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### Reading the human body

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## CHAPTER I

### READING *4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY* (4Q186) AND *4QPHYSIOGNOMY AR* (4Q561): TEXTS, GENRE, AND STRUCTURE

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter will introduce the remains of the two physiognomic catalogues from Qumran. Attention is paid to matters such as material reconstruction, arrangement of columns, cryptic writing, paleography, and date, as well as to the contents of both texts. Although transcriptions and translations are provided, the detailed notes and comments on readings can be found in Appendix I. Some elements have been singled out for discussion in this chapter. Other elements, most notably the astrological framework and the understanding of רוח (“spirit”) in 4Q186, will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

Most scholars have assumed that the Hebrew manuscript 4Q186 is an astrological text structured according to astrological criteria, but the different entries of this catalogue-text consist of a set arrangement of elements in which the astrological data are provided subsequently to the physiognomic descriptions. Is this, therefore, an appropriate characterization of 4Q186? In order to reassess this understanding of the text, this chapter will investigate the structure of the text. How are the physiognomic and astrological elements in the entries related to each other, and what light does their arrangement shed on the nature of the text? Also, is it possible to reconstruct the beginning of the entries in the catalogue?

Another issue that demands consideration is the enigmatic phrase “the second column” (העמוד השני), which scholars have pondered at great length. What does it mean here? Is it the second zodiacal sign; the second quadrant; the second phase of the moon; or the second column of a scroll.

The clearest indication for astrological concerns in 4Q186 is the reference to a person’s horoscope (מולד), but scholars differ in their understanding of the word: birth-time; horoscope of birth; horoscope of conception. How is it to be understood in this context?

Finally, a much overlooked element in the entries is the mention of specific sorts of stones. Although only one occurrence is preserved, it may have been an important aspect of the entries in the original text. How does it relate to other elements in the text such as the descriptions of the human

body and the zodiacal signs? Does it shed further light on the nature of the list in 4Q186? Is there any significance in the fact that the words “a granite stone” (אבן צינור) are not written in an inverted manner like the rest of the text?

The Aramaic manuscript 4Q561 primarily preserves physiognomic descriptions. It has been argued that the text did not list predictions in relation to these descriptions, but the occurrence of certain words seems to suggest otherwise. Does 4Q561 represent the remains of a physiognomic catalogue that listed predictions?

According to Jean Starcky, the first editor, 4Q561 establishes a relation between body and spirit. On one small fragment Starcky reconstructed the words “his [sp]irit” (רוח־הִוא). He suggested that this is the equivalent of רוח לוֹ in 4Q186 and that it implies the context of a reference to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” Moreover, Starcky assumed 4Q561 to be the Aramaic version of 4Q186. However, if רוח־הִוא is the correct reading, is it materially possible to assume it to be equivalent to רוח לוֹ, and have the same context as 4Q186? If this is not the case, is it possible to understand the nature of the relationship between body and spirit established in 4Q561 in a different way? Also, what is the evidence for seeing both 4Q561 and 4Q186 as representing the same literary composition?

#### 4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY (4Q186)

##### *Name and Genre*

In Dead Sea Scrolls research, 4Q186 has primarily been interpreted from an astrological perspective. An indication for the presence of astrological notions is found in 4Q186 1 ii 8-9: “And this is the horoscope under which he was born: in the foot of *Taurus* [...]. And this is his animal: *Taurus*.” When the text was first mentioned, Allegro characterized it as “une *melothesia* planétaire apparentée d’une certaine manière à l’ouvrage de Ptolémée d’Alexandrie.”<sup>1</sup> The genre designation “horoscope” was quickly applied,<sup>2</sup> and the text came to be officially known as *4QHoroscope*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Allegro, “Le travail d’édition,” 64; cf. also J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (2d ed.; SBT 26; trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1963), 119; Allegro, “Astrological Cryptic Document,” 291: 4Q186 “deals with the influence of the stars on the human body and spirit.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 5/18 (1965): 199-217, at 199-206; M. Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope en langue hébraïque provenant de Qumrân,” in *Religion d’Israël et Proche Orient Ancien: Des Phéniciens aux Esséniens* (M. Delcor; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 298-319 (originally published in *RevQ* 5/20 [1966]: 521-42).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Tov et al. (eds.), *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 51.

The name *4QHoroscope*, however, creates the wrong impression that the text represents a horoscope or a collection of horoscopes, which it does not. Notwithstanding the presence of certain astrological notions, 4Q186 as such cannot be characterized as a horoscope text.<sup>4</sup> It does not contain the actual horoscopes of particular individuals. The text lacks many elements that would qualify it as belonging to the genre of horoscopes as known from Babylonian, Greek or later Jewish examples.<sup>5</sup> Most significantly, 4Q186 does not have any explicit reference to the zodiacal position of the sun, moon or any of the other five planets known in antiquity.

Rather, 4Q186 represents a sort of list or compendium of physiognomic and astrological content.<sup>6</sup> Since the text is primarily of physiognomic content, Alexander suggests renaming it “4QAstrological Physiognomy.”<sup>7</sup> Francis Schmidt aptly refers to 4Q186 as “un texte de physiognomie

<sup>4</sup> Cf. O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus* (ÖAWPH.SB 347; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 21; Bergmeier, *Glaube als Gabe*, 78-79; Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” 364-65; Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 385; Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 287-88, 309.

<sup>5</sup> For Babylonian horoscopes see e.g. A. Sachs, “Babylonian Horoscopes,” *JCS* 6 (1952): 49-75; F. Rochberg, *Babylonian Horoscopes* (TAPS 88/1; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1998); F. Rochberg, *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 98-163. For Greek horoscopes see e.g. O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (MAPS 48; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1959); D. Baccani, *Oroscofi Greci: Documentazione papirologica* (RC 1; Messina: Sicania, 1992); A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 4133-4300a)* (2 vols; MAPS 233; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1999), 1:247-95, 2:372-447.

Comparison with texts from the Cairo Genizah similar to *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is illuminating. These astrological-physiognomic texts differ in genre from the actual horoscopes found at the Cairo Genizah. For astrological-physiognomic texts from the Cairo Genizah, see Gruenwald, “Jewish Physiognomic.” For Cairo Genizah horoscopes, see B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, “Horoscopes from the Cairo Geniza,” *JNES* 36 (1977): 113-44; B.R. Goldstein and D. Pingree, “More Horoscopes from the Cairo Geniza,” *PAPS* 125 (1981): 155-89. Cf. also S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (vol. 5; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 420 n. 28; H. Ben-Shammai, “Saadia’s Introduction to Daniel: Prophetic Calculation of the End of Days vs. Astrological and Magical Speculation,” *Aleph* 4 (2004): 11-87, at 36-37.

<sup>6</sup> The list-like character of the entire composition, like that of 4Q561 (*4QPhysiognomy ar*), is comparable to another text from Qumran: 4Q560 (*4QExorcism ar*), which is an example of a part of a magical “book of recipes.” Cf. D.L. Penny and M.O. Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran,” *JBL* 113 (1994): 627-50, at 630, 650; P.S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318-37, at 329-30; P.S. Alexander, “Contextualizing the Demonology of the Testament of Solomon,” in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (eds. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger and K.F.D. Röhmed; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 613-35, at 614.

<sup>7</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 385.

zodiacale.”<sup>8</sup> Schmidt’s more limited characterization fits the content better, because the only certain astrological element in the extant text is the reference to a sign of the zodiac in 4Q186 1 ii 9. Therefore, I suggest the name *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* for 4Q186.

#### *Material Reconstruction*

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy* consists of ten fragments.<sup>9</sup> Allegro joined these to make two larger fragments and a third small fragment which he suggested might belong above 4Q186 1 iii.<sup>10</sup> He described the leather of the manuscript as “a soft reddish-brown skin,”<sup>11</sup> but did not discuss the paleography or the date of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

On inspecting the museum plate that shows *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* (IAA #109), it is evident that the fragment is now more damaged than in the photograph in *DJD* 5 (Plate XXXI).<sup>12</sup> Gaps have appeared in places where before there were none, and gaps that were there already on the *DJD* 5 photograph have become larger.

The leather is a rather dark brown. Of the fragments, only 4Q186 4 has something like a whitish layer of “dust-like” substance on its surface.<sup>13</sup> Allegro did not comment on this in his short description of the leather of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, perhaps because this is not very unusual. Other manuscripts have a “dust-like” white substance also. It is possibly a clue that 4Q186 4 does not belong together with 4Q186 1 or 2 on the same sheet or on the same part of the sheet, because no such whitish layer is found on the leather of those fragments.

The placement of the fragments on the museum plate confirms my arguments against Allegro’s material reconstruction of the second fragment,<sup>14</sup> except perhaps for the join between 4Q186 4 and 4Q186 5.<sup>15</sup>

The two parts of 4Q186 2 cut in half by Allegro have been put together again, clearly after the photograph for *DJD* 5 was taken.<sup>16</sup> Due to the fact

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne,” cf. also the English translation “Ancient Jewish Astrology: An Attempt to Interpret 4QCryptic (4Q186),” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996* (eds. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), 189-205.

<sup>9</sup> See PAM 40.615; 41.314; 41.804; 41.892; 42.616; 43.344; 43.438.

<sup>10</sup> Allegro, *DJD* 5.91 and Plate XXXI.

<sup>11</sup> Allegro, “Astrological Cryptic Document,” 291.

<sup>12</sup> September 22, 2005 at the Dead Sea Scrolls Laboratory of the Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. I wish to thank the curators Tamar Rabbi-Salhov and Lena Liebman for their kind assistance during my visit.

<sup>13</sup> See Figure 1 for the numbering of the fragments.

<sup>14</sup> Popović, “A Note.”

<sup>15</sup> See Plate I. Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

that the two halves have been rejoined, 4Q186 4 1 is no longer in line with 4Q186 2 i 7.<sup>17</sup> 4Q186 4 1 has shifted down slightly, and thus does not continue in 4Q186 2 i 7 nor provide evidence for the numerical sequence reconstructed by Allegro (“eight and o[ne]”). But the placement by the IAA is also highly improbable because it does not take into account the spacing between the lines in either this fragment or 4Q186 2 i 7-9.<sup>18</sup> 4Q186 4 cannot, therefore, be placed directly below 4Q186 2 i as it has been by Allegro and, more recently, by the IAA.

Finally, the current placement on IAA #109 seems to show a clear join between 4Q186 4 and 4Q186 5, something I have previously argued against. However, if the whitish layer is a clue it argues against such a join because 4Q186 5 does not have this. Moreover, it is difficult to assess whether the two fragments really fit. After inspection with the microscope it seems that someone at the IAA has put them together in such a way that part of fragment 5 lies under fragment 4, especially in the upper part, whereas in the lower part the edges of both fragments curl up and stand back to back to each other.

The current material reconstruction has resulted in an extant text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* consisting of two main fragments, 4Q186 1 and 2, and four smaller, separate fragments.

#### *Columns and Measurements*

Notwithstanding the inverted writing and the reversed order for reading the lines, Allegro presents the columns as if they should read from right to left, as has every scholar since then. However, there is no clear indication as to the order in which the columns have to be read, from right to left or vice versa.

4Q186 1 contains the remains of four columns. Of these four columns three have a bottom margin measuring 1.5 cm, but the top margin of all four columns is lacking. This makes it difficult to establish the direction in

<sup>16</sup> It seems unlikely that Allegro is responsible for this because it contradicts his reconstruction. The current curators at the IAA have informed me that the scrolls laboratory recently placed the fragments thus on IAA #109, but the reason why is not clear.

<sup>17</sup> Below יושבות in 4Q186 2 i 6 the leather of the manuscript extends slightly further, revealing the blank between the lines. There is clearly not enough space to place 4Q186 4 and 4Q186 5 between this piece of leather and the leather of 4Q186 2 i 7-9, nor join the latter to 4Q186 2 i 7-9, as I have argued previously. It is obvious that precisely because of this the IAA curators must have placed 4Q186 4 *below* the leather extension and not next to it to the right as Allegro did in *DJD* 5.

<sup>18</sup> The placement of 4Q186 4 below 4Q186 2 i 6 in the way it is now on IAA #109 results in too much space between l.6 and l.1 of 4Q186 4 (הַעֲמִידֵי הַשָּׁנִי שֶׁן). Moreover, 4Q186 4 1 has been joined to 4Q186 2 i 8. This leaves 4Q186 2 i 7 isolated. The discontinuation of the lines is also clear in the case of 4Q186 4 2 (מִלִּדְהִי) and 4Q186 2 i 9, where the traces of the upper parts of two letters stand significantly lower than 4Q186 4 2.

which a bottom line continued in the next column: whether the sentence resumed at the top of the column to its left or to its right.

4Q186 2 preserves the top margin of one column (measuring 2.0 cm), and also contains the meager remnants of a second column at the lower left part of the fragment. Furthermore, 4Q186 2 preserves the edge of a sheet. Not only is part of the margin on the right preserved, the stitches by means of which another sheet was attached are unmistakably visible also. Unfortunately, this does not enable the order in which the columns were organized to be reconstructed.

The blank space in l.6 of the first column at the right of 4Q186 1 is not indicative for establishing the reading order of the columns. The next line (l.7) is certainly the beginning of a new entry for a typological description (וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה קֶן, “And someone [whose] ... will be”). It is possible that this entry represents the beginning of the actual composition, which means that the columns should be read from right to left. One should also allow for the possibility that different types of texts were copied on the same sheet of leather.<sup>19</sup> The scant remains of letters in the two lines above the blank in 4Q186 1 i 6, however, do not provide any clues as to the content of these lines. Consequently, it cannot be determined whether these lines represent the end of another type of text on the same sheet. It is equally plausible that the blank in l.6 functions as a marker of an inner division in this zodiacal physiognomic text, setting off the new entry of a typological description from a preceding one.

Schmidt is the only scholar who has commented on the order of the columns, but his argument is not convincing. Based on his reconstruction of the astrological framework, he assumes the text moves from the person with the most parts in the “house of light” to the one with the most parts in the “house of darkness.” This would mean that the columns have to be read from right to left and that 4Q186 2 precedes 4Q186 1.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> 4Q318 (*4QZodiacology and Brontology ar*) contains, in the words of the editors, two types of texts: a selenodromion and a brontologion. Both texts occupy the same line in the manuscript, but they are visibly separated by means of a blank in 4Q318 viii 6. The beginning of that line includes the last word of the selenodromion and after the blank the brontologion begins. It is evident that they represent two different types of text, see J.C. Greenfield et al., “4QZodiacology and Brontology ar,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (eds. P. Alexander et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 259-74. For the possible relationship between both text types, see M.O. Wise, “Thunder in Gemini: An Aramaic Brontologion (4Q318) from Qumran,” in *Thunder in Gemini And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (M.O. Wise; JSPSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 13-50, at 35-39; M. Albani, “Der Zodiakos in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie,” *MBFJFL* 7 (1993): 3-42, at 13-19.

Regarding the possible occurrence of different, possibly related, compositions written in the same scroll, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 39.

<sup>20</sup> Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne,” 137 n. 23.

Schmidt's conjecture would mean that the manuscript would have had an extraordinary column height in relation to its width.<sup>21</sup> This is because of the number of accounts that have to be assumed to stand between those preserved in 4Q186 1 ii and 4Q186 1 iii in conjunction with an estimated minimum amount of lines of which an account consists.

If one were to follow Schmidt's hypothesis, four other accounts (5:4, 4:5, 3:6, and 2:7) would stand in between that of the person described at the end of 4Q186 1 ii as having six parts in the "house of light" and three parts in the "house of darkness" and that of the individual portrayed at the end of 4Q186 1 iii as having one part in the "house of light" and eight parts in the "house of darkness."<sup>22</sup>

As no complete account has been preserved, it is impossible to establish a set number of lines for an entire account. But it seems reasonable to assume that an average account had no less than seven or eight lines. I suggest three examples to be indicative, if not for the complete text, at least for the remaining fragments. Assuming 4Q186 1 ii 9 to be the end of the account, it at least began in 4Q186 1 ii 4, but probably before that. 4Q186 2 i 1 is most probably not the beginning of an account that continues at least until 4Q186 2 i 7. Finally, the account in 4Q186 1 iii at least includes 1.5 and probably continued in another column following the end of 1.9.

A minimum number of 7-8 lines per account results in 28-32 lines for the four accounts in between the one at the end of 4Q186 1 ii and 4Q186 1 iii, if one were to accept Schmidt's argument. Taken together with the six lines of the final account in 4Q186 1 iii, this means a minimum column height of 34-38 lines for *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* would have to be assumed.

