

FURTHER EVIDENCE FOR THE BISECTION OF 1QIs^a

Ronald L. Giese Jr.

The theory that 1QIs^a may have been bisected began with the observation of a large gap at the bottom of col. 27, the exact end of chapter 33 according to our present division. This gap consists of at least three entirely blank lines. The ruling of these lines as a part of the preparation of the skin for writing is clearly visible in a good photograph. As can be readily observed throughout the scroll, the copyist was in the habit of filling in all the lines which had been previously ruled. The only exceptions to this observation are the cases in which he apparently left space for the insertion of text at the later time (see below). However, since there are no words missing in the gap of col. 27 which are present in the MT or reflected in the versions, and since paragraph division was denoted by leaving a portion of only one line blank, other reasons were sought for the presence of such a conspicuous gap.

Since blank space within one line was used to indicate paragraph division, perhaps complete blank lines could be used to mark divisions greater than a paragraph. It is this possibility, along with the observation that there is no missing text to account for the gap, that has prompted some scholars to propose the theory that this gap reflects a previous bisection of Isaiah into two scrolls.¹

Two pieces of evidence have been presented to support the bisection theory. Richards (1965:257-258) has noted a talmudic passage which prescribes the scribal practice of leaving four blank lines when copying the books of the Torah or Prophets (*Baba Bathra* 13b). But between the twelve Minor Prophets the space should only be three lines, prompting the comparison by Richards (258) that: "Since the Minor Prophets were considered to be only one book, it would seem that this rule of "three lines" between them could easily apply to the phenomenon

¹See the bibliography for Kahle and Barthélemy in Brownlee (1952:20 n. 11).

found in 1QIs^a, where three lines are left." Though it cannot be ascertained whether this tradition, or one similar to it, was practiced among the Qumran scribes, to date no alternative theory for the gap has been discussed.

The second piece of evidence consists of a difference between the two halves of the scroll. In the second half only (chs 34-66), Brownlee (1952:16) noted ten significant gaps which were apparently left by the copyist to be filled in later by himself or another hand. Below are the columns (and lines) of Brownlee's gaps, the same location noted by chapter, verse, and word number according to BHS ("a" stands for "after"), and an added description (my own observations) of the gaps and the scribal treatment of them. Scripts from three different scribes can be distinguished in the later filling of the gaps with text, and these are designated by hands A-C (according to Martin's system; hand A is the copyist's own):

Table 1. The ten gaps in chs. 34-66

No.	Column	Verse (MT)	Description
1.	28:18	34.17.a10	1 line gap left, 2 lines of text added by hand B. The added text is virtually identical with the MT (Len. adds two letters, a <i>yod</i> and a <i>he</i>).
2.	30:10	37.04.a26	1 1/2 line gap left, 2 1/2 lines of text added by hand A. The added text is quite close to the MT (though hand A adds <i>הוואת</i> and has a word inversion of MT's <i>בו רוח</i> , as well as other less significant differences).
3.	32:14	38.20.a10	1/2 line gap left, 1 line added by hand B. The added text is quite close to the MT (though hand B is missing MT's <i>ישאו</i>).
4.	33:14	40.14.a07	2 1/2 line gap left, 2 lines added by hand B. The added text is virtually identical with the MT (the difference is two <i>alephs</i> and a <i>yod</i>).
5.	34:15	41.11.a11	1 3/4 line gap left, unfilled. The first three words of v. 12 (MT) are missing.

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| 6. | 38:15 | 45.08.a12 | 1/3 line gap left, unfilled. The last four words of v. 12 (MT) are missing. |
| 7. | 42:20 | 51.06.a07 | 1/3 line gap left, unfilled. Seven words of v. 6 (MT) are missing and five variant words are present in their place. |
| 8. | 44:15 | 53.08.a11 | 1 line gap left, 4 words added by hand C. The added text equals the MT except that hand C has עמו for MT's עמי and hand C adds a <i>waw</i> in נוגע. |
| 9. | 45:17 | 54.17.a06 | 1 line gap left, unfilled. 6 words of v. 17 (MT) are missing. |
| 10. | 52:23 | 65.15.a07 | 2/3 line gap left. The last 4 words of v. 15 and the first 4 words of v. 16 (MT) are missing and 3 variant words are present in their place. |

Brownlee contended that these ten gaps reflect missing text in the copyist's exemplar of Isa. 34-66, due to the crumbling of the scroll at the margins. He postulated that this deterioration involved the lower margins, using 1QpHab as an example. The problem with such an illustration is that the DDS which exhibit damaged margins are about 2000 years old, whereas the exemplar utilized by the copyist of 1QIs^a was considerably less old. That some kind of deterioration (not necessarily due to age and/or corrosive sediment in the bottom of storage jars) occurred does seem evident, however, since some of the gaps left by the copyist do not correspond to the needed space for the missing text.

