of the book of Daniel as follows: "[I]t is no more than about a half century younger that the autograph of Daniel. It is thus closer to the original edition of a biblical work than any other biblical manuscript in existence."

Thus, the manuscripts discovered at Qumran can not clearly be identified with any of the three above-mentioned traditions and is likely the result of the labours of a Qumran scribal school. This argument is based on unique features of these manuscripts, such as their writing style (Elledge 2005:89).

Of special significance was the discovery of texts that correspond to books from the (later) Hebrew Bible. Within these texts one finds additions, deletions, changes, and reordering

[3] See Würthwein (2014) for more information on the Masoretic Text (pp. 15-53), the Qumran Scrolls (pp. 54-78), the Samaritan Text (pp. 79-90), the Septuagint (pp. 95-129), and other translations of the Old Testament (pp. 130-153).

of material that differs from the MT. Geza Vermes coined the description "rewritten Bible" for these texts, and this designation has gained wide acceptance in scholarly circles (Segal 2005:10).

According to Elledge (2005:92-93), Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385-388, 391) is an example of one of the most important writings from Qumran that exhibits features of being an anachronistic manuscript, falling into the category of being a rewritten text. "This writing portrays a creative retelling of Ezekiel's chariot visions and the valley of dry bones that reflects the influence of apocalyptic motifs, including resurrection" (Elledge 2005:93). In the rewritten texts one sometimes finds minor alterations or minimal differences when compared to the later equivalent in the Hebrew Bible, but this is not always the case. The extent of the textual authority these so-called rewritten texts had at Qumran and in Second Temple Judaism remains uncertain. However, the fact that these documents have been penned and preserved is enough reason for Elledge (2005:93) to consider them to be authoritative for the Qumran community.

According to Anders Klostergaard Peterson (2014:14), these rewritten manuscripts were not meant to replace their antecedents. They were meant to interpret the texts' meaning in a new context, in a form of applied hermeneutics. There are, however, those scholars, such as Ben Zion Wachholder, who argue an alternative view. Peterson (2014:14) indicates that Wachholder's understanding of rewritten scripture was that these rewritten manuscripts were meant to replace the original text, its circulating predecessors.

During the first few decades after the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts, they were considered to belong to a single corpus. Devorah Dimant (2014:171) suggested that the assumption at the time was that all the manuscripts belonged to a particular community which was referred to in the first manuscript unearthed. In later years it became apparent, with the formation of an inventory of the Qumran manuscripts, along with the subsequent publications of all the texts from cave 4, that the Qumran library contained texts of different styles and origins that were not necessarily sectarian in nature (cf. Henze 2005:3).

As stated above, Pseudo-Ezekiel, which was discovered at Qumran, is considered to be a rewritten text of Ezekiel. "In 1988 D. Dimant and J. Strugnell considered that there were at least five and possibly six copies of this work (4Q385-90)" (Brooke 1992:321-322), whereas George J. Brooke (1992:322) suggests that there may possibly be only three or four copies of it. The best-preserved version of Pseudo-Ezekiel is that of 4Q385, which consists of eight fragments. According to Brooke (1992:322) the exact order of these fragments is difficult to determine, and that the numbering of fragments 2-4 may be misleading. Hartmut Stegman calculated that 4Q385 fragment 2 represents the last preserved column of 4Q385, while

fragment 3[4] may be placed four columns before that. Brooke (1992:322) states that if this allocation is correct then the placing of the climactic vision of the dry bones at the end of the text may be highly significant. On the other hand, Dimant (2001:7) is of the opinion that fragments 2 and 3 both belong to a column which deals with the biblical vision of the dry bones (Ezekiel 37:1-14). 4Q386 fragment 1 column i partly overlaps with 4Q385 fragment 2, and Dimant (2001:8) suggests that this overlapping is of "special importance since it permits establishing the sequence of the columns following the vision of the dry bones." Whatever the case may be, this issue of the ordering of the fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 is still unresolved.

Pseudo-Ezekiel appears to be based on the prophecies of Ezekiel and takes the form of a dialogue between YHWH and the prophet himself. However, it is likely a pseudepigraphical narrative, written as if by the hand of Ezekiel or during the same time, as it refers to past events before Ezekiel's time. However, allusions are also made to events after the prophet's time. In Pseudo-Ezekiel, the vision of the dry bones appears to be interpreted as referring to eschatological events, which include the resurrection of the dead. However, in Ezekiel 37 this vision is interpreted as a symbol for the return of the exiles and restoration of Israel after the Babylonian exile (Brooke 1992:32).

In this study the focus will fall on two fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385 and 4Q386) discovered at Qumran, which deal with Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones. This is also the same vision we read of in the MT in Ezekiel 37:1-14. The aforementioned fragments share the same theme, but stylistically appear to differ from each other. Could they be rewritings of a proto-Masoretic or proto-Rabbinic source on the vision of the dry bones? What is the provenance of these two fragments? Even though both were discovered at Qumran, is this the place of origin of both, as they differ stylistically from each other? Where did they originate, and how did it come about that they were incorporated into 'sectarian' literature?

[4] In the past this fragment was numbered as Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 12 (cf. García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999, and *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362477). However, in this study the more recent reordering of the fragments of 4Q385 is adhered to. Today fragment 12 is designated as Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3 (see this reordering in Dimant & Parry 2014: 493).

2. Research problem

Due to the existence of various copies of Ezekiel manuscripts, it stands to argue that these texts have been subjected to scribal expansion, interpretation, and redaction over time (Lilly 2012:113). It would be a fruitful exercise to compare different Ezekiel manuscripts with each other in order to better understand how, where, and when the text(s) were composed, and copied. To what extent are we dealing with a stable transmission tradition when it comes to Ezekiel manuscripts which have been transmitted in various traditions in Biblical Hebrew, as is also the case with Pseudo-Ezekiel discovered at Qumran, and specifically versions of the vision of the dry bones? (cf. Lilly 2012:13).

When considering only two fragments from Pseudo-Ezekiel, namely 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, one notices that there is a difference in the spelling of some of the same words, whilst 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 appear to be longer than the text of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, even though both deal with the vision of the dry bones. Other differences include line 1 of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 not appearing in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. There is also reference made to Egypt in 4Q385 fragment 3, whereas this reference does not occur in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. However, in column iii of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i reference is made to Babylon. The last line of both these texts also appear to be different from each other. Even though both texts were discovered at Qumran, how are their differences to be accounted for? It seems unlikely that it would be an oversight on the part of the scribes copying these texts within the same school. One can also argue that due to the sheer amount of manuscripts discovered at Qumran, that not all texts discovered there were necessarily the product of a so-called Qumran scribal school at that location. Where did these manuscripts originate, specifically 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i?

In this study the differences on the textual level between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, will be investigated in order to determine their possible respective provenances, dates, and authorship. What will a comparison between these texts reveal about any scribal tradition that they formed part of, if any?

The orthography of the individual Pseudo-Ezekiel texts will also be compared, and important text critical differences between the MT, LXX, Papyrus 967 (hereafter referred to as p967),[5] and the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments will also be pointed out in order to aid us in better

[5] Papyrus 967 contains parts of the biblical text, including Ezekiel, Daniel, and Esther (Würthwein 2014:268). It is significant in that it contains an earlier form of the book of Ezekiel than that of the MT, dating to *c.* 200 CE (Würthwein 2014:106, 268). It forms part of the Chester Beatty Papyri. Most of the

understanding the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments' origins, and relation to the major (aforementioned) textual traditions.

As the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts are fragmentary, reconstruction of missing sections will be necessary. This reconstruction will be done by comparing the fragments with the equivalent MT, as well as a critical comparison with the reconstructions of Devorah Dimant (2001, and in Dimant & Parry 2014).

3. Hypothesis

If Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 are compared with 4Q386 fragment 1 column i in terms of their similarities and differences regarding style, literary features, and orthography, it stands to argue that we can determine what the possible provenance, dating, and authorship of each text was respectively.

This study will focus on a textual analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, with particular emphasis on possible scribal practices that can be identified via the investigation of the aforementioned texts' orthography and palaeography. Text-critical and redactional aspects pertaining to these texts will also receive attention.

4. Research approach

The approach to this study is as follows:

Chapter 2 will commence with a description of the physical state and preservation of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Images of all three fragments will be included for the reader's cognisance, as they were obtained from the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. From this discussion it ought to be clear that a reconstruction of the readings will be necessary. Where necessary I will discuss differences between different reconstructions of the fragments under investigation and will refer to Ezekiel 37:1-14 where it may aid us in reconstructing the fragmentary readings.

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papyri in this collection was acquired by Alfred Chester Beatty in 1929 (Würthwein 2014:106), and the majority of them is divided amongst three museums, namely the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the Institut für Altertumwissenschaft in Cologne, and the Princeton University Library in Princeton (Würthwein 2014:268).

An analysis of the text will then be necessary to investigate features which are not always visible on the surface of the text during its initial reading (cf. Deppe 2011:xv). "Literary analysis focuses on the unit itself, its overall structure, its constituent forms, its stylistic features, and its coherence" (Thompson 1998:44). In order to understand all aspects of the texts on the micro and macro level, a literary-exegetical analysis of the readings under investigation will be conducted by demarcating the pericopes, units or sections, and through a linguistic-syntactical and structural analysis of each. I will also provide my own translation of each of the texts.

It is my aim with the analyses in chapter 2 to point out what the differences and similarities are between the two versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones in 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i and to account for why this is the case. Are these versions mere copies of each other, and why?

Chapter 3 will commence with a theoretical overview of what orthography is, and what it entails. In practice, the differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones were already compared in relation to their orthography in Chapter 2 of this study, however, here the matter will be discussed in more detail. Aspects that will receive specific attention is fuller orthography, the use of *matres lectionis* and defective orthography, and examples of them from the texts under investigation will be discussed. With regard to orthographic differences between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column I, the focus will pertain to the difference in spelling of certain words within these texts. This may aid in forming a better understanding as to where these texts originated from. By comparing Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with each other with regard to orthography, one may be able to demonstrate that the cause of the differences is due to each text being written at a different time by different scribal schools.

As there are different versions or traditions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones, it will be necessary to compare the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments with the MT version, and where of interest, with the LXX and p967.

With the aid of redactional criticism I aim to discuss the differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, to determine if these differences are significant enough to support the hypotheses that these manuscripts were indeed written by different authors. This is done in order to establish if there may be any reason to believe that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, may have been written not only by different authors, but whether these texts were written at different times and represent different historical events taking place at that time. Redeactional aspects that will receive attention are omission, abbreviation, alteration, and additions, in order to aid

us to better understand the differences and similarities that exist between different versions or traditions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones, and the reasons for it.

In chapter 4 an overview will be given of different scribal techniques and language differences in and around Qumran. It will be indicated that each scribal school had their own unique style pertaining to the writing technique and language they used. The language and writing style of the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts will be discussed to determine their dating, provenance and authorship. Determining the date of each text may aid in determining the provenance of the text which may lead to determining the authorship of the text. This may lead one to understand 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i within those authors' contexts.

In chapter 5 a summary of the study will be provided, and its conclusion(s) will be discussed.

5. Objectives of the study

The aims and objectives of this study are as follows:

In chapter 2,

- to reconstruct the readings of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i on which to base the analyses for this study;
- to compare existing reconstructions of the fragments under investigation in order to determine a preferred reading and the motivation for that;
- to conduct a literary-exegetical analysis in order to understand all interrelated features of the texts on both the micro and macro levels;
- to demarcate the pericopes, units or sections of each of the readings;
- to conduct a linguistic-syntactical analysis of each fragment;
- to conduct a structural analysis of each fragment;
- to compare the fragments in terms of grammatical, linguistic-syntactical and structural differences and similarities; and
- to provide each text with my own translation.

In chapter 3,

- to provide a theoretical overview of what orthography and palaeography is and what it entails;
- to compare the readings in terms of their orthography;

- to discuss what fuller orthography, *matres lectionis* and defective orthography can tell us about scribal practice, and to discuss examples from the readings under investigation;
- to compare the spelling of certain words between the two versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones;
- to discuss the readings in relation to the MT and, where of interest, with the LXX and p967 text-critically; and
- to critically discuss the redaction of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with each other in terms of omissions, abbreviations, alterations, and additions that occur between them and the MT.

In chapter 4,

- to provide an overview of different scribal techniques and language differences that have been detected in documents discovered in and around Qumran;
- to indicate that each scribal school – or individual scribes – was characterised by a unique style of writing and the language they used;
- to determine the date of the readings;
- to determine the provenance of the readings;
- to determine the authorship of the readings; and
- to determine what the historical context was against which the author/s penned 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i.

In chapter 5,

- to provide a summary of the content of each chapter and the findings within it;
- to make conclusions about the study pertaining to the scribal school, authorship, dating, and provenance of the individual fragments; and
- to leave the reader with a closing comment about a possible future avenue of research in relation to this study.

6. Expected results

In comparing Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with each other it is expected that a better understanding of the scribal practices of these texts will be gained. It is also expected that it will be found that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i date from different times, but may have the same provenance, even though not the same authors.

CHAPTER 2:
A RECONSTRUCTION AND LITERARY-EXEGETICAL ANALYSIS OF 4Q385 FRAGMENTS 2 AND 3, AND 4Q386 FRAGMENT 1 COLUMN I

1. Introduction

The scrolls found at Qumran were all handwritten in Classical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, on parchment and papyrus. Some of the scrolls found were in a poor condition and survived only as tiny scraps (Fricton 2013:x). In this chapter a description of the physical state and preservation of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i will be given, and images of all three fragments will be included for the reader's cognisance. They were obtained from The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. From this discussion it ought to be clear that a reconstruction of the readings will be necessary. Where necessary I will discuss differences between different reconstructions of the fragments under investigation and will refer to Ezekiel 37:1-14 where it may aid us in reconstructing the fragmentary readings.

An analysis of the text is necessary to investigate that which is not always visible on the surface of the text during an initial reading (cf. Deppe 2011:xv). "Literary analysis focuses on the unit itself, its overall structure, its constituent forms, its stylistic features, and its coherence" (Thompson 1998:44). In order to understand all aspects of the texts on the micro and macro level, a literary-exegetical analysis of the readings under investigation will be conducted by demarcating the pericopes, units or sections, and making a linguistic-syntactical and structural analysis of each. I will also provide my own translation of each of the texts.

It is my aim with the analyses in this chapter to point out what the differences and similarities are between the two versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones in 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i and to account for why this is the case. Are these versions mere copies of each other, and why?

2. A physical description, transcription, and preliminary translation of the fragments

The Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments are made from leather of medium thickness, and, according to Dimant (2001:17), this leather is of poor quality. The colour of parchment is not always the same, being either light, dark, grey, stained, dark brown, or sometimes almost black. The surface is mostly matte and pitted although there are places where it appears to be almost glossy.

These fragments are often brittle, with a tendency to peel. The back of the fragments appears to be smooth, whereas there are some cases where it is coarse. The edges of leather manuscripts also tend to be fragmented.

The vision of the dry bones, and Ezekiel's query which precedes it, is recorded on a few fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel discovered at Qumran. These fragments are 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and 4Q388 fragment 7. A combination of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, are each approximately ten lines of a column long (see Illustrations 1-3 below). In the case of Qumran texts, a column usually consists of anything between 18 to 25 lines. It would then appear that these fragments constitute the approximate content of nearly half of a column of text (Dimant 2001:17).

Here follows images of the three fragments this study will be focussing on, namely 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. All three of these images were obtained from the website of *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*.[6] This site provides digital black and white or infrared images of all documented DSS fragments. Each illustration is also followed by a transcription and a translation of it from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar's *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (1999). A transcription by Dimant from Devorah Dimant and Donald W. Parry's *Dead Sea Scrolls Handbook* (2014) is also provided for comparative purposes.[7]

Pertaining to Illustrations 1 and 2 (see below), the manuscript 4Q385 is also known as 4QpsEzek[a], and pertaining to Illustration 3 (see below), the manuscript 4Q386 is also known as 4QpsEzek[b]. They were both discovered at Qumran in Cave 4. It is considered to be non-biblical compositions, and parabiblical texts. They are written in Hebrew, and in square script. They are considered to date from the Herodian period, and is written on parchment.[8]

2.1 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2

On *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*'s website, the following image (Illustration 1) is labelled as Plate 270, and is catalogued as B-362421. It was taken in July 2013, and the

[6] *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*'s homepage is accessible via the following URL: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/?locale=en_US (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).
[7] Where the transcription between the two versions differs, it has been highlighted in the tables below.
[8] Information from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q385-1 [Accessed 29 September 2017] (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

photographer of this infrared image was Shai Halevi. The description accompanying the illustration states that the following manuscripts correspond with or are visible in this image, namely 4QpsEzek^{c}, and 4QapocrJerC^{a}.[9]

Illustration 1: An image of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2[10]

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:768), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487), transcribes the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 1):

[9] Information from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362421 [Accessed 29 September 2017] (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

[10] Image from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362421 [Accessed 29 September 2017] (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Table 1: A transcription of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2

Transcription (García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999:768)	**Line**	**Transcription** (Dimant, in Dimant & Parry 2014:487)
[כי אני יהוה] הגואל עמי לתת להם הברית *vacat*	1	[כי אני יהוה] הגואל עמי לתת להם הברית *vacat*
[ואמרה יהוה]ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהבו את שמך וילכו	2	[ואמרה יהוה] ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהבו את שמך וילכו
בדרכי[צדק וא]לה מתי יהיו והיככה ישתלמו חסדם ויאמר יהוה	3	בדרכי[לבך וא]לה מתי יהיו והיככה ישתלמו חסדם ויאמר יהוה
אלי אני אראה את בני ישראל וידעו כי אני יהוה *vacat*	4	אלי אני אראה] [את בני ישראל וידעו כי אני יהוה *vacat*
[ויאמר]בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק	5	[ויאמר]בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת ויק◦בו עצם אל עצמו ופרק
[אל פרקו ויה]י כן[ן] ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור	6	[אל פרקו ויה]י כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור
[עליהם ויהי כן]ויא[מ]ר שוב אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוח[ות]	7	[מלמעלה ויהי כן] ויאמר שוב אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוח
[השמים בהם ויחיו ו]יע[מ]ד עם רב אנשים ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אש[ר]	8	[בהרוגים ויהי כן[וי]ח[יו עם רב אנשים ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אש]ר
[חים *vacat?* ו[אמרה יהוה מתי יהיו אלה ויאמר יהוה אל]י[...	9	[חים *vacat* ו[אמרה יהוה מתי יהיו אלה ויאמר יהוה אל]י עד[
[...].רים [ו]יכף עץ ויזקף [...	10	[אשר ומקץ י[מים יכף עץ ויזקף] [

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:769) translates their reconstruction of the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 2):

Table 2: A translation of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2

Line	Translation
1	[that I am YHWH,] who rescued my people, giving them the covenant. *Blank*
2	[And I said: «YHWH,] I have seen many in Israel who love your name and walk
3	on the paths of [justice.] When will [the]se things happen? And how will they be rewarded for their loyalty? ». And YHWH said
4	to me: « I will make the children of Israel see and they will know that I am YHWH». *Blank*
5	[*Cf. Ezek 37* And he said:] «Son of man, prophesy over the bones and say: May a bone [connect] with its bone and a joint
6	[with its joint ». And] s[o it happe]ned. And he said a second time: «Prophesy, and sinews will grow on them and they will be covered with skin
7	[all over ». And so it happened.] And again he s[a]id: «Prophesy over the four winds of the sky and the wind[s]
8	[of the sky] will blow [upon them and they will live and] a large crowd of men will r[i]se and bless YHWH Sebaoth wh[o]
9	[caused them to live.» *Blank?* And] I said: «O, YHWH, when will these things happen?» And YHWH said to [me …]
10	[…] … [and] a tree will bend over and straighten up […]

2.2 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3

On *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*'s website, the following image (Illustration 2) is labelled as Plate 274, and is catalogued as B-362477. It was taken in September 2011, and the photographer of this infrared image was Shai Halevi. The description accompanying the illustration states that the following manuscripts correspond with or is visible in this image, namely 4QpsEzek^{c}, and 4QapocrJerC^{a}.[11]

[11] Information from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362477 [Accessed 29 September 2017]

Illustration 2: An image of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3[12]

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:770), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487), transcribes the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 3):

(Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

[12] Image from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362477 [Accessed 29 September 2017] (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Table 3: A transcription of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3

Transcription (García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999:770)	Line	Transcription (Dimant, in Dimant & Parry 2014:487)
[...]...[...]	1	[ ]°ת וא°[ ] °°° [ ]
[...] יהוה ויקומו כל העם וי.[..]ו על [...]	2	[ ] [יהוה ויקומו כל העם ויע]מד[ו על] רגליהם להודות
[...]ל[...] את יהוה צבאות ואף אני מ[...]תי עמהם[...	3	[ולהל]ל את יהוה צבאות ואף אני מ]לל[תי עמהם[ ]
[...] *vacat* ויאמר יהוה אלי בן[אדם ...].לה.[...	4	*vac*[*at*] ויאמר יהוה אלי בן] אדם אמ[ור להם[ ]
[...].תם ישכבו עד אש[ר ...	5	[במקום קבו[רתם ישכבו עד אשר]]
[...].יכם ומן הארץ [...]	6	[מקב[ריכם ומן הארץ]] אשר[
[...]ל[כ]ול אשר מצ[...]	7	[ ]]ל]ע[ול מצר[ים

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:771) translate their reconstruction of the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 4):