An average leather height can be suggested on the basis of the vertical space covered by a certain number of lines in combination with the measurements of the top and bottom margins of the manuscript. The height of 5 lines in 4Q186 1 ii and 4Q186 2 i measures ca. 3.5 cm (including the space between the lines at ca. 0.5 cm). Taken together with a hypothetical minimum column height of 34-38 lines, this means that a column measured ca. 24-27 cm in height. Adding to this a top margin of 2.0 cm and a bottom margin of 1.5 cm,<sup>23</sup> the resulting leather height would have been ca. 27.5-30.5 cm. This would place *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* in Emanuel Tov's categories of leather scrolls with a large or very large writing block.<sup>24</sup> This seems too large in relation to the width of ca. 8-9 cm of the columns in

<sup>21</sup> See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82-104.

<sup>22</sup> 4Q186 1 iii 8-9 actually mentions first the "house of darkness" and secondly the "house of light." It is unclear whether this reversal is significant, and, if so, in what way.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 101.

<sup>24</sup> See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 87-89.



*4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. Because of these considerations it seems unlikely that four other accounts stood between those in 4Q186 1 ii and 4Q186 1 iii, as Schmidt proposed.

Due to the material condition of the fragments of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, it is not possible to determine the sequence in which the columns have to be read with any degree of certainty. One argument for reading the columns from left to right is that this would be in accordance with the overall inverted nature of the text, as is evident from the way the lines and words are written. But to present the columns of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* in an inverted manner would confuse my presentation unnecessarily with previous scholarship, and, more importantly, such an inverted sequence does not significantly enhance our understanding of the text. For these reasons, I have retained Allegro's ordering of the columns.

A restoration of the entire amount of text cannot be determined on material grounds alone. On the basis of content, however, an educated guess as to the original length of the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* can be proposed.

Assuming that the physiognomic entries in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* are intrinsically related to the number of subdivisions of each zodiacal sign, the result is a huge catalogue. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* would have been an elaborate catalogue that listed physiognomic typologies leading the reader to the various subdivisions between light and darkness of each of the twelve signs of the zodiac. These divisions were determined by the ascendancy of particular sections of the signs, understood as a part of each sign's body. Depending on which section of the zodiacal sign was identified rising (in the case of 4Q186 1 ii 9 "the foot of *Taurus*") a division was established of parts already above the earth, in the "house of light," and parts still below the earth, "the house of darkness." Assuming, for the sake of argument, that each zodiacal sign was divided into nine parts (corresponding to the nine-point scale of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*), this results in a total of 96 physiognomic entries.<sup>25</sup>

If one assumes three entries to a column, such a column would consist of 21-24 lines. The column height would be between 15-17 cm and the leather height ca. 18.5-20.5 cm.<sup>26</sup> This would mean that 32 columns would be needed for 96 physiognomic accounts. Bearing in mind a column width

<sup>25</sup> Albani, "Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls," 312, suggests that the entire text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* could have contained 108 physiognomic types (9×12). But if one assumes that one part of a zodiacal sign must at least be visible above the eastern horizon for it to radiate its influence one would rather expect the number of 96 kinds of physiognomic types (8×12). It makes no sense to draw a horoscope based on a sign, or part of it, if none of its nine parts has yet ascended. See Chapter Three for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>26</sup> According to Tov's classification a scroll with a medium-sized writing block, cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 86-88.

of ca. 8-9 cm together with a margin of ca. 0.5-1 cm, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy could have been a scroll of ca. 2.7-3.2 meters.

If one limits the number of accounts per column to two, the height measurements are lowered and the scroll lengthened. For two accounts the number of lines per column would be between 14 and 16, the column height ca. 10-11 cm, and the leather height ca. 13.5-14.5 cm.<sup>27</sup> The number of columns needed for 96 accounts would then be 48! Allowing for a column width of ca. 8-9 cm together with a margin of ca. 0.5-1 cm, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy would then have been a scroll of ca. 4.1-4.8 meters. This seems very long. Maybe an average of between two and three entries is better. Another possibility is that not all accounts were individually listed, but this would diminish the usefulness of the text. Be that as it may, these measurements give a good impression of the material consequences of the ascendant interpretation.

#### *Writing, Paleography, and Date*

The copying of the manuscript has been executed in a fine hand. The writing gives the impression that trouble was taken with it, not strange considering the reversed direction of writing.

The way that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is written is unique among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The lines as well as the words have to be read in reverse order from left to right. Another scribal peculiarity is that the scribe wrote the medial instead of the final form of the letters *kap*, *mem*, and *nun* at the end of a word.<sup>28</sup> The reason for this is not entirely clear. One might suppose that although the text is basically read from left to right, the scribe actually wrote in the usual way from right to left. But this seems unlikely since, first of all, the flush left is straight which suggests that the scribe started writing there. Secondly, there are no ligatures in the manuscript where this may have been expected had the direction of writing been right to left.<sup>29</sup> Finally, had the direction of writing been right to left, the scribe could still have written final forms at the beginning of words read from left to right, which is not the case.<sup>30</sup>

Only two words have to be read in the regular order from right to left. In 4Q186 1 ii 2 the scribe wrote the words אבן צינח ("a granite stone") from

<sup>27</sup> According to Tov's classification a scroll with a small or medium-sized writing block, cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 84-88.

<sup>28</sup> 4Q186 1 i 9; מעורבים; 1 ii 6; מן; 1 ii 8; החושב; 1 iv 7; תוכ; 2 i 1; בית; 2 i 3; ארוכ.

<sup>29</sup> 4Q186 1 i 9; מעורבים; 1 ii 5; ארוכות; 1 iii 7; עבות; 1 iii 9; שמונה; 1 iv 7; תוכ; 2 i 1; בין; 2 i 3; ארוך and סרכמה.

<sup>30</sup> 4Q186 1 i 9; מעורבים; 1 ii 6; מן; 1 iii 6; מראות; 1 iii 9; מבית; 2 i 2; ממשנש; 2 i 4; ממולד; 4 2; מולד.

right to left.<sup>31</sup> Also, in this case the copyist did make use of the final forms of the characters.<sup>32</sup>

In addition to the inverted writing, the manuscript exhibits another distinct scribal feature, namely the use of mixed scripts.<sup>33</sup> Characters from other scripts were used alongside the usual square script: paleo-Hebrew, Greek, and cryptic letters. The paleo-Hebrew letters in the extant text are *gimel*, *he*, *waw*, *het*, *yod*, *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, *samek*, *šade*, *reš*, *šin*, and *taw*.<sup>34</sup> The use of paleo-Hebrew *taw* is salient. It occurs frequently and only in final position. Out of the 34 words ending in *taw*, 11 are written entirely in square characters;<sup>35</sup> 18 are written in square characters except for the final *taw*, which is in paleo-Hebrew;<sup>36</sup> and 4 are written entirely in non-square characters.<sup>37</sup> Two Greek letters were used, i.e. *alpha* and *beta*.<sup>38</sup> Only one Cryptic A letter seems to appear in the remaining fragments, namely *yod*,<sup>39</sup> but it is also possible that it represents a simplified paleo-Hebrew *yod*. Finally, there is one letter that cannot be identified. In 4Q186 1 iii 4 a letter occurs, the third one from left, which many scholars have read as a Greek *beta*, but this is extremely unlikely. Its exact identification remains unknown.<sup>40</sup> Although difficult to detect a “cryptographic” system, it is interesting to note that when non-square characters are used the entire word is written in non-square characters.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>31</sup> יַיִ in 4Q186 3 3 was perhaps also written from right to left, because of the ligature.

<sup>32</sup> Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 199 n. 1, argues that this occurrence of the regular order of writing and the final form of characters suggests that it was the scribe of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* who initiated the inverted writing and that this was not yet the way that the manuscript he copied was written. But this is far from clear (see below the comments on 4Q186 1 ii 2).

<sup>33</sup> There is only one other manuscript from Qumran that perhaps has mixed scripts in the running text, namely *4QcryptC Unidentified Religious Text* (4Q363a). The text uses the paleo-Hebrew script (note also the dots that function as word dividers) and characters unknown to us that have been called Cryptic C script. Only a photograph has been published of 4Q363a, see M. Bernstein et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), Plate XLIII. However, whether the scribe who wrote them also regarded these unknown characters as cryptic is not clear, nor whether he regarded them to be two distinct scripts.

<sup>34</sup> 4Q186 1 i 8: סגלגלים and רחבים; 1 i 9: רִוּשָׁן; 1 ii 4: נִצְרֹנָה; 1 ii 7: האור; 1 ii 8: החושך; 1 iii 4: מִשְׁנֵה; 1 iii 8: בבית; 2 i 2: ממענט; 2 i 2: וֹאֵה.

<sup>35</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 6: דקות; 1 iii 7: עבות; ומלאה, עבות, and לאחה; 1 iii 8: ואצבעות; 1 iii 9: ואחת; 2 i 2: ונת; 2 i 5: וכפית; 3 1: מבית; 6 2: זות.

<sup>36</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 5: ארוכות; ודקות, ואצבעות; 1 ii 6: וארוכות; 1 iii 6: מיראות; רומות, and ואצבעות; 1 iii 8: וקצרות; 1 iii 9: מבית; 2 i 1: שחורות; 2 i 3: מלמרות and דקות; 2 i 4: ואצבעות; 2 i 4: וישובות; 2 i 6: וישובות.

<sup>37</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 4: נִצְרֹנָה; 1 ii 7: בבית (twice); 1 iii 8: בבית.

<sup>38</sup> 4Q186 1 i 8: רחבים; 1 ii 7: בבית (twice); 1 ii 7: האור; 1 iii 4: וֹאֵה; 1 iii 8: בבית. The one remaining instance of *taw* in final position, 4Q186 1 ii 4: (סִאֲרוֹכִית), cannot be classified.

<sup>39</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 7: בבית (“in the house”). Cf. Pfann, “Introduction,” 528.

<sup>40</sup> See the comments on 4Q186 1 iii 4 in Appendix I.

<sup>41</sup> Exceptions, however, are 4Q186 1 iii 7: בבית; 1 iii 8: החושך; 2 i 2: ממענט; 4 2: מולדו.

The square script of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* can be characterized, according to the typology of Frank Moore Cross, as a Herodian “Round” semiformal hand, showing both earlier and more developed forms.<sup>42</sup> *ʾAlep* has a right arm thickened at the top, which develops into a *serif*,<sup>43</sup> and the left leg is bent to the right. *Bet* still has its tick at the right, upper shoulder in some cases,<sup>44</sup> but is losing it in others.<sup>45</sup> *Gimel* has a right down stroke that is gently curved and bent to the right at the top, without *serif*, and to the left at the bottom. The left leg is connected low on the right down stroke. *Dalet* has an “s”-shaped right leg characteristic of the semiformal style.<sup>46</sup> *He* has a crossbar or roof that is thick and heavily shaded. Also, at the top of the right down stroke above the roof a small projection to the right appears. *Waw* and *yod* are not always easily distinguished. Sometimes *yod* is longer than *waw*. *Zayin* has both forms that appear in the early Herodian style: a simple stroke thickened or slightly bent to the right at the top,<sup>47</sup> and a doubly curved down stroke.<sup>48</sup> *Het* has a right leg curved inward, and a crossbar set rather low in some cases. *Ṭet* is broad and squat, tending more to the developed Herodian formal script. *Kap* has a down stroke that curves outward to the right, and the base is sometimes rather broad.<sup>49</sup> *Lamed* has a large, sometimes rounded hook. *Mem* conforms to the late Hasmonean style according to which the left oblique is penned last. *Nun* appears with a down stroke bent to the right and thickened at the top, but without *serif*.<sup>50</sup> *Samek* is fully closed. *ʾAyin* has a right down stroke that is sometime thickened.<sup>51</sup> *Pe* has a sharp head. *Ṣade* appears with a left arm that characteristically curves inward to the right at the top,<sup>52</sup> and the right arm is bent up and thickened at the tip.<sup>53</sup> *Qop* has two forms of the down stroke: straight,<sup>54</sup> and “s”-shaped, resembling that of *dalet*.<sup>55</sup> *Reš* has some variation in the width of the head. *Šin* has a left down stroke that

<sup>42</sup> See F.M. Cross, Jr., “The Development of the Jewish Script,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G.E. Wright; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961), 133-202, at 173-81.

<sup>43</sup> 4Q186 1 iii 6: לאבר.

<sup>44</sup> 4Q186 1 i 9: מעורבים; 1 ii 9: ברגל; 1 iii 6: לאבר; 2 i 6: .

<sup>45</sup> 4Q186 1 iii 7: עבות; 3 2: בכחפני.

<sup>46</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 5: דקת; 1 ii 8: המולד.

<sup>47</sup> 4Q186 2 i 1: זוקני; 6 2: זות.

<sup>48</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 8: זוח.

<sup>49</sup> Perhaps implying a final form? Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 8: החושב; 1 iv 7: חוכ; 2 i 3: ארוכ. The base is broad when the letter is in final position. This shows that the scribe did have the tendency to give some letters different forms when they are in word-final or line-final position.

<sup>50</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 2: צונם; 2 i 2: ענה.

<sup>51</sup> 4Q186 1 i 9: מעורבים; 1 iii 8: עבות; 2 i 3: על.

<sup>52</sup> 4Q186 2 i 4: קצר.

<sup>53</sup> 4Q186 1 iii 8: ואצבעות.

<sup>54</sup> 4Q186 2 i 5: חלקות.

<sup>55</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 6: דקת; 2 i 2: קולו.

continues below the right arm, and the middle arm is gently curved. *Taw* was not drawn in a continuous stroke, and is not yet squat and broad.

On paleographic grounds a date for the manuscript of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* between ca. 30 BCE-20 CE, according to the Cross dating, seems probable.<sup>56</sup>

### *Contents*

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy* lists different accounts that, as far as can be observed from the extant fragments, consist of three set elements at least.

First, the accounts contain the physiognomic descriptions of “ideal types” of individuals. These descriptions of the human body are structured according to the *a capite ad calcem* principle, i.e. they run from head to toe.

Second, they register a division of numbers with regard to the person’s רוח (“spirit”) in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” It is possible that this division is made on a nine-point scale, but this is neither certain nor necessary.<sup>57</sup>

Third, the different sections provide certain zodiacal information with regard to the moment of birth of the aforementioned person: his horoscope (המולד).

In addition, the text lists predictions concerning the described type’s future state or gives an indication of people’s characters. But, due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript, this can only be verified for one type of description (4Q186 1 ii 9: עני יהיה: “he will be poor,” or עני יהיה, “he will be humble”).

Although one should allow for the possibility that the words העמוד השני (“the second column”) in the phrase וְהוּא מִן הָעֲמוּד הַשֵּׁנִי (“and he is from the second column”)<sup>58</sup> are a set element,<sup>59</sup> it is questionable whether the phrase represents a fixed part of the text. Only in 4Q186 1 ii 6 is its position clearly set between the physiognomic description and the part concerning the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” This is certainly not the case in 4Q186 1 iii and 4Q186 2 i where the words וְרוּחַ לוֹ (“and there is a spirit for him”), introducing the part concerning the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” follow immediately upon the physiognomic sections. This means that the phrase העמוד השני (“the second column”), whatever its

<sup>56</sup> Matthias Delcor mentions in passing that Joseph Milik and Jean Starcky suggested to him a date in the second half of the first century BCE for the manuscript. See Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 319 n. 36.

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter Three for a detailed discussion of the ascendant interpretation.

<sup>58</sup> 4Q186 4 1 only has העמוד השני, but it is likely that the same phrase is implied as in 4Q186 1 ii 6. See also 4Q186 6 2: העמוד השני.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne,” 126; Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 284.

exact sense may be, is perhaps optional in the physiognomic accounts in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

Finally, it is possible that the different accounts in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy listed certain stones in relation to a person's physiognomic traits and zodiacal sign. Both Babylonian and Greco-Roman astrology were familiar with various connections between the zodiacal signs and stones. Perhaps the stones mentioned in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy were deemed to have some sort of magical powers. It is clear that a stone (אבן צונם) is listed in 4Q186 1 ii 2, but its exact sense is uncertain due to the fragmentary context.

*Transcription and Translation*

In the following transcription the presentation of the text has already been adapted to the regular manner of reading from right to left. For notes and comments on readings see Appendix I.

4Q186 1 i

	ה־ן ]	4
	הן ]	5
	] vacat	6
	ואיש אשר יהיה קָן	7
	רחבים <ו> סגלגלים ]	8
	מעורבים ולוא שאר רֹשְׁנו	9
4.	...[	
5.	...[	
6.	blank [	
7.	And someone (whose) ... will be[	
8.	broad <and> rounded [	
9.	mixed, but the rest of [his] head is not [	

4Q186 1 ii

	] ג שמא	1
	] אבן צונם	2
	] איש עֹנֵר	3
	] (ו)אר[וֹכּוֹת/וֹיְהוּ...נְצֵר[וֹת	4
	ושוקיו ארוכות ודקות ואצבעות רגליו	5
	דקות וארוכות והואה מן העמוד השני	6
	רוח לו בבית האור שש ושלוש בבית	7
	החושך וזה הואה המולד אשר הואה ילוד עליו	8
	ברגל השור עני יהיה וזה בהמתו שור	9
1.	[ ]... unclean	
2.	[ ] a granite stone	
3.	[ ] a bli[nd (?) man	

4. (and) lo]ng, ...[...].... sec[re]t parts (?)
5. and his thighs are long and slender, and his toes are
6. slender and long. And he is from the second column.
7. There is a spirit for him in the house of light (of) six (parts), and three (parts) in the house of
8. darkness. And this is the horoscope under which he was born:
9. in the foot of *Taurus*. He will be humble, and this is his animal: *Taurus*.