The argument used in this second piece of evidence is that if there were at one time two separate scrolls, these scrolls may exhibit differences which are still discernable in 1QIs^a, even though they have now been joined together. It is this thought which prompted me to examine another aspect of 1QIs^a, namely, the interlinear additions which are evident on virtually every column of the scroll. It was my hypothesis that there would be some kind of difference between the two halves concerning one particular class of additions. These are the additions which constitute an error of omission on the part of the copyist. Was the frequency with which the copyist committed such errors different from one half to the other?

Close to two hundred letters or words were added to 1QIs^a, placed interlinearly above the point at which the scribe wished them to be read. Publications dealing with scribal techniques at Qumran have devoted little space to the analysis of these insertions. Kutscher (1974:547ff.) simply identifies them in a list. Martin (1958:495-659), engaged in the compilation and subsequent division of these additions into detailed categories, counted such characteristics as partial erasure and remodelling of linear letters by one specific hand. Though dividing the interlinear additions into percentages according to very specific types, he did not analyze the frequency which certain additions appeared throughout the scroll.

With the ultimate purpose of performing computer sortings on data collected from each addition, I entered six characteristics of each addition into a database (among which were the "function" of the addition and its "cause"). To achieve accurate results, I did not enter additions which were not clear. In order to sort out those additions which corrected errors of omission, I sorted additions whose function was that of "basic," i.e., the letter functions as a basic (necessary) part of the lexical form of the word. With verbs this equals the root, and with nominal forms the lexical form (e.g., the initial מ of מקום is included). Preformatives or sufformatives are not included in this category. Any addition of letter(s) whose function is "basic," regardless of the cause, is necessary for an understanding of the word, and hence is very likely to be a letter present in the exemplar which was mistakenly omitted by the copyist. The results are listed in the following table, the interlinear additions noted by underlining:

Table 2. Result of a sorting of function = BASIC

Location	Leningrad	Is ^a	Letter
01.01.02	ישעיהו	ישעיהו	ע
01.12.07	זאת	זואת	א
02.06.06	כי	כיא	י
04.01.01	והחזיק	והחזיקה	ח
05.21.03	בעיניהם	בעיניהם	ע
08.23.01	כי	כי	י
09.07.04	בעקב	בעקוב	ע

10.28.03	עִתָּה	עִתָּה	ת
11.04.10	בשֶׁבֶט	בשֶׁבֶט	ב
12.02.10	יָהּ	יָהּ	ה
13.22.02	אֵיִם	אֵֹים	י
14.22.07	לִבְבֵל	לִבְבֵל	ל
14.28.03	הַמֶּלֶךְ	הַמֶּלֶךְ	כ
16.10.01	וּנְאֻסָּף	וּנְאֻסָּף	א
17.04.06	יַעֲקֹב	יַעֲקֹב	ע
19.01.18	בְּקִרְבּוֹ	בְּקִרְבּוֹ	ק
19.02.01	וּסְכַסְכֵּתִי	וּסְכַסְכֵּתִי	כ
19.06.04	וַחֲרָבוֹ	וַחֲרָבוֹ	ר
21.15.07	נְטוּשָׁה	נְטוּשׁוֹ	-
22.24.07	הַצִּאֲצָאִים	הַצִּאֲצָאִים	א
23.13.16	לִמְפֵּלָה	לִמְפֵּלָה	פ
25.02.07	לִמְפֵּלָה	לִמְפֵּלָה	פ
30.25.13	בְּיוֹם	מִיּוֹם	ו
31.08.08	אָדָם	אָדָם	א
32.09.02	שְׂאֲנָנוֹת	שְׂאֲנָנוֹת	א
37.05.03	הַמֶּלֶךְ	הַמֶּלֶךְ	כ
37.29.04	וּשְׂאֲנָנָה	וּשְׂאֲנָנָה	א
39.08.10	וַיֹּאמֶר	וַיֹּאמֶר	ר
53.08.01	מַעֲצָר	מַעֲצָר	ר
54.16.03	בְּרֵאֵתִי	בְּרֵאֵתִי	א
58.03.14	וְכֹל	וְכֹל	ל
63.08.01	וַיֹּאמֶר	וַיֹּאמֶר	ר

