

The Preliminary Edition of the First Numbers Scroll from Nahal Hever

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This article begins with the discovery of the biblical scrolls from Nahal Hever near the western shore of the Dead Sea and then offers an overview of the manuscripts of the book of Numbers in all the Dead Sea Scrolls. The main section contains the preliminary edition of the first Numbers scrolls from Nahal Hever, abbreviated 5/6Hev/Num^a. The edition is in three parts: contents and physical description; palaeography and other features; and a transcription (including notes). The article closes with a complete index of all the Numbers passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Key Words: Numbers, Dead Sea Scrolls, scrolls, biblical text, Old Testament, Nahal Hever

Previous discussion: J. C. Greenfield, "The Texts from Nahal Hever (Wadi Seiyal)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11/2; Leiden: Brill/Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 661-65, esp. 661-63.

1. DISCOVERY OF THE NAHAL HEVER SCROLLS

Besides the famous Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8Hev XIIgr), there are four more biblical scrolls from "Nahal Hever/Wadi Seiyal." The bulk of this material (excluding 8Hev XIIgr) was discovered by the Bedouin in 1951 or 1952, together with many non-biblical texts (listed in E. Toy with S. J. Pfann, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: Facsimile Edition* [Leiden: Brill, 1995] 64-66; S. A. Reed et al., *Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994] 263-64). The Bedouin, claiming to have found all of these scrolls at Wadi Seiyal (Nahal Se'elim), took them to the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem and sold them to the Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum).

However, even in the 1950s there was uncertainty about precisely where this material had been discovered. The first texts (both non-biblical) were published in 1954 as coming from "près de la Mer Morte" (J. Starcky, "Un contrat nabatéen sur Papyrus," *RB* 61 [1954] 161-81; J. T. Milik, "Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J.-C.," *RB* 61 [1954] 182-90). Excavations by Yigael Yadin would provide conclusive proof that the "Wadi Seiyal" scrolls were actually discovered elsewhere. It now seems certain that the Bedouin had found them at Naḥal Hever, which had been part of Israel since 1948, but had reported them as from "Wadi Seiyal" (about 9 km farther south and part of Jordan) in order to legitimize their possession of the scrolls.

During the 1960-61 season, Yadin's team excavated the Naḥal Hever caves ("The Expedition to the Judaean Desert, 1960, Expedition D," *IEJ* 11 [1961] 36-52 + plates; "The Expedition to the Judaean Desert, 1961, Expedition D," *IEJ* 12 [1962] 227-57). Among many other manuscripts, they found small fragments belonging to the "Wadi Seiyal" scrolls previously discovered by the Bedouin, including: a fragment of the Nabatean text published earlier by Starcky (Y. Yadin, "Expedition D" [1962] 229); fragments of the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Cave 8 (B. Lifshitz, "The Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror," *IEJ* 12 [1962] 201-7; E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Hever* [*8HevVIIgr*] [DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990] 1); and a small fragment from Numbers and another from Psalms.

The small Psalms fragment (5/6HevPs) was found on 3 April 1960 near the western wall of the first chamber of the Cave of Letters (Yadin, "Expedition D" [1961] 40 + pl. D). In March of the following year, the small Numbers fragment (5/6HevNum) was discovered in the recess of the eastern entrance to this same cave (Yadin, "Expedition D" [1962] 229 + pl. D),

Following the observation by Stephen Pfann that some texts from Naḥal Hever and Wadi Seiyal may well be part of the same manuscripts, on two separate occasions in the summers of 1995 and 1996, I was able to compare the fragments of the "Hever" and "Seiyal" portions of Numbers and Psalms at the Rockefeller Museum. (This had not been possible in previous years, since the two Hever fragments had been housed separately at the Shrine of the Book until the early 1990s, when they were permanently transferred to the Rockefeller.) For both the Numbers and Psalms scrolls, similarities in both script and the texture and appearance of the leather confirm that two fragments found by Yadin at Naḥal Hever are indeed part of the larger scrolls found earlier by the Bedouin. The only conclusion, therefore, is that the Bedouin had discovered the Numbers and Psalms scrolls at Naḥal Hever, had accidentally left portions behind, and that Wadi Seiyal (Naḥal Ṣe'elim) should be excluded as a location.