## 4Q186 1 iii

- |  |     |  |   |
|--|-----|--|---|
|  |     |  | וא-ה] 4                                   |
|  | [ ] |  | וראשו] 5                                  |
|  | [ ] |  | מיראות] 6                                 |
|  | [ ] |  | ודיו <ע>בות ושוקיו עבות ומלאות שער לאחת 7 |
|  | [ ] |  | ואצבעות רגליו עבות וקצרות ורוח לו בבית 8  |
|  | [ ] |  | [החושך ש]מונה ואחת מבית האור ו-ש 9        |
4. and... [ ]
  5. and his head [ ]
  6. terrifying [ ] and his teeth are protruding. And the fingers of
  7. his hands are <th>ick, and his thighs are thick and each one is hairy.
  8. His toes are thick and short. And there is a spirit for him in the house of
  9. [darkness (of) ei]ght (parts), and one (part) from the house of light. And...

## 4Q186 1 iv

- |  |     |  |             |
|--|-----|--|-------------|
|  |     |  | ]שמה אלה 6  |
|  | [ ] |  | ]יהיה תוך 7 |
|  | [ ] |  | ]ל 8        |
6. [ ]there. These
  7. [ ](he/it) is inside
  8. [ ]...

## 4Q186 2 i

- |  |     |  |  |
|--|-----|--|--|
|  |     |  | ]על 1  |
|  | [ ] |  | סרכמנה וע]ניו בין שחורות ובין]מנמרות וזקנו 2 |
|  | [ ] |  | ממע]ש]והואה תרגל ובת קולו ענוה ושניו 3       |
|  | [ ] |  | דקות ויושבות על סרכמה והואה לוא ארוך 4       |
|  | [ ] |  | ולוא קצר והואה]ממולדו]אצבעות ידיו דקות 5     |
|  | [ ] |  | וארו]כות ושוקיו חלקות וכפות רגליו 6          |
|  | [ ] |  | [ואצבעות רג]ליו] יושבות על סרכמה ורוח ל]ן 7  |

יד הו[א]ה ] 8  
 [ ] 9

[...]

1. [are] well ordered. [And] his [ey]es are between black and speckled (?).  
And his beard
2. is sp[arse ]and it is wavy (?). And the sound of his voice is kind. And  
his teeth
3. are fine and well ordered. And he is neither tall
4. nor short, and that[ ]because of his horoscope.[ ]His fingers are slender
5. and lo[n]g, and his thighs are smooth. And the soles of his feet
6. [and the toes of his ]f[et] are well ordered. And there is a spirit for  
[him]
7. [ ]... and...[ ]
8. [ ]... h[e]
9. [ ]...[ ]

4Q186 2 ii

י[ ] 4  
 הו[א] ] 5  
 מן ע[ו]ר ] 6  
 ש[לו]נ/גולש ] 7

4. [ ]...
5. [ ]he/it
6. [ ]mixed
7. [ ]fair/flowing

4Q186 3

מביתן האור/החושך וזה (הוא) המולד אשר הוא ילוד עלין ] 1  
 בכתפני ] 2  
 יפין [ ] ] 3

1. from the house[ of light/darkness. And this is the horoscope under  
which he was born:]
2. in the shoulder[s of...]
3. [ ]...[ ] beautiful[

4Q186 4

והוא מן ה[עמוד השני ש] 1  
 [ מולדו ] 2  
 וזה ה[וא] בה <ב> (מ)תן ] 3

1. and he is from the] second column ...[
2. ] his horoscope [
3. and th]at is [his] animal[



## 4Q186 5

[בין]	1
[לן]	2
[ ]	3

## 4Q186 6

[ ]	1
והואה מן העמוד השני זרתן	2
[ ]	3

1. ]...[
2. and he is from the] second [column]. This[
3. ]...[

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT AND THE PRIMACY OF PHYSIOGNOMICS

The contents of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* appear to be ordered according to a specific sequence of elements, which supports the inference that the text as a whole is structured according to physiognomic descriptions.

Many scholars regard *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as an astrological text that deals with the influence of the stars on the human body and spirit. Albani explicitly states that it is “a list or compilation of options for astrological interpretations systematically arranged according to certain astrological criteria,” and as such “an auxiliary astrological resource for creating horoscopic prognostications.”<sup>60</sup> In another recent explanation Schmidt argues that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* provides predictions regarding the physiognomic and spiritual character of categories of individuals on the basis of the date of conception.<sup>61</sup> However, like Albani, he does not explain how the text is structured to facilitate access to this kind of information.

Given the text’s structure and the sequence of its different elements, the understanding of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as a primarily astrological auxiliary text arranged according to certain astrological criteria cannot be maintained.

It is evident that, first, the descriptions of the physical characteristics are given, next, the division of light and darkness with regard to the person’s רוח (“spirit”) is considered, and only then does the text mention the individual’s horoscope (מילד) and zodiacal sign. This is at least the case in 4Q186 1 ii, where ll.5-6 describe the bodily features, ll.7-8 list the numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness”, and ll.8-9, finally, provide astrological information. 4Q186 1 iii and 2 i demonstrate that the

<sup>60</sup> Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 309.

<sup>61</sup> Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne.”

physiognomic descriptions precede the references to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” It is therefore likely that here, too, the astrological element followed subsequently in the original text.

If the astrological interpretation of עמוד (“column”) as a reference to a zodiacal sign is accepted, then 4Q186 1 ii provides astrological information prior to the listed numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” but still after the physiognomic descriptions. The position of עמוד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, however, is variable. In 4Q186 1 iii and 2 i it does not occur between the descriptions of the human body and the statement concerning the person’s רוח (“spirit”).<sup>62</sup> It may have stood more towards the end of those accounts. One should perhaps allow for the possibility that the reference to עמוד can also occur at the beginning of each account, thereby securing the idea that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is ordered according to astrological criteria. However, the phrase ואיש אשר יהיה קן (“And someone (whose) ... will be[.]”) in 4Q186 1 i 7 provides the best indication of the way sections begin in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.<sup>63</sup> Variation is possible, but it is unlikely that הנהגה מן העמוד השני (“[And] he is from the second column”), or any other numbered “column” up to twelve if it is a reference to zodiacal signs, represents the opening of a typological account. Furthermore, it seems superfluous to have astrological data mentioned twice in one account; once at the beginning and again at the end.

The sequence of both elements, first physiognomics and then astrology, has consequences for our understanding of the relationship between physiognomics and astrology in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* and of the sense of this text in general.

The text’s structure suggests that physiognomic learning is of primary importance. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is a text that is structured according to certain physiognomic criteria. The different accounts in the catalogue begin with descriptions of the human body. They describe the appearance and shape of the different parts of the human body from head to toe, following the *a capite ad calcem* principle. These descriptions of the human body lead the reader to further information regarding the division of the person’s רוח (“spirit”) between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” his horoscope, and zodiacal sign.

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is not an example of the divinatory use of astrology to discern the human body and spirit, but rather the other way around. The text is an example of the divinatory use of physiognomics to determine people’s horoscope and the nature of the zodiacal spirit of their horoscope. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* acknowledges, on the one hand, the

<sup>62</sup> See below, the section on “the second column” (העמוד השני).

<sup>63</sup> See below for the reconstruction of the beginning of the physiognomic entries.

influence of the zodiac on bodily form and appearance,<sup>64</sup> but, on the other hand, the text's structure reveals its direction of interest. This observation is crucial for grasping the sense of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The descriptions of the human body point the reader to certain zodiacal information concerning the type of person described. Thus, that the individual in 4Q186 1 ii is born "in the foot of *Taurus*" (ברגל השור) can be learned from the appearance of his body, that being a consequence of the astral influences at the time of his birth. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* assumes that the physical traits of people are known and that on the basis of these one can discern a person's ruling zodiacal sign.<sup>65</sup> In this regard it is a truly physiognomic text, because the reader gains astrological knowledge about people on the basis of physiognomic criteria. It should, therefore, be characterized as a physiognomic-astrological catalogue.

#### RECONSTRUCTING THE BEGINNING OF THE PHYSIOGNOMIC ENTRIES

The extant text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* does not preserve an entire account from beginning to end. This impedes any modern understanding of the text. Fortunately, the first column of 4Q186 1 provides in 1.7 a clue regarding the form according to which the entries began. Together with the following lines that preserve descriptive words for body parts, this suggests that in the original text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* the accounts began with physiognomic descriptions. Apart from the explicit mention of the head in 4Q186 1 i 9, there are no further concrete references to the body. It is, however, probable that the descriptive words in 11.8-9 describe certain aspects of a type's face and head. 4Q186 1 i thus nicely follows the *a capite ad calcem* principle (from head to toe) by beginning the account with a description of certain parts of the face and head.

#### *4Q186 1 i 7: Start of an Entry*

4Q186 1 i 7, below the previous blank line, certainly represents the entry for another typological description. The remaining letter *qop*, before the manuscript breaks off, hardly reveals the nature of the data presented in this opening line. I suggest two possibilities.

First, the account began with a certain part of the body. As the bodily descriptions seem to be structured *a capite ad calcem*, the account in 4Q186 1 i 7 might have begun with the head or crown of the head (ראש אשר יהיה)

<sup>64</sup> Cf. 4Q186 2 i 4: והואתן ממולדו ("and that[]because of his horoscope").

<sup>65</sup> Cf. also L. Ness, *Astrology and Judaism in Late Antiquity* (Diss. Oxford, Ohio, 1990), <http://www.smoe.org/arcana/diss4.html>; Alexander, "Physiognomy," 386; M.O. Wise, "A Horoscope Written in Code (4Q186)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (eds. M.O. Wise, M.G. Abegg, Jr. and E.M. Cook; New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 275-78, at 276.

קַנְדְּקְדוֹ, “And someone whose head...”), with a qualification of the described person as being bald (קַנְרִיחַ), or with a description of the tone of his voice (קַנְוִלִי). But it is also possible that the description began with a general bodily characterization about the individual’s height (קַנְוִמְרוֹ), or a more direct qualification, such as that the person is small (קַנְטֵן), short (קַנְצַר), or has a dark complexion (קַנְדֵּר).

A second possibility is that the account opened not with a physical description, but with a character trait, such as that a jealous (אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יְהִידָה) or angry (קַנְצַר) person was the subject of the typological account. The first treatise of the pseudo-Aristotelian text *Physiognomonica* has a catalogue that lists twenty-two physiognomic accounts according to character. But, in connection with the astrological element and the ascendant interpretation, it is unlikely that 4QZodiacal Physiognomy listed as many as 96 character types.<sup>66</sup> In Greek physiognomics, for example, one can observe the elaboration of physiognomic distinctions between the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* and Polemo’s physiognomic treatise, but the number of set character types does not increase concomitantly.<sup>67</sup>

Regarding the first possibility there is interesting comparative material in a later medieval Jewish text, *The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage*.<sup>68</sup> This physiognomic text lists various physical characteristics. It is primarily concerned with divining the lines on the palm of the hand (chiromancy or palmistry), but the text also devotes attention to other parts of the body. The form in which it introduces some of its physiognomic data is similar to the phrase in 4Q186 1 i 7. An almost exact stylistic parallel for the phrase *וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יְהִידָה קַנְ* is the following sentence: *וְדַע וְהַבֵּן* (“Know and understand that everyone whose foot sole has an appearance like red wine or an appearance like snow”). Other parts of the human body are introduced in a similar form; for example, the head and forehead (וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יְהִידָה רֹאשׁוֹ וּמִצְחֹו), “And everyone whose head and forehead will be dry”, or the eyes (וְכָל אֲשֶׁר יְהִידָה יְפֵה עֵינָיו), “And everyone who will have beautiful eyes”.<sup>69</sup> These descriptions are followed by predictions, such as that one will fare well and be loved.

It is possible to understand the sentence *וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יְהִידָה קַנְ* in 4Q186 1 i 7 as a *protasis* in the sense of “and if someone (whose) ... will be, then...,” expressing the conditional clause similar to that used in Babylonian omen lists. Support for such an understanding of the beginning of an entry in

<sup>66</sup> This does not mean, of course, that statements concerning people’s character do not occur in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. See the comments on 4Q186 1 ii for two possible characterizations.

<sup>67</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>68</sup> See Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 488-92.

<sup>69</sup> Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.21, 8, 13.

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy* comes from material in the Qumran penal codes, where the construction  $\text{האיש אשר}$  or  $\text{האיש אשר}$  is used to introduce the protasis.<sup>70</sup> If the entries in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* opened with protases such as in 4Q186 1 i 7, this does not necessarily mean that the text was structured in the same manner as the Babylonian physiognomic omen compendium. It is likely that this phrase introduced a string of physiognomic descriptions such as one finds in 4Q186 1 ii, iii, and 2 i,<sup>71</sup> not just of one body part. Furthermore, the question is where the apodosis would have started, with the element following the physiognomic part, such as the reference to the “second column” (4Q186 1 ii), or with the spirit in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” (4Q186 1 iii; 2 i)?<sup>72</sup>

#### *4Q186 1 i 8-9: Describing Face and Head*

It is plausible that 4Q186 1 i 7 starts with a description of the human body. There is additional evidence in the expressions  $\text{רחבים}$  (“broad”),  $\text{סגולים}$  (“rounded”), and  $\text{מעורבים}$  (“mixed”) used in the following lines of 4Q186 1 i. These expressions are used in later Jewish (physiognomic) texts to describe various parts of the human body, making it likely that 4Q186 1 i 7 concerns an opening description of the human body that was continued in 4Q186 1 i 8-9.

The root  $\text{רחב}$  (“to be broad”) can be used to describe different parts of the body. In *b. Šabb.* 30b-31a two men decide to wager on who can make Hillel angry. One of them goes up to Hillel three times and asks him three questions. His third question for Hillel is why the feet of Africans are wide ( $\text{מפני מה רגליהם של אפרקיים רחבות}$ ). In *b. Ned.* 66b a man is willing to accept his wife only if she has not shown anything of her body that is beautiful to R. Ishmael. The answer to the question by R. Ishmael whether the wife’s feet are beautiful is that they are as broad as those of a duck ( $\text{שנא רגליה נאות? רחבות כשל אווזא}$ ). In the medieval text *The Physiognomy of R. Ishmael*,  $\text{רחב}$  refers to the eyebrows ( $\text{גבות עיניו רחבות}$ ), the tip of the nose ( $\text{ראש חוטמו [ ] ורחב}$ ), the nose holes ( $\text{נקובי חוטמו רחבים}$ ), the ears ( $\text{אזניו רחבות}$ ), and the shape of the face ( $\text{צורת פניו [ ] לארחבה}$ ).<sup>73</sup> *The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage* describes someone’s shoulders as broad ( $\text{כתיפיו רחבות}$ ).<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See 1QS 6:12.24; 7:4.13.15.17.18.22; 4Q270 i 12. Cf. also CD 9:9; 1QM 7:5-6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. also Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.8-9.

<sup>72</sup> See the section on the textual format of physiognomic descriptions in Chapter Two.

<sup>73</sup> Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 480.10, 486.77-78, 81, 91-92; Scholem, “Fragment,” 182 §3, 186 §§34, 36, 42.

<sup>74</sup> Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.10.

The word סגלגל from the root סגל (“to be round”) can be used as a description of the head.<sup>75</sup> In *b. Šabb.* 30b-31a, the first question posed to Hillel is why the heads of the Babylonians are round (מפני מה ראשיהן של בבליים סגלגלוה). In *b. Ned.* 66b R. Ishmael asks whether the wife’s head is beautiful, but the answer is that it is round (לוי סגלגל). But סגלגל (“round”) can also refer more specifically to the eye. A physiognomic text from the Cairo Genizah portrays a person’s eye as זגלגל (“round”).<sup>76</sup>

Given these other occurrences of רחב (“broad”) and סגלגל (“round”), I suggest that 4Q186 1 i 8 describes an individual’s face, or perhaps even more specifically his eyes, as broad and round.<sup>77</sup>

The final line of 4Q186 1 i describes part of the head with the word מעורבים. There are two possible interpretations. First, מעורבים is a *pu‘al* participle derived from the root ערב, “to be sweet, pleasing.”<sup>78</sup> Second, it is a *pu‘al* participle from ערב, “to mix, confuse.”<sup>79</sup> In both possibilities it can qualify a bodily feature.<sup>80</sup> I follow the second interpretation. Interestingly, in *4QPhysiognomy ar* the passive participle מערבין occurs too, and it is also followed by the negative adverb ולא. In this Aramaic text the sense “mixed,

<sup>75</sup> See also M.R. Lehmann, “New Light on Astrology in Qumran and the Talmud,” *RevQ* 8/32 (1975): 599-602, at 601-2.

