

The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot

Hartmut Stegemann

Almost half a century ago, in November and December 1947, a professor of archaeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the late Eliezer Lipa Sukenik, acquired from an Arab in Bethlehem — probably from the late Mr. Kando — three ancient scrolls.¹ Afterwards, they became very famous as 1QIsa^b, 1QMilḥama, and 1QHodayot^a. All of these scrolls are now in the possession of the Shrine of the Book. Before Professor Sukenik died in 1952, he had described those three scrolls and published some parts of their contents in the two volumes of his *מגילות הגנוזות* in 1948 and 1950. The first complete edition of those three scrolls appeared only two years later in the volume *המגילות הגנוזות אוצר* published under the authority of the late Professor Nahman Avigad, while the textual treatment of those scrolls was done by the late Jacob Licht,² at that time an assistant of Professor Avigad.

When Professor Sukenik acquired the remnants of the Hodayot scroll there were two separate parts of it: "The part which was opened first contains three sheets, each one with four columns, or a total of twelve columns... The second part of the 'Thanksgiving Scroll' was ... a crumpled mass of about seventy detached fragments of leather of assorted sizes."³

In the columns and on the fragments of this scroll there are mainly two different scribal hands. The edition of 1954 presents twelve columns of the three sheets, now

1. [For a colorful account of Mr. Kando's dealings with the scrolls see the article of Frank Moore Cross, "Reminiscences of the Early Days in the Discovery and Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls" in this volume. G. M.]
2. See E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955). The contribution of Jacob Licht is mentioned on p. 8.
3. *Ibid.*, 37. The "three sheets" are reproduced as figures 16-17, 22-24. For the "crumpled mass" see figures 14-15.

numbered as "columns 1-12,"⁴ with a clear change from scribe A to scribe B in column 11.⁵ This second hand also continues through column 12. In the presentation of the evidence in the edition this arrangement is followed by five *columns* numbered 13-17 written by scribe A,⁶ and by a further column, column 18, written by scribe B.⁷ Afterwards, the remaining fragments are assembled on six plates: first nine larger fragments of scribe B on plates 53-55, secondly all dislocated fragments of scribe A on plates 56-57, and finally the smaller fragments of scribe B on plate 58. The principle of the edition was simply to present first "the twelve columns," and afterwards the evidence from the "crumpled mass" according to the size of columns and fragments written by two different scribes.⁸

About fifteen years later, Jacob Licht told me he had tried in 1954 to join more fragments and to reconstruct more of the former columns, but Professor Avigad had stopped him since he wanted to publish the scroll as soon as possible.

The only one who tried in the early stages of Qumran research to develop the reconstruction of 1QHodayot further was the late Jean Carmignac. In two publications of 1958 and 1959 he joined several fragments,⁹ put fragment 10 at the top of column 15, and placed column 17 immediately in front of Sukenik's column 1. Regarding the rest, Carmignac was of the opinion that columns 13-16 and most of the fragments written by scribe A should belong to a separate scroll, while leaving the fragments written by scribe B in disorder except material joins of fragments 9 + 50 and 61 + 62.

My own material reconstruction of the Hodayot scroll started in 1962. I presented the results in a still unpublished doctoral dissertation at Heidelberg University in 1963. Soon afterwards I wrote a letter to John Strugnell, the only one who could know about the correctness of my reconstruction, since he had the yet unpublished 4QHodayot manuscripts which might confirm or falsify my results. He answered me in a kind letter that (a) the correctness of my reconstruction was confirmed by the 4QHodayot manuscripts even in the highly hypothetically reconstructed final columns of the former scroll, (b) that he would not have been able to detect the former order of fragments in some of his 4QHodayot manuscripts without my reconstruction of 1QHodayot, and (c) that we should combine our efforts to publish a composite edition of all the Hodayot evidence from Qumran. I was very glad with this answer and in subsequent years I spent several weeks in Jerusalem almost every year to work together with John Strugnell at the Rockefeller Museum and at the École Biblique on the final placement of some smaller fragments and the textual evidence of the 4QHodayot manuscripts, as well as on the 1QHodayot evidence.

4. *Ibid.*, plates 35-46.

5. *Ibid.*, pl. 45.

6. *Ibid.*, pl. 47-51.

7. *Ibid.*, pl. 52.

8. Cf. *ibid.*, 38f.

9. J. Carmignac, "Remarques sur le texte des Hymnes de Qumrân," *Biblica* 39 (1958) 139-155; idem, "Localisation des fragments 15, 18 et 22 des Hymnes," *RevQ* 1 (1958/9) 425-430.

Since 1964 the late Professor Yigael Yadin also helped me very much in this reconstruction. After some time he kindly granted me free access to the Hodayot scroll and its fragments in the Shrine of the Book and provided me also with better infrared photos of all the 1QHodayot evidence.

In the nineteen-seventies John Strugnell became seriously ill and when we started our combined efforts again in 1979 there was but little progress every year. Ultimately, in 1990 he handed his 4QHodayot manuscripts over to Eileen Schuller, and working together with her the final edition is now close to completion; the final edition of the six 4QHodayot scrolls — or their fragments — is scheduled for publication in DJD.¹⁰

The common policy of all who were more or less officially engaged in Qumran editions in the past was that no one but the official editor should reveal anything to others about any unpublished evidence. I always strongly kept to this rule. Therefore, even a very good friend of mine like Émile Puech did not know about my success in the reconstruction of 1QHodayot or my collaboration with John Strugnell in this matter, in spite of the fact that we had our meals together at the École Biblique and combined our scientific efforts in several other respects. One day in 1986 or 1987 the rumor spread that Émile Puech had succeeded in reconstructing 1QHodayot. I was rather surprised and he was even more surprised when I told him that I had done the very same job already more than a decade ago. I told him my results only after he had published his results in spring 1988.¹¹ It turned out that we had both arrived at the same results quite independently from one another, except that Émile Puech was able to put several more small fragments of 1QHodayot into their original position than I.¹² He also detected some more fragments of 1QHodayot, not published in the Sukenik edition, but that fit nicely into some open gaps.¹³ All those discoveries of Émile Puech will be included in my final edition of the combined Hodayot evidence, which may appear about 1999, one year after the final publication of the 4QHodayot evidence by Eileen Schuller.¹⁴ Today, it is only important that Émile Puech and I, independent from one another, arrived at the very same basic results in the material reconstruction of 1QHodayot, now partly confirmed also by corresponding 4QHodayot evidence unknown to us then. This congruence of results makes for, in my opinion, a rather high degree of probability of correctness.

I turn now to more detailed account of why I started at all a reconstruction of 1QHodayot and its results.