Table 4: A translation of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3

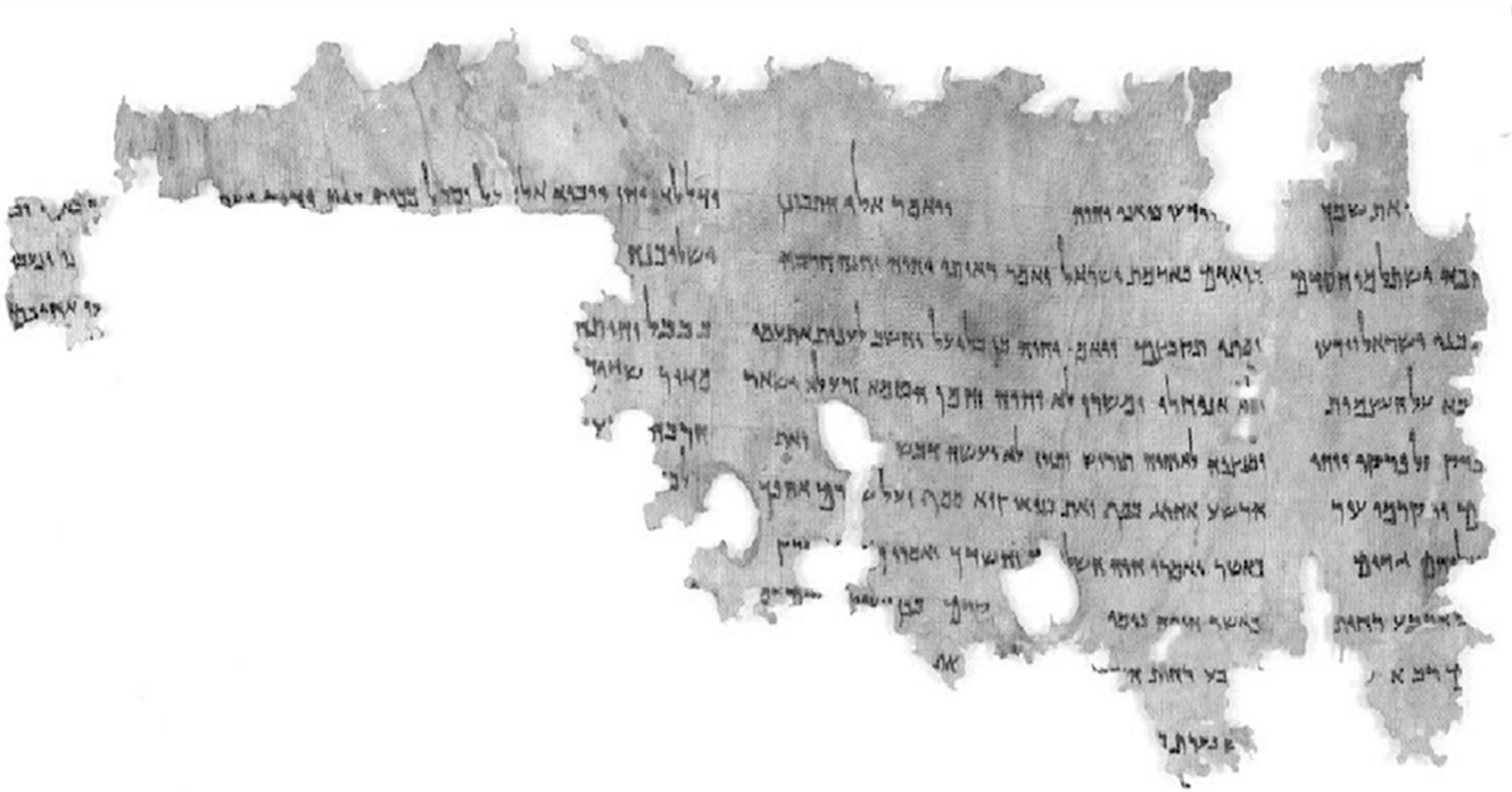
Line	Translation
1	[…] … […]
2	[…] YHWH. And all the people rose and … […] against […]
3	[…] YHWH of Hosts. And I also […] with them […]
4	[…] *Blank* And YHWH said to me: «Son of [man …] … […]
5	[…] their […] will lie down unti[l …]
6	[…] … and from the land […]
7	[…] to [a]ll /which/ … […]

2.3 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

On *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library*'s website, the following image (Illustration 3) is labelled as Plate 269, and is catalogued as B-299584. It was taken in July 1993, and the photographer of this black and white image was Tsila Sagiv.[13]

[13] Information from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499652 [Accessed 29 September 2017] (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

Illustration 3: An image of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i[14]



[14] Image from *The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library* [ONLINE] Available at: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499652 [Accessed 29 September 2017]
(Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:774), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:493), transcribes the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 5):

Table 5: A transcription of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Transcription (García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999:774)	**Line**	**Transcription** (Dimant, in Dimant & Parry 2014:493)
[יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהב]ו את שמך	1	ואמרה יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהב]ו את שמך[
[וילכו בדרכי צדק ואלה מתי יהיו ו]הכה ישתלמו חסדם	2	[וילכו בדרכי לבך ואלה מתי יהיו ו]הכה ישתלמו חסדם
[ויאמר יהוה אלי אני אראה א]ת בני ישראל וידעו	3	[*vacat* ויאמר יהוה אלי אני אראה א]ת בני ישראל וידעו
[כי אני יהוה *vacat* ויאמר בן אדם הנ]בא על העצמות	4	[כי אני יהוה *vacat* ויאמר בן אדם הנ]בא על העצמות
[ואמרתה הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ו]פרק אל פרקו ויהי	5	[ואמרת ויקרבו עצם אל עצמו ו]פרק אל פרקו ויהי
[כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדי]ם ויקרמו עור	6	[כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדי]ם ויקרמו עור
[עליהם ויהי כן <ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו] עליהם גדים	7	[עליהם מלמעלה ויקרמו עור ויע[ל]ו] עליהם גדים
[ויקרמו עור עליהם ויהי כן> ויאמר שוב הנבא]על ארבע רחות	8	[ורוח אין בם ויאמר אלי שוב הנבא]על ארבע רחות
]השמים ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד ע]ם רב אנש[ים]	9	[[השמים ויפחו בם ויעמדו על רג[ל]יהם ע]ם רב אנשי]ם
[ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים *vacat* [*vacat*	10	[ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים [ ] *vacat* [ ]

García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:775) translates the writing on this fragment as follows (see Table 6):

Table 6: A translation of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Line	Translation
1	[«YHWH, I have seen many in Israel who lov]e your name
2	[and walk on the paths of justice. When will these things happen? And] how will they be rewarded for their loyalty? ».
3	[And YHWH said to me: « I will make] the children of Israel [see] and they will know
4	[that I am YHWH». *Blank* And he said: «Son of man, proph]esy over the bones
5	[and say: «May a bone connect with its bone and] a joint with its joint». And it happened]
6	[thus. And he said a second time: «Prophesy, and sinew]s [will grow on them] and they will be covered with skin
7	[all over ». And so it happened. <And he said a second time: «Prophesy,] and sinews [will grow] on them
8	[and they will be covered with skin all over. And so it happened.> And again he said: « Prophesy] over the four winds
9	[of the sky and the winds of the sky will blow upon them and they will live, and] a large [cro]wd of men [will rise]
10	[and bless YHWH Sebaoth who caused them to live.» *Blank*] *Blank*

2.4 The order and relationship of the fragments to each other

As has been indicated earlier in this chapter, the vision of the dry bones, and Ezekiel's query which precedes it, are recorded on a few fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel discovered at Qumran. These fragments are 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and 4Q388 fragment 7.

It appears that 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i contain the largest part of the vision of the dry bones, in relation to 4Q385 fragment 3 and 4Q388 fragment 7, which are quite small and fragmentary. The actual text also appears to correlate more closely between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, than with the aforementioned two.

The upper halves and top margins of both 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i are preserved. According to Dimant (2001:19) it appears as if 4Q385 fragment 3, which refers to resurrection, fits into the lower half of the column which 4Q385 fragment 2 is part of, as it contains the actual vision of Ezekiel of the dry bones. This order is then the same as is found in the MT (Ezekiel 37:1-14; see Table 7 below).

Table 7: The MT and translation of Ezekiel 37:1-14

MT		Translation
הָיְתָה עָלַי יַד־יְהוָה וַיּוֹצִאֵנִי בְרוּחַ יְהוָה וַיְנִיחֵנִי בְּתוֹךְ הַבִּקְעָה וְהִיא מְלֵאָה עֲצָמוֹת:	1	The hand of the YHWH was upon me, and he brought me out with the Spirit of YHWH, and he put me in the middle of the valley, and it was full of bones.
וְהֶעֱבִירַנִי עֲלֵיהֶם סָבִיב סָבִיב וְהִנֵּה רַבּוֹת מְאֹד עַל־פְּנֵי הַבִּקְעָה וְהִנֵּה יְבֵשׁוֹת מְאֹד:	2	And he caused me to pass amongst them, round and round, and lo! very many were on the surface of the vally, and lo! they were very dry.
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן־אָדָם הַתִּחְיֶינָה הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה וָאֹמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אַתָּה יָדָעְתָּ:	3	And he asked me: "Son of man, can these bones live?" And I said: "Lord YHWH, you – you know."
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנָּבֵא עַל־הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם הָעֲצָמוֹת הַיְבֵשׁוֹת שִׁמְעוּ דְּבַר־יְהוָה:	4	And he said to me: "Prophesy to these bones, and say to them: 'Dry bones, hear the word of YHWH!
כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה לָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה הִנֵּה אֲנִי מֵבִיא בָכֶם רוּחַ וִחְיִיתֶם:	5	So says the Lord YHWH to these bones: Lo! I bring into you breath, and you will live.
וְנָתַתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם גִּדִים וְהַעֲלֵתִי עֲלֵיכֶם בָּשָׂר וְקָרַמְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם עוֹר וְנָתַתִּי בָכֶם רוּחַ וִחְיִיתֶם וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה:	6	And I will give upon you sinews and I will make flesh brought upon you, and I will spread skin upon you, and I will give to you breath, and you will live, and you will know that I am YHWH.'"
וְנִבֵּאתִי כַּאֲשֶׁר צֻוֵּיתִי וַיְהִי־קוֹל כְּהִנָּבְאִי וְהִנֵּה־רַעַשׁ וַתִּקְרְבוּ עֲצָמוֹת עֶצֶם אֶל־עַצְמוֹ:	7	And I prophesied as I was commanded, and there was a sound as I was prophesying, and lo! a rattle, and the bones came together, bone to bone.
וָאֶרְאֶה וְהִנֵּה־עֲלֵיהֶם גִּדִים וּבָשָׂר עָלָה וַיִּקְרָם עֲלֵיהֶם עוֹר מִלְמָעְלָה וְרוּחַ אֵין בָּהֶם:	8	And I beheld them and lo! on them were sinews and flesh, and it went up and covered them with skin above, but there was no breath in them.
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנָּבֵא אֶל־הָרוּחַ הִנָּבֵא בֶן־אָדָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־הָרוּחַ כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה מֵאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת בֹּאִי הָרוּחַ וּפְחִי בַּהֲרוּגִים הָאֵלֶּה וְיִחְיוּ:	9	And he said to me: "Prophesy to the wind, prophesy, son of man, and you will say to it: To wind, come, so says the Lord YHWH, from the four winds and breathe into these killed,'" and they lived.
וְהִנַּבֵּאתִי כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוַּנִי וַתָּבוֹא בָהֶם הָרוּחַ וַיִּחְיוּ וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־רַגְלֵיהֶם חַיִל גָּדוֹל מְאֹד־מְאֹד: ס	10	And I prophesied as he commanded me, and breath went into them, and they lived, and they stood on their feet – an exceedingly large force.
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי בֶּן־אָדָם הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה כָּל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל הֵמָּה הִנֵּה אֹמְרִים יָבְשׁוּ עַצְמוֹתֵינוּ וְאָבְדָה תִקְוָתֵנוּ נִגְזַרְנוּ לָנוּ:	11	And he said to me: "Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Lo! they are saying: 'Our bones are dry and our hope has perished; we are cut off from ourselves.'
לָכֵן הִנָּבֵא וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה הִנֵּה אֲנִי פֹתֵחַ אֶת־קִבְרוֹתֵיכֶם וְהַעֲלֵתִי אֶתְכֶם מִקִּבְרוֹתֵיכֶם עַמִּי וְהֵבֵאתִי אֶתְכֶם אֶל־אַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל: ס	12	Therefore, prophesy, and you have to say to them: 'So says the Lord YHWH: Behold! I am opening your graves and I will bring you up from your graves, my people, and I will bring you into the land of Israel.

וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּפִתְחִי אֶת־קִבְרוֹתֵיכֶם וּבְהַעֲלוֹתִי אֶתְכֶם מִקִּבְרוֹתֵיכֶם עַמִּי׃	13	And you will know that I am YHWH when I open your graves and I bring you up from your graves, my people.
וְנָתַתִּי רוּחִי בָכֶם וִחְיִיתֶם וְהִנַּחְתִּי אֶתְכֶם עַל־אַדְמַתְכֶם וִידַעְתֶּם כִּי־אֲנִי יְהוָה דִּבַּרְתִּי וְעָשִׂיתִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃ פ	14	I will give my spirit in you and you will live, and I will put you in your land, and you will know that I am the Lord YHWH. I have spoken, and I will do,' declares Yhwh."

In the case of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, which Dimant (2001:19) argued could possibly have followed upon 4Q385 fragment 2, it contains divine discourse which could serve as closing for the story and indicate the end of the vision of the dry bones. This could be the reason why there is a blank space (*vacat*) occurring at the end of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 10. This blank space likely functions as a paragraph marker and would then also indicate the end of the episode (Dimant 2001:19). The similarities between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column 1 is noteworthy.

4Q388 fragment 7 preserves enough of the text to indicate that it contains similar content and overlaps with the first part of the vision of the dry bones contained in 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. No margins of 4Q388 are preserved, therefore it is nearly impossible to determine to which part of the column 4Q388 fragment 7 belongs. The arrangement of the 4Q388 texts does, however, indicate that the columns of this manuscript differ in terms of the amount of lines to that of 4Q385 and 4Q386, because 4Q388 fragment 7 reveals two additional lines which precede the content of the first lines of 4Q385 fragment 2, of which the top margin of the manuscript is visible (cf. Dimant 2001:19).

As 4Q385 fragment 2 is the best preserved of the fragments this study focusses on, it will serve as the basis from which the reconstruction and comparison between the fragments will be approached. It corresponds roughly with the outline / order of the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14 (cf. Klein 2014:203, 206). It is based on the overlapping that occurs between the fragments and the MT that the reconstruction of the Pseudo-Ezekiel vision of the dry bones can be confidently reconstructed. In 4Q385 fragment 2 there occurs three blank spaces (*vacats*), after lines 1, 4 and in line 9, which has been interpreted by the likes of Anja Klein (2014:206) as representing paragraph markers for demarcation purposes. She argues that the visionary account is thus separated into three units. A distinct difference between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and the MT Ezekiel vision, is that there is no introduction to the vision of the dry bones and no reference to the valley in which they lay, however, Karin Schöpflin (2009:81) maintains that this may only be the case due to the fragmentary nature of the passages, and that it may have been part of 4Q385 and 4Q386 once.

3. On the reconstruction of ancient manuscripts

As many of the Qumran manuscripts are fragmentary in nature, the reconstruction of many texts is part and parcel of their study. Tov (2011:3) refers to a good example of the complexities of this exercise. 4QJer[a] consists of approximately 50 fragments covering almost 16 chapters' worth of text. 4Q509, in turn, consists of 313 fragments, and 4QSam[a] has 346 fragments covering almost 50 chapters. To put this in perspective, the contents of Cave 4 at Qumran alone consisted

> of a hodgepodge of at least fifteen thousand (but possibly as many as forty thousand) fragments. These have largely been sorted and assembled into slightly fewer than seven hundred manuscripts, which provide the basic categorisation used in editions, research tools, and scroll studies (Tigchelaar 2010:26).

When the word 'construction' is used, it is used along the lines of describing a process of assembling and arranging fragments into groups in order to form a manuscript, or larger sections of it. Tigchelaar (2010:27) also refers to the word "construction" of a manuscript as the process of sorting out, assembling and arranging fragments into groups that may form part of the same manuscript. When the term 'reconstruction' is used, it refers to the application of an ensemble of methods used in order to determine which fragment must be placed within a manuscript, and where it must be placed. This process leads to the re-assembly of (sections of) the original manuscript (Tigchelaar 2010:27).[15] The reconstruction of a text also involves the reconstruction of the actual text which is / was inscribed on a manuscript. This is the process of determining what the original words, lines, and in some cases columns, were, before they were lost to us (Tigchelaar 2010:39). It is in this second sense that the word 'reconstruction' is foremost used in this study.

There are many factors that should also be taken into consideration in the reconstruction of ancient manuscripts. One of the burning questions is "whether two or more

[15] The transcripts of the texts occurring on such fragments will not always aid in the process of a manuscript's reconstruction, therefore, it is also important to view the actual fragments to effectively attempt reconstruction (Tigchelaar 2010:28). An image of a fragment will only be effective in aiding reconstruction in a limited manner. From a photo it is difficult to assess the quality, thickness, colour, etc., of the parchment or papyrus on which text is inscribed. Unfortunately, the ready access to the actual fragments for scholarly study is not that easy, and the scholar focussing on the DSS will often have to resign themselves to work with photographs or plates on websites and books, as is the case with this study.

fragments should be joined as adjacent fragments or designated as belonging to the same column or sheet" (Tov 2011:8), as certainty in this regard is hard to establish. As a result, alternative approaches have been developed which is employed to connect fragments together, or to determine whether they originate from the same sheet, namely DNA research, ink research, studying and comparing the follicles of parchment and the fibres of papyrus fragments with each other, as well as elemental composition analysis (see Tov 2011:9). Technical aspects are also studied in order to determine the relationship of fragments to each other. These include studying how parchment was prepared and processed, the possible length of a composition, the possible size of a scroll, the size of hide which was inscribed, the length of columns on scrolls, and the writing style or differences thereof on one manuscript, especially when more than one scribe was involved in the production of a lengthy manuscript (Tov 2011:19-22). A popular manner to approach the reconstruction of damaged scrolls is to compare the physical appearance of respective fragments. This is referred to as the 'Stegemann method' (Dimant 2012:590).[16] There is a dire need for such an approach as only 1 % of scrolls discovered in and around Qumran survived more or less intact (cf. Dimant (2012:590). Stegemann's method proceeded from the basic premise that the scrolls were preserved in rolls, and that among the larger texts in the Qumran caves, the magnitude of deterioration increases from its centre to either end (Davis 2014:72).

4. The reconstruction of the fragments

Here follows a critical discussion on the reconstruction of what the possible text was that was originally penned on the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments under investigation. The reader is referred to Tables 1, 3, and 5 above for the transcription and reconstruction of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, of García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999), and Dimant (in Dimant and Parry 2014), which will be discussed below.

4.1 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2

Dimant (2001:23) wrote that "Frg. 2 comes from the upper left section of the sheet, as can be seen from the preserved upper and left margins. Stitching holes are still visible on the left side".

[16] The first time Stegemann used this method was in his 1963 thesis where he attempted to reconstruct the Hodayot (1QH^a) (Dimant 2012:591).

The restoration proposed by both García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768), and Dimant (in Dimant and Parry 2014:487), for lines 1-2 fits the number of missing letters from the right-hand margin and correlates with the length of lines 3-4 (Dimant 2001:23).

Whether **line 1** is the opening of the text we read of on this fragment, is debateable. We do not know with confidence what reading precedes it. However, the use of a formula such as אני יהוה כי is characteristic of the style of the biblical Ezekiel (cf. Dimant 2001:24).

The reconstruction of ואמרה יהוה ("And I say: "YHWH…"") at the beginning of **line 2** follows the reading found in 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii, where we read ואמר ראיתי יהוה והנה ("And he said: "I have seen YHWH and lo!..."""). However, in line 2 there is no space for accommodating והנה ("lo! behold!"), therefore the lacuna is shorter (Dimant 2001:24), as it would fit in best with the length of the rest of the line. As a result, one can pre-emptively conclude that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 and 4Q386 are not copies of the same text. A piece of the surface of this fragment, which is slightly detached from it, preserves the *mem* of רבים ("many") in line 2. It also preserves היו ו from the reconstructed יהיו והיככה of line 3 (Dimant 2001:23).

Both reconstructions indicate that the second word of **line 3** is unclear, and both García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768), and Dimant (in Dimant and Parry 2014:487), propose different original readings. García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) propose צדק ("righteousness"), whereas Dimant (Dimant & Parry 2014:487; Dimant 2001:23) proposes לבך ("your heart"). Dimant (2001:23) restored the word as לבך due to the lower horizontal stroke of the *bet* that is still visible on the fragment. She also argues that the reconstruction of לבך is in accordance with the length of the missing letters / word, however, as has been pointed out by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768), the reading צדק is just as viable, on the same grounds. Dimant's reconstruction follows Qoheleth 11:9, where we read of דרכי לבך ("the way of your heart"). She considers the reading בדרכי צדק ("in the ways of your righteousness") to be non-biblical, or a distinctive feature of sectarian literature, where the singular דרך לבך ("the way of your heart") is applied to YHWH. Dimant (2001:25) is also of the opinion that the use of בדרכי צדק is a prejudicial reconstruction. Until the orthography of the fragment has been discussed in the next chapter, I shall refrain from selecting a preferential reading in this case.

Both reconstructions indicate their preferential reading for the first word of **line 5** to be ויאמר ("and he said"), which would be in keeping with the style of the biblical Ezekiel, however, another possibility could be ואתה ("and you"), as ואתה in combination with בן אדם

(“son of man”) is a formula that occurs 24 times in the MT Ezekiel (Mackie 2015:133). Also, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) reconstruct line 5 to contain the reading הקרבו (“come closer”), whereas Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487; Dimant 2001:23) reconstructs it as ויקרבו (“and they shall come near”). She motivates this in the light of the initial *waw* being certain, while the following *yod* is probable. The lower tip of the third letter can be seen and is perhaps a stroke from a *qoph* (Dimant 2001:23). It is important, however, to note that this word is omitted / does not occur in the overlapping reading of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Pertaining to עצם (“bone”), Dimant (2001:24) wrote that it should likely read ועצם (“and bone”) as a correction on עצם. “Alternatively, it may be a case of a final *mem* in a medial position” (Dimant 2001:24).

The reconstruction of **line 6** as אל פרקו ויהי (“to its bone, and it was”) follows the reading of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 5, where this phrase has been preserved (Dimant 2001:27). García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) follow the same reconstruction. One can also observe the י that is still visible on the fragment and combining this with כן (“so”) makes the reconstruction probable. ויהי כן (“and it was so”) suggests a fulfilment formula as is often found in Genesis (Dimant 2001:33). García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) show that the ן is also reconstructed. Dimant (2001:23) in turn points out how “the lower tip of the vertical stroke of the *nun* is visible”, of כן on the fragment.