<sup>76</sup> T.-S. K 21.88 1/ב 22, see Gruenwald, “Jewish Physiognomic,” 314.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. also Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 299. Unfortunately, no body part is mentioned in the extant text in 4Q561 5 3 where סגלגל also occurs, but it is possible that it refers to the eye.

<sup>78</sup> Allegro, DJD 5.90; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 299, 309; F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1-4Q273)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 381; B. Ejmæs, S. Holst and M. Müller (eds.), *Dødehavsskrifterne og de antikke kilder om essæerne* (2d ed.; Copenhagen: ANIS, 2003), 496.

<sup>79</sup> R. Gordis, “A Document in Code from Qumran – Some Observations,” *JSS* 11 (1966): 37-39, at 39; J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer: Band II: Die Texte der Höhle 4* (vol. 2; Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1995), 135; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277.

<sup>80</sup> This is not the case with Carmignac’s interpretation. He understands מעורבים as the dual of the noun ערב, “evening”, preceded by the preposition מן (“depuis (la) soirée”), but he does not explain its meaning in this context. Perhaps Carmignac had some sort of astrological data in mind, but this remains unclear. Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 201, 205 (cf. in Appendix I his suggestion to reconstruct יתירנה שאר at the end of this line, “since (the) evening, but not the rest of the moo[n] (mon[th]).”

ערב can also be found in the medieval astrological text *Baraita de-Mazzalot, The External Tractate of the Zodiacal Signs* (ברייתא דמזלות), see for example in section two (S.A. Wertheimer and A.J. Wertheimer [eds.], *Batei Midrashot: Twenty-Five Midrashim Published for the First Time from Manuscripts Discovered in the Genizoth of Jerusalem and Egypt* [2d enl. and am. ed.; vol. 2; Jerusalem: Ktab Wasepher, 1968], 13-14). This section deals with the parallel rising in the east and the setting in the west of the zodiacal signs, for example, “in the case of *Aries* rising from the east, *Libra* sets in the west” (בזמן שהטלה עלה מן המזרח מאזנים). It is, however, difficult to understand Carmignac’s proposal of a dual form of ערב given the use of מערב in *Baraita de-Mazzalot*. Carmignac’s interpretation, therefore, still lacks a clear astrological understanding.

confused” is clearly intended. The word is followed by the qualification that it is “not too much” (ולא שניא), hardly said of something if the sense were “pleasing.”<sup>81</sup> In *The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage* the use of ערב in the sense of “to be sweet, pleasing” is also attested. A person’s voice can be sweet and pleasant (ואותו שקול ערב ומתוק).<sup>82</sup> Based on these two occurrences of ערב in physiognomic texts, I take the sense of מעורבים in 4Q186 1 i 9 to be “mixed.” 4Q186 1 i 9 probably continues the description of a certain feature or part of the head as being of mixed character, but at the same time stresses the limited extent of this; the rest of the person’s head should not show this characteristic.

#### “THE SECOND COLUMN”

In 4Q186 1 ii 6 the phrase והוא מן העמוד השני (“And he is from the second column”) occurs,<sup>83</sup> the exact sense of which is difficult to ascertain. The subject of הוא (“he”) is the described person in the preceding physiognomic account, referred to by the suffixes attached to the different parts of the body.<sup>84</sup> No new subject has been introduced. It is, therefore, probable that it is the described individual who is “from the second column,” whatever the meaning of this sentence might be. Furthermore, it is evident that a new element is introduced following the physiognomic description. The conjunctive-*waw* in והוא (“And he”) makes this clear.<sup>85</sup>

The sense of העמוד השני (“the second column”) cannot be reconciled with any of the various meanings of עמוד (“column”) in the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, or rabbinic literature.<sup>86</sup> Most scholars translate עמוד with “column,” but there is great divergence between the various interpretations regarding the specific sense of the terminology used in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. A distinction must be made between astrological and non-astrological interpretations. There are basically three astrological explana-

<sup>81</sup> See 4Q561 1 i 1.

<sup>82</sup> Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.9. But the first interpretation is confirmed also by this same text, and, even more, in exactly the same form as in 4Q186 1 i 9 (in another manuscript of this text Scholem notes the reading מעורבים). It is said that the lines on the palm of the hand are mixed, that they are intertwined with each other (וככל אשר יהיה כפי מעורבבים אלו עם אלו), see Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 489.12.

<sup>83</sup> Another small fragment, 4Q186 4, bearing העמוד השני has been wrongly joined by Allegro (DJD 5.90-91) to 4Q186 2 i.

<sup>84</sup> 4Q186 1 ii 5: ושוקיו (“his thighs”) and ואצבעות רגליו (“his toes”).

<sup>85</sup> In 4Q186 1 iii 8 and 4Q186 2 i 6 another element subsequent to the physiognomic parts is introduced in the same manner by the use of conjunctive-*waw* in ורוח לו (“and there is a spirit for him”). At the same time, these latter two examples show that the words העמוד השני do not occupy a fixed position in the sequence in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

<sup>86</sup> See the notes and comments on 4Q186 1 ii in Appendix I.

tions and one non-astrological understanding for the terminology העמוד השני.

#### עמוד as a Reference to a Zodiacal Sign

The most widely held interpretation is to connect העמוד השני (“the second column”) somehow with the zodiacal sign *Taurus*. The term עמוד (“column”) is then a reference either to a sign of the zodiac or to the space between the zodiacal signs in the form of a column or pillar.<sup>87</sup>

It is evident that this interpretation of עמוד (“column”) is dependent on the relationship assumed between the ordinal שני (“second”) and the zodiacal sign *Taurus*. The most common starting point of the zodiacal circle in antiquity seems to have been *Aries*.<sup>88</sup> In all sorts of astrological lists the sequence starts with *Aries*.<sup>89</sup> Ptolemy explains that:

<sup>87</sup> Although Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 203, is not able to explain the exact sense of עמוד, he suggests that the use of the adjective שני must relate to the fact that the zodiacal sign *Taurus* (שור), mentioned in 4Q186 1 ii 9, is the second sign of the zodiac circle. According to A. Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques esséniens découverts à Qoumrân, près de la Mer Morte,” CRAI (1965), 239-53, at 241-42, the sense of עמוד in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is that it designates a division of the celestial circle referring either to a zodiacal sign or one of the thirty-six decans. He comes to the conclusion, like Carmignac, that the use of the adjective שני must be taken as a reference to *Taurus* as the second sign of the zodiac circle. Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 284-85, 309, states that this zodiacal interpretation, according to which עמוד refers to one of the twelve positions of the zodiac circle, is convincing. Furthermore, Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 276, suggests that עמוד might have been a scribal error for עומד, an astronomical term for “station, position,” cf. also Maier, *Texte vom Toten Meer*, 2:135-36; F. Garcia Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (2d ed.; trans. W.G.E. Watson; Leiden: E.J. Brill and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1996), 456.

See also Bergmeier, *Glaube als Gabe*, 78, 80, who, first, argues that *Taurus* is the second station (העמוד השני) because the sun passes through the twelve signs of the zodiac in a year that begins with the zodiacal sign *Aries* in the month Nisan, and, second, proposes that the expression “the second station” can be compared with the phrase *secundae stationis* in Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* 5.4.10. The two expressions, however, cannot be compared. The terms *statio* and *στανσημῶδες* (see below) refer to the two points in the planetary motion in which a planet seems to stand still before beginning retrograde movement (for the first station, *primam stationem*, see also Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* 5.3.10 in connection with Saturn’s position in *Gemini*). *Taurus* as “the second station” is a different concept not covered by the sense that *statio* has in Firmicus Maternus, where it relates to planetary motion.

Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 301-2, interprets עמוד as representing the dividing pillar or wall between the signs of the zodiac, visible on ancient iconography of the zodiacal circle. As *Taurus* is the individual’s zodiacal sign in 4Q186 1 ii, this means that this person is part of the second pillar, the one separating *Taurus* from the first zodiacal sign *Aries*. Therefore, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy can say that a certain person belongs to the second column or pillar. According to Delcor, this interpretation of עמוד as the dividing pillar between zodiacal signs would also explain the use of the particle מן העמוד השני in מן as expressing origin. See also H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten aus der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 144-46.

<sup>88</sup> But in Egypt the sign of *Cancer*, marking the summer solstice, commenced the zodiacal circle, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 137 n. 2.



although there is no natural beginning of the zodiac, since it is a circle, they assume that the sign which begins with the vernal equinox, that of Aries, is the starting-point of them all.<sup>90</sup>

If עמוד (“column”) is taken to be a reference to a zodiacal sign, it is not likely that it is the same as a zodiacal sign in a direct manner,<sup>91</sup> but rather a

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The details of the not yet satisfactorily resolved matter of the selenodromion in 4Q318 (*4QZodiology and Brontology ar*), beginning with *Taurus* as the first sign in the month of Nisan, are further ignored here.

Wise, “Thunder in Gemini,” 39-48, suggests that 4Q318 reflects awareness of the concept of precession in that the text represents a *thema mundi* (horoscope of the world) considering the world to have been created some 4000 years previously, when the vernal equinox still occurred in the zodiacal sign *Taurus* and not in *Aries* (the second century BCE Greek astronomer Hipparchus discovered that the equinoctial points are not fixed, but move to the west, opposite to the order of the zodiacal signs, at a rate of about 1° every century. Because astrologers work with a fixed zodiac, the actual constellations move away from the zodiacal signs to which they gave their name. See O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* [3 vols; SHMPS 1; Berlin: Springer, 1975], 292-98; S.J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* [Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987], 71).

Albani, “Der Zodiakos in 4Q318,” 27-35, argues that 4Q318 follows a Babylonian tradition transmitted in the astronomical compendium MUL.APIN (“Plough Star”) in which, according to Tablet I iv 31-39, the monthly course of the moon begins with the *Pleiades* and *Taurus* (respectively the “Stars” [MUL.MUL, *Zappu*] and the “Bull of Heaven” [mulGU<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA, *Alū*]), which were later reduced to the one zodiacal constellation of *Taurus*. For the relevant passage, see H. Hunger and D. Pingree (eds.), *MUL.APIN: An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform* (AfO.B 24; Horn, Austria: Ferdinand Berger, 1989), 67-69, 144. The dating of this tradition is controversial, but the editors opt for a date around 1000 BCE, see Hunger and Pingree, *MUL.APIN*, 10-12, to which add the compilation date of around 700 BCE proposed by J. Koch, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Topographie des babylonischen Fixsternhimmels* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989). Greenfield et al., DJD 36.265, find Albani’s explanation convincing. Cf. also M.J. Geller, “New Documents from the Dead Sea: Babylonian Science in Aramaic,” in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon* (eds. M. Lubetski, C. Gottlieb and S. Keller; JSOTSup 273; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 224-29, at 224-27.

J. Ben-Dov, *Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran – Sources and Trends* (Diss. Jerusalem, 2005 [in Hebrew]), 213-14, disagrees with Wise’s and Albani’s interpretations. Regarding Wise’s suggestion, Ben-Dov states that it is not reasonable to assume that knowledge of precession is already reflected in a first century BCE Aramaic document such as 4Q318. Concerning Albani’s proposal, Ben-Dov doubts that MUL.APIN dictated the beginning of the zodiac in *Taurus*. The list of seventeen constellations in MUL.APIN through which the moon passes every month does not begin with *Taurus*; it begins with the *Pleiades* to be followed by the “Bull of Heaven.” Both constellations do indeed belong to the zodiacal constellation *Taurus*, but not until, several centuries after the compilation of MUL.APIN, the zodiac was reduced to consist of twelve zodiacal signs, schematically of 30° equal length.

<sup>89</sup> The sequence of zodiacal signs is then *Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces*.

<sup>90</sup> Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.10.2. Translation from F.E. Robbins, *Ptolemy: Tetrabiblos* (LCL 435; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 59-61. The numbering of books, chapters, and paragraphs of Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos* throughout this study is according to the recent critical edition, W. Hübner (ed.), *Claudius Ptolemaeus: ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΙΚΑ* (vol. 3.1; Teubner; Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1998). See also *Tetrabiblos* 2.11.2-3. Cf. Hephaestion, *Apotelesmatica* 1.1.2.

reference to a position within the zodiac.<sup>92</sup> The use of עמוד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* could be understood as another, somewhat complicated, way of saying that someone is under a particular position within the circle of the zodiac beginning with *Aries*.

*עמוד as a Reference to a Zodiacal Quadrant*

According to the second astrological interpretation, עמוד (“column”) is a reference to a zodiacal quadrant.

Schmidt considers it unlikely that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* would refer to the same astrological phenomenon, i.e., a zodiacal sign, with two different technical terms, i.e. העמוד השני (“the second column”) and שור (“*Taurus*”).<sup>93</sup> In addition, since the phrase is used at least one more time and probably in another account (4Q186 4), he objects that it cannot refer to the zodiacal sign *Taurus*. The reason is that such an equation implies that different physiognomic types are described under the same zodiacal sign, whereas one would expect differentiation.<sup>94</sup>

Schmidt, therefore, suggests that the term עמוד (“column”) refers to a unit of three zodiacal signs, a quadrant. In Schmidt’s hypothesis the four quadrants correspond with the four seasons, the first quadrant beginning with the zodiacal sign *Capricorn* (the winter solstice). Consequently, “the second column” (העמוד השני) denotes the second quadrant containing the zodiacal sign *Taurus*. This interpretation answers Schmidt’s second objection, because עמוד includes in this sense three signs of the zodiac, which means that different physiognomic types can be discussed with reference to

<sup>91</sup> It seems more likely that בהמה in 4Q186 1 ii 9, a possible equivalent of the Greek ζῴδιον and the Latin *signum*, represents an attempt to translate the concept “zodiacal sign” directly into Hebrew. See the excursus on בהמה in Chapter Two.

<sup>92</sup> Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 302, refers to the use of *manzāzu* (KI.GUB), “station, position,” in Babylonian astronomy, but this does not present an exact analogy for the proposed sense of עמוד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The term *manzāzu* does not denote one of the twelve positions of the zodiacal circle. It is used to refer to a planetary or stellar position when first seen on a particular night, or, more precisely, to the place on the horizon above which a planet or star rises or sets, see e.g. E. Reiner and D. Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens Part Three* (CM 11; Groningen: STYX, 1998), 18. Cf. also D. Brown, *Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology* (CM 18; Groningen: STYX, 2000), 65, 69, 235.

<sup>93</sup> Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne,” 128. It is not clear whether Schmidt might mean בהמה (“animal”) as the second technical term instead of שור (“*Taurus*”).

<sup>94</sup> Bergmeier and Albani support the interpretation of העמוד השני as a reference to *Taurus*, but provide another solution to the problem that different physiognomic types were discussed under the same sign. Their solution is based on their interpretation of the words ברניל השור, “in the foot of *Taurus*” (4Q186 1 ii 9), as a specific ecliptical part of the zodiacal sign *Taurus*, suggesting that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* presupposes a division of the zodiacal signs in which case each particular partition of the zodiacal sign could be linked to a different physiognomic type, thereby creating the possibility for different physiognomic characters to be assigned to the same sign of the zodiac. See Chapter Three.

העמוד השני, while an actual sign can be explicitly mentioned, such as *Taurus* in 4Q186 1 ii 9.<sup>95</sup>

In ancient astrology all sorts of divisions, classifications, and qualities of the zodiac circle were conceived. One of these subdivisions of the zodiac circle grouped the zodiacal signs into quadrants. The quadrants can be connected again with certain qualities, such as the four elements: air, fire, earth, and water, or the ages of life: childhood, youth, adult life, and old age. The quadrants themselves were connected to the seasons: spring, summer, autumn, and winter.<sup>96</sup>

Contrary to the most common arrangement of quadrants beginning with *Aries*, Schmidt's interpretation of "the second column" (העמוד השני) entails that the zodiacal signs from *Aries* to *Gemini* be assigned to the second quadrant. This does not render it necessarily impossible that העמוד השני is a reference to the second quadrant,<sup>97</sup> but it does make it less likely.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Schmidt, "Astrologie juive ancienne," 127-28, 132-33, 136-38. According to this reconstruction the remaining text successively traces the physical and spiritual portrait of individuals conceived in the three decans belonging respectively to the zodiacal signs *Aries*, *Taurus*, and *Gemini*.

<sup>96</sup> Taking *Aries* as the beginning of the zodiacal circle, the first quadrant commenced in spring with *Aries*, *Taurus*, and *Gemini*. Continuing with summer (*Cancer*, *Leo*, and *Virgo*), autumn (*Libra*, *Scorpio*, and *Sagittarius*), and winter (*Capricorn*, *Aquarius*, and *Pisces*) as respectively the second, third, and fourth quadrants. Cf. Manilius, *Astronomica* 2.841-855; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.10.2. See W. Hübner, *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike: Ihre Darstellung und Verwendung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Manilius* (SA.B 22; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982), 82-87, 241-43, 251, 259-60.