The result of this sorting is that there are 32 instances where the copyist mistakenly omitted a letter which was entirely necessary for the word in which it was missed. My next step was to determine if there was any significant fluctuation in the frequency with which the copyist committed this error throughout the scroll.

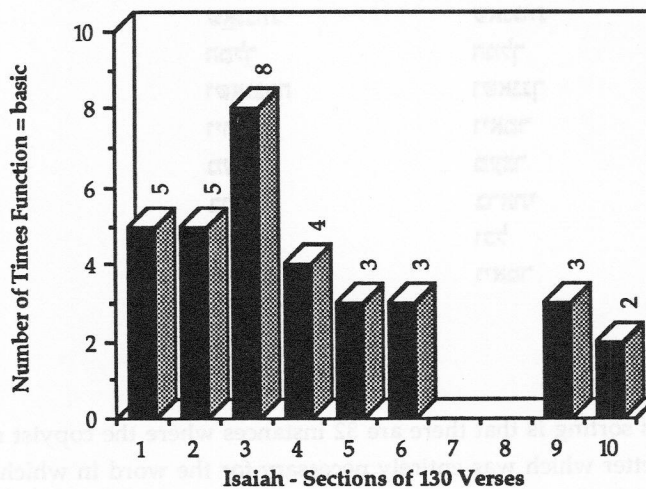
To facilitate this search, the book of Isaiah was divided into ten sections of 130 verses each (the last section having only 120 verses). Such a division allows a break at the end of the fifth section at almost exactly the same place as the gap.

Table 3. Isaiah in sections of 130 verses

1st Half (Chs. 1-33)	2nd Half (Chs. 34-66)
1) 1:1-7:2	6) 34:2-40:14
2) 7:3-13:8	7) 40:15-45:3
3) 13:9-21:9	8) 45:4-51:21
4) 21:10-28:10	9) 51:22-60:3
5) 28:11-34:1	10) 60:4-66:24

Once this was done, the additions which reflected the scribal omission of "basic" letters in each of the sections was counted and plotted. This quantitative analysis is depicted graphically in Fig. 1.

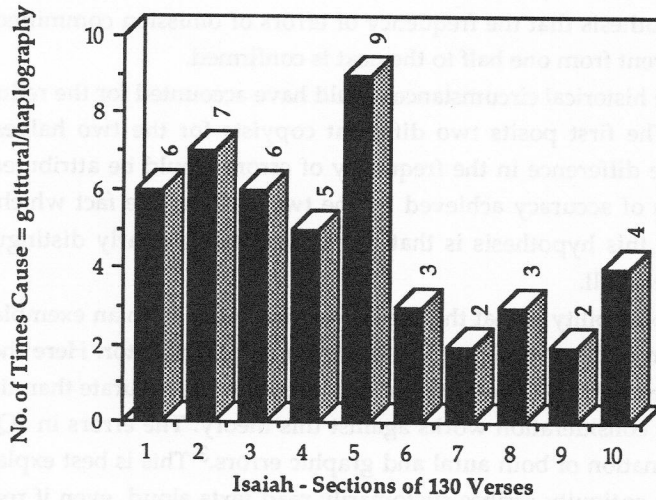
Figure 1. Plotting of function = BASIC



The results demonstrate that the second half of the scroll exhibits a significant decrease in these kind of additions, hence a decrease in the number of "basic" letters omitted erroneously by the copyist.

To check this result, two further sortings were performed on another characteristic, that of the "cause" of the addition. Additions which correct an omission apparently due to either haplography or guttural weakness were sorted, then the combined results were plotted in the sections of Isaiah as above.