10. This text was formulated 1997. In the meantime, the edition of the 4QHodayot fragments has been published by Eileen Schuller, DJD XXIX, 69-232, pl. IV-XIV and foldout plates I-III.

11. See É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) 38-55.

12. E.g., 1QHodayot^a frgs. 30, 31, 43, 44, 54, and 63.

13. See, e.g., the article of Puech (above, n. 11), 50 and 53-55, with n. 40. All these still unpublished fragments of 1QHodayot^a are found in Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, SHR 4108-4239.

14. According to the present state of affairs, this edition will be published no earlier than 2001. Included in my present article, therefore, is a list with the new numbers of Sukenik's columns 1-19 and the positions of the fragments 1-66 in the original scroll; see below, Appendix.

In 1962 I was one of the minor assistants — in German: "eine wissenschaftliche Hilfskraft" — of the late Professor Karl Georg Kuhn at the Qumran Research Center in Heidelberg. My job was to prepare key-word-articles for a planned dictionary of the non-biblical Qumran texts. Since the preparation of this dictionary started with the letter "aleph," I was one day occupied with the sometimes almost synonymous Hebrew words אפר, "ashes," and עפר, "dry earth, dust," which occur also in the Hodayot. Here I encountered a special problem. In column 18 of the Hodayot the word עפר occurs five times, two times in the top part of this column and three times in its bottom part.¹⁵ There are several passages in the Hodayot where the word עפר comes two or three times within a few lines of a hymn, but it does not recur elsewhere in some twenty-eight lines. Therefore, I suspected that the upper part of this column and its bottom part might represent the remainders of two different hymns. The transcription of the text in the edition gave no hint to such a division. Therefore, I looked on plate 52 of the Sukenik edition, but also on this plate I could not detect any hint to the transition from one hymn to another one within the preserved lines.

Three large fragments of scribe B are here put together as one column with 33 preserved lines. The combination of the two top fragments results in a nice text from the ends of the lines to the beginnings of the following lines. The large bottom fragment was joined to the left top fragment by the help of a letter "lamed," one fragment showing its top, the other just what is needed as the bottom part, at first glance a nice material join. But at a second glance, the general shape of this column looked strange to me; it seemed to resemble the shape of big holes in the sheet containing columns 9-12, but those are more "round", while the evidence in column 18 is more "cornered." Only at a third glance I discovered that the dry lines at the left hand sides, as well those of the top fragment as those of the bottom fragment, are still clearly visible on the plate. Using a ruler I extended these lines from the top fragment to the bottom and from the bottom fragment to the top. The result was astonishing: with the bottom fragment moved 3 millimeters to the right the scribed lines fit one another, but the bottom part of the "lamed" also moved away from its top part three millimeters to the right. The join turned out to be wrong.¹⁶ This result was, at first, disappointing. But further examination revealed that the left edges, as well of the bottom fragment and the right top fragment clearly have the same shape. Consequently, these two fragments must have followed one another in the original scroll in a strictly horizontal manner, and not one similarly shaped fragment at the top and the other at the bottom part of a single column. Thus, Sukenik's, or rather Jacob Licht's "column 18" turned out to be an error, however its fragments might have been related to one another in the former scroll.

My next step was to check all material joins within the Hodayot according to the plates in the Sukenik edition. All of them proved correct except one: the right and the left part of fragment 15 did not fit one another, which becomes quite clear if one

15. See Sukenik, *Scrolls*, cols. 18, 4, 12, 24, 27, 31.

16. Figure 1.

extends their lines into the other part of this arrangement.¹⁷ While lines four and five seem to correspond to one another, the subsequent lines diverge more and more. Also, the tops of both parts of this fragment look very similar, which means that the right part should be moved two lines more to the top with the result that there is no longer a sound textual transition from the right part of this combination to its left. The unified "fragment 15" turned out again as a clear misjoin.

My next and final step was to remember that Professor Sukenik had already suggested that columns 1-12 of the Hodayot were not the beginning but the middle-part of the scroll. All the other columns and fragments written by scribe A belong to sheets at the beginning, while the fragments written by scribe B belong to sheets after column 12. The same solution is proposed in the introduction to the Sukenik edition.¹⁸ So why did Nahman Avigad, or Jacob Licht, not arrange the fragments accordingly?

When I asked Jacob Licht about his misfortune with "column 18," he told me that he was convinced at that time that this column had about the same shape as the remains of columns 9-12 and thus should come not very far after them. But he could not find a convincing way to arrange the other larger fragments of scribe B right or left of his reconstruction of column 18. The debunking of column 18 thus opened the way for a new approach.

The result of my, and equally of Émile Puech's, material reconstruction of 1QHodayot is that the original scroll is one of the best-prepared of all the better preserved Qumran scrolls. Its original length was about 4.5 meters. The scroll contained seven sheets of leather, each about 60 centimeters long and divided into four columns, i.e., a total of twenty-eight columns with originally forty-one ruled lines, with scribe B usually adding a 42nd line in the bottom margins. Each column is represented by at least one surviving fragment except column 1. After some gaps are filled with the help of parallels from 4QHodayot, columns IV-XXVI are more than seventy-five percent complete, about half of those columns almost in their entirety.

Sukenik's columns 1-12 were originally columns IX-XX of the entire scroll. Its beginning is now represented by the remainders of the opening handle sheet, still unpublished but extant in the Shrine of the Book,¹⁹ while the concluding handle sheet seems to be lost. Let us turn now to the results of the material reconstruction of 1QHodayot.

Figure 3 shows the sheet containing Sukenik's columns 1-4,²⁰ with a hole in the top part and regularly gaps in the top and bottom margins. This sheet is followed by a second sheet containing Sukenik's columns 5-8 where the hole and the gaps continue, now more distant from one another than in the first sheet.²¹ This evidence

17. Figure 2.

18. Sukenik, *Scrolls*, 38.

19. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, SHR 4285.

20. See below, p. 282.

21. Figure 4.

shows that the scroll was rolled with the beginning of the text inside and its end outside, which is also the case with two of the Hodayot scrolls from Cave 4²² and several other scrolls from Qumran Cave 1 and Cave 4.²³

On the next sheet, containing Sukenik's columns 9-12,²⁴ the hole of the top area enlarges to a characteristic shape which continues in the following columns XXI-XXVIII. Wherever this hole appears the former material evidence of the Hodayot scroll is now totally lost by decay and no fragment should be placed into the decayed areas.