Apart from this fixed system of quadrants, there is another arrangement, variable regarding the zodiacal circle, that is based on the ascendant. From the ascendant (ῥοσκόπος) the quadrants are defined successively to each cardinal point (κέντρον), which are mid-heaven (μεσοῦράνημα, *medium caeli*), setting (δῶνον, descendant), and the nadir or lower mid-heaven (ἀντιμεσοῦράνημα, *imum medium caelum*). The first quadrant (τεταρτημόριον) is that from the ascendant to mid-heaven, the second is from mid-heaven to setting, the third is from setting to lower mid-heaven, and the fourth is that from lower mid-heaven to the ascendant. Depending on the circumstance of which part of the zodiacal circle, i.e. which zodiacal sign, is ascending at a particular time, the assignment of each of the zodiacal signs to a certain quadrant will be made successively. See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.6.2; 1.13.4; Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors* 5.12; H. Gundel and R. Böker, "Zodiakos: Der Tierkreis in der Antike," *RE* 2.19 (1972), 462-709, at 476, 478; Tester, *A History of Western Astrology*, 71-72; H.G. Gundel and A. Kehl, "Horoskop," *RAC* 16 (1994), 597-662, at 601-2.

<sup>97</sup> Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 2.11.3-4, explains, although in the context of mundane not individual astrology, that there are those who, in order to make investigations which deal with the year, have made use of each of the four tropical points, i.e. vernal and autumnal equinoxes and summer and winter solstices, as the starting point of the zodiacal circle and the new year. Perhaps 4Q*Zodiacal Physiognomy* belongs to a tradition according to which the zodiacal circle begins with the winter solstice in *Capricorn*?

<sup>98</sup> Cf. also Albani, "Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls," 328.

עמוד as a Reference to One of the Phases of the Moon

The third astrological explanation specifically connects עמוד (“column”) with one of the phases of the moon. It is, however, only mentioned in passing and has not been fully worked out.

Wise translates the sentence ויהא מן העמוד השני as “and who was born during the second phase of the moon.” This interpretation is suggested by “similar phrasing in Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, where he is describing phases or ‘stations’ of the moon (i.e., the places where it ‘stands’).”<sup>99</sup> However, Wise’s interpretative translation “born during the second phase of the moon” is not supported by the source he adduces.<sup>100</sup> Also, the date and origin of the concept of lunar stations is not clear.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277.

<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, Wise does not provide any further explanation regarding the way the astrological system in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy exactly worked. Nor does he give references in Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos*, nor make clear whether he supports Strugnell’s emendation of עמוד (“station, position”) for עמוד. The following remarks, therefore, are of a limited and preliminary nature. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* 1.8 describes the four phases of the moon with regard to the various effects that the moon causes during these phases, which are new moon, first quarter, full moon, and last quarter. The second and fourth phases are referred to by the word διχότομος, which cannot be interpreted as the place where the moon “stands.” It literally means, “cut in half, divided equally” (LSJ s.v. διχότομος). Ptolemy refers to the second phase of the moon, being the first quarter, as πρώτη διχότομος and to the fourth phase, which is the last quarter, as δεύτερος διχότομος. In the same section Ptolemy also discusses the effects that the planets exercise on their courses through the sky. The two points at which the planets seem to stand still in their motion before beginning retrograde movement Ptolemy calls “station” (στηριγμός, from στηρίζω, literally “being fixed, standing still,” LSJ s.v. στηριγμός) explaining the (irregular) planetary courses by the theory of epicycles. Ptolemy distinguishes between the point of rising to the first station (πρώτου στηριγμοῦ), from the first station to evening rising, from evening rising to the second station (δευτέρου στηριγμοῦ), and from the second station to setting. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie*, 111-23; O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (2d ed.; New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 122-26, 198-201; Neugebauer, *HAMA*, 190-206, 267-73; W. Hübner, “The Ptolemaic View of the Universe,” *GRBS* 41 (2000): 59-93, at 62.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of fixing the exact moment of planetary stations (Ptolemy, *Almagest* 9.2), examples of ancient Greek horoscopes note whether a planet is in its first or second station (στηριγμός). See the examples for the years 81, 137, and 497 CE in Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, 22-23, 39-40, 155. See also P. Oxy. 2555 9.12 in Baccani, *Oroscopi Greci*, 83. Also, in Babylonian horoscopes reference is made to a planet’s stationary point (UŠ or *nennudu*), see AO 17649 rev. 1, 4 and MLC 2190 obv. 10 in Rochberg, *Babylonian Horoscopes*, 51-55, 83-85.

Regarding the language used (i.e., “station”), Ptolemy’s description of the two points in the planetary movement at which they appear to stand still seems to fit better with Wise’s suggestion than Ptolemy’s account of the second and fourth phases of the moon. But the terminology used refers to a specific aspect of planetary motion, and not that of the moon. It seems, however, unlikely that עמוד should be interpreted as a reference to a planet’s stationary point at the time of birth, since no planet to which it might apply is mentioned in the text.

<sup>101</sup> Gundel and Böker, “Zodiakos,” 509-22: “Die 27 bzw. 28 Mondstationen waren in hellenistischer Zeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum nicht unbekannt, haben aber in der antiken Astronomie und Astrologie wenig Beachtung gefunden” (509); Neugebauer, *HAMA*, 6, 1073 n. 2, states that this concept has no Mesopotamian or Greek background, but represents a

עמוד as a Reference to a Column of a (Heavenly) Scroll

Dismissing the possibility of a convincing astrological (or for that matter physiognomic) understanding of העמוד השני (“the second column”), Alexander suggests seeking the proper context of this phrase in the early Jewish tradition of heavenly books in which the history of the world is written down and in which the names of mankind are recorded.<sup>102</sup> He argues that עמוד is used as a reference to a “column” or a “list” in a scroll. Only two such columns were imagined in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. One column or list would have been for the righteous, the other for the wicked.<sup>103</sup> Alexander suggests that people’s place in this book could be discerned through their physiognomies. He distinguishes between two notions of heavenly books in early Judaism. First, heavenly records are said to list everyone’s deeds. These records will be consulted during a final judgment that will pronounce the rewards and punishments for everybody.<sup>104</sup> Secondly, it is also said that heavenly records contain everything that will befall the world and every individual. They have the predetermined history of the world written down in them.<sup>105</sup> *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* reflects the second idea of heavenly books: “whether one is good or bad has been foreordained and

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contribution from Indian astrological tradition; According to Tester, *History of Western Astrology*, 81-84, a Babylonian origin for the lunar mansions is fairly clear (82).

<sup>102</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 388-89.

<sup>103</sup> Alexander assumes that the second column is the list in which the righteous is inscribed. He argues that the partitioning of light and darkness on a nine-point scale excludes the possibility of an equal division. One is either for the most part good or for the most part bad. The individual portrayed in 4Q186 1 ii has six parts in the house of light and three parts in the pit/house of darkness and belongs to the second column. Therefore, the second column is the one in which righteous people are listed.

<sup>104</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 388 n. 8, refers to Dan 7:10 and Rev 20:12, where a heavenly court sits in judgment and books (ספריי, βιβλία) are opened (see J.J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 109, 303; D.E. Aune, *Revelation 17-22* [WBC 52C; Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1998], 1102). See also *1 En.* 81:4; 89:61-64.68.70-71.76; 90:17.20; 98:7-8; 100:10; 104:7; *Jub.* 19:9; *m. ’Abot* 1:18; 2:1; 3:2 (quoting Mal 3:16).

<sup>105</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 388 n. 8, refers to Rev 5:1 (see D.E. Aune, *Revelation 1-5* [WBC 52A; Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1997], 341-46), and to *3 En.* 45:1, where the heavenly curtain (פרגוד) is said to contain everything done or to be done by all the generations of the world until the last generation, see P. Alexander, “3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP* 1: 223-315, at 296. Alexander, “3 Enoch,” 296, also mentions *Hekhalot Rabbati* 6:3, where it is said that an angel opens tablets (פנקסין/הפנקסים) for R. Ishmael in which certain events that will happen to Israel are already recorded, see §122 in P. Schäfer et al. (eds.), *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (TSAJ 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), 60-61, and P. Schäfer et al. (eds.), *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur II §§81-334* (TSAJ 17; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987), 52. See also *1 En.* 81:1-2; 93:1-3; *Jub.* 16:3.9; 24:33; 31:32; 32:21; 4Q180 1 3. Alexander’s second category seems also to be expressed in Ps 139:16. Although the textual evidence is not without difficulties (cf. e.g. MT with 11QPs<sup>a</sup> 22:7-9), the sense seems to be that divine foreknowledge of things to be is contained in a book or books.

depends on the column in which one's name is inscribed in the heavenly record."<sup>106</sup>

References to heavenly books and tablets as such are not restricted to the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic literature of early Judaism. The idea of heavenly tablets already appears in Sumerian texts, and they are also mentioned a few times in the Hebrew Bible. The notion of heavenly books and tablets is complex and can be divided into more than just two categories. Heavenly records play a special role in beliefs about a final judgment.<sup>107</sup>

Alexander's interpretation is unlikely for two reasons. First, because it invokes the concept of heavenly books for which there is no other evidence in the text (unlike the astrological interpretations that can refer to another astrological notion, namely that of the zodiacal sign *Taurus* in 4Q186 1 ii

<sup>106</sup> Alexander, "Physiognomy," 388-89.

<sup>107</sup> For scholarly treatments of the notion of heavenly records, see e.g. R. Eppel, "Les tables de la Loi et les tables célestes," *RHPR* 17 (1937): 401-12; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (WUNT 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1951), 231-54; L. Koep, *Das himmlische Buch in Antike und Christentum: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur altchristlichen Bildersprache* (Theophaneia 8; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1952); S.M. Paul, "Heavenly Books and the Book of Life," *JANESCU* 5 (1973): 345-53; E. Rau, *Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs: Traditionen- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften* (Diss. Hamburg, 1974), 345-98; F. García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (eds. M. Albani, J. Frey and A. Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243-60; M. Himmelfarb, "Torah, Testimony, and Heavenly Tablets: The Claim to Authority of the *Book of Jubilees*," in *A Multifform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft* (ed. B.G. Wright; HS 24; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1999), 19-29; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 478-80.

Regarding Alexander's proposal, it is interesting to observe that the idea of two heavenly books, one that records the deeds of the wicked and the other that lists the deeds of the righteous, is attested in Jewish tradition. See *2 Bar.* 24:1; *Apoc. Zeph.* 3:5-9; *Jub.* 30:19-22; 36:10; *Pss. Sol.* 13:10-11; *T. Ab.* 12:8.12; 13:9 (see D.C. Allison, Jr., *Testament of Abraham* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 264-65, 269); *b. 'Arak.* 10b. Cf. also Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, 224 and Aune, *Revelation 17-22*, 1102 (in *b. Roš Haš.* 16b three books are mentioned, "one for the thoroughly wicked, one for the thoroughly righteous, and one for the intermediate").

The concept of heavenly books is also attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In *4QInstruction*<sup>c</sup> Malachi's book of remembrance (Mal 3:16), meant for the benefit of those who fear the Lord and think on his name, has been paired with an engraving that contains the punishments for the iniquities of the sons of שרה (4Q417 1 i 14-16), see J. Strugnell, D.J. Harrington and T. Elgvin (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mūsār ʿl Mēvin): 4Q415 ff. with a Re-edition of 1Q26 by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. and an Edition of 4Q423 by Torleif Elgvin, in Consultation with Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 162-63. Also, in CD 20:19-20 the quote from Mal 3:16 is expanded with the statement that things are written in the book of remembrance "until salvation and justice are revealed to those who fear God." Cf. F. Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 1/3 (1959): 405-11; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 69-83. See also the possible references in 4Q381 31 8, 4Q541 2 i 6-7, 4Q541 7 4, and 11Q18 19 5-6.

9). Second, because the term עמוד (“column”) is not attested this early in such a sense and other terms were available.

The terminology used in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* does not provide any evidence that the concept of a heavenly record is being referred to. There is no mention of a book, tablet or writing (כִּתָּב, לִיחַ, סֵפֶר), but one might object that this may be due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript. One should perhaps allow for the possibility that in some section of the text a book was specifically mentioned in which one column is preserved for the wicked and another for the righteous. But, as Alexander points out himself, his proposed interpretation of עמוד as a “column” or “list” in a scroll is not attested this early and he can only appeal to the intrinsic probability of his explanation.<sup>108</sup> Other terms for referring to a column on a scroll were available, however.<sup>109</sup> This lessens the probability of Alexander’s interpretation of עמוד (“column”). One might modify Alexander’s proposal by interpreting עמוד in the sense of a stick around which a scroll is rolled as *pars pro toto* for an entire scroll, one scroll for the wicked and one scroll for the righteous.<sup>110</sup> It is, however, unlikely that עמוד is used in this sense in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, especially in the context of the phrase הַדְּוָדָה מִן הָעֲמֹד הַשֵּׁנִי (“And he is from the second column”).

#### *Assessing the Meaning and Significance of הָעֲמֹד הַשֵּׁנִי*

It is obvious that the main problem with the interpretations that have been put forward is that neither supports the specific sense of עמוד (“column”) outside *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. This means that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* presents a terminology and a concept otherwise unknown to us in Hebrew. If one assumes that עמוד is in some way a meaningful reference to a concept, the question is, of course, which concept. Is it a reference to a zodiacal position, a zodiacal quadrant, a phase of the moon, a column on a scroll, or something else? Furthermore, the meaning and significance of הָעֲמֹד הַשֵּׁנִי (“the second column”) cannot be determined in isolation to the, albeit fragmentary, context of the rest of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. How is the

<sup>108</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 388 n. 7. Cf. E. Ben Yehuda, *Dictionary and Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language* (vol. 5; New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), s.v. עמוד, 4555-57.

<sup>109</sup> In Jer 36:23 the word דָּלָה, in the form of the *hapax legomenon* דָּלְתוּתָהּ, is clearly used as a reference to the columns on a leather sheet of a scroll. This is translated with σελίδας (from σελίς, “plank, leaf of papyrus”) in the LXX, a word Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 388 n. 7, refers to in support of his proposal for עמוד. See e.g. R. Lansing Hicks, “*Delet* and *Megillah*: A Fresh Approach to Jeremiah xxxvi,” *VT* 33 (1983): 46-66; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 82. In rabbinic literature the word דָּף is employed for referring to columns on a scroll, such as, for example, in *y. Meg.* 1.71c and *b. Men.* 29b-30b.

<sup>110</sup> In rabbinic literature עמודים or עמוד occur as references to a roller or wooden bar attached to the unscripted area of one, or, in the case of Torah scrolls, to either end of a scroll (*y. Meg.* 1.71d; *b. B. Bat.* 13b-14a). And at Qumran evidence of such a stick has been preserved in the case of *11QapocrPs*. Cf. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 115-18.

concept to which these words refer related to three other elements in the text?

In 4Q186 1 ii the phrase והואה מן העמוד השני (“And he is from the second column”) is positioned between (1) the physiognomic description, (2) the numbers concerning the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” and (3) the zodiacal data with regard to the moment of birth of the individual. Considering the first element, is the idea that people are “from the second column” a consequence of their physiognomies, and, if so, in what way? With regard to the second element, is the information provided by the words העמוד השני (“the second column”) necessary for understanding the numbers allotted to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness?” Regarding the last element, is knowledge that someone belongs to “the second column” superfluous or basic to understanding the zodiacal information provided for his birth?

Of course, one also has to bear in mind that the term עמוד (“column”), and consequently the concept it refers to, has a variable position in the sequence of elements in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The enigmatic words העמוד השני (“the second column”) occur at least twice in the extant text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*: 4Q186 1 ii 6; 4 1 (cf. 4Q186 6 2). In 4Q186 1 ii 6 העמוד השני follows as a new element in the sequence after the bodily features, clearly marked by the use of a conjunctive-*waw* (והואה מן, “And he is from...”). This is followed by the next element, introduced by the words רוח לו (“There is a spirit for him”), concerning the different numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” This sequence, however, seems not to be the general rule. There are two indications. First, in 4Q186 1 iii 8 and 2 i 6 עמוד is not mentioned subsequent to the physiognomic description and before the phrase רוח לו. The words רוח לו (“And there is a spirit for him”) introduce the element following immediately after the physical features have been described. This is also evidently marked by the use of a conjunctive-*waw*. It is evident that in 4Q186 1 iii 8-9, immediately following the physiognomic element, the next part concerning the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” is introduced by the words רוח לו. It is clear, therefore, that in two out of three accounts the term עמוד does not follow the physiognomic descriptions, whereas the reference to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” does. Apparently, the latter concept is more important than the one referred to by עמוד. Second, 4Q186 4 1 shows that when a reference to עמוד occurs it is not necessarily followed by רוח לו. Here the phrase הן עמוד השני is certainly not followed by רוח לו in 4Q186 1 ii 6-7, but by a word beginning with *šin* (see also 4Q186 6 2).