Figure 2. Plotting of cause = guttural weakness or haplography



Once again, the first half of the scroll exhibits a larger number of these additions than the second. In order to check the data in Figures 1 and 2 to determine if the results are statistically significant, I used Wilcoxon's rank-sum test.² This test is a non-parametric test, i.e., its validity does not depend on the assumption that the numbers of additions in each of the ten sections are distributed normally (have a bell-shaped distribution). The test is based on the concept of a null hypothesis that states that there is no difference in the two halves, and an alternative hypothesis that the number of errors (actually additions which re-

²G. K. Bhattacharyya and R. A. Johnson, *Statistical Concepts and Methods* (New York 1977) 507-515.

flect errors) in the first section is higher than the number in the second section. Though we know, without the test, that the number of errors in the first half is greater than the second, the test tells us *how* significant this fact is, i.e., the probability of this set of data arising by random chance. I set any probability of less than 5% as convincing. Using this, the probability that the data depicted in Figure 1 could have occurred by random chance is 0.008 (i.e., less than 1%). The same probability for the data in Figure 2 is less than 0.008. Thus there is indeed greater than 95% confidence that this difference is statistically significant. Hence the hypothesis that the frequency of errors of omission committed by the copyist is different from one half to the next is confirmed.

Four possible historical circumstances could have accounted for the reduction of these errors. The first posits two different copyists for the two halves of the scroll. Here the difference in the frequency of errors would be attributed to the different levels of accuracy achieved by the two scribes. The fact which clearly argues against this hypothesis is that the same hand is clearly distinguishable throughout the scroll.

The second possibility is that the copyist did not work from an exemplar at all, but wrote as an auditor receiving the text from an oral dictator. Here the differences would be caused by two different dictators, one less accurate than the other. One important consideration works against this theory. The errors in IQIs^a consist of a combination of both aural and graphic errors.³ This is best explained by the fact that in antiquity scribes customarily read texts aloud, even if reading in solitude. Hence, if the copyist read portions from the exemplar aloud, once his eyes left the exemplar his memory of the text is as much aural as graphic. Even if in this particular case the text was *not* read aloud, as the exemplar was being visually read (or the passage drawn from memory), pronunciation naturally takes place at least in the mind, if not on the lips (cf. Hammershaimb 1959:418). Finally, the likelihood that the "table" discovered in the scriptorium at Qumran served not as a writing surface but to hold materials, namely the exemplar (Clark 1980), further decreases the plausibility of this historical circumstance.

³Graphic errors are those such as the inversion of letters, dittography, and some of the errors due to haplography. It is difficult to imagine that an oral dictator, trained to keep his place in the text (with his finger on the scroll), would be guilty of these errors. Aural errors are those such as the omission of gutturals.

The third is that a difference existed in the concentration of the copyist and/or the nature of his working environment. In this possibility the copyist would have worked on different parts of the scroll at different times. In some manner the accuracy of the scribe was significantly reduced during the time in which he copied the first half in comparison with the second, producing a greater quantity of errors. Of course one can only guess at the reason for this, such as decrease in alertness due to physiological factors.

The fourth is that there was a difference in the two halves of the exemplar utilized by the copyist. Perhaps the first half was less clear than the second, or the first half contained some errors of omission which the copyist transmitted to his scroll. It is this final possibility which fits the theory that two exemplars were used in the copying process, one consisting of chs. 1-33 and the other chs. 34-66.

As noted above, the first two possibilities appear quite improbable, which leaves the last two for further consideration. It is the previous background provided by Brownlee and Richards (above) which tips the scales in favor of the fourth. However, even if any one of the other three possibilities is chosen, we are still faced with the fact that the book was *treated* as if it consisted of two halves, even if the exemplar consisted physically of only one scroll.

The above evidence adds a third piece of evidence to the existing two in regard to the bisection of Isaiah at Qumran.⁴

⁴The reason behind the bisection could be one of two. The first could simply be the matter of length (it being easier from a scribal point of view to consider a long book as two halves). If this is true, the exemplar used by the copyist of 1QIs^a (consisting of two scrolls) should be considered akin to the more traditionally recognized instances of bisection for the sake of length (Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles). In a similar vein is Haran's work on smaller units ("scrollettes") within some biblical books, a result of his theory of papyrus as the writing material in pre-exilic Israel (1982). For examples of book bisection in the LXX (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, etc.) see Thackeray (1921). The other possibility is that chapter 34 begins the chapters of Second Isaiah, with the exception of the chapters about Hezekiah's illness, a view held by some commentators. In this possibility the gap would reveal physical evidence of the seam where the two books were joined.

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