Figures 3-5 represent Sukenik's twelve columns sketched on a strip of paper with some of the formerly dislocated fragments added: at first see the new columns IX-XII, now columns XIII-XVI, and lastly columns XVII-XX. Here note again the two final columns of this sheet with the transition from scribe A to scribe B in the bottom part of column XIX clearly seen;²⁵ an intervening four lines were written by an intermediate scribe "A-two," while the final scribe B continued into the next column and all further parts of this scroll.

Figure 6 shows the former sixth sheet reconstructed by photos from the Sukenik edition.²⁶ The large blocks of the tops of the columns in Sukenik's reconstruction continue into the square fragments in the tops of columns XXI-XXIV, while the more "rounded" fragments at the bottom part, with an additional piece at the right of the top, continue the characteristic shapes of the bottom parts of the preceding columns. The two fragments 9 + 50 at the top left of the last column were joined together already by Jean Carmignac. The correctness of the material reconstruction of the whole column is attested both by overlapping 4QHodayot evidence and the contents: all lines of this column are concerned, in the form of a hymn, with the myth of the "fallen angels" and the sin introduced by them into the world, the first time we meet this well-known subject treated outside descriptions such as in Enoch's "Book of the Watchers."

Figure 7 shows the opening two columns of the final sheet of 1QHodayot,²⁷ reconstructed from rather tiny fragments on the base of their shapes corresponding to part of the shapes of fragments in the previous columns and continuing also their gaps. The very tiny fragment 63 was placed here for the first time by Émile Puech and his result is now well attested by corresponding 4QHodayot evidence.²⁸

The 1QHodayot evidence of the second column is extremely poor. This problematic evidence was my main motive for consulting with. To the final sheet, the original column XXVI, John Strugnell before publishing the results of my disserta-

22. 4Q428 (4QHodayot^b) and 4Q432 (4QpapHodayot).

23. E.g., 1Q22, 1Q27, 1QS, 1QM, 4Q2, or 4Q174.

24. Figure 5.

25. Sukenik, *Scrolls*, pl. 45 and 46.

26. See below, p. 283.

27. See below, p. 284.

28. See Puech, "Quelques aspects," 51, and Schuller in DJD XXIX, 154-156.

tion.²⁹ But the correctness of this reconstruction is now best attested by fragment 7 of 4QHodayot^a, whose evidence has meanwhile been published by Eileen Schuller.³⁰ Her edition shows this large fragment with its remainders of two columns:³¹ the text of its first column corresponds to that of the upper part of my column XXVI, while the text of the second column corresponds to that in the bottom part of the 1QHodayot column. After the corresponding text of 4QHodayot^a fragment 7, together with some fragmentary evidence from 4QHodayot^a, is added to the scant evidence of 1QHodayot column XXVI, almost 90 percent of its text can be reconstructed.

Sukenik's fragment 7 was clearly written by scribe B.³² But on its reverse side there is some impressive mirror writing by scribe A. Only the lower part of this verso was published by Émile Puech in 1988,³³ showing some faint or even illegible text on the surface of fragment 12, while the other traces are impressions from one or two other fragments of the eight opening columns of the scroll. These impressions result from the fact that the "crumpled mass"³⁴ with all the remainders of the former columns I-VIII and XXI-XXVIII together was hidden for some time in some moist place, perhaps in the garden of Mr. Kando.³⁵

We now come to what was formerly taken as the beginning of the scroll. Figure 8 shows my drawing of the former second sheet of the scroll with some fragments written by scribe A added.³⁶ The holes and gaps in this part of the scroll continue to the right hand side exactly those of the sheet containing Sukenik's columns 1-4, the distances between corresponding shapes of damage becoming smaller and smaller from left to right. In fragments 12 and 10 one can see where the knife stopped, causing the hole in the upper parts of the columns. This knife incision penetrated the scroll, going through another several layers after passing its midst. In Qumran times there were usually no wooden poles in the midst of the scrolls as, for example, in modern Torah scrolls, but simply open holes. In the Sukenik edition the columns of this sheet were identified as columns 13-16. The figure shows, however, how many fragments are now added mainly to their tops. This is one of the reasons to renumber not only the columns, but also all the lines in my future edition of the Hodayot, now definitely according to the actual lines of the original scroll.³⁷

The final column of the first sheet of the original scroll is Sukenik's column 17, now column IV. The shape of fragment 11 corresponds to its bottom right part and comes from the preceding column. Fragment 16 is closest to some evidence in the

29. See above, p. 273.

30. See DJD XXIX, 96-108.

31. Ibid., pl. V.

32. Sukenik, *Scrolls*, pl. 55.

33. See Puech, "Quelques aspects," 47, and fig. 1. □

34. See above, p., with note 8.

35. The original column XXVII of 1QHodayot^a is hitherto represented only by the combined fragments 61 and 62, the final column XXVIII only by frg. 48, all these fragments coming from the top parts of their columns.

36. See below, p. 284.

37. Cf. the new numberings in the Appendix.

middle part of the remainders of column 17 and should come either from the first or second column in the scroll. The shapes of the fragments of the former opening handle sheet are rather close to the shape of what is now column IV. The result is that every one of the originally twenty-eight columns of this scroll is now represented by at least one surviving fragment, except its opening column I.³⁸

Let me conclude with a good experience on the way to this scroll's reconstruction. In the year 1955 J. T. Milik published in the first volume of "Discoveries in the Judean Desert" two further Hodayot-fragments with the number 1Q35.³⁹ One day in 1962, when I had developed my Hodayot reconstruction to some extent, I sat down in Heidelberg and tried to combine these fragments with the evidence from the Sukenik edition, but I found no way to include them into my reconstruction. Their shapes were too different from those of the other material and no gap remained where they could fit. While I still puzzled over this evidence, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, at that time the main assistant of Professor Karl Georg Kuhn, by now a Qumran scholar of forty years' experience, looked on my desk at the institute and I told him my problems with the Milik-fragments. He said: "No, those fragments *must* belong to the Hodayot. At least their terminology and style are the very same, and also their scribal hand resembles that of Hodayot's scribe A." After he had left the room, I began to check with the concordance every word of the Milik-fragments. Indeed, all of them were present within Sukenik's Hodayot, in the very same sequence in the bottom part of Sukenik's column 7 and in the top of his column 8, representing three successive hymns attested in the same sequential order in both manuscripts.⁴⁰ This was the birth of the further distinction between Sukenik's scroll as 1QHodayot^a and Milik's fragments as 1QHodayot^b. Their scribal hands are indeed rather similar, with only small differences in some of the letters. Palaeographically, the main difference is that both manuscripts have the name of God "El" written in palaeo-Hebrew letters, but while the "lamed" on Milik's fragment 1 has a curved left edge,⁴¹ the "lameds" in all three cases where this kind of writing appears in 1QHodayot^a have a sharp left edge.⁴² Last, but not least, and independent of me — and of one other — John Strugnell and Émile Puech have also discovered that the Milik fragments are the remains of a second Hodayot scroll from Qumran's Cave I, and they also identified the corresponding texts.⁴³ My own approach to their separation was the observation of their strange shapes when compared to Sukenik's evidence.