The optional character of עמוד (“column”) in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* raises the question of its significance in the text. Perhaps a statement regarding the number of עמוד to which a person belongs could follow after



the other three elements (physiognomy, light/darkness division, zodiacal horoscope) had been presented. One should allow for the possibility that the text was not consequent regarding the phrase העמוד השני (“the second column”). Equally possible is that it was left out altogether in some entries of the text. Unfortunately, the manuscript does not continue after 4Q186 1 iii 9 and is too fragmentary from 4Q186 2 i 6. Be that as it may, the optional, maybe even redundant, position of the phrase העמוד השני in the sequence of elements in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* means that what it referred to was not intrinsically connected to the other three elements.

It is evident that all the proposals for the specific sense of העמוד השני (“the second column”) in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* can be no more than hypothetical. The simplest, but unsatisfactory, solution seems to be to take the phrase העמוד השני as a reference to the second position in the zodiacal circle. Only in 4Q186 1 ii does it occur in context, and then in relation to the zodiacal sign *Taurus*, which is the second sign of the zodiacal circle according to the most common view. If direct context determines the meaning of this phrase, and I do not see what else could do better, then this is the easiest solution. It is unsatisfactory, however, because it is completely superfluous and does not add any significant information to a text that is otherwise succinct and meaningful.

“AND THIS IS THE HOROSCOPE UNDER WHICH HE WAS BORN”

The noun מולד (“horoscope”) does not occur in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>111</sup> In Rabbinic Hebrew מולד refers to “descendant,” while מולד refers to the “birth-time,” especially of the new moon.<sup>112</sup> In the Dead Sea Scrolls מולד is used in a general and, in some of the wisdom texts, more specific, astrological, sense.

In general, מולד refers to the circumstances surrounding people’s birth. These need not necessarily be understood in terms of astrological circumstances. This depends on the context in which the term appears. In the *Instruction* texts the reader is encouraged to learn (לקח) or examine (דרש) people’s מולד, both verbs being used synonymously.<sup>113</sup> One should allow

<sup>111</sup> Biblical Hebrew has the abstract noun מולדה in the sense of “relatives” or “offspring,” and the *hipil* participle מוליד (Isa 66:9); מולדים (Jer 16:3) “to beget, deliver,” but these occurrences do not shed light on the use of מולד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Jastrow 742; S. Gandz, “The Problem of the Molad,” *Studies in Hebrew Astronomy and Mathematics* (S. Gandz; New York: Ktav, 1970), 120-49.

<sup>113</sup> 4Q415 11 11; 4Q416 2 iii 9 (=4Q418 9+ 8); 4Q416 2 iii 20 (=4Q418 10a, b 3); 4Q417 2 i 11 (=4Q416 2 i 6); 4Q418 202 1. Cf. Strugnell et al., DJD 34.62, 117, 123, 182, 423, who do not think that the two verbs are always synonymous when used in combination with מולד in *Instruction*. See also A. Lange, “Kognitives *lqh* in Sap A, im T<sup>n</sup>ak und Sir,” *ZAH* 9 (1996): 190-95.

for the possibility that the addressee is in some of these passages being encouraged to determine people's "horoscope."<sup>114</sup>

In the case of the technical phrase ביה מולדים, one should assume that it specifically refers to people's nativities, that is, the configuration of heavenly bodies in relation to the zodiacal circle at the moment of birth. It is not likely that such a technical phrase would have different meanings in different contexts in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The phrase ביה מולדים appears four times in wisdom contexts.<sup>115</sup> Matthew Morgenstern has drawn attention to the Syriac parallel *bēt yaldā*.<sup>116</sup> This occurs, for example, in *The Book of the Laws of Countries* by Bardaisan of Edessa (154-222/3).<sup>117</sup> There it refers to the arrangement of planets vis-à-vis the zodiac at the time of birth, i.e. the nativity. It is probable that ביה מולדים in the Dead Sea Scrolls has a sense similar to the Syriac *bēt yaldā*, and should be translated with "nativity." Following Han Drijvers's translation of *bēt yaldā* with "horoscope,"<sup>118</sup> Morgenstern translates ביה מולדים with "horoscope." But such a translation seems not completely appropriate for an ancient text. The term "horoscope" is used in modern parlance for the configuration of planets in relation to the zodiacal signs, but in antiquity ὠροσκόπος was used only for the zodiacal sign rising in the east at the moment of birth, the ascen-

<sup>114</sup> Cf. A. Caquot, "Les textes de sagesse de Qoumrân (Aperçu préliminaire)," *RHPR* 76 (1996): 1-34, at 9; M. Morgenstern, "The Meaning of ביה מולדים in the Qumran Wisdom Texts," *JJS* 51 (2000): 141-44; E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 238; J.M. Baumgarten, "מינה קומראני ואסטרולוגי," *בימוסרלמבין* (Some Qumranic and Astrological Terms in *Mūsār lē Mēvîn*)," *Tarbiz* 72 (2003): 321-28, at 324-26; M. Kister, "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to Mysteries," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20-22 May, 2001* (eds. J.J. Collins and G.E. Sterling; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13-47, at 28, 34, 36-37; F. Schmidt, "Recherche son thème de géniture dans le Mystère de ce qui doit être: Astrologie et prédestination à Qoumrân," in *Qumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère* (eds. A. Lemaire and S. Mimouni; CREJ 39; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), forthcoming. I am grateful to Francis Schmidt for sending me his article prior to publication. B.G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels* (WUNT 201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 187, however, considers the term in a non-astrological sense throughout the *Instruction* text.

In 4Q417 2 i 11 the phrase וקח מולדי ישע ("and comprehend the nativities of salvation") may have an eschatological meaning, referring possibly to people's horoscopes at the end of times.

<sup>115</sup> See *4QMysteries* (4Q299) 1 4; 3a ii-b 13; 5 5; *4QInstruction*<sup>a</sup> (4Q415) 2 ii 9. Cf. L. Schiffman, "4QMysteries<sup>a</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (eds. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 33-97, at 37; Strugnell et al., DJD 34.49; Morgenstern, "Meaning of ביה מולדים."

<sup>116</sup> Morgenstern, "Meaning of ביה מולדים," 142-43.

<sup>117</sup> See H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa* (STT 3; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965), 32.16; 36.8; 40.2; 48.12; 52.3, 7, 9-10, 22; 54.4; 58.5. Cf. H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966), 86-88.

<sup>118</sup> But Drijvers uses "nativity" more often to translate *bēt yaldā*, see Drijvers, *Book of the Laws of Countries*, 49, 53, 55.

dant. In antiquity the word γένεσις, among other things, referred to the nativity of people.<sup>119</sup> Understanding the Syriac *bēt yaldā* as a reference to people's nativity is also borne out by Diodorus of Tarsus' *On Fate* (fourth century), transmitted by Photius of Constantinople (ninth century), who refers to it with the Greek γενεθλιαλογία, "casting of a nativity."<sup>120</sup> The term "horoscope," then, for the phrase מוֹלְדֵימ בֵּיתָה should be used with great care and awareness that it does not mean the same as the Greek term ὠροσκόπος, but is rather an equivalent of the Greek γένεσις.

In *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, מוֹלְדֵימ ("horoscope") is a technical term that refers to the astrological sign under which people were born. In 4Q186 1 ii 9 the statement concerning the מוֹלְדֵימ under which the person was born is followed by a specific reference to a part of the zodiacal sign *Taurus* (ברגל השור, "in the foot of *Taurus*"). Such a technical context makes general understandings of the noun מוֹלְדֵימ, such as the time of birth,<sup>121</sup> the occasion of birth itself,<sup>122</sup> or to the one born,<sup>123</sup> improbable here. The astrological context in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* warrants understanding מוֹלְדֵימ more specifically as a technical astrological term for the nativity of an individual, analogous to γένεσις and *genitura* in Greco-Roman astrology.<sup>124</sup>

Schmidt agrees that מוֹלְדֵימ ("horoscope") is a technical astrological term in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, but he suggests a particular interpretation of it that depends on his general interpretation of the text. He argues that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* distinguishes between the moment of conception and that of birth. According to Schmidt the text is primarily interested in understanding the division between diurnal and nocturnal decans during pregnancy. He therefore suggests reading מוֹלְדֵימ in 4Q186 1 ii 8 as a passive participle *hop'al* הַמוֹלְדֵימ [sic!] referring to conception, and יֵלֵד as a passive participle *qal* יֵלֵדֵימ referring to birth: "And this is the conceived one because

<sup>119</sup> On γένεσις in an astrological sense, cf. J.N. Bremmer, "Foolish Egyptians: Apion and Anoubion in the *Pseudo-Clementines*," in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (eds. A. Hilhorst and G.H. van Kooten; AJEC 59; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 311-29, at 313 n. 10. For the meaning of the term ὠροσκόπος, see e.g. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 257-75; Gundel and Kehl, "Horoskop," 599-600; W. Hübner, "Zur Verwendung und Umschreibung des Terminus ὠροσκόπος in der astrologischen Lehrschrift der Antike," *Mene* 1 (2001): 219-38, at 221.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Drijvers, *Bardaisan*, 70.

<sup>121</sup> Allegro, DJD 5.89.

<sup>122</sup> Carmignac, "Les horoscopes," 203.

<sup>123</sup> Dupont-Sommer, "Deux documents horoscopiques," 242.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Delcor, "Recherches sur un horoscope," 304-5; M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.* (3d ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 433-35; Bergmeier, *Glaube als Gabe*, 78; Albani, "Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls," 282, 286; Morgenstern, "Meaning of מוֹלְדֵימ בֵּיתָה," 143.

of which he [that is, the individual portrayed] is born: in the foot of Taurus."<sup>125</sup>

This understanding of מולד ("horoscope") is not necessary, however, to make sense of the Hebrew in 4Q186 1 ii 8. Furthermore, the astrological system for determining the moment of conception that Schmidt argues in favor of is too hypothetical and does not correspond to any of the systems devised by ancient astrologers that are known to us.<sup>126</sup> The term מולד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is best taken in the sense of "nativity," i.e. the constellation of planets vis-à-vis the zodiac at the moment of birth. In this case "nativity" is restricted to the zodiacal sign, or rather part of it, under which people were born.

The translation "horoscope" for מולד in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* has been chosen for two reasons. First, because it is a better-known term in contemporary English than "nativity." Second, because the text demonstrates an interest in the ascendant. It is evident that מולד is a derivative of ילד, like γένεσις is of γίγνομαι, and that it, therefore, is an equivalent of the Greek γένεσις rather than of ὠροσκόπος. The interesting thing to point out, however, is that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* does not refer to planets at all, but only to a specific part of a zodiacal sign that is the ascendant, literally the ὠροσκόπος. Because *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is primarily interested in the ascendant, the translation "horoscope" is appropriate for מולד (with the caveat that the term itself is equivalent to γένεσις).<sup>127</sup>

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy* demonstrates that the appearance and shape of the body is believed to be due to the result of the position of the zodiacal sign under which a person was born. In 4Q186 2 i 3-4 the physiognomic description is directly related to the person's "horoscope." The person described in 4Q186 2 i is said to be neither tall nor short, "and that because of his horoscope" (והואה[ם]ממולדו).<sup>128</sup>

#### MAGICO-MEDICINAL STONES

Contrary to the otherwise inverted written character of the text, 4Q186 1 ii 2 has the words אבן צינב, a kind of granite, written in the normal order from

<sup>125</sup> Schmidt, "Astrologie juive ancienne," 132 ("Ancient Jewish Astrology," 196).

<sup>126</sup> For a fuller discussion, see Chapter Three.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. also the occurrence of מולדה, "his horoscope," in 4Q534 1 i 10; 1 ii+2 1-2, 6; 4Q535 2 1. For the astrological sense here, see already Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen," 61-62.

<sup>128</sup> In 4Q186 4 2 מולדו ("his horoscope") occurs, probably equivalent to המולד in 4Q186 1 ii 8. The text is too fragmentary to reconstruct the exact reference.

right to left. Previously, no-one has commented in detail on the occurrence of this stone in the text.<sup>129</sup>

In late antique and medieval Jewish magical texts, the names of illnesses, demons, and gods were sometimes intentionally corrupted, and letters or words in incantation texts scrambled.<sup>130</sup> The same phenomena can be found in Greek curse tablets (*defixiones* or *καταδέσμοι*).<sup>131</sup> It was believed that “writing or reciting backwards was more effective than doing so in the normal manner,” and that “reversing the order of letters or words led to reversing the natural order of things.”<sup>132</sup> A magical power is also demonstrated by the use of different scripts in later Arabic magic.<sup>133</sup>

*4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, however, is not a magical text in which some words or phrases are written in reverse. As the entire text is in inverted writing, it is improbable that this was intended to make the text more effective as in magical formulae. Yet, it may suggest that the regular order of writing represented some form of magical power, although it is difficult to imagine what kind of power or how it may have worked. Perhaps אבן צינור represented some sort of magical stone, and maybe it was thought that the normal direction of writing had some sort of magical power in this otherwise inverted written text. Unfortunately, the text is too fragmentary to substantiate this suggestion.<sup>134</sup>

Apart from the way אבן צינור is written in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, the occurrence of a certain type of stone in a zodiacal physiognomic list should not surprise us. Already in Babylonian astrology certain stones, plants, and trees were associated with specific zodiacal signs and subdivisions of signs,

<sup>129</sup> Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277, suggests that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* incorporated ideas about birthstones.

<sup>130</sup> See J. Naveh, “Lamp Inscriptions and Inverted Writing,” *IEJ* 38 (1988): 36-43. An example from the Dead Sea Scrolls is the Aramaic text 4Q560, see J. Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 252-61, at 259, and J. Naveh, “Hebrew Graffiti from the First Temple Period,” *IEJ* 51 (2001): 194-207, at 195. While discussing a deliberately distorted inscription from sixth-century BCE Khirbet Beit Lei, Joseph Naveh (“Hebrew Graffiti,” 195 n. 9) refers in passing to *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. J.G. Gager (ed.), *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5.

<sup>132</sup> Naveh, “Lamp Inscriptions,” 41.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. D. De Smet, “L’alphabet secret des Ismaéliens ou la force magique de l’écriture,” in *Charmes et sortilèges: Magie et magiciens* (ed. R. Gyselen; ResOr 14; Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l’Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 2002), 51-60.

<sup>134</sup> According to Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 202, the words אבן צינור represent the beginning of a new line and immediately follow on from the final word of the previous line (אבא according to Carmignac), because they are written in the regular manner from right to left. This would mean that the whole of l.2 was written in the normal way from right to left, but this need not be so. It is possible that the rest of l.2 was written in the inverted way typical of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* and that only the last two words were written from right to left. The fact that the final words were written in the regular way does not necessarily mean that the entire line was written thus.

and also with certain magical operations.<sup>135</sup> And in Greco-Roman astrology lists were compiled that associated stones, colors, plants, animals, and letters of the alphabet with the signs of the zodiac.<sup>136</sup> These texts are examples of a tendency to bring together various branches of knowledge in one type of text, such as compendia or catalogues.<sup>137</sup>

It is possible that a compendium text such as *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* associates certain stones with different physiognomic types and zodiacal signs. If so, this text from Qumran is important evidence that in first century BCE Jewish culture stones were related with signs of the zodiac.

Josephus ascribes divine communicative power to the twelve stones on the high priest's breastplate and assigns them to the twelve tribes of Israel,<sup>138</sup> but he also refers to a zodiacal interpretation for them.<sup>139</sup> Before him, Philo suggested a zodiacal interpretation for the twelve stones, and emphasized their different colors:

Secondly, the stones at the breast, which are dissimilar in color, and are distributed in four rows of threes, what else should they signify but the zodiac circle? [...] It is an excellent and indeed a splendid point that the twelve stones are of different colors and none of them like to any other. For each of the signs of the zodiac also produces its own particular coloring in the air and earth and water and their phases, and also in the different kinds of animals and plants.<sup>140</sup>

Philo thus shows knowledge of the association between stones, colors, and zodiacal signs, and their various influences on living beings and plants.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Sachs, "Babylonian Horoscopes," 67, 72; E. Reiner, "The Uses of Astrology," *JAO* 105 (1985): 589-95, at 592-93; E. Reiner, *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (TAPS 85/4; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995), 25-42, 119-32; N.P. Heeßel, "Stein, Pflanze und Holz: Ein neuer Text zur 'medizinischen Astrologie,'" *Or* 74 (2005): 1-22.