García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) reconstruct the first three words of **line 7** as עליהם ויהי כן (“over them, and it was so”). Dimant (2001:27) in turn reconstructs the first word as מלמעלה (“from to from above”) as “the words are restored according to the context of Ezek 37:8 and are added to fit the gap of 13-14 letter-space.” The formula ויהי כן (“and it was so”) is used in the same manner as in line 6 and indicates the fulfilment of the prophecy.

Pertaining to the reconstruction of the beginning of **line 8**, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768), and Dimant (2001:24), propose vastly different readings. García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) reconstruct it to read השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד (“the heavens will blow upon them, and they wil live. And they will stand”), whereas Dimant (2001:24; also, in Dimant & Parry 2014:487) proposes בהרוגים ויהי כן ויחיו (“the slain, and it was so and they lived”). The reconstruction of this line by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768, 774) correlates closer to their reconstruction of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 8-9, than the reconstructions of Dimant (Dimant & Parry 2014:487, 493; Dimant 2001:24). The lacuna in

וי[?]יו measures 1 letter space and the restoration fits within the context if restored as ויהיו ("and it was"), however, Dimant (2001:28) suggests that both ויהיו ("and it was") or ויחיו ("and they lived") could be possible, as Ezekiel 37:10 contains ויחיו. On an enlarged version of this fragment, the initial *waw* and *yod*, as well as the final *waw* are evident. The tip of a letter which might be a *yod* is also visible (Dimant 2001:24).

The end of line 8 and the beginning of **line 9** is restored as אשׁר חים ("who caused them to live") by both García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768), and Dimant (2001:28). The blank space in **line 9** occurs at the same place in the text as one that appears at the end of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 10, in both instances likely indicating the end of a preceding paragraph, and the beginning of a new one following it (Dimant 2001:28). Dimant comments that the reconstruction of ואמרה ("and he is saying") is an example of a long imperfect (Dimant 2001:28).

García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768) propose a reconstruction for the reading of **line 10** as רים ויזקף.[...] ("and it will bend over"). However, Dimant (2001:28) reconstructs the reading as ומקץ ימים ("and at the end of days") from Jeremiah 13:6, or suggests an alternative reconstruction as מימולקץ הי ("and to the end of the days") (cf. Daniel 12:13). Dimant (2001:28) is of the opinion that the first of her reconstructions fits the author's general preoccupation with flight of time and its eschatological implications.

4.2 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3

Of the three fragments under discussion, 4Q385 fragment 3 is the most fragmentary reading, with the greatest differences in reconstruction to be found between that of García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:770), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487).

Pertaining to **line 1**, Dimant (2001:30) points out that "Only the lower tips of several letters on this line survived". The reconstruction of this line is therefore not possible.

Dimant (2001:30) reconstructs **line 2** as containing the reading ויעמדו על רגליהם ("and they stood on their feet"), as 4Q386 fragment 1 column i contains the same expression in a similar context in the text, however, García Martínez & Tigchelaar (1999:770) are not as confident as Dimant that a reconstruction for a large part of this line is possible.

Dimant (2001:30) reconstructs the first word of **line 3** as being ולהלל ("and to praise") as it is commonly used in the context where liturgical praise of YHWH is recited as in Isaiah

38:18 and Psalm 150:6. She also points out that it is also an expression used elsewhere in Qumran literature (1QH[a] column iii line 23; 4Q414 fragment 2 column ii lines 3, 4, and 10; and 4Q502 fragment 9 line 3), and that there is a parallel expression in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 8 (Dimant 2001:31). Dimant (2001:31) restored a verb later in line 3 as מללתי ("I spoke"), to fit a first person singular speaker (namely Ezekiel), and points out that the form should be vocalised in the perfect *Pi'el* מלל ("to speak / to utter"), as it would fit the context of the reading. Again, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:770) do not reconstruct the reading due to the parchment's fragmentary nature.

We again find a blank space, this time at the beginning of **line 4**, indicating the end of the vision preceding it, and the start of a new paragraph following upon it. According to Dimant (2001:31), the reading בן אדם אמור ("Son of man, you must say") is an expression typical of the MT Ezekiel and fitting of the context here. The reading ויאמר יהוה אלי בן ("And YHWH said to me, son") is also like what we find in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 9, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii lines 1-2 (Dimant 2001:31). Pertaining to אמור ("you must say"), Dimant (2001:30) observes that the upper letter of the *resh* is noticeable, as well as a faint tip of the previous letter (Dimant 2001:30).

Pertaining to the reconstruction of קבורתם ("their burial tomb") in **line 5**, Dimant (2001:31) wrote that "if the restoration is correct, then this is the single attestation among the Qumran documents of the noun קבורה (burial tomb)". The term is used within Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew. She also wrote that the left round tip of the *resh* is clearly noticeable on an enlarged version of the fragment (Dimant 2001:30).

Dimant (2001:31) reconstructs the word מקבריכם ("from your grave") as occurring in **line 6**. She points out that קבר ("grave, tomb") has two plural forms in Biblical Hebrew, namely the masculine קברים and the feminine קברות. In this context the masculine form is used (2nd masc. pl. suffix), whereas in Ezekiel 37:12-13 the feminine form is used.

The word אשר has been inserted on the manuscript just above **line 7** in order to correct the reading. Dimant (2001:30) reconstructs the line to read ל אשר עול מצרים ("which the yoke of Egypt"), whereas García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:770) reconstruct it more cautiously as לכול אשר מצ… (for all who).

4.3 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Dimant (2001:61) restores **lines 1 and 2** to follow that of lines 2 and 3 in 4Q385 fragment 2. However, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) do not restore the ואמרה at the beginning of line 1.

Pertaining to **line 2**, Dimant (2001:61) restores the first two words as בדרכי לבך ("in the ways of your heart"). However, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) do the same, but instead of לבך ("your heart"), they restore the second word as צדק ("justice") instead, which appears to fit the context better.

Lines 3-5 are largely reconstructed in the light of the corresponding reading in lines 2-4 of 4Q385 fragment 2 (cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1999:774; Dimant 2001:61).

Pertaining to the reconstruction of אל ("to, into, towards") in **line 5**, Dimant (2001:61) comments that half of the *aleph* has peeled away from the fragment itself.

The most notable difference between the reconstructions of this fragment by García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) and Dimant (2001:61) pertains to **lines 7-9**. It is notable that the reconstruction of lines 7-9 differs from that of the parallel reading in 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 5-8. This is likely due to attempts by those who reconstructed these readings to accommodate the remaining letters and their size in relation to the lacuna in 4Q385 fragment 2. Dimant (2001:62) asks whether this difference between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i is due to their being based on variant readings. However, due to their small size and the difficulty in contextualising their position / location within the larger 4Q385 and 4Q356, it is nearly impossible to determine with certainty if this is indeed the case.

Pertaining to **line 7**, Dimant (2001:61) points out that there is a faint trace of an open space between lines 6 and 7 on the fragment, and that above the word reconstructed as ויעלו in line 7, the tip of the *lamed* is visible. García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) restore line 7 somewhat differently, as a near copy of the following line 8.

Dimant (2001:61) points out that the lower tip of the *ayin* of על ("on, upon, above, over, against") in **line 8** is visible on images of the fragment.

Dimant (2001:61) also reconstructs the lacuna in **line 9** as בם ויעמדו על רגליהם ("in them and they will stand on their feet") and points out that the tip of the lamed in רגליהם ("their feet") is still visible on a strip of parchment attached to the larger fragment. However, García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) reconstruct the same lacuna as רוחות השמים בהם ויחיו

ויעמד (“the winds upon them, they will live, and they will stand”). Pertaining to אנשים (“men”), Dimant (2001:61) observes that a small trace of the *nun* is visible on the fragment, as well as the lower tip of a *yod*.

Both Dimant (2001:62) and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:774) follow the reconstruction of 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 8-9 for **line 10**.

4.4 The reconstructed texts as will be used in this study

Here then follows a discussion on the reconstruction of the three fragments under investigation that I will be following (see Table 8 below).

Pertaining to the reconstruction of 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i I follow the version of García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768, 774). My primary critique against Dimant’s reconstruction (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487, 493) is that she is overdependent on intertextual readings between these fragments and other readings – be it from Ezekiel or not – in the MT. She also focusses largely on thematic correction, which is hard to substantiate in the light of the fragmentary nature of the texts. García Martínez and Tigchelaar are more cautious in their reconstruction in order not to read into the text that which is not so evident or plausible.

For hypothetical reasons, in the light of the thematic thread in 4Q235 fragment 3 following upon 4Q385 fragment 2, I follow the reconstruction of 4Q385 fragment 3 of Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487). However, this text is so fragmentary that any reconstruction of it will be subject to critique and will be considered suspect.

The reconstructed texts as will be used in this study are then as follows (see Table 8):

Table 8: The reconstructed Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

	4Q386 fragment 1 column i (see García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999:774)
1	יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהבו את שמך
2	וילכו בדרכי צדק ואלה מתי יהיו והכה ישתלמו חסדם
3	ויאמר יהוה אלי אני אראה את בני ישראל וידעו
4	כי אני יהוה *vacat* ויאמר בן אדם הנבא על העצמות
5	ואמרתה הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו ויהי
6	כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור
7	עליהם ויהי כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים
8	ויקרמו עור עליהם ויהי כן ויאמר שוב הנבא על ארבע רחות
9	השמים ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד עם רב אנשים
10	ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר חים *vacat* [*vacat*

	4Q385 fragment 2 (see García Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999:768)
1	כי אני יהוה הגואל עמי לתת להם הברית *vacat*
2	ואמרה יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל אשר אהבו את שמך וילכו
3	בדרכי צדק ואלה מתי יהיו והיככה ישתלמו חסדם ויאמר יהוה
4	אלי אני אראה את בני ישראל וידעו כי אני יהוה *vacat*
5	ויאמר בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק
6	אל פרקו ויהי כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור
7	עליהם ויהי כן ויאמר שוב אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוחות
8	השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד עם רב אנשים ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אשר
9	חים *vacat?* ואמרה יהוה מתי יהיו אלה ויאמר יהוה אלי…]
10	[…רים ויכף עץ ויזקף …]

4Q385 fragment 3 (see Dimant & Parry 2014:487)

1	[…◦ת וא◦[ ] ◦◦◦ …]
2	[…ויהוה ויקומו כל העם ויעמדו על רגליהם להודות …]
3	ולהל ל את יהוה צבאות ואף אני מללתי עמהם …]
4	*vacat* ויאמר יהוה אלי בן אדם אמור להם …]
5	[…במקום קבורתם ישכבו עד אשר …]
6	[…מקבריכם ומן הארץ …]
	אשר
7	[…ל עול מצרים …]

A side-by-side comparison of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i reveals that these texts are not verbatim the same, however, there is overlapping through most of the vision of the dry bones.

The most significant difference between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i is that 4Q385 fragment 2 consists of an extra line at the beginning of the fragment. It is plausible that 4Q385 fragment 3 does not belong with 4Q385 fragment 2, however, it would fit following upon fragment 2 in terms of its content being an extension of the reading on fragment 2. Also, it appears that there is very little in common between 4Q385 fragment 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i as 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii portrays a different vision as that reflected in 4Q385 fragment 3.

5. The demarcation of pericopes, units, or sections

A relatively new branch within the field of exegetical methodology is that of delimitation criticism (see Korpel & Oesch 2000) or the demarcation of pericopes. Fanie Snyman points out that the demarcation of a unit within any specific ancient text is important for understanding that particular unit individually, but also in relation to the whole within which it occurs (Snyman 2011:156). "It is taken as a given that a unit or pericope that is subjected to an exegesis will be a properly demarcated one" (Snyman 2011:156). "Generally, the delimitations of text-units are based on content and theme, certain expressions which the interpreter sees as 'keywords' or the presumed characteristics of a certain literary genre" (Korpel & Oesch 2000:2).

It is due to the discovery of the DSS that we have discovered that the division of Hebrew texts into smaller and larger units via the use of blank spaces and marginal signs has a pre-Masoretic tradition (Korpel & Oesch 2000:2). Within the MT we find that a closed section of a textual unit, namely a *setumah*, is indicated by a ס, and an open section of a textual unit, namely a *petuchah*, by a פ. Korpel and Oesch (2000:3-4) state that "a fairly large wide space in the middle of a line indicates the beginning of a 'closed' section after the space". One will find that the 'open' section of a text mostly begins with a line that is left open to the left of a column, while if the line ended and there is insufficient space left for the *petuchah,* one can note that the author will leave a line completely blank to indicate that the next textual unit begins following upon it. One may also observe a third space, called '*ziah*' that is an indentation to the right that often preceded a *petuchah*, which equals a *setumah* (Korpel & Oesch 2000:3-4). "These markers were deliberately inserted into to text by the scribes themselves, but other markings

might be added in the margin, either by the scribes themselves or by later users of the manuscripts" (Korpel & Oesch 2000:3-4).

The presence of blank spaces, or *vacats*, in DSS texts is a potential source of data that can assist in demarcating textual units. Such *vacats* are located either at the beginning, middle, or end of a line within a column. Occasionally lines within some scrolls are left completely blank which represents the primary means by which large section breaks are indicated. In a sense, they function in a similar, if not the same, manner as the *setumah* and *petuchah* in the MT. As parabiblical texts, such as those discovered at Qumran, also make use of such paragraph or unit markers, it must be noted that the division as in the MT between units will not always be the same in the parabiblical texts, however, similar divisions can also occur (Herbert 1997:19-20). As ought to be evident from the use of *vacat* in the transcriptions and reconstructions of the fragments under investigation in this study, "The Manuscripts of Pseudo-Ezekiel use extensively the method of paragraphing by leaving blank spaces of several letters or words" (Dimant 2001:7).

According to Edward D. Herbert (1997:21), in the reconstruction of manuscripts and their readings, fragments provide limited data as to what the paragraphing of a scroll was like. This makes determining the length of blank spaces (*vacats*) in a manuscript difficult to determine. Usually much is made of the readings of a given text in different traditions in order to reconstruct a text, however, the assessment of the space within a *lacuna* is also made in order to determine what the number of letters were that each line may approximately have consisted of, as well as what the average column width on a scroll was (Herbert 1997:5-6).

What follows here is then a discussion on the demarcation of the pericopes, units, or sections that the fragments under investigation might (have) contain(ed), in terms of the blank spaces (*vacats*) that appear to have been intentionally left on them.

5.1 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3

Dimant (2001:31) suggests that "line 1 contains the end of a divine discourse which is clear from the concluding formula and subsequent empty space". This discourse, which is now lost, likely started on the previous column of this manuscript. However, parts of this line, belonging to the aforementioned discourse, might be recovered from the overlapping text on 4Q388 fragment 7 lines 1-2 (Dimant 2001:31). In the light of this it appears that the *vacat* at the end of line 1 indicates in a sense a division of some sort.

The *vacat* at the end of line 1 and at the end of line 4 indicates the demarcation of another unit of text consisting of lines 2-4. This unit deals with Ezekiel's vision about the righteous of Israel. It records the prophet's query about the time and the manner of recompense that is intended for them. This section of the text ends with a divine promise to reveal Israel's future, indicated with a *vacat*.

The next unit therefore begins with line 5 and ends with the *vacat* found in line 9. This third unit represents the vision of the dry bones as a response to Ezekiel's query within the previous unit (cf. Dimant 2001:32).

The fourth unit begins after the *vacat* in line 9 which opens another query by Ezekiel. Dimant (2001:33) suggests that the divine response must have continued in the second half of the column.

Fragment 3 is linked to fragment 2 by Dimant (2001:32) due to the content which she considers to be a continuation of the final lines of fragment 2. In the light of the final scene of the vision of the dry bones in the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14 (see Table 7 above), fragment 3 continues the description of the resurrected crowd referred to in 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 8-10. This appears to provide a parabiblical sequel to the MT account (Dimant 2001:32).

On fragment 3 we find another *vacat* at the beginning of line 4, which indicates a new unit ending with line 3, and beginning in line 4. However, it is uncertain where the unit that begins in line 9 of fragment 2 ends, due to the fragmentary nature of the end of fragment 2 and fragment 3 of 4Q385. If fragment 3 does follow upon fragment 2, it could be that this unit ends at the end of line 3 on fragment 3. However, as stated before, this cannot definitively be determined.

5.2 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

The first unit of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i consists of lines 1-2, which indicates the righteous of Israel. It records the prophet's query about the time and the manner of recompense that is intended for the righteous of Israel. Within this text the unit begins the same way as the second unit of 4Q385 fragment 2, although here it does not include the divine promise to show Israel's future. The divine promise only appears after the *vacat* in line 3.

The *vacat* at the beginning of line 3 and in the middle of line 4 indicates another unit revolving around a divine promise to show Israel's future. The third section starts in the middle of line 4 and proceeds to the end of line 10 where it ends with another *vacat*. This unit represents

the vision of the dry bones as a response to Ezekiel's query within the previous unit which ends with a blessing to YHWH.

6. Linguistic-syntactical analyses of the texts

In the following linguistic-syntactical analyses, each kernel sentence has been demarcated as either and independent sentence (for a colon; will be referred to as I), a context-dependent sentence (for a semi-dependent sentence or sub-colon; will be referred to as CD), or as a dependant sentence (for a comma; will be referred to as D). The requirement in this analysis for the demarcation of a kernel sentence is that it must consist of a verb and noun phrase or component. Independent sentences are bracketed with **[ ]**, context-dependent sentences are bracketed with **{ }**, and dependent sentences are bracketed with **( )**. The clauses are also classified according to their specific type.

Here follows a linguistic-syntactical analysis of 4Q235 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Due to the fragmentary nature of 4Q385 fragment 3 it cannot be positively ascertained what the pericopes or paragraphs are that it may have contained. Each of the fragments' reconstruction and linguistic-syntactical analysis is accompanied by my own translation.

6.1 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3

Here follows a linguistic-syntactical analysis of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 (Table 9), and a discussion thereof.

Table 9: A linguistic-syntactical analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3

Text (fragments 2 and 3)	**Line**	**Class.**	**Type**	**Translation**
כי אני יהוה הגואל עמי	1	CD	Emphatic sentence	{"For I am YHWH, the redeemer of my people
לתת להם הברית ***vacat***	1	CDD	Adverbial clause	(giving to them the covenant.")}] ***vacat***
ואמרה	2	I	Statement	[And I said:
יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	2	CD	Statement	{"YHWH, I have seen many from Israel
אשר אהבו את שמך	2	CDD	Relative clause	(who love your name,)}

וילכו בדרכי צדק	2-3	CD	Statement	{and they walk in the ways of righteousness.}
ואלה מתי יהיו	3	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And when will these things happen?}
והיככה ישתלמו חסדם	3	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And how will their loving-kindness be rewarded?"}]
ויאמר יהוה אלי אני	3-4	I	Statement	[And YHWH said to me:
אראה את בני ישראל	4	CD	Statement	{"I will appear to the sons of Israel,}
וידעו	4	CD	Statement	{and they will know
כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4	CDD	Object clause	(that I am YHWH.")}] ***vacat***
ויאמר	5	I	Statement	[And he said:
בן אדם הנבה על העצמות	5	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones,}
ואמרת	5	CD	Command	{and you must say:
הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5-6	CDCD	Command	{'May each bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint'."}}]
ויהי כן	6	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
ויאמר שנית	6	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:
הנבא	6	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
ויעלו עליהם גדים	6	CD	Statement	{and sinews will rise (grow) over them,}
ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7	CD	Statement	{and they will be covered with skin over them."}]
ויהי כן	7	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
ויאמר שוב	7	I	Statement	[And he said again:
אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים	7	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens,}
ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	7-8	CD	Statement	{and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them,}
ויחיו	8	CD	Statement	{and they will live.}
ויעמד עם רב אנשים	8	CD	Statement	{And many men will stand,}
ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	8	CD	Statement	{and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth
אשר חים ***vacat?***	8-9	CDD	Relative clause	(who caused them to live.")}] ***vacat?***
ואמרה	9	I	Statement	[And I said:
יהוה מתי יהיו אלה	9	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{"YHWH, when will these things happen?"}
ויאמר יהוה אלי …	9	I	Statement	[And YHWH said to me: …
…רים ויכף עץ	10	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{"…And a tree will bend over}
ויזקף …	10	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{and it will straighten up…"}]

…°ת וא°… °°° …	1	?	?	…
… יהוה	2	?	?	…YHWH.
ויקומו כל העם	2	I	Statement	[And all the people rose,]
ויעמדו על רגליהם	2	I	Statement	[and they stood on their feet,
להודות …	2	D	Final clause	(to thank…,)]
ולהלל את יהוה צבאות	3	I	Statement	[And to praise YHWH Sebaoth.]
ואף אני מללתי עמהם …	3	I	Statement	[And I also spoke with them…]
vacat ויאמר יהוה אלי	4	I	Statement	***vacat*** [And YHWH said to me:
בן אדם אמור להם …	4	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must say to them…}
… מקום קבורתם ישכבו עד אשר …	5	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{…in the place of their grave they will lie down until when…
… מקבריכם ומן הארץ …	6	?	?	…from your graves and from the earth…
… ל אשר עול מצרים …	7	?	?	…which the yoke of Egypt…"]

It would appear from the linguistic-syntactical analysis above that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 was familiar with some form of the priestly tradition, due to his use of the fulfilment formula ויהי כן ("and it was so") used in lines 6 and 7 of fragment 2.

Between fragment 2 and 3, there is a total of four *vacats* (blank spaces) visible, namely at lines 1, 4, and 9 of fragment 2, and at the beginning of line 4 of fragment 3. Each appears to occur before and after sections of dialogue between YHWH and Ezekiel. There are three lines between the first and the second *vacat*, four lines between the second and third *vacat*, and five lines between the third and fourth *vacat*. We cannot with certainty determine how much of the text is lost, but due to the brevity of the statements uttered by each role-player, and their forming individual units, it might indicate that there is a repeating pattern. As the text is written in the form of a dialogue between YHWH and Ezekiel, it stands to argue that fragment 2 does not start with line 1 as we have it, as it is a statement made by YHWH in a context-dependent sentence. One can speculate that there should be at least one extra line of speech preceding fragment 2 line 1, and that there are approximately two lines missing after line 10 of fragment 2.

The vision of the dry bones appears between the second and third *vacat* (lines 5-9) of fragment 2, indicating that it forms a paragraph, or that it is a unit. The author of the text appears to be familiar enough with the content of this vision in order to write a short-hand version of it

by using the fulfilment formula mentioned above.

6.2 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Here follows a linguistic-syntactical analysis of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i (Table 10), and a discussion thereof.