38. There are several candidates within the still dislocated fragments of scribe A (see Appendix) for a position in the original column I of 1QHodayot^a.

39. See DJD I, 136-138, and pl. XXXI.

40. The text of 1Q35 frg. 1 corresponds to 1QHodayot^a XV 30-XVI 1 (Sukenik, *Scrolls*, 7, 27-36, plus three additional lines), the text of frg. 2 to 1QHodayot^a XVI 13-14 (Sukenik, *Scrolls*, 8, 12-13).

41. See DJD I, pl. XXXI.

42. The three examples in 1QHodayot^a are VII 38 (15, 25), IX 28 (1, 26), and X 36 (2, 34); see Sukenik's plates 49, 35, and 36. In 1QHodayot^a XV 34 (7, 31) ל is written in the usual way while the corresponding text, 1Q35 frg. 1, 5 has palaeo-Hebrew letters.

43. See Puech, "Quelques aspects," 39-40. J. Strugnell never published his much earlier identification.

This article has described but one example of how the material reconstruction of scrolls works. There are so many further Qumran scrolls, published and not yet published ones, awaiting the same kind of restoration, and this may be carried out, at least to some extent, in a similar manner.

Appendix

New numbers of Sukenik's columns 1-19

Sukenik	Stegemann		
col. 1, 1-39	= col. IX, 3-41	col. 11, 1-38	= col. XIX, 4-41
col. 2, 1-39	= col. X, 3-41	col. 12, 1-36	= col. XX, 4-39
col. 3, 1-39	= col. XI, 2-40	col. 13, 1-21	= col. V, 18-38
col. 4, 1-40	= col. XII, 2-41	col. 14, 1-28	= col. VI, 12-39
col. 5, 1-39	= col. XIII, 3-41	col. 15, 1-26	= col. VII, 14-39
col. 6, 1-36	= col. XIV, 4-39	col. 16, 1-20	= col. VIII, 19-38
col. 7, 1-36	= col. XV, 4-39	col. 17, 1-28	= col. IV, 13-40
col. 8, 1-40	= col. XVI, 2-41	col. 18, 1-16	= col. XXIII, 2-17
col. 9, 1-36	= col. XVII, 1-36	col. 18, 16-33	= col. XXI, 2-29 left
col. 9, 37-40	= col. XVII, 38-41	col. 19, 1-7	= col. XXIV, 9-15 right
col. 10, 1-39	= col. XVIII, 3-41	col. 19, 8-10	= col. XXII, 13-15 right

Positions of Sukenik's fragments 1-9 + 41 + 45-66 (scribe B) and 10-40 + 42-44 (scribe A), column numbers according to Stegemann

frg. 1, I	= col. XXII, 3-17 left	frg. 34	= col. VII, 16-19 left
frg. 2, I	= col. XXIII, 21-38	frg. 35	= still dislocated
frg. 2, II	= col. XXIV, 27-39 right	frg. 36	= still dislocated
frg. 3	= col. XXI, 21-38 right	frg. 37	= still dislocated
frg. 4	= col. XXII, 20-39 left	frg. 38	= still dislocated
frg. 5	= col. XXV, 3-17 right	frg. 39	= still dislocated
frg. 6	= col. XXIV, 24-37 left	frg. 40	= still dislocated
frg. 7, I	= col. XXV, 29-37 left	frg. 41	= still dislocated
frg. 7, II	= col. XXVI, 26-38 right	frg. 42	= col. VII, 12-15 left
frg. 8	= col. XXV, 25-36 right	frg. 43	= col. XII, 18 middle
frg. 9	= col. XXIV, 4-17 left	frg. 44	= col. VI, 20-24 right
frg. 10	= col. VII, 12-21 middle	frg. 45	= col. XXIV, 21-28 middle
frg. 11	= col. III, 23-33 middle	frg. 46, I	= col. XXV, 8-14 left
frg. 12	= col. VIII, 12-20 right	frg. 46, II	= col. XXVI, 10-14 right
frg. 13	= col. VIII, 8-16 left	frg. 47	= col. XXII, 24-28 right
frg. 14	= col. IV, 13-22 left	frg. 48	= col. XXVIII, 11-15 middle
frg. 15, Ia	= col. V, 12-17 right	frg. 49	= still dislocated
frg. 15, Ib	= col. V, 12-20 left	frg. 50	= col. XXIV, 5-10 left
frg. 15, II	= col. VI, 17-21 right	frg. 51	= col. XXV, 11-16 left
frg. 16	= col. II, 24-32 left	frg. 52	= col. XXII, 17-19 left
frg. 17	= col. V, 15-21 middle	frg. 53	= still dislocated
frg. 18	= col. VI, 12-18 right	frg. 54	= col. XX, 4-7 right
frg. 19	= col. VI, 39-41 right	frg. 55, I	= col. XXV, 15 left
frg. 20	= col. V, 23-27 left	frg. 55, II	= col. XXVI, 15-17 right
frg. 21	= col. III, 15-19 middle	frg. 56, I	= col. XXV, 7 left
frg. 22	= col. VI, 16-22 right	frg. 56, II	= col. XXVI, 6-10 right
frg. 23	= col. II, 12-16 left	frg. 57, I	= col. XXIII, 6 left
frg. 24	= col. IX, 2-5 left	frg. 57, II	= col. XXIV, 6-9 right
frg. 25	= col. XI, 40-41 middle	frg. 58	= still dislocated
frg. 26	= col. XIV, 40-41 right	frg. 59	= still dislocated
frg. 27	= still dislocated	frg. 60	= col. XX, 40-42 right
frg. 28	= still dislocated	frg. 61	= col. XXVII, 12-14 right
frg. 29	= col. XIII, 31-33 left	frg. 62	= col. XXV, 25-27 left
frg. 30	= col. XVIII, 16-19 left	frg. 63	= still dislocated
frg. 31	= col. V, 13-15 middle	frg. 64	= still dislocated
frg. 32	= col. VII, 40-41 right	frg. 65	= still dislocated
frg. 33	= col. V, 38-40 middle	frg. 66	= still dislocated



Figure 1. Sukenik's "column 18" (plate 52)