<sup>136</sup> See e.g. Gundel and Böker, "Zodiakos," 575-80; Hübner, *Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen*, 280; J. Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (eds. C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 138-74, at 154-56; R. Gordon, "Quaedam veritatis umbrae: Hellenistic Magic and Astrology," in *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (eds. P. Bilde et al.; SHC 7; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1997), 128-58, at 132.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Reiner, "Uses of Astrology," 592-93, quoting an unpublished paper by Leo Oppenheim.

<sup>138</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War* 5.234; *Jewish Antiquities* 3.166-169, 216-218.

<sup>139</sup> Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 3.186.

<sup>140</sup> Philo, *On the Life of Moses* 2.124, 126. Translation from F.H. Colson, *Philo: VI* (LCL 289; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 508-11. For a zodiacal interpretation of the high priest's breastplate, cf. also *On the Special Laws* 1.87; *On Dreams* 1.214. I thank Jonathan Norton for bringing these latter two references to my attention. On both Philo and Josephus, see also N. Fernández Marcos, "Rewritten Bible or *Imitatio*? The Vestments of the High-Priest," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (eds. P.W. Flint, E. Tov and J.C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 321-36.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. also Gundel and Böker, "Zodiakos," 577-78.

Josephus, furthermore, demonstrates that Jews were familiar with the medicinal properties of stones. He says of the Essenes that they examined medicinal roots and the properties of stones. The context here is clearly that of medicine. The Essenes' extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients is particularly aimed, says Josephus, at those texts that are of use for soul and body:

with the help of these, and with a view to the treatment of diseases, they make investigations into medicinal roots and the properties of stones.<sup>142</sup>

The medicinal function of plants and stones was no mystery for Second Temple period Jews. One should, therefore, allow for the possibility that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* not only related stones with zodiacal signs and physiognomic types of people, but also that this association was of a magico-medicinal nature.<sup>143</sup>

Within a literary context that combines physiognomics and astrology, the element of stones, possibly of magico-medicinal nature, may shed further light on the nature of the list in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. It suggests that the catalogue related different things to each other: human body, zodiacal signs, and stones. This not only reveals a tendency to bring together various branches of knowledge in one type of text such as lists or catalogues, but it may also hint at the notion of cosmic sympathy, which is further explored in Chapter Five.

#### *4QPYSIOGNOMY AR (4Q561)*

##### *Name and Genre*

Instead of the present name *4QPhysiognomy/Horoscope ar* for this Aramaic text,<sup>144</sup> the simple name *4QPhysiognomy ar* is more appropriate. The remaining fragments of this text contain purely physiognomic accounts.

<sup>142</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.136. Text and translation from H.St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books I-II* (LCL 203; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 374-75.

<sup>143</sup> See further Chapter Five. Whether 4Q186 1 ii 2 is part of the account in 4Q186 1 ii 5-9 or belongs to the end of a previous account cannot be ascertained, but the latter possibility seems more likely. If the text is structured according to physiognomic criteria, and if the text associates signs of the zodiac with various stones, it seems to make more sense to list the related stones subsequent to the physiognomic and zodiacal data.

<sup>144</sup> See Tov et al., DJD 39.74. Starcky named the text "Horoscopique araméen" (*Hor ar*), see Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen," 51; *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II-X, Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave IV, Printed from a Card Index Prepared by R.E. Brown, S.S., J.A. Fitzmyer, S.J., W.G. Oxtoby, and J. Teixidor, Prepared and Arranged for Printing by H.-P. Richter* (5 vols.; *editorum in usum*; Göttingen: Privately Printed, 1988), 4.

There are no clear and indisputable references to zodiacal signs or other astrological notions.<sup>145</sup> There is no reason whatsoever to suggest the genre horoscope for this text. The fragments represent the remains of a physiognomic catalogue that lists the bodily descriptions of different types of people.

*Material Reconstruction, Columns, and Measurements*

4QPhysiognomy ar consists of seven fragments,<sup>146</sup> some of which are collated.<sup>147</sup> For one of these seven fragments two columns can be reconstructed (4Q561 1 i and ii), and while it is probable that some of the other fragments should be placed near each other they cannot be joined on material grounds. The two reconstructed columns provide the only clue to measure the column width of this manuscript. It is, however, impossible to establish the number of columns that the original manuscript may have had.

From Starcky's transcriptions in the *Preliminary Concordance* and his preliminary translation it is clear that he understood 4Q561 1 i as preserving more or less the entire column width. For example, the eyes of the person described in the extant part of this column are between light and dark-colored (4Q561 1 i 1-2), and his nose is long and beautiful (4Q561 1 i 2-3).<sup>148</sup> The descriptions seem thus to continue from one line to the other.

4Q561 1 i has a top margin, measuring ca. 0.9 cm. From the amount of blank space following גייד (4Q561 1 i 2), and a possible guide dot in l.3, it is clear that this fragment preserves the upper and left part of the column. A bottom margin is not extant.

The right margin cannot be ascertained materially, but can plausibly be assumed. First, the words בִּין (1.2), שְׁפִיר (1.3), דָּק (1.4), and [מזמחקִין] (1.5) seem to begin on the right along the same vertical line. But, of course, this is not entirely certain as no beginning letter has been completely preserved. Secondly, the physiognomic descriptions seem to carry on from one line to another. It is unlikely that the descriptions were extremely detailed, and that

<sup>145</sup> Cf. also Alexander, "Physiognomy," 393 n. 18; M.O. Wise, "An Aramaic Horoscope (4Q561)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 567-68, at 567; J. Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 104; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1998), 193-94. Holst and Høgenhaven, "Physiognomy," 42.

<sup>146</sup> See PAM 41.944; 41.954; 42.438; 43.598.

<sup>147</sup> In the *Preliminary Concordance*, 4, it is noted that eight fragments have been catalogued (4Q561 1 i and ii are catalogued as *Hor ar* 1 and 3). In PAM 43.598 another fragment appears that has not been recorded in the actual concordance. This fragment appears upside down. It contains the remains of two lines, but only one word is still legible: תהחמדין or תהחמדין. The fragment does not belong to 4QPhysiognomy ar because the handwriting is slightly different (cf. *mem* and *taw*). Cf. Wise, "4Q561," 230-31; Holst and Høgenhaven, "Physiognomy," 27-28.

<sup>148</sup> *Preliminary Concordance* 2238, 2262; Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen," 64.



many more parts of the head were enumerated between the nose (1.2) and the teeth (1.3), such as ears or lips. This is illustrated, for example, by 4Q561 1 i 3: “and his teeth are even. And his beard” (ושגדו שוין ודקנה). The portrayal is succinct, and quickly moves on to another part of the body.

If indeed 4Q561 1 i gives a good indication of the column width, and if this is representative for the entire manuscript, it means that *4QPhysiognomy ar* preserves one of the narrowest columns for a manuscript from the Dead Sea Scrolls. The column width of *4QPhysiognomy ar* is ca. 5.5-6.0 cm.<sup>149</sup> Such a narrow column width probably means that this Aramaic text cannot have been a large composition. But it is impossible to determine the length of the text because not enough material has been preserved.

4Q561 1 ii consists of two fragments joined together by Starcky. The first fragment has clearly preserved a right and top margin. The top margin measures ca. 1.0 cm. As for the right margin, from להוה (4Q561 1 ii 1) the leather extends ca. 1.2 cm to the right. Perhaps even it represents the beginning of a sheet. It seems as if some stitches have been preserved, but this is not entirely clear from the photograph.<sup>150</sup>

There are three reasons for the probability of the join between the two fragments.<sup>151</sup> First, they can be joined physically along the diagonal tear between ll.1 and 2. Second, the stroke to the left of the second *lamed* of לן in 1.2 might very well be the down stroke of *qop* continuing from 1.1. Thirdly, the (partially reconstructed) beginning letters of the second fragment stand on one vertical line, in accordance with להוה in the first fragment in 1.1. If the join is accepted, the consequence is that one can assume a right margin, too, for the second fragment, or, in this case, 4Q561 1 ii 2-8.

Furthermore, from PAM 43.598 it is apparent that Starcky joins 4Q561 1 i with 4Q561 1 ii.<sup>152</sup> This join is probable. One has to assume, however, that the leather of 4Q561 1 i extends a bit further to the left in order to have enough space for *yod* in עיגודן. This means that it is not possible to estab-

<sup>149</sup> Cf. 4Q394 1-2 i-v: 1.5-2 cm; 4Q448 B: 2.6 cm; 4Q298 3-4 ii: 6.5-7 cm; 4Q504 *recto*: 6.5-7 cm; 4Q511 63 iv: 2.5 cm (left edge of a sheet, including the end of a hymn and containing only three lines with three or four words each); 4Q521 2 ii: 7.5-8 cm; 4Q368 1 ii-iii: ca. 8 cm (the *tefilim* are not taken into account, while 4Q341 [ca. 5 cm] is a writing exercise on a scrap of leather). Cf. H. Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189-220, at 198 n. 78; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 83. In Biblical manuscripts the phenomenon of narrow columns is more common, see E. Eshel, H. Eshel and A. Yardeni, “4QApocryphal Psalm and Prayer,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (eds. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 403-25, at 404 n. 5.

<sup>150</sup> See PAM 43.598.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. PAM 43.598.

<sup>152</sup> Cf. also Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.

lish an exact physical join. But assuming that the extant fragments of the original manuscript were in the vicinity of each other,<sup>153</sup> the join is likely. Both texts preserve a more or less similar top margin. In addition, 4Q561 1 i preserves the left part of the column, and 4Q561 1 ii has a clear right margin. Because of these material considerations the join is probable.

4Q561 2 consists of three fragments joined together by Starcky.<sup>154</sup> The join seems materially sound. The shape of the fragments fits neatly with each other, and in the case of *šîn* (שִׁין, 1.3), *reš* (רֶשׁ, 1.5), and *yod* (יָ, 1.6) the letters fit all three fragments. No top, bottom, or side margins can be discerned.

It is possible that this fragment continues the physical description in 4Q561 1 i. 4Q561 1 i 4-5 describe a person's limbs, while 4Q561 2 3-5 describe someone's thighs and foot. Assuming that the *a capite ad calcem* principle guided the descriptions of the body in 4QPhysiognomy ar 4Q561 2 could be placed beneath 4Q561 1 i as a continuation of that column, but this cannot be ascertained materially.<sup>155</sup>

Wise joins a fragment from another manuscript that Starcky coined *ar S* to the left of 4Q561 2.<sup>156</sup> This latter text consists of three fragments that appear at the top in PAM 43.598. The join is improbable for two reasons. First, there is no material join. Second, the scribal format is slightly different. The interlinear space is 0.4 cm between *ar S* 2 2 and *ar S* 2 3, but 0.3 cm between 4Q561 2 3 and 4Q561 2 4, while Wise suggests the first to be to a continuation of the latter. Starcky probably judged correctly when assigning the three fragments of *ar S* to another manuscript, although both 4QPhysiognomy ar and *ar S* were perhaps copied by the same scribe.<sup>157</sup>

4Q561 3 clearly preserves the left part of the column. This is evident from the amount of blank space to the left of ll.1-3. No top or bottom margins have been preserved.

Wise places this fragment under 4Q561 1 i 5.<sup>158</sup> But this join is incorrect.<sup>159</sup> First, the state of the leather of 4Q561 3 seems different from that of 4Q561 1 i. From the photographs its surface seems less smooth. Second, if one were to follow Wise's reading of 4Q561 1 i 5, the possible *nun* in 4Q561 3 1 represents the continuation of final *nun* from נִין in 4Q561 1 i

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction," 206.

<sup>154</sup> In PAM 41.954 only the right part appears, whereas in PAM 43.598 two more fragments are joined.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. also García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 456.

<sup>156</sup> Wise, "4Q561," 228. Cf. also the other two fragments assigned to the same text, Wise, "4Q561," 230.

<sup>157</sup> Holst and Høgenhaven, "Physiognomy," 39. *Qop* is written a bit differently in that the down stroke in 4QPhysiognomy ar is straight, while that in *ar S* is curved ("s"-shaped), but this need not indicate another scribe.

<sup>158</sup> Wise, "4Q561," 228-29.

<sup>159</sup> See PAM 41.944; 43.598.

5, and a trace of the lower part of the reconstructed final *nun* from לַעֲבֹיִן in 4Q561 1 i 5 should also be visible in 4Q561 3 1 to the left of לָהּ from line 2. But this is not the case. For these reasons this fragment is best treated separately.

4Q561 4 is a small fragment that contains the left part of the column, as is shown by the blank space following אַמִּי in l.1.

4Q561 5 is a bit more substantial than the previous fragment, but it has no indications of any margins. It cannot be determined whether this fragment preceding 4Q561 2 originally stood to the right of 4Q561 1 i as Wise suggests.<sup>160</sup>

From Starcky's transcriptions in the *Preliminary Concordance* one can infer that he considers 4Q561 6 to have preserved the right part of the column. This assumption seems reasonable, given the fact that the words in three lines begin exactly on the same vertical line.

Wise joins this fragment with 4Q561 5, because of the upper part of a final *nun* in 4Q561 5 4 and the lower part of a final *nun* in 4Q561 6 1.<sup>161</sup> But it is doubtful whether the shape of the leather of both fragments permits this join. Therefore, I treat both as separate fragments.

Finally, although Starcky assigns 4Q561 7 to *4QPhysiognomy ar*, I think it doubtful whether it belongs to the same manuscript. The distance between the two lines is 0.2 cm, whereas the line distance in *4QPhysiognomy ar* is ca. 0.3-0.4 cm.<sup>162</sup>

#### *Paleography and Date*

The script of *4QPhysiognomy ar* can be characterized, according to the Cross typology, as an early Herodian "Round" semiformal hand, with some features that are late Hasmonean.<sup>163</sup>

*Alep* has a right arm thickened at the top, but this has not yet developed into a *serif*, and the left leg joins the oblique axis at the top and is bent to the right. *Bet* appears with an angular corner, although in some cases it still has something of its tick at the right, upper shoulder,<sup>164</sup> but less pronounced than in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. *Bet* does not yet appear with the baseline extending beyond the vertical right down stroke, the "tail." *Gimel* has a right down stroke that is gently curved, but it is not yet clearly bent to the right at the top.<sup>165</sup> The left leg is connected higher on the right down

<sup>160</sup> Wise, "4Q561," 228.

<sup>161</sup> Wise, "4Q561," 228.

<sup>162</sup> See PAM 41.944; 43.598. In PAM 43.598 another unidentified small fragment appears upside down. It probably does not belong to *4QPhysiognomy ar*, see n. 147 above.

<sup>163</sup> Cross, "Development of the Jewish Script," 166-81. See also the paleographic analysis of Holst and Høgenhaven, "Physiognomy," 30.

<sup>164</sup> 4Q561 6 4: רב; 7 2: וְהַעֲבֹיִן.

<sup>165</sup> But see 4Q561 4 2: וְהַעֲבֹיִן; 5 3: וְהַעֲבֹיִן.

stroke. *Dalet* has already an “s”-shaped right leg characteristic of the semi-formal style.<sup>166</sup> *He* has a crossbar or roof that is thick and heavily shaded. *Waw* and *yod* are clearly distinguished. The head of *yod* is larger than that of *waw*.<sup>167</sup> *Het* has a right leg curved inward.<sup>168</sup> *Tet* is relatively broad. Medial *kap* has a down stroke that is straight<sup>169</sup> or curves outward to the right.<sup>170</sup> *Lamed* has a curved upper arm, sometimes thickened at the top,<sup>171</sup> but its hook is not yet very well pronounced. The medial *mem* has two forms: an older form, following late Hasmonean style, in which the left oblique stroke is penned last,<sup>172</sup> and a younger form (early Herodian) in which the left oblique is made first.<sup>173</sup> Medial *nun* appears with a down stroke bent to the right and slightly thickened at the top, but without *serif*. Final *nun* has a bent or shaded head. *Samek* appears in two forms: an older form in which it is not yet fully closed,<sup>174</sup> and a younger one in which it is.<sup>175</sup> *Ayin* has a right down stroke that is sharply curved at the top, while the arm below the top tends to straighten, which according to Cross is characteristic of the transition between late Hasmonean and early Herodian.<sup>176</sup> Medial *pe* has a sharp head. Final *pe* has the tendency to curl the head under toward the right down stroke.<sup>177</sup> *Qop* is penned continuously, forming a slight loop,<sup>178</sup> but also, apparently, with two strokes of the pen.<sup>179</sup> *Reš* has some variation in the width of the head. *Šin* has a right arm that shows the similar tendency like the right arm of *‘ayin* to straighten and sharply curve upwards at the top.<sup>180</sup> The left down stroke does not continue below the right arm. *Taw* shows the development in late Hasmonean script from being a “kerned” letter<sup>181</sup> to having a straight left leg at the top.<sup>182</sup>

On paleographic grounds a date for the manuscript of *4QPhysiognomy ar* between ca. 50-25 BCE, according to the Cross dating, seems probable.

<sup>166</sup> 4Q561 1 i 3: ודקנה; 2 2: די.

<sup>167</sup> 4Q561 1 i 4: אבריהי.