Table 10: A linguistic-syntactical analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Text	Line	Class.	Type	Translation
יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	1	CD	Statement	{"YHWH, I have seen many from Israel
אשר אהבו את שמך	1	CDD	Relative clause	(who love your name,)
וילכו בדרכי צדק	2	CD	Relative	(and walk in the ways of righteousness.)}
ואלה מתי יהיו	2	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And when will these things happen?}
והכה ישתלמו חסדם	2	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And how will their loving-kindness be rewarded?"}
ויאמר יהוה אלי אני ***vacat***[17]	3	I	Statement	***vacat*** [And YHWH said to me:
אראה את בני ישראל	3	CD	Statement	{I will appear to the sons of Israel,}
וידעו	3	CD	Statement	{and they will know
כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4	CDD	Object clause	(that I am YHWH.)}] ***vacat***
ויאמר	4	I	Statement	[And he said:
בן אדם הנבא על העצמות	4	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones,
ואמרתה	5	CD	Command	{and you must say:
הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5	CDD	Command	('Let each bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint'.")}]
ויהי כן	5-6	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
ויאמר שנית	6	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:
הנבא	6	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
ויעלו עליהם גדים	6	CD	Command	{and sinews will rise (grow) over them,}
ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7	CD	Command	{and they will be covered with skin over them."}
ויהי כן	7	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
ויאמר שנית	7	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:

[17] According to Dimant, in Dimant & Parry (2014:493).

הנבא	7	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
ויעלו עליהם גדים	7	CD	Command	{and let sinews rise (grow) over them,}
ויקרמו עור עליהם	8	CD	Command	{and let them be covered with skin over them."}
ויהי כן	8	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
ויאמר שוב	8	I	Stateent	[And he said again:
הנבא על ארבע רחות השמים	8-9	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens,}
ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	9	CD	Statement	{and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them,}
ויחיו	9	CD	Statement	{and they will live.}
ויעמד עם רב אנשים	9	CD	Statement	{And many men will stand,}
ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	10	CD	Statement	{and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth
vacat vacat אשר חים	10	CDD	Causal clause	(who caused them to live...)}] ***vacat***

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i contains the same fulfilment formula as in 4Q385 fragment 2, namely ויהי כן ("and it was so").

As the form of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i is identical to that of 4Q385 fragment 2, it stands to argue that the same issue as pertaining to the amount of lines per unit, and what the possible introduction to 4Q385 fragment 2 could have been, is also applicable to 4Q386 fragment 1 column i (see section 6.1 above).

The text of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i contains two *vacats*, in line 4 and at the end of line 10. The vision of the dry bones appears in the section between the two *vacats*, namely lines 4-10, indicating that is a paragraph, or a unit. As was the case with 4Q385 fragment 2, the author of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i appears to be familiar enough with the content of this vision in order to write a short-hand version of it by using the fulfilment formula, namely ויהי כן, between lines 5 and 6, and in lines 7 and 8.

6.3 A comparison of the linguistic-syntactical analyses of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Here then follows a side-by-side layout of the kernel sentences identified in the linguistic-syntactical analyses of 4Q385 fragment 2, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i (Table 11). Differences between the two are highlighted.

Table 11: A comparison of the linguistic-syntactical analyses of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

4Q385 fragments 2 and 3	Line	4Q386 fragment 1 column i	Line
כי אני יהוה הגואל עמי	1		
לתת להם הברית ***vacat***	1		
ואמרה	2		
יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	2	יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	1
אשר אהבו את שמך	2	אשר אהבו את שמך	1
וילכו בדרכי צדק	2-3	וילכו בדרכי צדק	2
ואלה מתי יהיו	3	ואלה מתי יהיו	2
והיככה ישתלמו חסדם	3	והכה ישתלמו חסדם	2
ויאמר יהוה אלי אני	3-4	ויאמר יהוה אלי אני	3
אראה את בני ישראל	4	אראה את בני ישראל	3
וידעו	4	וידעו	3
כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4	כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4
ויאמר	5	ויאמר	4
בן אדם הנבה על העצמות	5	בן אדם הנבא על העצמות	4
ואמרת	5	ואמרתה	5
הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5-6	הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5
ויהי כן	6	ויהי כן	5-6
ויאמר שנית	6	ויאמר שנית	6
הנבא	6	הנבא	6
ויעלו עליהם גדים	6	ויעלו עליהם גדים	6
ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7	ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7
ויהי כן	7	ויהי כן	7
		ויאמר שנית	7
		הנבא	7
		ויעלו עליהם גדים	7
		ויקרמו עור עליהם	8
		ויהי כן	8
ויאמר שוב	7	ויאמר שוב	8
אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים	7	הנבא על ארבע רחות השמים	8-9
ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	7-8	ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	9
ויחיו	8	ויחיו	9

ויעמד עם רב אנשים	8	ויעמד עם רב אנשים	9
ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	8	ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	10
אשר חים ***vacat?***	8-9	אשר חים ***vacat*** vacat	10
ואמרה	9		
יהוה מתי יהיו אלה	9		
ויאמר יהוה אלי ...	9		
...רים ויכף עץ	10		
ויזקף ...	10		

There are chains of consecutive imperfect verbs driving the events forward. The dialogues, imperatives, and questions also have this function.

From Table 11 above it is clear that the differences between these two readings are remarkably few. In the cases where there are any, this is primarily due to the fragments having different line lengths and that longer or shorter versions of the same word were employed in order to fit into the lines.

The main differences between the two fragments are as follows:

(1) 4Q385 fragment 2 contains three lines at its beginning that is not reflected in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Whether 4Q386 initially contained the same reading is not possible to determine, however, what is clearly lacking in the preceding line to 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 1 is an introduction, such as ואמרה ("and I said") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 2;

(2) In line 3 of 4Q385 fragment 2 the form היככה of הֵיכָה (interrogative particle, "how?") is used, whereas in line 2 of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i הכה is used. This difference makes no difference to the translation or meaning of the text. Both García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768 and 774), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487 & 493), reconstruct these readings the same;

(3) In 4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 6-7 is repeated identically in lines 7-8. However, this same paragraph only occurs once in 4Q385 fragment 2 in lines 6-7. This can either be an error on the part of the scribe or purposefully intended for emphasis of YHWH's second command to Ezekiel. It is unclear why this repetition occurs. It is important to note that Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:493) does not reconstruct lines 7-8 of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i as containing a repetition and identical reading as found in lines 6-7;

(4) In line 7 of 4Q385 fragment 2 the forms אנבא of נבא (verb; "to prophesy") and רוחות of רוח (noun; "wind, breath") are used, whereas in lines 8-9 of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i הנבא and רחות are used. Both García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768 and 774), and Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:487 & 493), reconstruct these readings the same; and

(5) 4Q385 fragment 2 contains two extra lines (lines 9-10) that do not occur on 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. In 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 9-10 contains a repeat of Ezekiel's question posed in line 3, ואלה מתי יהיו, and YHWH's response to it. Whether 4Q386 initially contained the same reading is not possible to determine.

7. Structural analyses of the texts

Here follows a structural analysis of 4Q235 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, followed by a comparison of them.

7.1 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3

The units that 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3's structure consists of can thematically be represented as follows:

Fragment 2	**A**	Line 1	YHWH speaks	He is his people's redeemer and their covenant partner
	B	Lines 2-3	Ezekiel's question	When and how will the righteous of Israel's loving-kindness be rewarded?
	C	Lines 3-4	YHWH answers	With his appearance to the sons of Israel they will know that he is YHWH
	D	Lines 5-6	YHWH's command	Ezekiel must prophesy to the bones to be joined, and it was so
	E	Lines 6-7	YHWH's second command	Ezekiel must prophesy for sinews and skin to grow, and it was so
	F	Lines 7-9	YHWH's next command	Ezekiel must prophesy to the winds to blow life upon the masses, and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth
	G	Lines 9	Ezekiel's question	When will these things happen?
	H	Lines 9-10	YHWH answers	These things will happen in the distant future (?)
Fragment 3	**I**	Lines 1-3	Exhaltation to YWHH	Ezekiel describes the response of Israel to his prophecies; they exalt YHWH Sebaoth
	J	Lines 4-7	YHWH's instruction	Ezekiel needs to address the people; they will be resurrected from the grave (?)

Here follows a structural layout of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 (Table 12):

Table 12: A structural analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3

Theme	Text (fragments 2 and 3)	Line	Class.	Type	Translation
A YHWH speaks	כי אני יהוה הגואל עמי	1	CD	Emphatic sentence	{"For I am YHWH, the redeemer of my people
	לתת להם הברית ***vacat***	1	CDD	Final clause	(giving to them the covenant.")}] ***vacat***
B Ezekiel's question	ואמרה	2	I	Statement	[And I said:
	יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	2	CD	Statement	{"YHWH, I have seen many from Israel
	אשר אהבו את שמך	2	CDD	Relative clause	(who love your name,)}
	וילכו בדרכי צדק	2-3	CD	Statement[18]	{and they walk in the ways of righteousness.}
	ואלה מתי יהיו	3	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And when will these things happen?}
	והיככה ישתלמו חסדם	3	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And how will their loving-kindness be rewarded?"}]
C YHWH answers	ויאמר יהוה אלי אני	3-4	I	Statement	[And YHWH said to me:
	אראה את בני ישראל	4	CD	Statement	{"I will appear to the sons of Israel,}
	וידעו	4	CD	Statement	{and they will know
	כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4	CDD	Object clause	(that I am YHWH.")}] ***vacat***
D YHWH's command	ויאמר	5	I	Statement	[And he said:
	בן אדם הנבה על העצמות	5	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones,}
	ואמרת	5	CD	Command	{and you must say:
	הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5-6	CDD	Command	('May a bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint'.")}]

[18] Also a relative clause.

	ויהי כן	6	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
E YHWH's second command	ויאמר שנית	6	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:
	הנבא	6	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
	ויעלו עליהם גדים	6	CD	Command	{and sinews will rise (grow) over them,}
	ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7	CD	Command	{and they will be covered with skin over them."}]
	ויהי כן	7	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
F YHWH's next command	ויאמר שוב	7	I	Statement	[And he said again:
	אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים	7	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens,}
	ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	7-8	CD	Statement	{and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them,}
	ויחיו	8	CD	Statement	{and they will live.}
	ויעמד עם רב אנשים	8	CD	Statement	{And many men will stand,}
	ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	8	CD	Statement	{and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth
	vacat? אשר חים	8-9	CDD	Relative clause	(who caused them to live.")}] ***vacat?***
G Ezekiel question	ואמרה	9	I	Statement	[And I said:
	יהוה מתי יהיו אלה	9	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{"YHWH, when will these things happen?"}
H YHWH answers	ויאמר יהוה אלי …	9	I	Statement	[And YHWH said to me: …
	…רים ויכף עץ	10	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{"…And a tree will bend over}
	ויזקף …	10	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{and it will straighten up…"}]
I Exhaltation to YHWH	…°ת וא°… °°° …	1	?	?	…
	… יהוה	2	?	?	…YHWH.
	ויקומו כל העם	2	I	Statement	[And all the people rose,]

	ויעמדו על רגליהם	2	I	Statement	[and they stood on their feet,
	להודות …	2	D	Final clause	(to thank…,)]
	ולהלל את יהוה צבאות	3	I	Statement	[And to praise YHWH Sebaoth.]
	ואף אני מללתי עמהם …	3	I	Statement	[And I also spoke with them…]
J	***vacat*** ויאמר יהוה אלי	4	I	Statement	***vacat*** [And YHWH said to me:
YHWH's instruction	בן אדם אמור להם …	4	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must say to them…}
	… מקום קבורתם ישכבו עד אשר …	5	CD(?)	Statement(?)	{…in the place of a grave they will lie down until when…
	… מקבריכם ומן הארץ …	6	?	?	…from their grave and from the earth…
	… ל אשר עול מצרים …	7	?	?	…which the yoke of Egypt…"]

7.2 Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

The units that 4Q386 fragment1 column i's structure can thematically be represented as follows:

A	Lines 1-2	Ezekiel's question	When and how will the righteous of Israel's loving-kindness be rewarded?
B	Lines 3-4	YHWH answers	With his appearance to the sons of Israel they will know that he is YHWH
C	Lines 4-6	YHWH's command	Ezekiel must prophesy to the bones to be joined, and it was so
D	Lines 6-7	YHWH's second command	Ezekiel must prophesy for sinews and skin to grow, and it was so
E	Lines 7-8	YHWH's second command	Ezekiel must prophesy for sinews and skin to grow, and it was so
F	Lines 8-10	YHWH's next command	Ezekiel must prophesy to the winds to blow life upon the masses, and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth

Here follows a structural layout of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i (Table 13):

Table 13: A structural analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

Theme	Text	Line	Class.	Type	Translation
A Ezekiel's question	יהוה ראיתי רבים מישראל	1	CD	Statement	{"YHWH, I have seen many from Israel
	אשר אהבו את שמך	1	CDD	Relative clause	(who love your name,)
	וילכו בדרכי צדק	2	CD	Relative clause	(and walk in the ways of righteousness.)}
	ואלה מתי יהיו	2	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And when will these things happen?}
	והכה ישתלמו חסדם	2	CD	Question / Interrogative clause	{And how will their loving kindness be rewarded?"}
B YHWH answers	ויאמר יהוה אלי אני ***vacat***[19]	3	I	Statement	***vacat*** [And YHWH said to me:
	אראה את בני ישראל	3	CD	Statement	{I will appear to the sons of Israel,}
	וידעו	3	CD	Statement	{and they will know
	כי אני יהוה ***vacat***	4	CDD	Object clause	(that I am YHWH.)}] ***vacat***
C YHWH's command	ויאמר	4	I	Statement	[And he said:
	בן אדם הנבא על העצמות	4	CD	Command	{"Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones,
	ואמרתה	5	CD	Command	{and you must say:
	הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק אל פרקו	5	CDD	Command	('May a bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint'.")}]
	ויהי כן	5-6	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
D YHWH's second command	ויאמר שנית	6	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:
	הנבא	6	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
	ויעלו עליהם גדים	6	CD	Statement	{and sinews will rise (grow) over them,}

[19] According to Dimant, in Dimant & Parry (2014:493).

	ויקרמו עור עליהם	6-7	CD	Statement	{and they will be covered with skin over them."}
	ויהי כן	7	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
E YHWH's second command	ויאמר שנית	7	I	Statement	[And he said a second time:
	הנבא	7	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy,}
	ויעלו עליהם גדים	7	CD	Statement	{and sinews will rise (grow) over them,}
	ויקרמו עור עליהם	8	CD	Statement	{and they will be covered with skin over them."}
	ויהי כן	8	I	Statement	[And it was so.]
F YHWH's next command	ויאמר שוב	8	I	Stateent	[And he said again:
	הנבא על ארבע רחות השמים	8-9	CD	Command	{"You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens,}
	ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם	9	CD	Statement	{and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them,}
	ויחיו	9	CD	Statement	{and they will live.}
	ויעמד עם רב אנשים	9	CD	Statement	{And many men will stand,}
	ויברכו את יהוה צבאות	10	CD	Statement	{and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth
	vacat vacat אשר חים	10	CDD	Relative clause	(who caused them to live...)}] ***vacat***

7.3 A comparison of the structures of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

The following discussion should be read in the light of the two preceding structural analyses of the texts under investigation. Both 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i is structured as a dialogue between YHWH and Ezekiel, with questions and responses to it. The equivalent text of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i (units A-F, lines 1-10) occurs in 4Q385 fragment 2 units B-F in lines 2-9.

YHWH's dialogue preceding Ezekiel's first set of questions at the beginning of 4Q385 fragment does not occur on the 4Q386 fragment 1 column i remnant. Therefore, there is no introductory statement as in 4Q385 fragment 2. There is also a *vacat* missing at the beginning of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, which occurs at the end of line 2 in 4Q385 fragment 2.

In 4Q385 there is a *vacat* at the end of line 4, whereas there is none in the equivalent section of 4Q386 fragment 1 column I (at the end of line 2, the beginning of line 3). However, Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014:493) inserts a *vacat* at this point in her transcription. Whether there is a *vacat* present or not, there is a natural break in the text between lines 2 and 3 in 4Q385 fragment 2 and between lines 2 and 3 in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i as it marks the end of a question by Ezekiel, and the beginning of YHWH's answer to it.

In 4Q386 fragment 1 column i unit D (lines 6-7) repeats unit E (lines 7-8), but this repetition does not occur in 4Q385 fragment 2. The dialogue between Ezekiel and YHWH as in lines 9-10 (units G-H) in 4Q385 fragment 2, and lines 1-7 (units I-J) in 4Q385 fragment 3 is missing from 4Q386 fragment 1 column i.

Apart from the differences mentioned above, the insertion and use of *vacat* and the structure of both versions of Pseudo-Ezekiel's vision of the valley of the dry bones is identical.

8. Summary

In this chapter a description of the physical state and preservation of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i was given. Images of all three fragments were also included in the chapter, which were obtained from The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts, I provided both the transcriptions of Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014), and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999), and discussed them in terms of the fragments' relationship to each other. The texts of both manuscripts are not verbatim similar enough to each other to consider them to be copies.

I've decided to adopt the reconstruction of García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768, 774) for 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and that of Dimant for 4Q385 fragment 3. The reason for this is that Dimant is overconfident in her reconstruction, seeking intertextual relations with the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments and biblical literature other than the MT Ezekiel, while García Martínez and Tigchelaar simply reconstruct their versions of the readings. The same vision appears in the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14, which aided the reconstruction of the readings on the fragments.

The order and relationship of the fragments to each other were discussed, and it was found that 4Q385 fragment 3 follows upon fragment 2, whereas there appears to be no relation in terms of the placement of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with the aforementioned fragments.

A preliminary translation – that of García Martínez and Tigchelaar – accompanied each reconstruction. This was followed with my own translation of the fragments in the linguistic-syntactical analysis of the text. A tentative comparison with Ezekiel 37:1-14 was also undertaken to account for instances where the text was unclear and to offer an alternative reading. This was followed by a commentary on the proposed reconstructions by Dimant, and García Martínez and Tigchelaar. Emphasis was placed on what the differences between their versions are and an attempt was made to account for each.

A theoretical background on the process of the reconstruction of ancient manuscripts was provided and was followed by a practical application of it by discussing the restoration and reconstruction of the fragments under investigation. A choice was made to use a reconstructed version based on that of García Martínez and Tigchelaar for 4Q385 fragment 2, and 4 Q386 fragment 1 column i, and that of Dimant for 4Q385 fragment 3, as mentioned above.

The analysis of the text commenced with the demarcation of pericopes, units or sections of each fragment, and was followed by a linguistic-syntactical analysis of both versions of the valley of the dry bones text. This was followed by a comparison between the linguistic-syntactical analysis of 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i.

The comparison of the structural analyses of both texts has indicated that the structure of both versions is identical with a few minor exceptions. My analysis of both Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i points out minor orthographical differences.

CHAPTER 3:
THE ORTHOGRAPHY, TEXTUAL CRITICISM, AND REDACTION OF PSEUDO-EZEKIEL 4Q385 FRAGMENTS 2 AND 3, AND 4Q386 FRAGMENT 1 COLUMN I

1. Introduction

This chapter will commence with a theoretical overview of what orthography is, and entails. In practice, the differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones was already compared in relation to their orthography in Chapter 2 of this study, however, here the matter will be discussed in more detail. Aspects that will receive specific attention is fuller orthography, the use of *matres lectionis* and defective orthography, and examples of them from the texts under investigation will be discussed. With regard to orthographic differences between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i the focus will pertain to the difference in spelling of certain words within these texts. This may aid in forming a better understanding as to where these texts originated from. By comparing Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with each other with regard to orthography one may be able to determine that the cause of the differences is due to each text having been written in a different time by different scribal schools.

As there are different versions or traditions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones, it will be necessary to compare the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments with the MT version, and where of interest, with the LXX and p967, text-critically.

With the aid of redactional criticism I aim to discuss the differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, to determine if these differences are significant enough to support the hypothesis that these manuscripts were indeed written by different authors. This is done in order to establish if there may be any reason to believe that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, may have been written not only by different authors, but if these texts were written at different times and represent different historical events taking place at that time. Redactional aspects that will receive attention are omission, abbreviation, alteration, and additions, in order to aid us to better understand the differences and similarities that exist between different versions or traditions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones, and the reasons for it.

2. Orthography

Emanuel Tov (2011:208) wrote that "Orthography (spelling) is the realization in writing of the spoken word and, accordingly, many words may be represented in different spellings". In some instances, a language would make use of the different spellings of the same words at different periods in time, or within concurrent dialects, without a change in the meaning of said words. Tov (2011:208) illustrates this by using the different spelling of the negative particle in Biblical Hebrew, namely as לא and לוֹא, as an example.

In Biblical Hebrew, certain spelling practices and their development are noticeable during the Second Temple Period (Ulrich 2015:43), also leading to the eventual need to vocalise texts, such as the MT. According to Eugene C. Ulrich (2015:43), "Since the consonantal text of the Scriptures was sometimes ambiguous, scribes used fuller spellings, inserting *matres lectionis*, to ensure the correct reading and preserve the correct understanding". According to him (Ulrich 2015:44), this practice was sometimes inadvertently or intentionally, likely under the influence of scribes using spelling that was customary to them, contrary to what was necessarily reflected in the source text.

Aaron D. Hornkohl (2014:72) pointed out that "the relevance of spelling for the dating of biblical texts is a much-debated issue". It is, however, widely accepted that with the introduction of *matres lectionis* in Biblical Hebrew texts became more plene in time and that vowels were added to the text only during medieval times. It stands to argue, as proposed by Anneli Aejmelaues (2012:3), and supported by Hornkohl (2014:72), that post-exilic texts tend to be fuller variants than pre-exilic versions or texts.

Wido van Peursen (2003:27) wrote that the study of orthography is important, because the use of "*matres lectionis* often reflect a certain understanding of the Hebrew text and rule out other interpretations". Especially pertaining to verbal forms, there are a number of possible interpretations of it when unvocalised. The defective stem שמר can be interpreted to be a perfect, a participle, an infinitive or an imperative, but when the vowel letter *waw* is added after the first root consonant, to form שומר ("watch, guard") the verb can only be interpreted to be a participle, whereas inserting a *waw* after the second root consonant, to form שמור, rules out the possibility of the verb being a perfect form (van Peursen 2003:27).