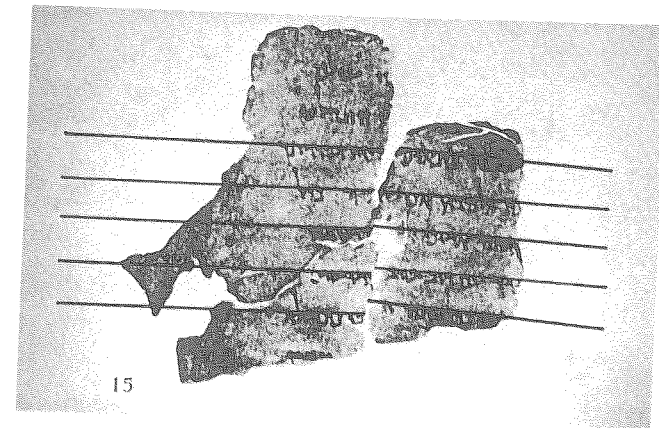


Figure 2. Sukenik's "fragment 15" (plate 56)

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col. 5, 1-39	= col. XIII, 3-41	col. 15, 1-26	= col. VII, 14-39
col. 6, 1-36	= col. XIV, 4-39	col. 16, 1-20	= col. VIII, 19-38
col. 7, 1-36	= col. XV, 4-39	col. 17, 1-28	= col. IV, 13-40
col. 8, 1-40	= col. XVI, 2-41	col. 18, 1-16	= col. XXIII, 2-17
col. 9, 1-36	= col. XVII, 1-36	col. 18, 16-33	= col. XXI, 2-29 left
col. 9, 37-40	= col. XVII, 38-41	col. 19, 1-7	= col. XXIV, 9-15 right
col. 10, 1-39	= col. XVIII, 3-41	col. 19, 8-10	= col. XXII, 13-15 right

Positions of Sukenik's fragments 1-9 + 41 + 45-66 (scribe B) and 10-40 + 42-44 (scribe A), column numbers according to Stegemann

frg. 1, I	= col. XXII, 3-17 left	frg. 34	= col. VII, 16-19 left
frg. 2, I	= col. XXIII, 21-38	frg. 35	= still dislocated
frg. 2, II	= col. XXIV, 27-39 right	frg. 36	= still dislocated
frg. 3	= col. XXI, 21-38 right	frg. 37	= still dislocated
frg. 4	= col. XXII, 20-39 left	frg. 38	= still dislocated
frg. 5	= col. XXV, 3-17 right	frg. 39	= still dislocated
frg. 6	= col. XXIV, 24-37 left	frg. 40	= still dislocated
frg. 7, I	= col. XXV, 29-37 left	frg. 41	= still dislocated
frg. 7, II	= col. XXVI, 26-38 right	frg. 42	= col. VII, 12-15 left
frg. 8	= col. XXV, 25-36 right	frg. 43	= col. XII, 18 middle
frg. 9	= col. XXIV, 4-17 left	frg. 44	= col. VI, 20-24 right
frg. 10	= col. VII, 12-21 middle	frg. 45	= col. XXIV, 21-28 middle
frg. 11	= col. III, 23-33 middle	frg. 46, I	= col. XXV, 8-14 left
frg. 12	= col. VIII, 12-20 right	frg. 46, II	= col. XXVI, 10-14 right
frg. 13	= col. VIII, 8-16 left	frg. 47	= col. XXII, 24-28 right
frg. 14	= col. IV, 13-22 left	frg. 48	= col. XXVIII, 11-15 middle
frg. 15, Ia	= col. V, 12-17 right	frg. 49	= still dislocated
frg. 15, Ib	= col. V, 12-20 left	frg. 50	= col. XXIV, 5-10 left
frg. 15, II	= col. VI, 17-21 right	frg. 51	= col. XXV, 11-16 left
frg. 16	= col. II, 24-32 left	frg. 52	= col. XXII, 17-19 left
frg. 17	= col. V, 15-21 middle	frg. 53	= still dislocated
frg. 18	= col. VI, 12-18 right	frg. 54	= col. XX, 4-7 right
frg. 19	= col. VI, 39-41 right	frg. 55, I	= col. XXV, 15 left
frg. 20	= col. V, 23-27 left	frg. 55, II	= col. XXVI, 15-17 right
frg. 21	= col. III, 15-19 middle	frg. 56, I	= col. XXV, 7 left
frg. 22	= col. VI, 16-22 right	frg. 56, II	= col. XXVI, 6-10 right
frg. 23	= col. II, 12-16 left	frg. 57, I	= col. XXIII, 6 left
frg. 24	= col. IX, 2-5 left	frg. 57, II	= col. XXIV, 6-9 right
frg. 25	= col. XI, 40-41 middle	frg. 58	= still dislocated
frg. 26	= col. XIV, 40-41 right	frg. 59	= still dislocated
frg. 27	= still dislocated	frg. 60	= col. XX, 40-42 right
frg. 28	= still dislocated	frg. 61	= col. XXVII, 12-14 right
frg. 29	= col. XIII, 31-33 left	frg. 62	= col. XXV, 25-27 left
frg. 30	= col. XVIII, 16-19 left	frg. 63	= still dislocated
frg. 31	= col. V, 13-15 middle	frg. 64	= still dislocated
frg. 32	= col. VII, 40-41 right	frg. 65	= still dislocated
frg. 33	= col. V, 38-40 middle	frg. 66	= still dislocated



Figure 1. Sukenik's "column 18" (plate 52)



Figure 2. Sukenik's "fragment 15" (plate 56)

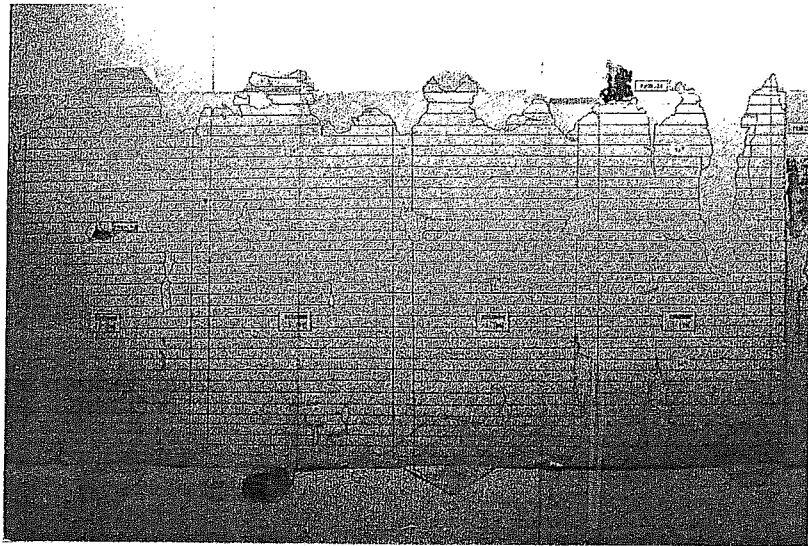


Figure 3. 1Q Hodayot^a columns IX-XII (cols. 1-4, ed. Sukenik)