2. THE BOOK OF NUMBERS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In addition to the tiny Numbers fragments from Nahal Hever, nine more scrolls preserve parts of Numbers: 1QpaleoLev; 2QNum^a; 2QNum^b; 2QNum^c; 2QNum^{d?}; 4QLev-Num^a; 4QNum^b; 4QLXXNum; and MurNum. A complete index of the manuscripts and corresponding scriptural passages appears at the end of this article. 1QpaleoLev, consisting of 24 fragments, was published in 1955 by D. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik.¹ The four scrolls from Cave 2 (2QNum^{a-d?}) were published by M. Baillet in 1962.² The *editio princeps* of three Cave 4 manuscripts, including the only Greek copy of Numbers, were published between 1990 and 1994: 4QLev-Num^a by E. Ulrich in 1994;³ 4QNum^b by N. Jastram in 1994⁴; and 4QLXXNum by P. Skehan and E. Ulrich in 1992.⁵ The final and only Numbers scroll from MurNum was published in 1960 by J. T. Milik.⁶ The 5/6HevNum scroll, which is presented in this article as a preliminary edition, was previously published by Yadin as noted above.

3. THE PRELIMINARY EDITION OF (5 / 6HEVNUM^a)

Previous discussion: J. C. Greenfield, "The Texts from Nahal Hever (Wadi Seiyal)," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid. 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Moritaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill/Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1992) 2.661-65, esp. 661-63; Y. Yadin, "Expedition D: The Cave of Letters," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 227-57, esp. 228-29 + pl. 48D.

This scroll is abbreviated 5/6HevNum^a, with the large three-chambered cave classified as Cave 5/6, since it has two openings.⁷

1. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 51-54 + pls. VIII—IX.

2. M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 57-60 + pl. XII.

3. E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 153-76 + pls. XXIII—XXX.

4. N. Jastram, "4QNum^b," in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich and F. M. Cross; DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 205-267 + pls. XXXVIII-XLIX.

5. P. Skehan, E. Ulrich, and J. E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992) 187-94 + pls. XLII-XLIII; See also P. Skehan, "4QLXXNum: A Pre-Christian Reworking of the Septuagint," *HTR* 70 (1970) 39-50.

6. P. Benoit, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) 76 + pl. XXI.

7. Yadin, "Expedition D," 40.

3.1. Contents and Physical Description

The four small fragments preserve portions of Num 19:2-4; 20:7-8; plus one unidentified piece. The only other scroll from any site in the Judean Desert also to preserve text from these chapters is 4QNum^b (19:1-6; 20:12-13b, 16-17, 19-29).

These fragments were once thought to be from two different manuscripts (with frgs. 1, 2, and 4 allegedly found at Wadi Seiyal, and frg. 3 found at Naḥal Hever), but this is no longer the case. The entire scroll (or what remains of it) is now identified as being from the Cave of Letters (Cave 5/6 at Naḥal Hever). A physical comparison of all four pieces in the Museum yields four reasons why frgs. 1-2-4 and frg. 3 are part of the same manuscript: (1) the description of the leather is identical; (2) similar horizontal rulings are evident; (3) the shapes of several letters are identical: for example, the *keraii* on 'alep, the broad *taw*, the shapes of *het* and *qop*; (4) the stance of the letters is very similar, for example 'alep.

The leather is thin and tan in colour, is quite smooth on both the recto and verso, and was well prepared. The largest piece comprises frgs. 1 and 2 and measures 2.4 cm in height by 4.8 cm across. Because no margins are preserved, the position of these fragments within the scroll cannot be determined. If frgs. 1-2 and frg. 3 belonged to the same column (which is possible but not certain), this column would have contained at least Num 19:2-20:8 and thus would have been very large.

There is no evidence of stitching. Horizontal rulings are visible, and the distance between the tops of letters in successive lines measures 6-7 mm. The number of letter-spaces per line is ca. 38.