Thus, differences in orthography usually do not affect the meaning of the words, and aid the reader in their pronunciation, and also assist the reader in the case of ambiguous forms towards a specific interpretation of a word. Ulrich (2015:44), in turn, refers to the example that

in Isaiah 19:3 in the MT and 1QIsa[a] the word האבות ("father, ancestors") is used. However, in 1QIsa[a] the scribe also used האובות where a supralineal *waw* was inserted, to assit the reader to read the term as "spirit of the dead", instead of "father".

The use of defective and full orthography is used to refer to instances were the same word has a different spelling between two or more variants. The designation full(er) orthography is used in instances where a word has an added *mater lectionis*, whereas defective orthography refers to instances where one or two *matre lectionis* do not occur / were omitted(?). A word (between variants) may also contain both forms, therefore these designations can be ambiguous at times (cf. Tov 2011:209). A developmental phase in the orthography of Biblical Hebrew was the increasing use of *matres lectionis* in order to facilitate the reading of a text within a consonantal framework, allowing scribes to transmit texts that have been adapted or contain fuller orthography (Tov 2011:209). In a similar vein, van Peursen (2003:30) wrote that "the use and non-use of *matres lectionis* is an important process of textual transmission".

Van Peursen (2003:28) divides the notable development and evolution of Biblical Hebrew orthography into three stages, with the post-exilic period being the early stage, followed by a middle, and then a late stage:

(1) The early stage (6th-5th centuries BCE): A system of Archaic Hebrew spelling that was likely in use for all the books of the Torah and the Former Prophets (van Peursen 2003:28).

(2) The middle stage (5th-4th centuries BCE): A standard Biblical Hebrew spelling is developed, being attested / reflected in proto-Masoretic or pre-Rabbinic texts. A more plene form of Archaic Hebrew spelling occurs. Four divisions of the proto-Masoretic text can be distinguished at this time, namely the Torah, the Former Prophets, the Latter Prophets, and the Writings. The Torah corresponds predominantly to Archaic Hebrew spelling, however, in the other divisions an increased use of vowel letters can be observed, especially in the use of the word-internal *waw*. Apart from the aforementioned there are no striking differences in the orthography of this period (van Peursen 2003:28).

(3) The late stage (3rd century BCE onward, to the end of the Second Temple Period):

> Hellenistic Hebrew spelling, also called Maccabean or Qumran spelling, becomes more prevalent. The DSS are considered to be written in the "Qumran system" (van Peursen 2003:28). "Emanuel Tov introduced the "term 'Qumran system' to include a collection of features in scribal practice, language and orthography that are typical of a certain group of documents found at Qumran and dating from the period of the Qumran settlement" (van Peursen 2003:27).

It is then considered that these writing practices generally reflect an accurate speech pattern of the ancient Hebrew and Aramaic speaking communities.

Overall it would appear that the orthography of Pseudo-Ezekiel corresponds to that of the proto-Masoretic or pre-Rabbinic tradition, although some differences can be observed. According to Dimant (2001:12), "Compare the full orthography of רוחות in 4Q385 2 7 with the defective רחות in the parallel text of 4Q386 1i 8." Also, והיככה in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 3 is written וה]כה in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 2. "In 4Q385 2 the *nip'al* 2nd sing. imperative of נבא is written in three different forms: הנבא in (4Q385 2 6; 4Q386 1i 4), הנבה in 4Q535 2 5 and הנבא in 4Q385 2 7)" (Dimant 2001:12). Dimant (2001:12) states that "this is a fine illustration of the weakening of the gutturals, a process characteristic of the post-biblical linguistic setting".

What is perhaps the most notable difference in orthography between 4Q385 and 4Q386 is that of the different spelling of והיככה in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 3 and והכה in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 2. The scribe of 4Q385 uses a fuller orthography than the scribe of 4Q386. This phenomenon is also seen in the manuscript of 4Q223-224 fragment 2 column iv where the same word, והיככה, appears in line 5 of the text with the same spelling.

In 4Q223-224 "the scribe normally uses a fuller orthography, as indicated by the frequent appearance of *waw* and *yod* as vowel letters and the stronger forms of pronouns and suffixes" (Tov et al. 1995:97-98). Based on palaeographical grounds, 4Q223-224 appears to date from the late Hasmonaean period (75-50 BCE). However, the shapes of the letters *bet* and *sin* favours an earlier date within the aforementioned range, rather than later. There also seems to be some resemblance between 4Q223-224 and that of the hand of 1QS, even though the cave 1 text does date earlier than 4Q223-224 (Tov et al. 1995:96-97).

Another example of the fuller orthography that is shared between 4Q385 and 4Q223-224 is the use of the *waw* between the *resj* and *get* in רוחות ("winds") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line

7 and 4Q223-224 fragment 2 column iv line 21, while the scribe of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 8 omits the first *waw* and the reading is רחות.

The use of fuller orthography also appears between 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with regard to other words such as אלי ("to me") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 9 and אל ("to") in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 5. It should, however, be noted that the corresponding word in line 5 of 4Q385 fragment 2 uses a shorter form than that written in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 5. The fuller orthography of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 may indicate a particular time during which it was penned, as well as reflect the characteristics of a specific scribal school, whereas the inconsistent use of this fuller orthography may imply that the author merely mimicked a certain writing style.

3. Textual criticism

Jo-Marí Schäder (2016:177-178) describes textual criticism, in terms of biblical books, as follows:

> Textual criticism is also known as *lower criticism*. This approach attempts to (re-)construct a presumed *Urtext* (or original text) that underlies the current form of the biblical books. This is done by collecting and analysing books from the time of their supposed completion to their first printed editions. Various textual witnesses are discussed and weighed in relation to each other. It also investigates the practical conditions of their copying and transmission… However, the transition from the composition and redaction of the *Urtext(s)* until the transmission of witnesses in various manuscripts is not sharp, as the last redactor was simultaneously an author and copyist. Today it is also accepted that there were several such *Urtexts* in existence simultaneously… Different textual traditions are known as *variants*… Many of these manuscripts are "autographs" or copies of the originals that were produced in antiquity. As these manuscripts were copied by hand – and no matter how meticulous the scribe might have attempted to be – some differences between manuscripts, due to copying errors or intentional changes, do exist… It is then the task of the text-critic to provide explanations for these obvious 'errors.' It ought then to be clear that textual criticism is most concerned with the process of copying and the transmission of biblical books, rather than with the process of their creation...

Ulrich (2015:44-45), in turn, wrote that all variants of a given biblical book are genetically related. All texts can, in theory, be traced back to a single tradition and are all interconnected with each other. Ulrich (2015:45) uses a metaphor to illustrate this interrelatedness: The earliest

form of the book is like a tree's trunk which diverges into a series of branches. The earliest form of the tradition is likely an oral one, but in some instances, there could be written ones also. From here the branches of the trunk extend to form the texts and eventually book which undergoes editing, influenced by the socio-historical circumstances during which it is copied or edited by scribes or copyists, addressed to the people of a given period. It also stands to argue that there was a period during which the 'original' or earlier tradition or texts, as well as newer ones, were in circulation simultaneously. During this period some versions would garner more popularity or supplement other versions. With each new version that comes into existence the branches of the tree expand and multiply. In some instances, the orthographic practice also continued to mimic the orthography of the source text, and in some cases was being updated with fuller spellings or the plene reading, to aid the reader in understanding the text's reading better (cf. Ulrich 2015:45).

Textual criticism then not only attempts to understand the relationship between texts, but also attempts to describe the circumstances during which the text was copied, and the specific procedures that were followed during its copying and transmission (Tov 2001:1). Kyle P. McCarter (1959:12) pointed out that with the copying process a text was exposed to the danger of corruption, however, it is the process of textual criticism that compares different copies or versions of the same text to understand the reasons for divergences between them. Its goal is to recover a more *authentic form* of the text.

The first step of textual criticism, when comparing different versions or variants of the same text, is to determine what the nature of the 'problems' or differences between texts are, such as recurrent types of scribal 'errors', the addition of explanatory glosses, harmonization, etc. (Ulrich 1984:614).

Ingrid E. Lilly (2012:113) pointed out that the Pseudo-Ezekiel copies that have been found at Qumran are all written in Hebrew, and, according to her, this fact underscores the kind of fluidity that has been explored in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel. "Since Ezekiel's text became an active site of scribal expansion, interpretation, and/or composition, a manuscript like pseudo-Ezekiel holds important information for text-critical analysis of variant literary editions" (Lilly 2012:113).

In order to conduct a text critical analysis of Pseudo-Ezekiel, it would be a worthwhile endeavour to not only compare fragments within this tradition with each other, but also with the MT and the likes of the Greek manuscript of Ezekiel, p967 (cf. Lilly 2012:1). p967 dates to the late second or early third century CE, which makes it the earliest known version from the Septuagint of this text. Lilly (2012:1) pointed out that p967 "is the earliest substantial witness

to Ezekiel in any language, including Hebrew". p967's transposition of the MT chapter 37 after the Gog-Magog battle is one of its most notable features.

Lilly (2012:18) raised two questions with regard to the differences between the MT and p967 Ezekiel text: "1) Are the meaningful variants that distinguish p967 and MT as variant literary editions intentional? and 2) assuming editorial activity, which edition of Ezekiel, p967 or MT, represents the earlier edition?"

Here follows a text critical discussion of the most notable differences between the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14, Psuedo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column 1.

3.1 The omission of an introductory formula

The first notable difference between the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14 and that of the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments is the omission of an introductory formula to the fragments found at Qumran. The MT version commences with a description of how the prophet ended up among the bones in verse 1:

MT Ezekiel 37:1

הָיְתָה עָלַי יַד־יְהוָה וַיּוֹצִאֵנִי בְרוּחַ יְהוָה וַיְנִיחֵנִי בְּתוֹךְ הַבִּקְעָה וְהִיא מְלֵאָה עֲצָמוֹת׃

Translation:

The hand of YHWH was upon me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of YHWH, and he placed me in the middle of the valley, and it was full of bones.

This same introduction is also found at the beginning of the LXX's vision of the dry bones, while in the vision in Pseudo-Ezekiel the introduction was either omitted, or lost to us, due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscript.

Johan Lust (2003:83-92) proposed that the proto-MT text of the vision of the dry bones is much later than the Pseudo-Ezekiel versions as the MT appears to historicise the events depicted in the vision as military events. This would be in keeping with later scribal interests, such as the Day of YHWH. Therefore, the proto-MT may be the result of the shifting Second Temple political realities with a shift of emphasis from Israel's past restoration to the texts which now follow as a text for military hope and confidence in the contemporary present, due to a call for arms that is implied within the MT (Lilly 2012:13).

3.2 MT Ezekiel 37:10, Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 8, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 9

MT Ezekiel 37:10

וְהִנַּבֵּאתִי כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּנִי וַתָּבוֹא בָהֶם הָרוּחַ וַיִּחְיוּ וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־רַגְלֵיהֶם חַיִל גָּדוֹל מְאֹד־מְאֹד׃

Translation:

And I prophesied as he commanded me, and breath entered them, and they came alive, and they stood on their feet, a very great force (army?).

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 8

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:768):

]השמים בהם ויחיו ו[יע[מ]ד עם רב אנשים ויברכו את יהוה צבאות אש[ר[

Translation:

…of the heavens [will blow] upon them, and they will live. And many men will stand, and they will bless YHWH Sebaoth who…

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 9

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:774):

]השמים ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד ע[ם רב אנש[ים[

Translation:

…[of] the heavens and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them, and they will live, and many men will stand…

The same version of the text found in the LXX and p967 reads "a very large / numerous congregation" (Lilly 2012:13). The MT is the only one between these five versions of the vision of the dry bones that indicates that a great military force was revived and stood up, therefore the LXX, p967, and Pseudo-Ezekiel bear a closer relation to each other than the MT with regard to this line of the vision.

3.3 MT Ezekiel 37:4, Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 5, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 4

MT Ezekiel 37:4

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנָּבֵא עַל־הָעֲצָמוֹת הָאֵלֶּה וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם הָעֲצָמוֹת הַיְבֵשׁוֹת שִׁמְעוּ דְּבַר־יְהוָה׃

Translation:

And he said to me: "Prophesy to these bones, and say to them: 'Dry bones, hear the word of YHWH.

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 5

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:768):

[ויאמר]בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק

Translation:

And he said: "Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones, and you must say: 'May a bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint…"

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 4

Dimant's (in Dimant & Parry 2014:493) and García Martínez & Tigchelaar's (1999:774) transcription:

[כי אני יהוה *vacat* ויאמר בן אדם הנ]בא על העצמות

Translation:

…for I am YHWH. *Blank* And he said: "Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones…"

Although the expression "son of man" does appear in the MT text of Ezekiel, it is not used in Ezekiel 37:4, while it does appear in the corresponding lines of Pseudo-Ezekiel. "Son of man" is a poetic Hebrew expression and is used in the same way throughout the Old Testament with reference to the humanity of the addressee (Burkett 2000:58). It does, however, appear in verse 9 of the MT Ezekiel text.

3.4 MT Ezekiel 37:7, Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 5-6, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 5-6

MT Ezekiel 37:7

וְנִבֵּאתִי כַּאֲשֶׁר צֻוֵּיתִי וַיְהִי־קוֹל כְּהִנָּבְאִי וְהִנֵּה־רַעַשׁ וַתִּקְרְבוּ עֲצָמוֹת עֶצֶם אֶל־עַצְמוֹ׃

Translation:

And I prophesied as I was commanded, and there was a sound, like a rattling, and lo! and the bones came together, bone to bone.

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 5-6

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:768):

[ויאמר]בן אדם הנבה על העצמות ואמרת הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ופרק

[אל פרקו ויה]י כ[ן] ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדים ויקרמו עור

Translation:

And he said: "Son of man, you must prophesy over the bones, and you must say: 'May a bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint'. And it was.

And he said a second time: "You must prophesy, and sinews will rise (grow) over them, and they will be covered with skin…"

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 5-6

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:774):

[ואמרתה הקרבו עצם אל עצמו ו]פרק אל פרקו ויהי

[כן ויאמר שנית הנבא ויעלו עליהם גדי]ם ויקרמו עור

Translation:

And you must say: "May a bone approach (connect) to its bone, and a joint to its joint". And it was so. And he said a second time: "You must prophesy, and sinews will rise (grow) over them, and they will be covered with skin…"

One can notice a lack of explanation as to how the bones come together in the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts. The introduction in the MT Ezekiel provides more information to the resurrection / reconstruction of the bones.

3.5 MT Ezekiel 37:9, Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 7, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 8-9

MT Ezekiel 37:9

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הִנָּבֵא אֶל־הָרוּחַ הִנָּבֵא בֶן־אָדָם וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־הָרוּחַ כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה מֵאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת
בֹּאִי הָרוּחַ וּפְחִי בַּהֲרוּגִים הָאֵלֶּה וְיִחְיוּ׃

Translation:

And he said to me: "Prophesy to the breath, prophesy, son of man, and you will say to it: To breath, come, so says the Lord YHWH, from the four winds and breathe into these killed,'" and they lived.

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 7

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:768):

[עליהם ויהי כן]ויא[מ]ר שוב אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוח[ות]

Translation:

"…over them. And it was so. And he said again: "You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens, and the winds…"

Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 8-9

García Martínez & Tigchelaar's transcription (1999:774):

ויקרמו עור עליהם ויהי כן ויאמר שוב הנבא על ארבע רחות
השמים ויפחו רוחות השמים בהם ויחיו ויעמד עם רב אנשים

Translation:

And they will be covered with skin over them." And it was so. And he said again: "You must prophesy over the four winds of the heavens, and the winds of the heavens will blow upon them, and they will live. And many men will stand…"

While it is noticeable that the MT text provides more detail to the vision of the dry bones, one will notice that here it seems not to be the case. Pseudo-Ezekiel refers to "the four winds of heaven" while the MT only states "the four winds".

3.6 The relationship between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

In the previous chapter it has been indicated that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 3 likely followed upon fragment 2, being the lower part of the same column (cf. Dimant 2001:30). Combined these fragments appear to be dealing with resurrection, specifically in the light of fragment 3 lines 5-6, which refer to burial and graves. Dimant (2001:30) also pointed out that it parallels Ezekiel 37:12-14, the biblical vision of the dry bones.

There also appears to be a similarity of style between pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and that it also has a biblical flavour to them. However, later forms have crept into the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts, indicating that it has a post-biblical background (cf. Dimant 2001:11).

Differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i are also visible. In both instances the fulfilment formula ויהי כן ("and it was so") is used. In 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 it is used three time (lines 6, 7 and 8), and in 4Q386 fragment 1 column i once (line 6-7).

According to Dimant (2001:33-34), other noteworthy differences are as follows:

(1) A reference to an unspecified time, the eschatological era, is present in the reference to ואלה מתי יהיו ("and these things, when will they come to be?") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 2;

(2) While the MT focusses on the fate of the whole of Israel, Pseudo-Ezekiel applies the revelation to the prophet only to the righteous of Israel;

(3) A notion which is absent from the biblical vision occurring in the Qumran version is the scene of the resurrection as the reward awaiting the pious, namely ישתלמו חסדם; and

(4) The insertion of a blessing after revival is typical of a widespread practice that emerged during the Second Temple Period, namely reciting benedictions on various occasions.

4. Redactional aspects

When comparing the Pseudo-Ezekiel version of the valley of the dry bones scene alongside that of the MT Ezekiel 37 (verses 1-14), one finds that the author of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 employed four techniques, namely omission, abbreviation, alteration, and addition, techniques which are well known from contemporary Jewish writings (Dimant 2001:32-33).

In 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, as well 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, one immediately notices that the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts do not open with the same introduction as the MT. Within the MT the prophet is brought to a valley that is filled with bones, while the Pseudo-Ezekiel

texts omit this information and refer to the bones as an already familiar subject (Dimant 2001:33). One can consider the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel's omission of the introduction to mean that the text they were dealing with was a known one, and, therefore, did not deem it necessary to include this information. One can further consider that the redaction of this vision, indicated by the lack of an introductory formula, to have taken place somewhere during the copying process of Pseudo-Ezekiel and the MT being penned.

Another omission in the Pseudo-Ezekiel version, in relation to the MT, is the materialisation of the various stages in the revival of the dry bones. While these stages are detailed within the Masoretic text, the Pseudo-Ezekiel authors replaced these stages with a fulfilment formula ויהי כן ("and it was so") (Dimant 2001:33). Dimant (2001:33) pointed out that this formula is taken from "the creation story of Genesis 1 and expresses the implementation of the creative command".

In the Pseudo-Ezekiel text, a non-biblical benediction was added, and, by inserting this blessing after the revival, the widespread practice emerging in the Second Temple period of reciting benedictions on various occasions is reflected. This was a practice which was already operative at Qumran as there was a daily recitation of morning and evening benedictions. Dimant (2001:34) suggested that Pseudo-Ezekiel may have been familiar with some form of this benediction that refers to resurrection that is later incorporated in the second benediction of the *Amidah* (literally "standing") prayer.

Jewish practice may have been the inspiration for the addition of the blessing after the resurrection, although such an addition also appears in Isaiah 26:19 (הקיצו ורננו שכני עפר, "Awake and shout with joy, you who dwell in the dust") and 1QIsa[a] (יקיצו וירננו שכני עפר, "Those who dwell in the dust will awake and shout of joy") (Dimant 2001:35). It stands to argue that the author/s of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts knew about the benediction in Isaiah, and, therefore, incorporated it from there. By connecting Isaiah 26:19 with Ezekiel 37, Pseudo-Ezekiel provides an illustration of the exegetical method of connecting two verses considered to deal with the same issue, which was a known technique used in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period (Dimant 2001:36). Dimant (2001:35-36) wrote that

> Pseudo-Ezekiel provides us with a more ancient Hebrew witness for the tradition that the resurrected people utter a benediction following their revival, a tradition apparently based on the exegesis of Isa 26:19.

Even though the author/s of Pseudo-Ezekiel mimicked the style of the MT version of the vision of the dry bones, it does appear that there are forms of words that are post-biblical in nature present in the pseudo-Ezekiel fragments (Dimant 2001:11). Overall one will notice that the authors employ the *waw*-inverted forms while occasionally the long imperfect ואמרה is used in the indicative rather than the classical cohortative (4Q385 2 9). According to Dimant (2001:11) this change is typical of late biblical and Qumran Hebrew.

Dimant (2001:11-12) also states that what is "most significant are the non-biblical and at times unique locutions found in Pseudo-Ezekiel" such as וא]לה מתי יהיו ("and when will these things happen?") in 4Q385 fragment 2 lines 3 and 9, and ישתלמו חסדם ("their loving-kindness will be rewarded") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 2. There are also a number of terms that Pseudo-Ezekiel shares with that of Mishnaic Hebrew, of which some were previously only known form Tannaitic literature. This attests to their use already during the Second Temple period, such as הגואל ("the redeemer") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 1 and פרק ("joint") in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 5, and 4Q386 1 column i line 5, both previously attested only in Mishnaic Hebrew (Dimant 2001:12).

5. Summary

In this chapter a theoretical overview of what orthography is, and entails, was given. In practice, the differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones were already compared in relation to their orthography in Chapter 2 of this study, however, here the matter was discussed in more detail.

The difference in the orthography between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q3856 fragment 1 column i, may suggest that each fragment was written at a different time and was adapted to function within each author's specific context. Although the orthography of Pseudo-Ezekiel follows that of the Masoretic tradition, one cannot overlook differences between those of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. The most notable difference between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, is the fuller orthography that appears in 4Q385, which is a phenomenon that also appears in 4Q223-224. The similarities with regard to the fuller orthography between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and that of 4Q223-224 may indicate that 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i had indeed originated at different times and were written by different authors from different scribal schools. However, there are also similarities between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel

texts with regard to orthography. Dimant (2001:33) suggested that the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel replaced the unspecific future that the MT suggests with a more specific eschatological future (4Q385 fragment 2 line 3, and 4Q386 1 column i line 2). The orthographical differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel texts may imply that these texts were written within different time periods by different scribal schools which served to highlight different historical events.

A question which was asked was whether a given spelling of certain words could be indicative of the work of a specific scribal school or be of aid to the scholar in determining the provenance of a text. The preliminary result would appear that this is the case as the use of fuller orthography, the use of *matres lectionis*, and defective orthography appear to indicate the writing style of individuals. Examples of the aforementioned in the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments were also discussed.