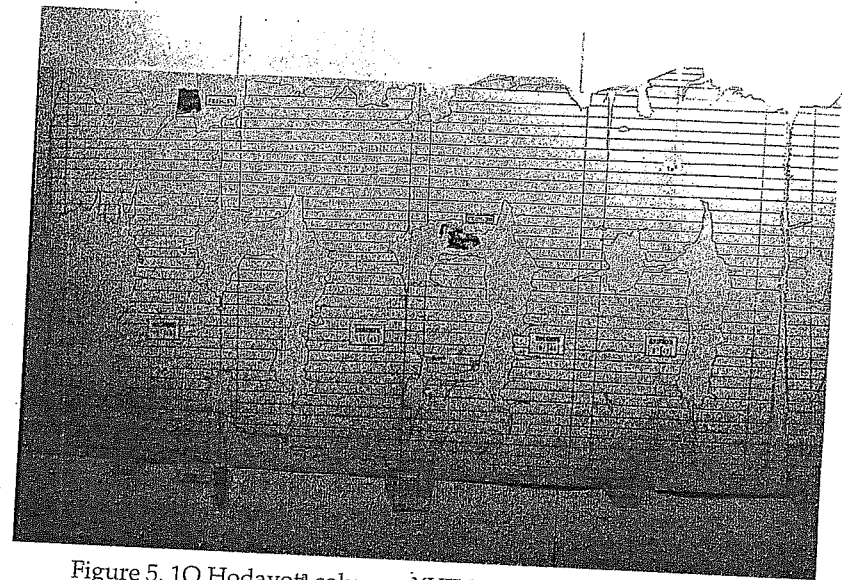


Figure 5. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XVII-XX (cols. 9-12, ed. Sukenik)

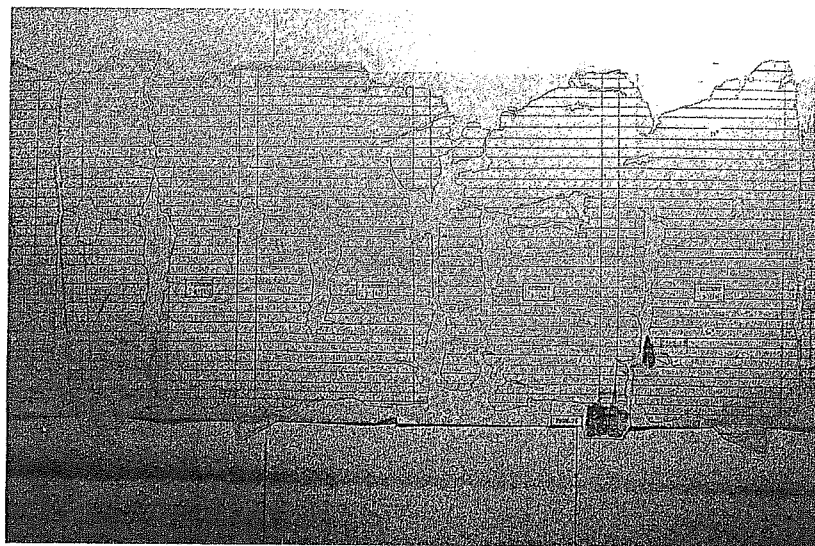


Figure 4. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XIII-XVI (cols. 5-8, ed. Sukenik)

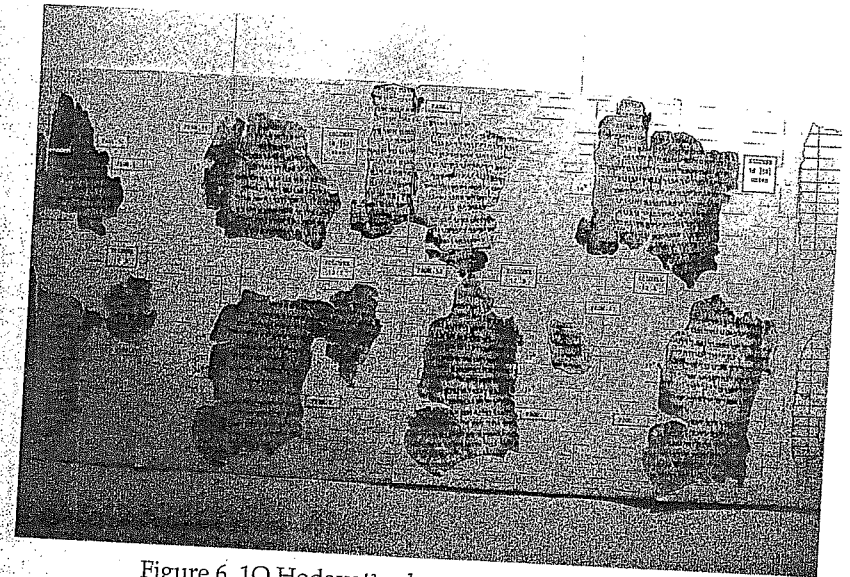


Figure 6. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XXI-XXIV (col. 18 + some fragments from scribe B, ed. Sukenik)

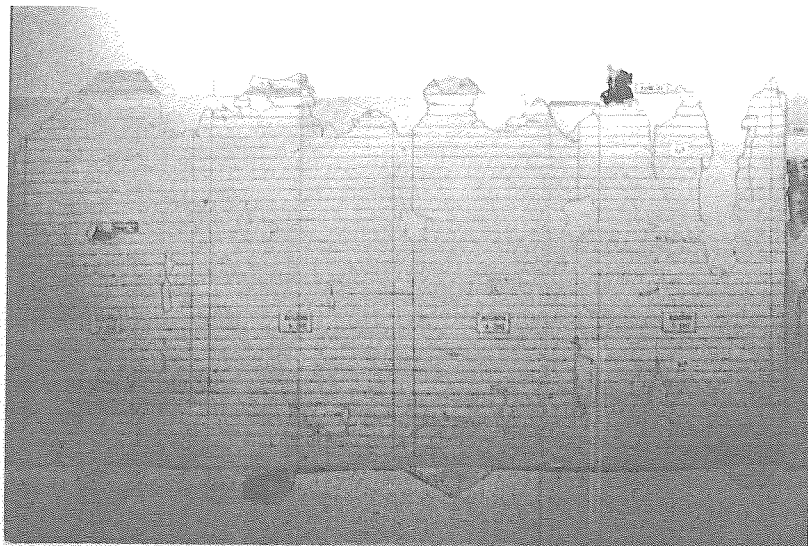


Figure 3. 1Q Hodayot^a columns IX-XII (cols. 1-4, ed. Sukenik)