3.2. Palaeography and Other Features

These fragments are written in a late Herodian book hand that dates from ca. 50-68 CE, and has palaeographical affinities with 4QDeut^j, 4QPs^b, XHev/SeNum^b, XHev/SeDeut, and 5/6HevPs.⁸ The following late features may be noted: (1) The 'alep, with its distinctive *keraii*, has an oblique axis with left leg panned as an inverted "V" (e.g., אַל אַל עַזֵּר 1 2; אַתָּה 2 3); (2) at the top of the vertical stroke, the *lamed* has a *keraii*, which in earlier scripts was a hook (e.g., אַל עַזֵּר 1 2; אַל עַזֵּר 1 3); (3) for both medial and final nun the tick at the top of the stroke has become a *keraii* (e.g., לַפְּנִי 2 3; אִין 1 1); (4) the head of final *pe* is curled under (e.g., לַפְּנִי 2 3).

8. F. M. Cross, "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; 2 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1998-99) 1.379-402 + pls. IX-XIV, esp. pl. X lines 7-9.

Too little text is preserved for a proper textual assessment to be reached. However, if the new alignment for frgs. 1-2 as represented in the transcription is correct, for Num 19:3 the amount of text found in M is too long for this format. The orthography may be classified as sparing, in view of the consistent absence of *waw* as a vowel letter (אֹתָהּ 2 2; אֹתָהּ 2 3; [אֹה]ל 2 4; מִשָּׁה לֵאמֹר 3 1). No scribal errors, corrections, or insertions are evident.

Plate Number: PAM 42.187.

3.3 Transcription

Frgs. 1-2, Numbers 19:2-4

אֲשֶׁר [אֵיִן בְּנֵה]	1
וּנְתַתֶּם [אֹתָהּ אֵל אֵל עֶזֶר]	2 f.2
וּשְׁחַטְּ [אֹתָהּ לִפְנֵי וּלְקַח אֵל עֶזֶר]	3
אֹה [ל מוֹעֵד]	4

Suggested Reconstruction

[אֵל יָד פָּרָה אֲדָמָה תְּמִימָה אֲשֶׁר [אֵיִן בְּנֵה מוֹם אֲשֶׁר]	1
[לֹא עָלָה עָלֶיהָ עַל וּנְתַתֶּם [אֹתָהּ אֵל אֵל עֶזֶר]	2 f.2
[אֹתָהּ לִפְנֵי וּלְקַח אֵל עֶזֶר הַכֹּהֵן מִדְּמָה]	3
[בְּאַצְבָּעוֹ וְהִזָּה אֵל נִכַּח פָּנֵי אֹה ל [מוֹעֵד מִדְּמָה שְׁבַע פְּעָמִים]	4

Notes on Readings

L. 2 (19:3) אֹתָהּ אֵל []. There are seven ink-strokes on the top edge of frg. 2 at line 2. The first two are the remnants of *'alep*, two more the bottom tips of *taw*, and two more the bottom tips of *he* (for the wide *taw* with its two bottom tips remaining on frg. 2, cf. אֹתָהּ in line 3). The final stroke is the right bottom tip of the *'alep* in אֵל.

L. 2 (19:3) אֵל עֶזֶר [זר]. The following text as found in M (הַכֹּהֵן וּשְׁחַטְּ וְהוֹצִיא אֹתָהּ אֵל מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה) is too long for this format.

L. 3 (19:3) אֹתָהּ. The bottom right tip of *he* is visible to the left of *taw*.

L. 3 (19:4) אֵל עֶזֶר [עזר]. For *lamed*, a trace of the hook remains to the left of *'alep*, and the distinctive ink-blob is visible to the left at the top of the fragment.

L. 4 (19:4) אֹה [אֹה]. While this could be a supralinear letter, it is more likely *lamed* in view of the distinctive thick top.