As there are different versions or traditions of this vision, it was deemed necessary to compare the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments with the MT version, and where of interest, with the LXX and p967. From this analysis it seems that there were different authors who wrote their versions at different times, linking to the preliminary conclusion reached in Chapter 2 of this study.

The textual criticism reveals various similarities and differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel, the MT, the LXX and p967 where it pertains to the vision of the valley of the dry bones. The inclusion of an introduction with regard to the MT may indicate that it was necessary for the author of this text to give his readers more information about the vision to contextualise it. This may imply a later dating with regard to the MT. Pseudo-Ezekiel reveals a post-biblical dating due to the use of later forms within the texts. Another distinctive difference is that the MT refers to a great army that rises while both Pseudo-Ezekiel texts refer to a great many men standing. Although one may argue that this occurrence may refer to the same thing, one may also argue that the MT could have implied a political statement as proposed by Lust (2003:83-92).

In order to aid our understanding of the development or growth of the different versions, it was important to discuss examples indicative of redaction, specifically omission, abbreviation, alteration, and additions between the different versions.

CHAPTER 4:
SCRIBAL ASPECTS OF TEXTUAL ORIGIN

1. Introduction

In this chapter an overview will be given of different scribal techniques and language differences in and around Qumran. It will be indicated that each scribal school had their own unique style pertaining to the writing technique and language they used. The language and writing style of the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts will be discussed to determine their dating, provenance and authorship. Determining the date of each text may aid in determining the provenance of the text, which may lead to determining the authorship of the text. This may lead one to understand 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i within those authors' contexts.

2. Scribal techniques and language differences in and around Qumran

It can easily be assumed that the scribal school at Qumran was responsible for writing and copying the scrolls that were discovered there, however, in more recent decades an awareness has developed of the extent of the textual and literary variety within the corpora from Qumran. This has led to the acceptance that not all of the late Second Temple scrolls that were found there had their provenance at Qumran (Norton 2009:135).

The manuscripts discovered at Qumran contain different types and variants, and some of these scrolls indicate the presence of parallel editions, such as that of Pseudo-Ezekiel. There are also texts that aid us in determining the development and redactional levels of some. It is then through a literary analysis that one may be able to indicate that these texts originated among different groups at different times (cf. Metso 2010:21).

Bar-Asher (2011:142) notes that the Hebrew reflected in the Qumran texts should be approached and described as an independent entity. One should in turn establish the grammar used in Qumran Hebrew, which also sets it apart from other manuscripts that were found at that location. The corpus of documents found in and around Qumran attests to scribal habits and practices that were more developed, and it constitutes the largest source of information on scribal techniques for Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Israel prior to the early Middle Ages (Tov 2004:1).

Tov (2004:1) pointed out that the analysis of scribal practices investigates (1) the copyists' socio-historical context and schooling, (2) the writing material used, namely parchment or papyrus, (3) technical aspects that relate to the writing of the scrolls such as its ruling, the length of the scrolls, amount of sheets and columns, (4) writing practices such as the division between words, and small and larger sense units, (5) the typography and layout of poetry, (6) scribal markers that may appear on the manuscript, correction procedures used, the specific script, and (7) special scribal characteristics reflected in certain types of texts, and various scribal traditions.

Some texts found at Qumran appear to exhibit the traces of several scribal practices, which set them apart from various other texts found there, although they are also unique among some other known textual witnesses (Tov 2001:111). Some of the scribal practices that one finds in the DSS were developed *ad hoc*, although it seems that they more frequently follow earlier writing traditions in the same language or script, as well as other languages that were used in the same era. It is because of this reason that Tov (2004:3) also considers the DSS manuscripts to be written in other scribal traditions than those of the Qumran sect.

A comparison of scribal practices between documents from the Judean Desert and the instructions for copying of such documents in Rabbinic literature reveals links between the instructions in the Rabbinic literature and segments of the texts found at Qumran. This, however, is not applicable to all the Qumran documents (Tov 1996:383).

In this vein Tov (1996:384) wrote that one may "never know to what extent and in which circles the prescriptions of the rabbis were adhered to", even though some of these features tend to be present in Qumran texts. Some scholars also noted that certain scrolls were presumably written at Qumran resemble the writing practices of the so-called normative proto-Rabbinic or Pharisaic ones. It ought then to be clear that there are traces of other scribal traditions reflected in texts from Qumran (see Tov 1996:384). Also, with the first publication of the Temple Scroll in 1977, and the first classification and inventory of the scrolls in 1995, it became apparent that not all the scrolls were products of the Qumran sect. The *Temple Scroll* is a rewriting of large parts of the Pentateuch and, so it appears, lacks the peculiar style and ideas that seem to be typical of the Qumran sect (cf. Dimant 2015:7).

Although little is known with regard to the training of scribes within the post-biblical period it is possible that some training was involved. Tov (2004:12) argued that most of what is known about the learning process of scribes comes from other cultures of the Ancient Near East, although it is unclear what the extent is that one may draw parallels between these cultures and ancient Israelite practices.

There are different levels of scribal skills that are reflected within the texts from the Judean Desert. This is not only visible in the degree of care taken with neat handwriting in the scrolls, but also the adherence by the scribe to certain scribal conventions (Tov 2004:12). It seems that most non-documentary – namely literary – texts were written by skilled hands. These skills are reflected, *inter alia,* in comparison or contrast with the letters written in irregular script, versus those of the signatures of writers and copyists (Tov 2004:12).

Our sole source of information regarding scribal activity is reflected in the scrolls themselves, because of the lack of external data that we have on the scribes who wrote and copied manuscripts found in the Judean Desert (Tov 2004:15). It seems that the more closely the scribes adhered to the scribal practices that are present within the text from which they copied, the less it reflected their own style. This is because the *Vorlagen* of the Qumran manuscripts are unknown to us, which makes it difficult to distinguish between the scribes' own input and that of the tradition within which they wrote or copied. The numbers of columns of a scroll may not be a true indication of the scribal practice that was followed, or what the *Vorlagen* consisted of, because this may have more to do with the manufacturer of the scroll and not the scribe himself (Tov 2004:16).

Tov (2004:16-19) listed various practices and approaches visible indicative of the work of individual scribes. They are as follows:

(1) *The approach towards the content of the base text:* Scribes displayed a different and unique degree of faithfulness in their approach to the transmission of the *Vorlagen*. Some scribes took more liberty to insert, omit, and change details, whereas others did not (see Tov 2004:16).

(2) *Handwriting:* Each scribe's handwriting differs in terms of the size of the letters they wrote. Smaller letters, which were used in *tefillin*, can sometimes be observed. Other manuscripts were written in regular and even larger characters. There are also differences in spacing visible between different manuscripts, which along with different sizes of the script, can indicate the differing height of scrolls that contain the same number of lines. There are also clear differences visible when two or more scribes wrote segments of the same manuscripts (see Tov 2004:16-17).

(3) *The frequency of errors:* Because scribes approached the *Vorlagen* differently, their copies displayed differences in terms of the precision in which a text was written or

copied. The extent of the errors that are present within the texts from the Judean Desert are similar to texts from the same period. Some scribes tended to err more than others, and a specific example of a type of copying mistake made is haplography (see Tov 2004:17-18).

(4) *Correction procedures and the degree of scribal intervention:* Personal preferences of scribes are reflected in the procedures they used in correcting mistakes and in the frequency of such interventions displayed in texts (see Tov 2004:18).

(5) *The indication of sense units (sections):* Tov (2004:18) noted that it was often the personal preference of the scribes that determined the text's division into units or sections, namely the use of open and closed paragraphs. This influences whether there is an indent to indicate the beginning of a new section. It, however, becomes difficult to determine to which extent the demarcation is that of the scribe and to which extent it is an accurate transmission of the tradition handed down to them. Different scribal approaches and techniques are thus at times visible in parallel manuscripts or texts (see Tov 2004:18).

(6) *Scribal signs:* Various scribal markers are present within the DSS, and some of them reoccur in several texts. These markers indicate the demarcation or division of the text. Other markers are used to indicate scribal interventions such as corrections and errors. Such signs may also have been inserted by a later audience and may not necessarily be characteristic of the scribe's writing style (see Tov 2004:18).

(7) *The use of final and non-final letters:* Most scribes indicated final letters at the end of words, although some were less systematic in this regard. In some instances, final letters are also present in the middle of a word, especially in the penultimate position.

(8) *The adherence to horizontal and vertical ruling:* Most scribes adhered to the ruled lines under which they hung the letters, although there are a few who wrote on the lines or disregarded these rulings and wrote through the lines. Virtually all scribes adhered to the vertical ruling on the right, which indicates the beginning of columns. Other scribes also adhered to the vertical lines of the left margin (see Tov 2004:18).

(9) *Special layout:* Some of the DSS were written completely or partially in a special layout, while other scrolls were written without a stichographic arrangement. It is not certain if the use or not of these special layouts followed a pattern, or if the extent of its use was the result of a personal preference by the scribe (see Tov 2004:18-19).

(10) *Orthography:* To a large extent orthography was determined by the tradition and characteristics of scribal schools, at least within the scribal school that was active at Qumran. In other places personal preferences of scribes are clearly visible when scribal practices of various scrolls and scribes are compared.

(11) *The employment of number signs:* Some scribes wrote numbers in full while others used number signs. This is evident in various documentary and literary texts, which present numerals with the Aramaic numeral signs, and parallel copies of the same text which in turn reflect the individuality of the scribes in this regard (see Tov 2004:19).

(12) *The writing of the Tetragrammaton:* While the Tetragrammaton in square script is present in most of the Qumran texts, there are texts written according to the Qumran scribal practice that used the paleo-Hebrew script for this purpose (see Tov 2004:19).

Tov (2001:114) associated the "texts written in the Qumran practice of orthography, morphology, and scribal practice" to "reflect a free approach to the biblical text which is reflected in adaptations of unusual forms to the context, in frequent errors, and in numerous corrections". According to Tov (2001:114), these texts were probably written in Qumran by the same scribal school. While some of these texts may have been copied from proto-Masoretic texts, the majority appear to be independent of any tradition.

Tov (2001:16-19) elaborated on a set of criteria, as mentioned above, that he isolated in order to identify the characteristics of different scribal schools, although he is not the first to suggest that there was a unique scribal school at Qumran (cf. Schofield 2008:123). Malachi Martin (1958:393-402) suggested that a Qumran scribal school existed based on differences that he found with regard to the orthography and correction techniques of the manuscripts discovered in cave 1.

Alison Schofield (2008:124) pointed out that "although some have tentatively accepted the use of Tov's criteria in determining "sectarian" texts, others have rightly challenged aspects of Tov's theory of a Qumran scribal school." Esther Chazon (1992:3-17)

agreed that one can determine whether a scroll was copied in the same tradition or in the same school, as with most sectarian writings, however, she is not convinced that all manuscripts originated in or exclusively came from Qumran. Chazon (1992:3-17) is of the opinion that historical questions arise when Tov's criteria are taken as proof that a scroll was produced at Qumran. When one considers the date assigned on palaeographical grounds to several of the scrolls found at Qumran which meet the criteria suggested by Tov, then one may assume that these manuscripts can be dated to the middle of the second century BCE. This date is earlier than that ascribed to some of the oldest manuscripts that survived of the sectarian writings. It is then dated earlier than the dates that are generally suggested by archaeological evidence for the settlement at Qumran. It is, therefore, very plausible that some texts were not copied at Qumran and may in fact reflect an older scribal tradition in which the scribes at Qumran were trained (Chazon 1992:6).

Schofield (2008:129) furthermore pointed out that in terms of orthography, there is not "enough comparative evidence to link all manuscripts with Tov's 'Qumranic' spelling system to a Qumran 'scribal school'". There are other variables that one must consider, such as chronological development and the possibility that individual scribes had a preferred system when it came to spelling. The difference in spelling between different manuscripts of the same text may indicate that different scribes received training that was localized by way of apprenticeship or in some sort of scribal school (Schofield 2008:129).

The Aramaic texts discovered at Qumran contributed significantly to the study of Aramaic, especially Aramaic dialectology (Koller 2011:197-199). Koller (2011:199) suggested that in addition to the importance that geography plays in terms of the distribution of Aramaic dialects, there is a misconception with regard to the origins of texts when distinguishing between Western and Eastern dialects. Where a text was found is not necessarily its place of origin (Koller 2011:202).

Dimant (2001:7) is of the opinion that Pseudo-Ezekiel does not contain any trace of sectarian terminology, therefore considers it to not have originated out of the Qumran scribal school.

3. Language and style of Pseudo-Ezekiel

According to Dimant (2001:10) "the most salient feature of Pseudo-Ezekiel's style is the conscious effort to model its discourse on the canonical Ezekiel". Pseudo-Ezekiel achieves this by selecting Ezekiel as the narrator and relating the vision and dialogues with YHWH as his

own. An autobiographical style typical of biblical prophets is incorporated in Pseudo-Ezekiel, and one will notice that the name Ezekiel also appears in 4Q385 fragment 4 line 4, 4Q385 fragment 6 line 5, and 4Q385b line 1. The authors also reworked Ezekiel's best-known vision, namely that of the valley of the dry bones, and their resurrection (Ezekiel 37:1-14 in 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and 4Q388 fragment 7; and Ezekiel 1 in 4Q385 fragment 6) (Dimant 2001:10).

The Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts all adopt the stylistic peculiarities of the canonical discourse that is attributed to the prophet Ezekiel. The address בן אדם ("son of man") to the prophet that occurs in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 5, 4Q385 fragment 3 line 4, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i line 4; וידעו כי אני יהוה in 4Q385 fragment 5 line 1; ואמר in 4Q385 fragment 2 line 9, are all typical expressions in Ezekiel in the MT (Dimant 2001:10). By using these expressions, which can be attributed to the biblical Ezekiel, the author/s appropriate the voice of the prophet and attempt to extend the prophetical authority of Ezekiel to their own interpretations and additions. One will notice slight alterations, additions, and sporadic late locutions that betray a post-biblical milieu of the composition, despite the close imitation between Pseudo-Ezekiel and that of the MT Ezekiel texts (Dimant 2001:10). "The portrayal of the prophet Ezekiel which emerges from Pseudo-Ezekiel is essentially similar to that of the scriptural one", therefore the authors have achieved their goal in recreating an "Ezekiel document" (Dimant 2001:11).

4. Dating an ancient text

The dating of a text is important for establishing the time frame and socio-historical context during which it was penned or copied (Carvalho 2006:179). When dating an ancient text, one should consider various methods that may aid the researcher in determining the approximate date of a manuscript. One should also acknowledge the difficulties there are in determining the exact date of any ancient piece of writing. It is generally considered that an oral tradition preceded the written text, and, unfortunately, there are not many, if any, manuscripts that have the date, person or group that was responsible for it written on the scroll. One must therefore consider other means of dating ancient manuscripts (Carvalho 2006:179).

Tov (2011:4) considers science as a helpful method in gaining a better understanding of the dating of the fragmented scrolls. In this regard he considers the possibilities, as well as the impossibilities, of those sciences with regard to the various methods that may aid the

researcher to arrive at a possible dating of the manuscripts. Tov (2011:3) suggests when dealing with the topic of science and ancient scrolls, the scientist often forgets that they are not dealing with a complete scroll, but fragments of sheets, and that it is by combining sheets that one makes up a scroll.

The history regarding the literature that was found at Qumran leaves us with a gap in the knowledge we have about the DSS. Anette Steudel (2009:39) elaborates on this by stating that a relative chronology of Qumran compositions is not yet established. She (Steudel 2009:39-53) discussed criteria for dating a composition, as well as the specific problems one has when considering specific criteria. When a criterion has been established, one must apply this to an exegesis of the text, while one attempts to find its place in the general chronological framework of the Qumran compositions. It is only after this has been done that one may evaluate the data gathered and determine the approximate period during which the texts may have been written. The main scientific ways to determine the dating of a scroll are that of carbon dating, the dating of the ink that is used to write on a scroll, parchment shrinkage, and dating by means of palaeography (Tov 2011:4).

Carbon dating is one way of determining the date of ancient manuscripts. Steudel (2009:42) is, however, hesitant to accept carbon dating's findings as the absolute date of the text. This is due to the fact that when using carbon dating, one can reasonably determine the dating of the parchment that the text was written or copied on. Therefore, if the leather was prepared and stored for a period of time, the carbon dating would not show the date of the written text, but rather the time in which the leather had been prepared. There are also other aspects of this testing that are unsatisfactory, such as when two different laboratories test a piece of parchment but determine different dates for it (Steudel 2009:42). Although carbon dating does not neccesarily give a complete insight into the time when a manuscript was written, it is not without merit.

Tov (2011:6), however, is of the opinion that the carbon dating of parchment and papyrus fragments are instrumental in determining their dating and that this method can successfully be used in conjunction with that of palaeography. Although there have been cases where the findings on a text's dating differs between carbon dating and palaeography, as Steudel (2009:42) has pointed out, both approaches are not without their merits, as overlapping does occur in some instances (see for examples Table 14 below, from Abegg 2010:51).

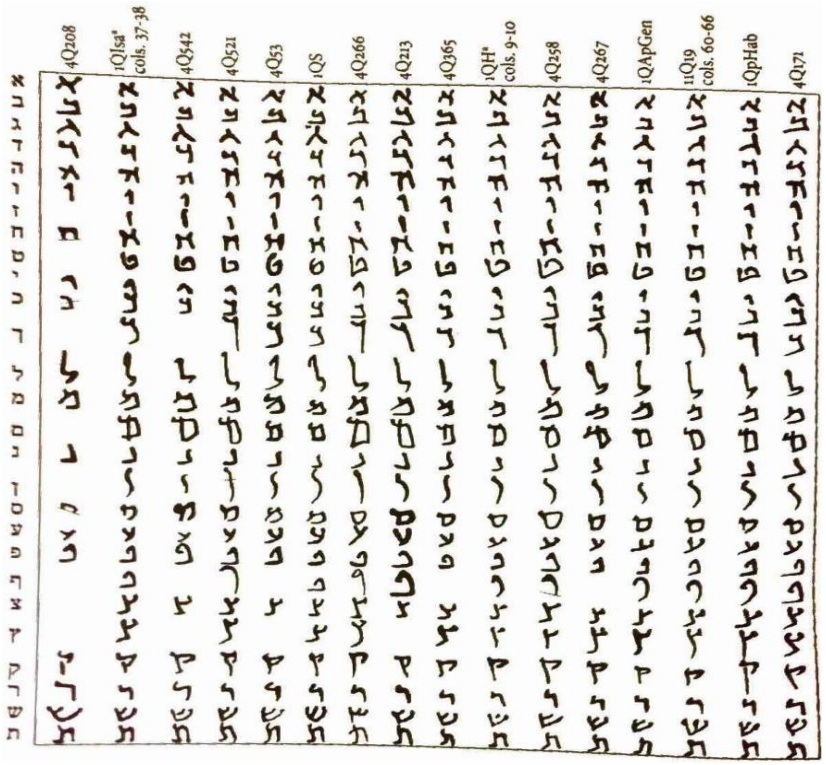
Table 14: Examples of different datings of texts based on radio-carbon and palaeographical findings

Text	**Radiocarbon Dates 1-σ 1997 decadal calibration**	**Palaeographic Date**
4Q208 Astronomical Enoch[a]	167-53 B.C.E	225-175 B.C.E.
1QIsa[a]	341-325 B.C.E. or **202-114 B.C.E.**	125-100 B.C.E.
4Q542 Testament of Qahat ar	385-349 B.C.E. or **317-208 B.C.E.**	125-100 B.C.E.
4Q521 Messianic Apocalypse	39 B.C.E.-66 C.E.	125-75 B.C.E.
4Q53 Samuel[c]	196-47 B.C.E.	150-30 B.C.E.
1QS Community Rule	164-144 B.C.E. or **116 B.C.E.-50 C.E.**	100-50 B.C.E.
4Q266 Damascus Document[a]	4-82 C.E.	100-50 B.C.E.
4Q213 Levi[a] ar	197-105 B.C.E.	50-25 B.C.E.
4Q365 Reworked Pentateuch[c]	339-327 B.C.E. or **202-112 B.C.E.**	50-25 B.C.E.
1QH[a] Hodayot	37 B.C.E.-68 C.E.	30-1 B.C.E.
4Q258 Community Rule	36 B.C.E.-81 C.E.	30-1 B.C.E.
4Q267 Damascus Document[b]	168-51 B.C.E.	30-1 B.C.E.
1QapGen Genesis Apocryphon ar	47 B.C.E.-48 C.E.	30 B.C.E.-68 C.E.
11Q19 Temple Scroll	53 B.C.E.-21 C.E.	1-30 C.E.
1QpHab Habakkuk Commentary	88-2 B.C.E.	1-50 C.E.
4Q171 Psalms Commentary[a]	29-81 C.E.	Not given

While ink research may be helpful in dating a manuscript, there is still research to be done with regard to dating various ink types that was in use during certain centuries (Tov 2011:8). It has also been proposed that to date "scroll fragments according to the pattern of the shrinkage temperature of collagen fibers in the leather" (Burton, Poole & Reed 1959:533-534).

According to Tov (2011:6) one of the older or more traditional ways of dating scrolls is palaeography, where a scroll is dated according to the type of handwriting that was used on it. This is done by comparing the way each letter of the Hebrew alphabet was written with time and by plotting the evolution or change of writing styles throughout the centuries (see as an example Illustration 4 below).

Illustration 4: The evolution of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in Qumran texts[20]



Cross (1975:147-176) distinguished between "Jewish" script and that of the older, and sometimes considered more common, Aramaic script of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE in order to establish how handwriting developed over time. Cross (1975:147-176) analysed various samples of ancient writings dating between the 5th and the 1st century BCE and pointed out how the Hebrew alphabetical letters as we have them today developed. In the 18th and 19th century "scholars of the Hebrew Bible began to put more emphasis on language as a sign of time of composition" (Young & Rezetko 2008:1). Martin G. Abegg Jr (2010:49) states that palaeography appears to be more precise than depending on language criteria alone when it comes to narrowing the range of dates for manuscripts with up to half a century.

According to Cross (1975:148), palaeography can aid us in two ways. The first, which he considers to be the most important, is by enabling us to compile a detailed description of parallel sources which can illuminate the evolution of the book hand and the cursive writing through time. Although the cursive is not commonly seen as a writing method in the biblical scrolls, it is frequently found in the sectarian writings, especially in the Aramaic documents. The second manner in which it aids us is by separating related scripts such as Jewish,

[20] Image from Abegg (2010:50).