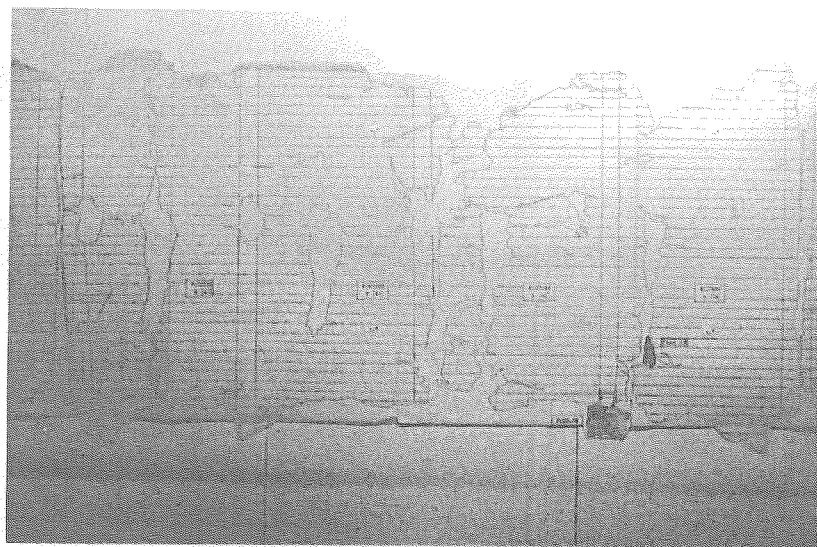


Figure 4. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XIII-XVI (cols. 5-8, ed. Sukenik)

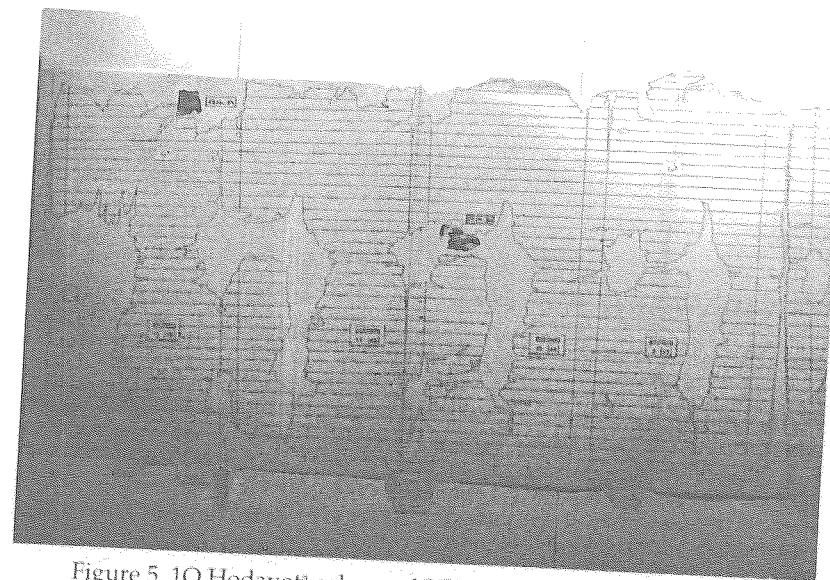


Figure 5. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XVII-XX (cols. 9-12, ed. Sukenik)

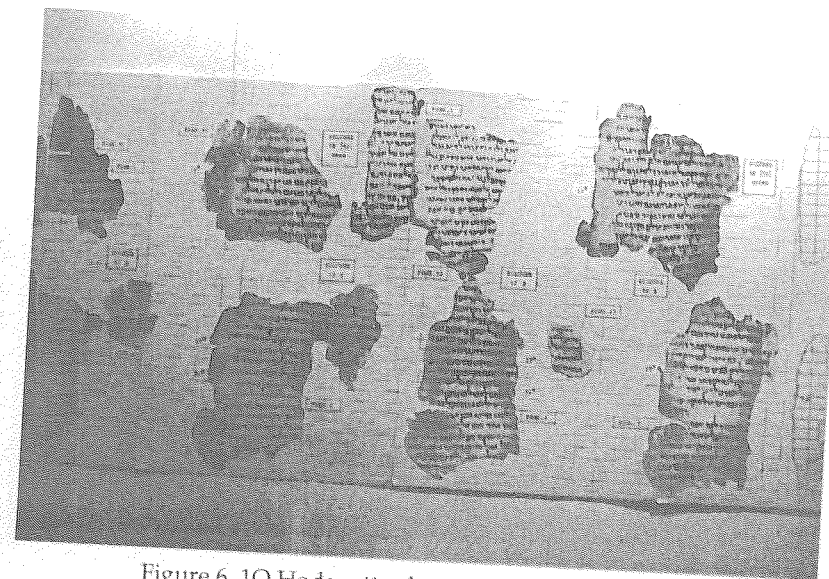


Figure 6. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XXI-XXIV (col. 18 + some fragments from scribe B, ed. Sukenik)

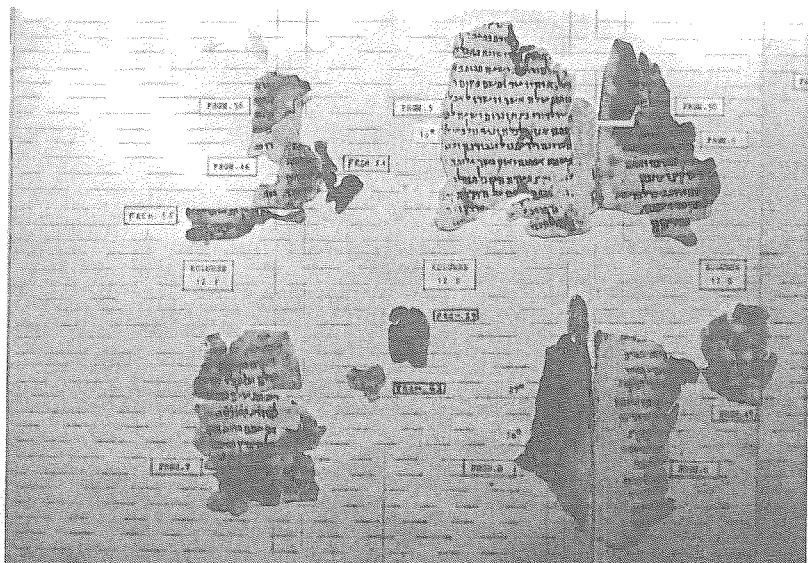


Figure 7. 1Q Hodayot^a columns XXV-XXVI (some frgs. from scribe B, ed. Sukenik)