Frg. 3, Numbers 20:7-8

אֵל מִשָּׁה לֵאמֹר 8 קַח אֶת הַמַּטֵּה]	1
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Suggested Reconstruction

1 [וידבר יהוה א]ל משה לאמר⁸ קח את המטה [והקהל את העדה]
2 [אתה ואהרן אחיך ודברתם אל הסלע לעיניהם ונתן מימיו והוצאת]

Frg. 4

[פניה]

This fragment is not on plate PAM 42.187 but was recently added to the other pieces. Three possibilities occur for this word in the book of Numbers: לַפְּנֵיהֶם (10:33; 14:14; 27:17 *bis*), בַּפְּנֵיהֶם (12:14), and פְּנֵיהֶם (14:4; 16:22; 17:10; 20:6).

Notes on Readings

L. 1] [פניה]. The fourth letter is consistent with *he* not *waw*, thus eliminating the possibility of פניו.

4. INDEX OF NUMBERS PASSAGES IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

1:1-5, 21-22, 36-40	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q27
1:48-50	1QpaleoLev	1Q3
2:18-20, 31-32	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
3:3 -19, 51	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
3:38-41, 51	2QNum ^a	2Q6
3:39?, 40-43, 50-51?	4QLXXNum	4Q121
4:1 -12, 40-49	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
4:1?, 5-9, 11-16	4QLXXNum	4Q121
4:1-3	2QNum ^a	2Q6
5:1-9	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
7:88	2QNum ^c	2Q8
8:7-12, 21-22	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
9:3-10, 19-20	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
10:13-23	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
11:4-5, 16-22	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
11:31-35	4QNum ^b	4Q27
12:1-6, 8-11	4QNum ^b	4Q27
12:3-11	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
13:7, 10-13, 15-24	4QNum ^b	4Q27
13:21	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
15:41	4QNum ^b	4Q27
16:1-11, 14-16	4QNum ^b	4Q27
17:12-17	4QNum ^b	4Q27

18:8-9 (or Lev 23:1-3?)	2QNum ^{d?}	2Q9
18:25-32	4QNum ^b	4Q27
19:1-6	4QNum ^b	4Q27
19:2-4, 7-8	5/6HevNum ^a	5/6Hev/Se1
20:12-13b, 16-17, 19-29	4QNum ^b	4Q27
21:1-2, 12a-13a, 20-21a	4QNum ^b	4Q27
22:5-21, 31-34, 37-38, 41	4QNum ^b	4Q27
22:5-6, 22-24	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
23:1-4, 6, 13-15, 21-22, 27-30	4QNum ^b	4Q27
24:1-10	4QNum ^b	4Q27
25:4-8, 16-18	4QNum ^b	4Q27
26:1-5, 7-10, 12, 14-34, 62-65	4QNum ^b	4Q27
26:5-7	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
27:1-5, 7-8, 10, 18-19, 21-23b	4QNum ^b	4Q27
27:2-13	XHev/SeNum ^b	XHev/Se2
28:11-12	XHev/SeNumb	XHev/Se2
28:13-17, 28, 30-31	4QNum ^b	4Q27
29:10-13, 16-18, 26-30	4QNum ^b	4Q27
30:1-3, 5-9, 15-17	4QNum ^b	4Q27
30:3?, 7? (9?, 13?)	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
31:2-6, 21b-25, 30-33, 35-36, 38, 43-44, 46-54	4QNum ^b	4Q27
32:1, 4-5, 7-10, 13-17, 19, 21-30, 35, 37-39, 41	4QNum ^b	4Q27
32:8-15, 23-42	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
33:1-4, 23, 25, 28, 31, 45, 47-48, 50-52	4QNum ^b	4Q27
33:5-9, 22-34, 52-54	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
33:47-53	2QNum ^b	2Q7
34:4-9, 19-21, 23	4QNum ^b	4Q27
34:10	MurNum	Mur 1:6-7
35:3-5, 11-12, 14-15, 18-25, 27-28, 33-34	4QNum ^b	4Q27
35:4-5	4QLev-Num ^a	4Q23
36:1-2a, 4a-7	4QNum ^b	4Q27
36:7-11	MurNum	Mur 1:6-7
36:7-8(?)	1QpaleoLev	1Q3