Palmyrene, and Nabatean, from the parent Aramaic scripts. New materials in Palmyrene and Nabatean, as well as early Jewish script found at Qumran, aid us in our efforts to distinguish between such scripts. This, in turn, enabled us to propose a clearer chronology of the development of Hebrew scripts from the late 5th century BCE to the 2nd century CE (Cross 1975:148-149).

Aramaic chancellery script, which was associated with the Persian Empire, was widely used from Asia Minor in the northwest, through North Arabia and Egypt to the South, as well as in Afghanistan to the East. Studies of the development of the "Jewish" script should therefore begin with the 5th and 4th century BCE cursive hand (Cross 1975:149).

For examples relating to the examples of the evolution of writing scripts see Table 13 in relation to the following discussion. The broad and narrow distinctions between strokes within letters are still visible in the 4th century BCE, although there does seem to be a development towards a "monotonous" stroke that is used increasingly in the 3rd century BCE cursive (Cross 1975:148-150). The medial letters developed in the late 5th century BCE cursive and the long downward strokes that go below the baseline begin to bend to the left and are called "semi-ligatures". The "final" letters within the older script that show a tendency towards the development of the "semi-ligatures", are not used so prolifically or systematically in the late 5th and 4th centuries BCE (Cross 1975:150).

It is suggested by Cross (1975:155) that the scripts of the 3rd century BCE from Egypt must not be dated later than the first half, preferably in the first decades, of that century. The forms of the letters in this period are only slightly more advanced as opposed to those of the 4th century BCE, as well as very slightly beyond those of the Sachau ostracon. When one considers the declining use of Aramaic for business and public purposes in Egypt in favour of Greek, it supports the palaeographic conclusions mentioned above. At this time the development of the medial forms of the script approached its zenith. It can be observed that the downward strokes of the *kaph, samech, pe* and the *tsade* are more tightly bent to the left. This also happened to the *lamedh*, with the base also more sharply hooked. Homogeneity in the writing hand within the 3rd century BCE is more obvious than noted in the late 4th century BCE writings (Cross 1975:155-156). The *aleph* is now written larger, while the right down stroke of the *bet* is vertical, with the letter base tending to sweep further left in the cursive fashion. The *ghimmel's* left arm rises with the concurrent tendency to lower its point of departure from the right down stroke. The *dalet* and *resh* are broadened. The *he* is now beginning to resemble the style of the later cursive which is a major departure from earlier scripts. The *tet* is not yet square-shaped. The *samech* undergoes a radical change with the left hook of the 4th century BCE form giving

way to a vertical in extreme cursive forms with a long diagonal stroke. The right leg of the *tav* tends to be lengthier by this time (Cross 1975:155).

There are also discrepancies between the sizes and length of letters in the Aramaic hand within the 5th and the 4th centuries BCE, but this is not the case by the 3rd century BCE. The calligraphic technique varies between wide and narrow strokes of the pen according to fixed canons that are preserved. Cross (1975:156) suggested that the cursive of the 3rd century BCE lost most of the finesse it had and became monotonous in the strokes used in letters by scribes. Several letters of the classical script of the late Persian period were also no longer used in the 3rd century BCE cursive writing. The formal and cursive script seem to be in constant tension, influencing one another, though Cross (1975:157) suggests that the cursive leads. These traditions may have been discernible in principle as early as the late 5th century BCE, but one may clearly distinguish between them by the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (Cross 1975:156-158).

By the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE the book-hand developed beyond that of what may be observed between the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. The "caret" form of the *aleph*, which is now evident in the Nabatean and Jewish script, is looped and open to the right, and is derived from forms that omitted the left short leg. By the 2nd century BCE, the *bet* reverses direction, during which the lower horizontal is now also penned. Early on the *ḥet* takes on the N-form. The *samech* develops from the 3rd century BCE cursive, the letter often being written without lifting the hand, it loops slightly at the left, while tending to close at the baseline, forming a triangular shape. This form is also now evident in both the Nabatean and Jewish book hand by the end of the 2nd century BCE. In the cursive, the *ayin* enlarges and rounds before the right stroke breaks through, while one will notice that in the book hand the right arm cuts through early, forming an angular "y-form" which appears small and high. The *ayin* was also later made without lifting the writing implement. The medial and final form of the *mem* are never strongly distinguished in the cursive, and in both cases a single form develops. This is made with a continuous motion that begins at the lower end of the left diagonal and omitting the broad tick at the top left (Cross 1975:158). Cross (1975:159) furthermore stated that "the general characteristics of the cursive are, in early period, its broadening, shortening, increasingly uniform letters, and later its tendency to simplify to single-letter forms which could be made without lifting the pen", while it was only later that ligatures became characteristic of the cursive.

In the period at the end of the 2nd century and the beginning of the 1st century BCE, the script begins a period of rapid evolution that leans towards the classical Nabatean lapidary

style. In the second quarter of the 2nd century BCE, when effective Seleucid and Ptolemaic control of the outlying areas of Judea came to an end, the Nabatean script became independent. It was during the second half of the 2nd century BCE, with the decline of the Hellenistic organization in Syria and Egypt, that the Jewish and Nabatean Arabia went their own ways. This led to the development of the Paleo-Hebrew script in Judea, which was resurrected during Maccabean times, and the Jewish book-hand, which begins a rapid evolution culminating in the classical Herodian character. Palaeographical evidence, as well as historical conditions, suggest that a similar pattern of development with regard to the Nabatean script also took place (Cross 1975:165).

Based on study of the biblical scrolls found at Qumran, a chronological framework of the evolution of early Jewish book hand was established in relation to both typological and historical evidence for dating texts. Although Cross (1975:168) noted that this framework is tentative, and requires more exhaustive analysis to be done, one may distinguish between three periods, namely the Archaic (*c*. 200-150 BCE), (2) Hasmonean (*c*. 150-30 BCE), and (3) Herodian (*c.* 30 BCE to 70 CE).

5. Determining the dating of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

According to Dimant (2001:16), the texts of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, were written during the second half of the first century BCE, which is the latest possible date for their composition. There are some historical indications that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 may be linked to the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE) which places this manuscript within the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE) (see Dimant 2001:16), although she (Dimant 2001:22) pointed out that the hand of the 4Q385 manuscripts are late Hasmonean or early Herodian (*c.* 50-25 BCE).

While the subject matter of Pseudo-Ezekiel is clearly based on the prophecies of the canonical Ezekiel which forms a dialogue between YHWH and the prophet, it appears that the event pertaining to the resurrection of the dead and the rewarding of the righteous described in 4Q385 fragment 2 may be interpreted eschatologically (Brooke 1992:222). One can therefore deduce that the author of the text rewrote it to accommodate and relay the circumstances within which Israel found themselves at that stage, or their expectations and desires of the time. With regard to the 4Q385 texts, it may be that the author was an inhabitant of Judaea and familiar with Egyptian geography and the political milieu during the 2nd century BCE. In that case, the

4Q385 fragments may have come into existence during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE), which implies that this manuscript would have originated from the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE) (Evans 2015:75).

Rivika Gonen (2002:14) described the second temple period (538 BCE-70 CE) as a time of many changes. 332 BCE marked the end of the Persian rule when Alexander the Great conquered the Persian kingdom. After the death of Alexander, his kingdom was divided among his generals, and Ptolemy became the ruler of Egypt, Judah, and neighbouring regions. The Ptolemaic rule came to an end when the kingdom fell to the Seleucids (Gonen 2002:14). Under the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, Judea enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity which came to an end in the early part of the second century BCE, when it was taken over by the Seleucid kingdom. In Antiochus' quest to Hellenize the territory he governed, he supposedly sacrificed a pig on the temple altar in Jerusalem (Gonen 2002:14). Antiochus IV's style of rule was much more oppressive, which led to tension, and ultimately resulted in a rebellion by the Jews (Smith 2007:8). The rural priest Mattathias the Hasmonean and his five sons, one of whom was Judah Maccabee, led an uprising in Judea in 168 BCE. Victories on the battlefield led to the independence of the Jewish state under the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty (Gonen 2002:14).

The rebellion against Antiochus and the history of the conflict is reflected in the four books of the Maccabees. "The new kingdom of the Jews, the first since the exile, came to be known as the Hasmonean kingdom, named after its ruling family" (Smith 2007:8). The Hasmonean dynasty ruled from 140 to 63 BCE, after which time the rule over Judea passed to the Roman Empire. In subsequent Judaism the Hasmonean kingdom was remembered as a time when the land given by YHWH had been restored to its proper rulers (Smith 2007:8). Therefore, if one were to consider 4Q385 fragment 3 line 7, ל אשר עול מצרים ("which [the yok]e of Eg[ypt]"), it might suggest that the date of its composition was during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

With regard to 4Q386, Dimant (2001:66) pointed out that there may be a connection between columns i and ii of 4Q386, which can be established through the author's use of "four heavenly winds" (ארבע רחות שמים) (4Q386 fragment 1 column i lines 8-9, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii line 9). 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii line 3 makes reference to the "son of Belial" (Dimant 2001:63), whom Dimant (2001:56) suggests being Antiochus IV Epiphanes, due to his policy on religion in Judea. It is due to the general use of the term "son of Belial" that it is suggested that this is a reference to a gentile rather than a Jewish individual, which suggests a ruler with authority over the Promised Land (Dimant 2001:55). For Dimant

(2001:56) the best candidate to associate with the "son of Belial" is King Antiochus IV due to what is historically known about him. He was known as "Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Seleucid king of Assyria from 175-164 B.C.E., whose draconian measures against the religious practices of the Jews had evoked the Maccabean revolt" (Bechard 2000:185).

In line 6 of 4Q386 fragment 1 column ii, reference is also made to the "wicked one" who will be slain at Memphis. Dimant (2001:65) argued that the "son of Belial" and the "wicked one" are two different individuals, due to the syntactical break that occurs between line 5 and 6 of column ii. One may therefore conclude that "perhaps the author alludes to Ezek 30:13", where Memphis is mentioned with regard to the second enslavement of Israel in Egypt (Dimant 2001:56). Here it is suggested that the "wicked one" was one of the Egyptian priests who served in Memphis in the second century BCE (Eshel 2008:154). One may argue that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 reflects historical events that took place between 170-140 BCE. Dimant (2001:56, 65) associates the "son of Belial" with Antiochus IV, and that the "wicked one" was a historical figure that was active in Memphis during the reign of Antiochus IV, or shortly thereafter (cf. Eshel 2008:154).

On the other hand, Hanan Eshel (2008:154) was of the opinion that "although Dimant suggests that the author of 4Q386 was familiar with Egyptian geography and interested in its political events of the second century B.C.E.", he is inclined to "believe that [the] author was more likely to have been an inhabitant of Judaea who was not immersed in Egypt's history". Eshel (2008:154-155) furthermore stated that the author was interested in the eschatological significance of "biblical verses" within the context of contemporary events in Judaea. Therefore, the "son of Belial" and the "wicked one" may refer to the same individual rather than two. Eshel (2008:155) suggested that the author of 4Q386 used the reference of the "wicked one" that would be slain in Memphis as an allusion to a passage in Jeremiah 46:13-16.

While Jeremiah 46 refers to a few places, it is possible that Hosea 9:6, "For behold, they are going away from destruction; but Egypt shall gather them; Memphis shall bury them" caused the author of 4Q386 to stress that the "wicked one" would be put to death in Memphis. The phrase "why are your stalwarts swept away?" in Jeremiah 46:15 probably led to the association with Memphis, and the death of the "wicked one" (Eshel 2008:155).

According to Eshel (2008:155-156), Jeremiah 46 begins with a series of oracles against the nations, and two of these prophecies were against Egypt. According to Eshel (2008:155-156) the first of these prophecies (vv. 2-12) "was pronounced in 605 B.C.E. after the Babylonian army defeated the Egyptian army at Carchemish". Although the identity of the speaker in vv. 15-16 is uncertain, Eshel (2008:155-156) discussed how scholars consider this prophecy to be

about a Babylonian victory over Egypt. Eshel (2008:155-156) suggested that the vision in vv. 13-26 may be linked to 601 BCE when Nebuchadnezzar failed to conquer Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar wasn't successful until 568/7 BCE, therefore, Eshel (2008:156) states that "there is no reason to assume that this prophecy was not uttered by Jeremiah, but it is difficult to accept that Jeremiah was alive twenty years after the destruction of Judaea". Eshel (2008:156) quotes from the The Babylonian Chronicles which describes the 601 BCE campaign as follows:

> The fourth year (of Nebuchadnezzar): The king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Hattu (Syria) [He marched about victoriously] in Hattu. In the month Kislev he took his army's lead and marched to Egypt. (When) the king of Egypt heard (the news) he mu[stered] his army. They fought one another in the battlefield and both sides suffered severe losses (lit. they inflicted a major defeated upon one another). The king of Akkad and his army turned and [went back] to Babylon.

Jehoiakim was appointed by the Egyptian King Necho II as king over Judah at this time, because he was a supporter of Egypt. In 604 BCE, Jehoiakim was compelled to subordinate his loyalties to Babylon due to Nebuchadnezzar conquering Ashkelon. But after Nebuchadnezzar failed to conquer Egypt in 601 BCE Jehoiakim rebelled against Babylon and returned to his pro-Egyptian stance. Eshel (2008:156) suggests that Jeremiah 46:13-26 is part of Jeremiah's polemic against the pro-Egyptian party in Jerusalem, which succeeded in persuading Jehoiakim to revolt against Babylon following the defeat of Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah presents an argument that it was YHWH who drove Nebuchadnezzar away, and not Necho II, and that despite Nebuchadnezzar's interim defeat, he would eventually conquer Egypt in the future and "Memphis shall become a waste" (v. 19) (Eshel 2008:156).

Eshel (2008:156), therefore, believed the author of 4Q386 regarded this Jeremiah text as a description of the defeat of an enemy who invaded Egypt, while the words "Why are your stalwarts swept away? They do not stand because the Lord thrust them down" describe events that occurred in his own time (Eshel 2008:156-157).

With regard to the "son of Belial" in 4Q356, Eshel (2008:157) considered the possibility that Pompey may be identified as the "son of Belial". On the 9th of August 48 BCE, after the battle of Pharsalus, Pompey fled from Julius Caesar's army to Egyptian shores. The events that followed when Pompey reached Egypt and led to his death and beheading by Achileas, a general of Ptolemy, who threw Pompey's body into the sea (Eshel 2008:157). According to Eshel (2008:158), the details of Pompey's death was known in Judaea since the

author of the Psalms of Solomon described it in the second Psalm of his collection. The author of the second hymn of the Psalms of Solomon considers YHWH to have avenged the destruction of Pompey's conquest of Judaea in 63 BCE, and his desecration of the temple through his assassination on the shore of Egypt fifteen years later. The author of 4Q386 identifies the place of Pompey's assassination as Memphis, and not Migdol or Tahpanhes, which is also mentioned by Jeremiah's prophecy, perhaps under the influence of Ezekiel 30:13 and Hosea 9:6 which only mentions Memphis.

Therefore, Eshel (2008:160) wrote that the "author of 4Q386 intended the son of Belial, who conquered Judaea and annexed it to the Roman Empire, the man who desecrated the temple in Jerusalem, to be identified as the wicked one who was punished when his body was washed up upon Egypt's shores". Various scholars agree that the wicked one or the lawless one in the Psalms of Solomon 17 is Pompey, which may also imply that the author of 4Q386 refers to the assassination of Pompey as the wicked one. According to Eshel (2008:161)

> The assumption that the Wicked One in the psalm is Pompey was widely accepted by scholars. Recently Johannes Tromp and Kenneth Atkinson suggested associating Psalm 17 with the events of 40-37 B.C.E., that is, to the Roman response to the Parthian invasion of Judaea, Mattathias Antigonus' takeover of the Land of Israel, and Herod's return to Judaea. Accordingly, the "wicked" mentioned in Psalm 17 would not be Pompey. Tromp preferred to identify him with Rome rather than with a specific historical figure. Atkinson, on the other hand, suggested this figure should be identified with Herod. Later, however, Atkinson accepted the common view that the Wicked One (the lawless one in his translation) in Psalms of Solomon 17 is Pompey.

Eshel (2008:161) furthermore states that the interpretation of 4Q386 should be related to the assassination of Pompey rather than two separate events which took place in Egypt during the second century BCE, because these events had no direct influence on what transpired in Judaea during the same period.

6. Determining the provenance of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

According to Koller (2011:203)

> When considering geography, one may make the "simplifying assumption" of geographic homogeneity which imposes a sense of order when it divides

> dialects but this is also the same aspect that blurs neat *stammbaum* pictures when dialects spread through close proximity but are not closely related.

He (Koller 2011:203) continues that "One of the distinctive morphological features of some of the Middle Aramaic Palestinian dialects is the non-metathesis in the inflexed -t- stem forms of initial-coronal root". With regard to such a context, metathesis is the rule in Hebrew, as well as in earlier and later Aramaic dialects, although "the situation in Roman Palestine seems to have been exceptional" (Koller 2011:203).

Koller (2011:205) considers the progression in the Aramaic language and states that the word אע (wood/tree) has an earlier form with a double ע, which is the same form that appears in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, while the more progressive form עע appears in the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242 fragment 8 line 1-3), as well as in other Qumran Aramaic texts (Koller 2011:205-206). Koller (2011:207) also observed that the same word "wood" in the 4th century BCE Imperial Aramaic form is עק. One may therefore observe a shift between the 4th and the 3rd century BCE forms of the word from אע to עק (Koller 2011:207). With regard to the Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragment 2 line 10, one finds that the same word is written as עץ ("tree") in Hebrew, which seems to be the more common form used in the manuscripts found at Qumran.

"One of the features to emerge from the lists of terms and locations is that none of the specifically sectarian terminology occurs in the extant fragments of Pseudo-Ezekiel" (Dimant 2001:13). Those features that are shared by Pseudo-Ezekiel with other Qumran documents are confined to general religious vocabulary and themes, grammatical phenomena, and orthographic practices. While the grammatical and orthographic features may be due to the milieu in which the Pseudo-Ezekiel copies were written and preserved, it does not necessarily reflect the origin of the text itself, nor does it reflect the context of its composition (Dimant 2001:13). Dimant (2001:13) suggests that not even the thematic links connect Pseudo-Ezekiel to that of the Qumran community, because they are considered to be general themes that are shared with non-sectarian documents.

Although one may conclude that Pseudo-Ezekiel does not show an overt connection to the sectarian literature of Qumran, one does find that its literary profile does display important links with non-Qumran works (Dimant 2001:13). Dimant (2001:13) draws links between Pseudo-Ezekiel and three Jewish writings, namely *Biblical Antiquities*, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch. These three Jewish writings are considered to have stemmed from a similar milieu and are thought to have been authored in Hebrew in the land of Israel around 100 CE (Dimant

2001:13-14). Therefore, "the thematic, conceptual and stylistic affinities between the three and Pseudo-Ezekiel confirm the assumption that the works drew on Hebrew traditions, and that the process took place in the land of Israel" (Dimant 2001:14).

When one considers the three Jewish writings and that of Pseudo-Ezekiel thematically one will find that the connection is centred around the theme of resurrection and that of time-hastening as part of the eschatological developments, although "the affinity between Pseudo-Ezekiel and 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch covers also literary form and phraseology" (Dimant 2001:14). All three of these writings are structured as a dialogue between the prophet or seers and YHWH or an angel and are concerned with the situation of the people and the righteous of Israel. The promise of future resurrection of the righteous and the redemption of Israel are transmitted through visions that are interpreted by YHWH or an angel within all three of the writings, and share the idea of hastening of time as a means of speeding redemption for Israel and reward for the righteous (Dimant 2001:14). Within all three of these writings one will also notice that the issue of the flow of historical time is presented with particular poignancy, especially with regard to verbal formulations as the repeated question "when these will be" (4Q385 2 3,9; 4 Ezra 4:35, 6:95; 2 *Bar.* 24:4, 41:5) (Dimant 2001:14). The concepts of time-hastening and resurrection form part of the literary and stylistic links between Pseudo-Ezekiel, 4 Ezra and 2 *Baruch*. It is not, however, confined to these writings, and was shared by a wide variety of Jewish writings during and after the Second Temple period (Dimant 2001:14).

When one considers the reference made to the yoke of Egypt in 4Q385 fragment 3 line 7 with regard to the oppression of the Jews at the hand of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Dimant 2001:22) one must consider that 4Q385 was written in Judea after the time of the Hasmonean revolt. This may also be the case with regard to 4Q386, although Eshel (2008:160) does make a compelling argument against this period. He suggested that the author of 4Q386 was likely an inhabitant of Judaea who was not immersed in Egypt's history. This is due to the connection that Eshel (2008:161) makes between the 4Q386 and the assassination of Pompey. It is therefore probable that both texts originated in Judea although it does seem that they were written at different times.

7. Determining the authorship of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i

When attempting to determine the authorship of any text that is associated with the ancient world and more specifically those texts found at and near Qumran, one must refer to and reflect on the scribal practices, palaeographical evidence, and the language differences reflected in the text itself. Tov (2004:7) suggested that attention must be paid to the scribes' background and the school they may have formed part of when trying to determine the nature of scribal practices that are reflected in the text; Cross (1975:147-176) contributed to the discussion on the dating of ancient texts by focussing on the palaeographic methods; whereas Koller (2011:212-213), in turn, concluded that geography, genre, and ideological affiliations may dictate language choices of the scribe. Therefore, when reflecting on these three aspects of a text, one may be able to determine who authored it.

Although it is true that there is little known about the identities of the specific author of a text, due to the anonymous character of the scribes, one can still link texts to certain scribal traditions, which may shed light on the authorship and origin of the text itself. Although the texts of 4Q385 and 4Q386 are associated with the work of Ezekiel, it is clear that the author of the text is not the historical Ezekiel. This is firstly determined by the dating of the text, which falls outside the parameters that are set for the time in which the historical Ezekiel would have lived. However, the author or author's style leaves the reader with the impression that he is modelling the discourse on the canonical prophecies of the biblical or MT Ezekiel text. Therefore, it is Ezekiel himself that has been selected to be the narrator in Pseudo-Ezekiel (Dimant 2001:10). These texts give a different perspective on Ezekiel's vision of the Dry Bones, although the author or authors want the reader to consider their versions of the texts with the same authority as that of the biblical Ezekiel's vision.