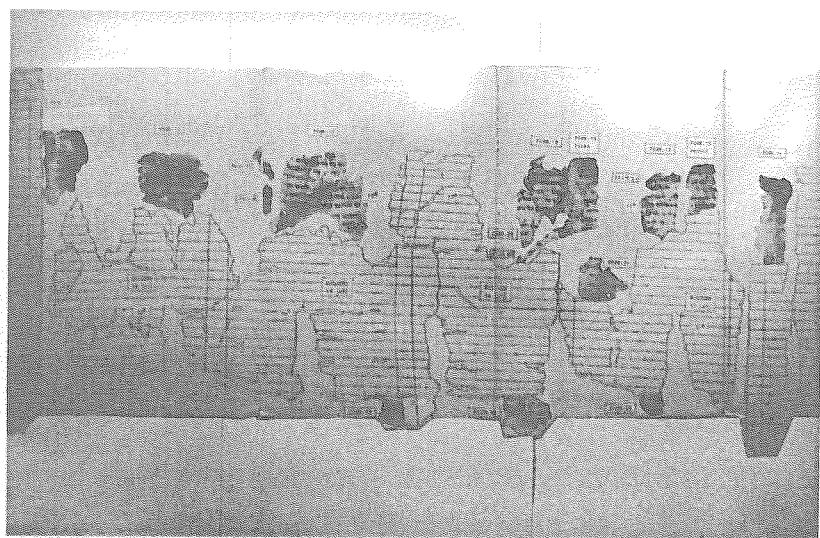


Figure 8. 1Q Hodayot^a columns IV-VIII (cols. 17 + 13-16, ed. Sukenik, together with some fragments of scribe A)

A Newly Identified 11Q Serekh ha-Yahad Fragment (11Q29)?

Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar

The Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) acquired in 1961 the publication rights of 11Q^atargumJob, and in 1962 those of most of the other materials from Cave 11. Although the bulk of this material was published in some way or another by the two scholars appointed by the Academy, J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, and subsequently by F. García Martínez, more than one hundred small and tiny fragments were first published in the final edition of the Cave 11 materials, in DJD XXIII.¹

11Q29: A Tentative Identification

In the spring of 1997, the editors tentatively identified one of the hitherto unidentified fragments as a fragment in a late Hasmonaean to early Herodian hand related to the *Serekh ha-Yahad*.² Lines 2 and 3 of this fragment, which received the number 11Q29 in DJD XXIII, run as follows:

1. The presentation of this paper has been made possible by a fellowship of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences. Thanks are due to Florentino García Martínez who invited me in 1995 to the field of Qumran studies, to the Dead Sea Scrolls Foundation which funded my work on DJD XXIII during the major part of 1995, and to Corrado Martone with whom I shared my first excitement and thoughts about the identification of 11Q29.
2. Cf. DJD XXIII for a physical description and notes on readings. There is no reason to question the origin of the fragment. PAM 44.007 (Rockefeller Museum Inventory 615) does indeed include a 1Q fragment (1Q44 frg. 6), and Museum Inventory 1063 was catalogued as a box containing 11Q fragments, whereas in fact the box contains unpublished 1Q fragments (photographed on IAA 563755). However, all these misplaced 1Q fragments have been photographed in the PAM 40. series, whereas 11Q29 only appears on PAM 44.007.

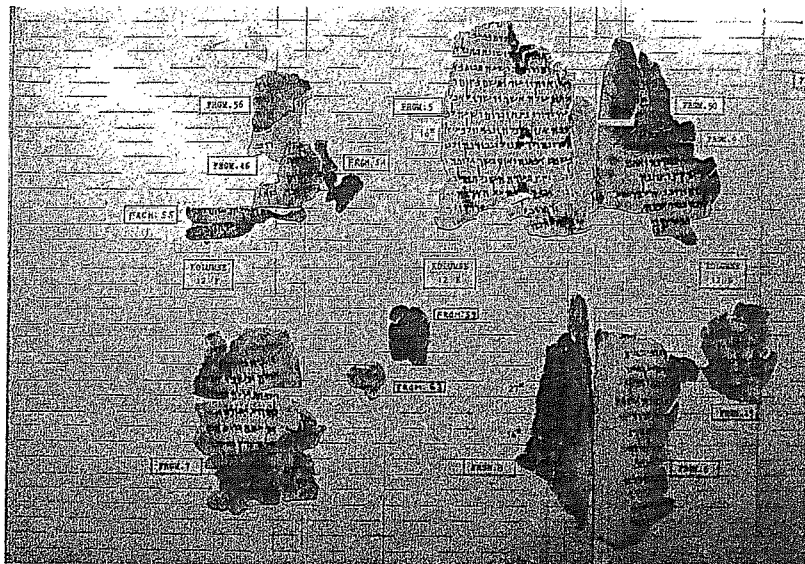


Figure 7. 1Q Hodoyot^a columns XXV-XXVI (some frgs. from scribe B, ed. Sukenik)

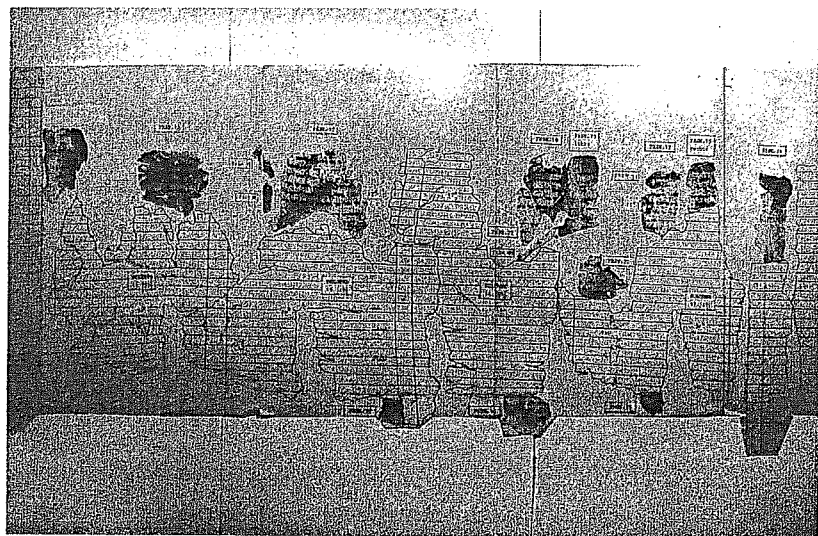


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