The three terms that are associated with writing practices of these texts are 'copyist', 'scribe', and the Hebrew equivalent *sofer*. Tov (2004:7) explained that these terms are an equivalent of each other, and that they denote people who were involved in scribal activity, although the nature of the activity differed in each sense. The complicated and technical nature of the scribal occupation lead to the assumption that this must be an occupation and not an occasional activity that some people participated in. The connection between the function of the scribe and various aspects of public administration is evident from ancient times onwards. Within this period most scribes occupied themselves with all aspects of scribal activity.

According to Tov (2004:8), this included the copying of existing documents and literary compositions, as well as the writing of documentary texts. It is for this reason that it is important to consider the scribal traditions known to us, when dealing with the authorship of 4Q385 and 4Q386 respectively.

Scribal practices reflected in texts, whether it is a copy of an earlier document or an autograph, do reflect information which is relevant to the study of these scribal practices. It is, however, difficult to distinguish between personal input by a scribe, and elements transmitted by them. Thus, the sense division units and the specific layout of units embedded in the Qumran texts probably derive from the first copies of these compositions, although in the transmission of these elements, scribes displayed a large degree of individuality (Tov 2004:16). Tov (2004:17) also suggests that various styles of handwriting of different scribes are detectable, especially when two or more scribes wrote segments of the same manuscript, such as in the case of 4Q385 fragment 2 and 3, as well as with 4Q386 fragment 1 column i.

Tov (2004:17) considers regular-sized letters to be 0.2-0.3 cm. The letter size of 4Q385 fragment 2 is regular-sized when compared to Tov's measurements, ranging between 0.2-0.3 cm for most of the text. This is also true for fragment 3. When comparing fragments 2 and 3 under a magnifying glass, it does seem plausible that the same scribe wrote both segments, considering the forms and shapes of the letters on the fragments. The word יהוה is found on both fragments that shows the same cursive motion on the top and bottom *he*, the same as with the *waw* and the *yod*. This is the same with the *lamed* and looking at the *tav*. In some lines the *mem* appears the same as in other lines although this is not a consistent occurrence. There are, however, more comparative letters between these two fragments which suggests that the two fragments were written by the same scribe.[21] Dimant (2001:9) is also of the opinion that fragments 2 and 3 of 4Q385 form part of the same text.

The facsimile of 4Q386 is much clearer than that of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, which makes an analysis of the handwriting easier. At first glance the handwriting on 4Q386 seems to be more fluent than that of 4Q385. The measurements of the letters are 0.4 cm, which is 0.1 cm bigger than that of 4Q385, which Tov (2004:17) considers to be large characters. The space

[21] The comparative handwriting analysis was done by me by enlarging images of the three fragments this study focussed on. However, I acknowledge that I am not a handwriting analyst, and relied on observation alone for my deductions. The images are included in Chapter 2 of this study and were obtained from the website of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. This site provides digital black and white or infrared images of all documented DSS fragments. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library's homepage is accessible via the following URL: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/?locale=en_US (Managed by the Israel Antiquities Authority).

between each line is 0.5-0.6 cm and reflects the same line spacing on the next column of 4Q386 fragment 1. When looking at the handwriting on the fragment it seems possible that the same scribe had written the entire text on the fragment. This observation is made by comparing basic letters throughout the text that seem to have the same shape and size.

It is therefore my opinion that 4Q538 fragment 2 and 3 were written by one scribe and that 4Q386 fragment 1 was written by another scribe. A further indication of this is the conclusion from the above-mentioned that these texts may have been written at different times in Judea.

In comparing the handwriting on these fragments under a magnifying glass, one can observe that the scribe of 4Q386 fragment 1 writes the *mem* differently to that of the scribe of 4Q385. The top horizontal line of the *mem* in 4Q386 makes a cursive line upwards, while the *mem* in 4Q385 seems to be more of a straight line. There is a difference to be observed in the way the *tav* is written; 4Q386 presents the left vertical line as straight down, while in 4Q385 the left vertical line is not straight but angled to the left. Throughout these texts there are more differences in the shape and form of letters than similarities between them. Similarities may be observed in the same shape and form of the *lamed*, *waw* and *he* in the texts.

I do not consider myself an expert at handwriting analysis although it does seem plausible that the handwriting of 4Q386 fragment 1 and that of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 do not match each other. I am therefore suggesting the possibility that these texts were written by two different scribes, however, this may not be an indication that these texts were written within separate scribal schools.

One must consider that the orthography of 4Q385 and that of 4Q386 are different with the fuller orthography used in the text of 4Q386, which does suggest furthermore that these texts may have originated within different scribal traditions.

8. Summary

In this chapter an overview was given of different scribal techniques and language differences in and around Qumran. It was indicated that each scribal school had their own unique style pertaining to the writing technique and language they used. According to Tov (2004:16-19), examples of practices and approaches indicative of the work of individual scribes are as follows, namely (1) The approach towards the content of the base text; (2) Handwriting; (3) The frequency of errors; (4) Correction procedures and the degree of scribal intervention; (5) The indication of sense units (sections); (6) Scribal signs; (7) The use of final and non-final letters;

(8) The adherence to horizontal and vertical ruling; (9) Special layout; (10) Orthography; (11) The employment of number signs; and (12) The writing of the Tetragrammaton.

The language and writing style of the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts were discussed to determine their dating, provenance and authorship. It was found that it is difficult to determine the characteristics of the style of a specific scribal school, especially within the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts. However, the fragments appear to not have originated from the same scribal school due to differences in the orthography between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Also, due to the lack of sectarian terminology most scholars are of the opinion that Pseudo-Ezekiel did not originate out of the Qumran scribal tradition.

One does see that the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel made a conscious effort to model their texts to that of the biblical text by selecting Ezekiel as narrator and relating his own vision and dialogue with YHWH. "The portrayal of the prophet Ezekiel which emerges from Pseudo-Ezekiel is essentially similar to that of the scriptural one" (Dimant 2001:11). The authors have therefore achieved their goal in recreating an "Ezekiel document" (Dimant 2001:11).

Dimant (2001:16-22) dated both Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i during the second half of the first century BCE and states that the hand of 4Q385 manuscript is late Hasmonean or early Herodian (50-25 BCE), and argues that 4Q386 indicates a historical situation that may be linked to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE), which places the dating of this manuscript within the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE). Eshel (2008:175), on the other hand, argued that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 may be linked to the assassination of Pompey (48 BCE).

While Dimant (Eshel 2008:154) suggested that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel was familiar with Egyptian geography and interested in its political situation in the 2nd century BCE, Eshel (2008:154) considered the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 to more likely to have been an inhabitant of Judaea, who was not immersed in Egypt's history. Although Dimant and Eshel disagree on the author's knowledge of political events at the time in which each text may have been written, it seems plausible that both texts may have been written by a Judean inhabitant and, although I tend to agree with the historical context in which Eshel places Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, I also consider Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 to fit within the historical context of the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE).

CHAPTER 5:
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

At first scholars considered that all the scrolls which were discovered in the caves at Qumran must have originated there, although it has been found that not all the manuscripts found there were written at the site and were likely merely imported there. Various texts found in and around Qumran correspond with books in the Hebrew Bible, which indicates the importance of this find. Within these corresponding texts it was found that the authors made additions, deletions, changes, and reordered the material so that it differs from the Masoretic or proto-Rabbinic traditions. These Qumran manuscripts became known as the so-called "rewritten Bible", according to Geza Vermes (Segal 2005:10).

Tov (2004:3) considered that not all of the manuscripts found in and around Qumran were the product of a Qumran scribal school due to ad hoc developments evident within the texts from the Judean Desert. It was found that several scribal practices are reflected with regard to the manuscripts found, therefore, it is now accepted that some of the manuscripts did not originate at Qumran itself, but were imported to the site.

Although little is known of the scribal practices within the post-biblical period, Tov (2004:12) suggested that one may draw parallels between other cultures in the Ancient Near East and that of ancient Israel's scribal practices. One must also keep in mind that there are different levels of scribal skill that are reflected in the DSS (Tov 2004:12). Due to the lack of external data available on the scribes who wrote and copied manuscripts, the sole source of information regarding scribal activity is reflected within the scrolls themselves (Tov 2004:15). It is this lack of external data which makes it difficult to determine exactly which manuscripts belonged to which scribal tradition, although one may speculate as to which practices and approaches reflect the activity of individual scribes (2004:16-19).

Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385-388, 391) was among the manuscripts discovered in the caves at Qumran. These manuscripts have been referred to as being some of the most important writings that exhibit anachronistic features by Elledge (2005:92-93). Some of these manuscripts have been found to be fragmented, therefore, reconstruction was required in order to retrieve the text that was lost.

The authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel model their own work according to the biblical vision of Ezekiel, although it appears that the text dates to the Second Temple Period. When considering the length of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, it appears that these texts may have been written earlier. Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 make use of fuller orthography which could suggest that the manuscript originated within the Qumran scribal school, although the lack of consistency of this fuller orthography indicates that the author merely tried to mimic others or was working from a copy of the manuscript that followed this orthography. This does, however, indicate that one might be dealing with different authors and that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, may not have originated within the same scribal tradition.

2. Summary

Here follows a brief summary of Chapters 2-4 of this study:

2.1 Chapter 2

In Chapter 2 a description of the physical state and preservation of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i was given. Images of all three fragments were also included in the chapter, which were obtained from The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts, I provided both the transcriptions of Dimant (in Dimant & Parry 2014), and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999), and discussed them in terms of the fragments' relationship to each other. The texts of both manuscripts are not verbatim similar enough to each other to consider them copies.

I have decided to adopt the reconstruction of García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999:768, 774) for 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, and that of Dimant for 4Q385 fragment 3. The reason for this is that Dimant is overconfident in her reconstruction, seeking intertextual relations between the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments and biblical literature other than the MT Ezekiel, while García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct their versions only from the readings. The same vision appears in the MT Ezekiel 37:1-14, which aided the reconstruction of the readings on the fragments.

The order and relationship of the fragments to each other were discussed, and it was found that 4Q385 fragment 3 follows upon fragment 2, whereas there appears to be no relation in terms of the placement of 4Q386 fragment 1 column i with the aforementioned fragments.

A preliminary translation – that of García Martínez and Tigchelaar – accompanied each reconstruction. This was followed up with my own translation of the fragments in the linguistic-syntactical analysis of the text. A tentative comparison with Ezekiel 37:1-14 was also undertaken to account for instances where the text was unclear and to offer an alternative reading. This was followed by a commentary on the proposed reconstructions by Dimant, and García Martínez and Tigchelaar. Emphasis was placed on what the differences between their versions are and an attempt was made to account for each.

A theoretical background on the process of the reconstruction of ancient manuscripts was provided and this was followed by a practical application of it by discussing the restoration and reconstruction of the fragments under investigation. A choice was then made to use a reconstructed version based on that of García Martínez and Tigchelaar for 4Q385 fragment 2, and 4 Q386 fragment 1 column i, and that of Dimant for 4Q385 fragment 3, as mentioned above.

The analysis of the text commenced with the demarcation of pericopes, units or sections of each fragment, and was followed by a linguistic-syntactical analysis of both versions of the valley of the dry bones text. This was followed by a comparison between the linguistic-syntactical analysis of 4Q385 fragment 2 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i.

The comparison of the structural analyses of both texts indicated that the structure of the two versions is identical with a few minor exceptions. My analysis of both Pseudo-Ezekiel fragment 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i points out minor orthographical differences. These two fragments and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i are not mere copies of each other.

2.2 Chapter 3

In Chapter 3 a theoretical overview of what orthography is, and entails, was given. In practice, the differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel versions of the vision of the valley of the dry bones were already noted in relation to their orthography in Chapter 2 of this study, however, in Chapter 3 it was discussed in more detail.

The difference in the orthography between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q3856 fragment 1 column i, may suggest that each fragment was written within a different time and was adapted to function within each author's specific context. Although the orthography of Pseudo-Ezekiel follows that of the Masoretic tradition, one cannot overlook differences between the orthography of 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. The most notable difference between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, is the fuller orthography that appears in 4Q385, which is a phenomenon that also

appears in 4Q223-224. The similarities with regard to the fuller orthography between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and that of 4Q223-224 may indicate that 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i had indeed originated within different times and were written by different authors from different scribal schools. However, there are also similarities between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel texts with regard to orthography. Dimant (2001:33) suggested that the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel replaced the unspecific future that the MT suggests with a more specific eschatological future (4Q385 fragment 2 line 3, and 4Q386 1 column i line 2). The orthographical differences between the two Pseudo-Ezekiel texts may imply that these texts were written within different time periods by authors from different scribal schools to highlight different historical events.

A question which was asked was whether a given spelling of certain words could be indicative of the work of a specific scribal school or be of aid to the scholar in determining the provenance of a text. The preliminary result would appear that this is the case as the use of fuller orthography, the use of *matres lectionis*, and defective orthography appear to indicate the writing style of individuals. Examples of the aforementioned in the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments were also discussed.

As there are different versions or traditions of this vision, it was deemed necessary to compare the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments with the MT version, and where of interest, with the LXX and p967, text-critically. From this analysis it seems there were different authors who wrote their versions at different times, linking to the preliminary conclusion reached in Chapter 2 of this study.

Textual criticism reveals various similarities and differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel, the MT, the LXX and p967 where it pertains to the vision of the valley of the dry bones. The inclusion of an introduction with regard to the MT may indicate that it was necessary for the author of this text to give his readers more information about the vision to contextualise it. This may imply a later dating with regard to the MT, however, the Pseudo-Ezekiel reveals a post-biblical dating due to the use of later forms of words used within the texts. Another distinctive difference is that the MT refers to a great army that rises while both Pseudo-Ezekiel texts refer to a great many men standing. Although one may argue that this occurrence may refer to the same thing, one may also argue that the MT may have implied a political statement as proposed by Lust (2003:83-92).

In order to aid our understanding of the development or growth of the different versions, it was important to discuss examples indicative of redaction, specifically omission, abbreviation, alteration, and additions between the different versions.

2.3 Chapter 4

In Chapter 4 an overview was given of different scribal techniques and language differences in and around Qumran. It was indicated that each scribal school had their own unique style pertaining to the writing technique and language they used. The language and writing style of the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts were discussed to determine their dating, provenance and authorship. It was found that it is difficult to determine the characteristics of the style of a specific scribal school, especially within the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts. However, the fragments appear to not have originated from the same scribal school due to differences in the orthography between 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i. Also, due to the lack of sectarian terminology most scholars are of the opinion that Pseudo-Ezekiel did not originate out of the Qumran scribal tradition.

One does see that the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel made a conscious effort to model their texts on that of the biblical text by selecting Ezekiel as narrator and relating his own vision and dialogue with YHWH. "The portrayal of the prophet Ezekiel which emerges from Pseudo-Ezekiel is essentially similar to that of the scriptural one" (Dimant 2001:11). The authors have therefore achieved their goal in recreating an "Ezekiel document" (Dimant 2001:11).

Dimant (2001:16-22) dated both Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i during the second half of the first century BCE and states that the hand of 4Q385 manuscript is late Hasmonean or early Herodian (50-25 BCE), and argues that 4Q386 indicates a historical situation that may be linked to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE), which places the dating of this manuscript within the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE). Eshel (2008:175), on the other hand, argued that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 may be linked to the assassination of Pompey (48 BCE).

While Dimant (Eshel 2008:154) suggested that the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel was familiar with Egyptian geography and interested in its political situation in the 2nd century BCE, Eshel (2008:154) considered the author of Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 to more likely have been an inhabitant of Judaea, who was not immersed in Egypt's history. Although Dimant and Eshel disagree on the author's knowledge of political events at the time in which each text may have been written, it seems plausible that both texts may have been written by a Judean inhabitant and, although I tend to agree with the historical context in which Eshel places Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, I also consider Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 to fit within the historical context of the Archaic period (*c.* 200-150 BCE).

3. Conclusion

It seems that the reason for rewriting texts which consist of alterations to the original may have been used in order to incorporate it into the author's own ideology and context and thereby breathe new life into it. Although one does see various similarities between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3 and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, it is the differences that indicate that these texts did not originate within the same time or were written / copied by the same hand.

The differences found between these Pseudo-Ezekiel texts and that of the MT do, however, indicate that the proto-MT may not have been the source text used by the authors of Pseudo-Ezekiel although the vision of each text does suggest similarities between them. Although I do not suggest that p967 is the source text for Pseudo-Ezekiel, further investigation into the p967 manuscript may give better insight in this regard.

Considering both Dimant and Eshel's arguments for and against dating and historical connections of each text, I prefer Eshel's (2008:157) argument that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 may be linked to the assassination of Pompey, although I agree with Dimant (2001:22) and Evans (2015:75) that 4Q385 may be linked to the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Both texts were written during the second half of the first century BCE, which is the terminus ad quem for these compositions (Dimant 2001:16).

One may consider Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments 2 and 3 to have originated within the late Hasmonean period, rather than early Herodian period, due to the historical link to the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 fragment 1 column i might have originated within the early Herodian period due to the historical link to the assassination of Pompey. I am, however, of the opinion that both texts were written by an inhabitant of Judea, although each text was written at a different time during the history of Israel.

The compositions of Pseudo-Ezekiel seem to provide one with good examples of revelatory exegesis of prophetical texts. This is due to the compositions' interpretation of prophetic books and new theological ideas that were introduced, and the adaptation within a new context (García Martínez & Vervenne 2012:95). This may imply a change and / or growth between the older and later texts of the same corpus.

It therefore seems that Pseudo-Ezekiel provides a unique opportunity to do research on the scrolls in a broader sense while still keeping the research focused. This is due to the limited manuscripts that have survived within this corpus, with only six copies of fragmented manuscripts that have been discovered in the Qumran caves identified as belonging to Pseudo-

Ezekiel (Dimant 2001:7-9), of which five manuscripts were written on leather, and one on papyrus.

Three manuscripts identified as rewritten texts of Ezekiel's vision of the valley of the dry bones partly overlap with each other, namely 4Q385, 4Q386 and 4Q388 fragment 7 lines 2-7). Certain geographical references may indicate that each text was written in a different period and that it may also have originated from different places. The fragments of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts do reveal that the authors attempted to stay true to the biblical version, using expressions typical of the biblical Ezekiel. Although the authors wanted to stay true to the writings of the biblical Ezekiel, slight alterations, additions and sporadic late expressions betray that Pseudo-Ezekiel is part of a post-biblical milieu (Dimant 2001:10).

Tov (2008:156) suggests that a literary analysis is relevant to any corpus, which implies that Pseudo-Ezekiel should form part of such analysis to determine a chain of literary development. Smaller details between texts may also be relevant for literary analysis when combined into the larger corpus (Tov 2008:160), which one may relate to Pseudo-Ezekiel. Tov (2008:208) also states "that the content of the Qumran scrolls is relevant for the literary analysis of the Hebrew Scripture and that this has been long since recognized, as they preserve a few vestiges of alternative formulations of the biblical books".

4. A closing comment

Evolution with regard to language is evident when one considers differences of orthography in the texts and when one compares the different manuscripts of Pseudo-Ezekiel, especially considering the word "prophesy" within the various copies associated with the Qumran text of the vision of the valley of the dry bones. While comparing two (of the three) Qumran versions of this vision, with other Ezekiel visions that interpret it in an eschatological light referring to a new beginning and new life, one will notice that נפשׁ is not used in Pseudo-Ezekiel versions, althout it occurs in the MT. In the Qumran versions רוח and בשׂר are used. נפשׁ has a wide variety of meanings and can be translated as "soul", "mind", "heart", "person", "body", and "life" (Renn 2005:594). In the context of the MT, נפשׁ refers to life and personality.

Spiritual, physical, and emotional aspects of human existence and the body were not treated separately in the language of the Old Testament. נפשׁ is therefore the word that indicates a holistic human being in their totality. In general, נפש refers to the "life" of YHWH's people (Renn 2005:594). One will find that the Masoretic context describing human life creates a unity

between 'breath-soul', רוח ("spirit") and בשׂר ("flesh"), which indicates "human personality as an animated body", therefore death is understood as the departure of נפש, the "breath-soul" of a human leaving the body and death then occurring (Coward 2008:30-31). The omission of נפש with regard to the vision of the valley of the dry bones may indicate a change in the language that occurred over time, which implies a later dating of these texts.

Another interesting aspect of the Pseudo-Ezekiel manuscripts is that one was written on papyrus. This manuscript consists of seventy-eight small fragments that were published in DJD Volume XIX, and although none of the fragments preserve the name of Ezekiel, the autobiographical first person singular style that is used appears to connect this scroll to that prophet (Dimant 2001:9). Further research on this manuscript may lead to significant discoveries about dating, provenance, and scribal activities of the Pseudo-Ezekiel tradition.

Although Pseudo-Ezekiel represents a theme of hastening time throughout the visions of the prophet, one does not only observe reinterpretations of the biblical Ezekiel's vision, but that there are also non-biblical texts among this corpus (Dimant 2001:10). This makes this corpus ideal for research within the frame of heterogeneity and religious diversity over a period of time.

If one considers the Pseudo-Ezekiel tradition and all relevant manuscripts and fragments as a whole, one may be able to determine if there is any heterogeneity and or religious diversity displayed between them by making use of a literary-exegetical and / or diachronic analysis. Applying palaeographic identification and comparing scribal techniques used in the manuscripts would also be an interesting – and perhaps helpful – endeavour.

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SUMMARY AND KEYWORDS

This study investigates the textual differences between Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, in order to determine the possible provenance, authorship and date of each fragment. The research consists of a literary-exegetical analysis, an analysis of the differences in orthography between these texts, and a text-critical analysis between the Pseudo-Ezekiel fragments and the MT, LXX, and p967. The aim with this study is to contribute to our understanding of Pseudo-Ezekiel with regard to the vision of the valley of the dry bones in the light of what the text may reveal about scribal practice, authorship, provenance, and the dating of these texts. It would appear that the rewriting of texts can reflect the ideology or perspective of different authors. It has been indicated that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q385 fragments 2 and 3, and 4Q386 fragment 1 column i, date from different times, and were penned by different authors. It is proposed that Pseudo-Ezekiel 4Q386 may be contemporary to the assassination of Pompey and 4Q385 to the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

Dead Sea Scrolls
Hasmonean
Literary-exegetical analysis
Orthography
Pseudo-Ezekiel
Qumran
Redaction
Second Temple Period
Textual criticism
Reconstruction
Palaeography
Dating
Provenance
Authorship