<sup>168</sup> 4Q561 1 i 5: [נמ]מחק[נן].

<sup>169</sup> 4Q561 1 ii 7: כעבין; 6 2: כתפה.

<sup>170</sup> 4Q561 1 i 2: לאכומן.

<sup>171</sup> 4Q561 1 i 5: לעב[נן].

<sup>172</sup> 4Q561 1 i 1: מערבין; 1 ii 2: [ו]ל[מ]חמלי; 5 2: לשמקמוק.

<sup>173</sup> 4Q561 1 i 2: לאכומן; 1 ii 8: לקומתה; 2 7: ל[מ]סף.

<sup>174</sup> 4Q451 5 3: וסגלגל.

<sup>175</sup> 4Q561 2 7: ל[מ]סף.

<sup>176</sup> 4Q561 1 i 1: עינודין; 1 i 5: לעב[נן]; 1 ii 7: כעבין; 3 3: עקא.

<sup>177</sup> 4Q561 2 4: כף.

<sup>178</sup> 4Q561 1 i 4: דק; 1 ii 8: לקומתה.

<sup>179</sup> 4Q561 2 3: שקוהי.

<sup>180</sup> 4Q561 1 i 3: שוין ושנהי and שוין; 2 3: שקוהי.

<sup>181</sup> 4Q561 2 3: פתין; 6 2: כתפה.

<sup>182</sup> 4Q561 1 ii 8: לקומתה.

The manuscript was copied perhaps a bit earlier than *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, but it was done more or less in the same period.

### *Contents*

The fragments of *4QPhysiognomy ar* are the remains of a physiognomic catalogue that, as far as can be determined, contained at least two elements.

First, it is evident that several physiognomic types are listed in the extant fragments. Similar to *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, the descriptions of the body run from head to toe.<sup>183</sup> Wise reconstructs at least five such descriptions from the extant text.<sup>184</sup> This might be correct, but it is also possible that some of the fragments he lists as separate descriptions belong to others, which would diminish the number of extant accounts.

Second, there is some evidence that the text originally listed prognostics for each physiognomic type. In 4Q561 3 3 the word עקא, “trouble,” appears at the end of the line. This may have been an indication that a person with a certain kind of physical shape and appearance would encounter some sort of trouble at a certain point of time during his life. The occurrence of לזמסך, “to ]come to an end,” in 4Q561 2 7 perhaps indicated the number of years when the person’s life would come to an end.<sup>185</sup> 4Q561 7 2 says that something will be done (ויהעבר), but what that might have been is unknown. These examples can be taken as indications of the person’s future state. If so, this means *4QPhysiognomy ar* did contain certain interpretations of the physiognomic data enumerated.<sup>186</sup>

In addition, one should allow for the possibility that *4QPhysiognomy ar* “établit un lien entre l’esprit et le corps.”<sup>187</sup> Starcky’s reads רוח לה in 4Q561 3 2, but his reading and understanding are not so straightforward. If *4QPhysiognomy ar* establishes a link between (human) spirit and body, it cannot be determined how exactly this was expressed, due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript.

### *Transcription and Translation*

For notes and comments on readings see Appendix I.

#### *4Q561 1 i*

[ נודהי מערבין ולא שניא עינוהן ]	1
בין ארין לאכומן אפה נגיד	2

<sup>183</sup> See 4Q561 1 i, 4Q561 1 ii, and 4Q561 2.

<sup>184</sup> See Wise, “Aramaic Horoscope,” 567-68.

<sup>185</sup> See also the notes on readings in 4Q561 2 7 in Appendix I.

<sup>186</sup> See, however, Geller, “New Documents from the Dead Sea,” 227-29, who argues that this is not the case.

<sup>187</sup> Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64.

- שפיר ושנוהי שוין ודקנה . 3
- דק להוהן ו[לא שניא אברוהי 4
- [מזחקין ו]בין מגדמין לעבין[ 5

1. his [...] will be mixed but not too much. Hi[s] eyes
2. are between light and dark-colored. His nose is long
3. <and> beautiful, and his teeth are even. And his beard
4. will be thin [but] not too much so. His limbs
5. [are s]mooth[ and ]be[tween st]umped and thic[k]

4Q561 1 ii

- להוה קלנה 1
- [ו]ל[מ]תמלי ו[ה]ן 2
- (ו)לא אריך[ו]...ה/ה 3
- ושער דקנה שחם 4
- להוון בין עבין לנדקין 5
- ואנין קטינין 6
- כעבין שפרוהני 7
- לקומתה ון 8
- לן 9

[(And) someone

1. [his] voice will be [
2. [and f]illed (?) ...[
3. [(and) no]t long ... [
4. and the hair of his beard is da[rk/bla]ck
5. will be between thick and [thin
6. and they are slender[
7. are somewhat thick. Hi[s] nails[
8. Regarding his height and[
9. ]...[

4Q561 2

- [מ]ון 1
- די אנין כוין 2
- פתין שקוהין 3
- לעבין כף רגלה 4
- ג: פתין לה רגלה 5
- לת יפל/קן 6
- למסך 7
- קרין 8

1. ]...[
2. ]they have burn marks (?) [
3. ] broad. And his thighs[

4. ] and thick. The sole of his foot[
5. ]... [ broad (?)] is his foot [
6. ]... ...[
7. to ]come to an end ...[
8. ]...[

## 4Q561 3

ן]	1
רוח לה/קר]יח לה	2
עקא [	3
שערן עבות	4

1. ]...[
2. ] he has a [sp]irit (?) / bald/smooth] is his (?)
3. ] trouble
4. ]thick hairs

## 4Q561 4

ו]מו	1
תרנגל	2
על	3

1. ]...[...]
2. ]wavy (?)
3. ]upon

## 4Q561 5

ו]ו	1
לשמקמוקי]ו	2
בררי וסגלגל להו]נה	3
לב]ן לה שער רשהן	4

1. ]...[
2. (between )...]and red[ ]...[
3. ] will b[e br]ight and round [
4. white (?)] is the hair of his head[

## 4Q561 6

ן]	1
כתפה ]	2
להוון על]ן	3
ולא רבן	4

1. ]...[
2. ] his shoulder [
3. ] they will be upon[

4. ] and not large[

4Q561 7

ושניאן ] 1  
 ]ויהעברן [ 2

1. and abundant [
2. [ ]and it will be done[

BODY AND SPIRIT?

There is no unequivocal evidence indicating that the physiognomies in 4QPhysiognomy ar is aimed at discerning people’s spirit or character.

Starcky reconstructs רוח לה in 4Q561 3 2, and understands this as parallel to רוח לו in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. He states that this proves that 4QPhysiognomy ar establishes a link between body and spirit. Furthermore, on the basis of the perceived parallel with 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, Starcky suggests that 4QPhysiognomy ar is also astrological.<sup>188</sup> What this means is that 4QPhysiognomy ar would also have mentioned the spirit being divided between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” This would have been so because “le début de la formule caractéristique est: ‘il a comme esprit tant de parts de lumière et tant de ténèbres.’”<sup>189</sup> This line of reasoning has been accepted by other scholars, who take the words רוח לה to mean “his spirit,” while some also assume that 4QPhysiognomy ar contains references to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.”<sup>190</sup>

Regarding the references to light and darkness, it is evident that these do not actually occur in the extant text. The assumption of such a reference hinges entirely on the words רוח לה. However, even if רוח לה were the correct reconstruction, it is very doubtful whether 4Q561 3 2-3 contained references to a division between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” in the way that these occur in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. Such a reconstruction of 4Q561 3 2-3 is highly unlikely because of the column width of 4QPhysiognomy ar, which probably measures no more than ca.

<sup>188</sup> Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64-65.

<sup>189</sup> Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 62: “Elle (the introduction to the characteristic formula) se retrouve sur l’un des fragments de notre manuscrit 4QHor ar: r]wħ lh [.”

<sup>190</sup> See the note on 4Q561 3 2 in Appendix I, and add Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 393: 4QPhysiognomy ar “evinces concern about the proportions of light and darkness”; A. Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 377-435, at 390: “the same view of human beings as composed of different parts of light and darkness is expressed in 1QS 4:15-18, 23-25 and the text preserved in manuscripts 4Q186 and 4Q561.”



5.5-6.0 cm (see above). The words רוח לה stand at the end of the line in 4Q561 3 2. This means that references to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” would have stood at the beginning of 4Q561 3 3. However, at the end of this line there is the word עקא, indicating some sort of trouble that may befall someone (presumably the type of individual whose body was described in the original text). The word עקא did not begin a phrase, but was probably introduced by something like להיה, “there will be trouble for him” (להיה לה עקא). In any case, on the basis of the column width there is not enough space in 4Q561 3 3 previous to עקא for references to certain numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” as in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*; it is materially impossible. One should perhaps allow for the possibility that the formula from *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* occurred in abbreviated form in *4QPhysiognomy ar*. It is, however, difficult to imagine how this was done because the formula in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is itself already elliptical. In conclusion, there is no evidence which suggests that *4QPhysiognomy ar* originally contained references to light and darkness.

Assuming that Starcky’s reconstruction רוחלה is correct, this raises the question of what these words might mean. Scholars have simply translated these words with “his spirit.” The construction רוחלה, however, is not easy to reconcile with “his spirit.” For “his spirit” one would instead expect רוחה.<sup>191</sup> In the physiognomic descriptions in the rest of *4QPhysiognomy ar* the nouns referring to the different body parts have suffixed pronouns attached to them,<sup>192</sup> but this is not exactly the same as a noun followed by a particle with suffixed pronoun. To be more precise, the words רוח לה should be understood as “he has a spirit” or “there is a spirit for him”;<sup>193</sup> a point acknowledged by Starcky’s translation “il a comme esprit...” (see above). It is not clear what is meant by “he has a spirit” though. The word רוח is not further qualified by an adjective<sup>194</sup> or noun.<sup>195</sup> Perhaps a more elaborate qualification followed subsequently to רוח לה, but this cannot be determined. It is possible that this construction was used on purpose to accentuate the difference with the physiognomic descriptions, but this is not clear; nor, for that matter, is it evident that the construction רוח לה in fact appears in *4QPhysiognomy ar*.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. 4Q541 10 4; 4Q545 9 2; 4Q550 1 4.

<sup>192</sup> 4Q561 1 i 1; עיניו: 1 i 2; אפה: 1 i 3; ושגודי and ודקנה: 1 i 4; אברוהי: 1 ii 4; ושער דקנה: 1 ii 8; ושפירוהי: 1 ii 8; לקומתה: 2 3; שקוהי: 2 4; כף רגלה: 2 5; רגלה: 5 4; ושער רשה: 6 2; כחפה: 7.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. also 1Q20 22:31; 4Q196 6 11.

<sup>194</sup> See e.g. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:19 (according to *DSSSE*); 4Q393 1 ii-2 5; 4Q511 15 7; 81 3; 4Q538 1-2 4; 4Q542 1 i 10; 11Q5 19:15; 11Q6 4-5 16. Note also 4Q230 1 1, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, “These Are the Names of the Spirits of...”: A Preliminary Edition of *4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230)* and New Manuscript Evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)*,” *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 529-47, at 531.

<sup>195</sup> See e.g. 4Q230 1 2-3.

As already said, Starcky's reading and understanding of רִוַח לָהּ is based on the occurrence of רִוַח לוֹ in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*,<sup>196</sup> but would it also have been proposed if that text were not known to us?

On the basis of *4QPhysiognomy ar* and the description of Sarai in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, one would anticipate an adjective prior to לָהּ in 4Q561 3 2. The construction לְ with attached suffixed pronoun occurs two more times in *4QPhysiognomy ar*, but the context is too fragmentary to determine the exact sense in these cases. In 4Q561 2 5 it is possible that an adjective preceded לָהּ in the lacuna and described what the foot looks like, perhaps something like "he has a broad foot" (פְּרוֹץ לָהּ רַגְלָהּ). In 4Q561 5 4 an adjective describing the hair is possible, such as "he has white hair" (לְבוֹן לָהּ שֵׁעַר רִשְׁתָּהּ). The complete construction is clearly preserved in 1QapGen ar 20:2-4. Subsequently to an adjective comes *lamed* with suffixed pronoun, which is followed by a suffixed noun referring to a part of Sarai's body: רָקִיקָה לָהּ שֵׁעַר רִאִישָׁהּ ("beautiful the form of her face"); וְשֹׁפֵר לָהּ צִלְמֵ אַנְפִּיהָ ("soft the hair of her head"); יְאֵאֱלֶה חֲדִירָהּ ("lovely her breast").<sup>197</sup>

In the case of 4Q561 3 2 the letter prior to *het* is most likely *waw*, but *yod* cannot be excluded, which suggests as a plausible adjective, for example, קָרִיחַ ("bald, smooth"). This would mean that this line of the fragment contains part of a physiognomic description, perhaps portraying the head or the legs, but due to the fragmentary state it is not possible to be more specific.

In conclusion, perhaps 4Q561 3 2 referred in some way to the spiritual state of the described individual. But what was said about it cannot be surmised from this text, or from its presumed identicalness with *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The manuscript is too fragmentary to determine its exact meaning or to relate it to רִוַח לוֹ in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

<sup>196</sup> It seems certain that the occurrence of רִוַח לוֹ in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* was known prior to that of רִוַח לָהּ in *4QPhysiognomy ar*. 4Q186 1 ii 7 appears for the first time in PAM 40.615, a photograph taken in May 1953 (the material was acquired on September 20, 1952), while 4Q561 3 2 appears for the first time in PAM 41.944, a photograph taken in February 1956. Allegro arrived in Jerusalem to work on the material in October 1953, while Starcky received his lot of manuscripts in January 1954, after Allegro had already deciphered part of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. Allegro worked on the material in late 1953 (see Brown, *John Marco Allegro*, 29-30), while J. Starcky, "Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân: Communication de J. Starcky," *RB* 63 (1956): 66-67, did not yet comment on *4QPhysiognomy ar*, which might have been expected if the perceived parallel with a text from Allegro's lot had been known.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. also 1QapGen ar 20:3-4.6: יְאֵן לְהוֹן לָהּ עֵינֶיהָ ("lovely her eyes"); רַגְעָהּ לָהּ אַנְפָּהּ ("graceful her nose"); שְׁפִירָהּ לָהּ כּוֹל לְבִנְהָּ ("beautiful all her whiteness"); שְׁלֵמָהּ לָהּ לְהָן לָהּ שְׁקִיחָּהּ ("perfect her legs"). The latter example is slightly different in that it uses a participial form in an adjectival sense.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 4QPHYSIOGNOMY AR (4Q561) AND  
4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY (4Q186)

According to Starcky, 4QPhysiognomy ar represents “la version (ou l’adaptation) araméenne” of the Hebrew text 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, and he suggests it thus also contained certain astrological information.<sup>198</sup> Starcky does not indicate what sort of astrology he is thinking of, but it seems likely he had something of a similar zodiacal nature as 4QZodiacal Physiognomy in mind.

4QPhysiognomy ar has in common with 4QZodiacal Physiognomy the enumeration of physiognomic descriptions of evidently different types.<sup>199</sup> These descriptions follow a pattern running from head to toe (*a capite ad calcem*). Another element possibly common to both texts is that they offer interpretations of the physiognomic types with regard to a future situation of people.<sup>200</sup>

Being descriptions of the human body, it is not surprising to find terminological overlap between these accounts in both texts. There are, of course, parts of the body that are referred to.<sup>201</sup> Furthermore, equivalent or similar descriptions are used for the physical traits,<sup>202</sup> and also with regard to syntactical construction there is common ground.<sup>203</sup> The physiognomic descriptions are ordered according to the *a capite ad calcem* principle, but, at the same time, a comparison between the accounts in both texts shows

<sup>198</sup> Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 51, 65. Cf. J. Starcky, “Les quatre étapes du messianisme à Qumrân,” *RB* 70 (1963): 481-505, at 503 n. 66. Milik understood both texts as part of a Book of Noah, see J.T. Milik, “Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân,” *HTR* 64 (1971): 333-78, at 366; J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 56. See also García Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 513; Lange, “Essene Position on Magic,” 387-90.

<sup>199</sup> Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte*, 194; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 40.

<sup>200</sup> Cf. 4Q561 2 7: לַמִּסָּפָה (“to |come to an end”); 4Q561 3 3: עָקָא (“trouble”), and possibly 4Q186 1 ii 9: עֵינֵי יְהִיָּה (“he will be poor”).

<sup>201</sup> See for the eyes: 4Q561 1 i 1: עֵינֵיהֶן; and 4Q186 2 i 1: וְעֵינָיו; *teeth*: 4Q561 1 i 3: וְשִׁנָּיו; and 4Q186 1 iii 6; 2 i 2: וְשִׁנָּיו; *beard*: 4Q561 1 i 3; 1 ii 4: וְהַדְּקָה, and 4Q186 2 i 1: וְהַקָּנִי; *voice*: 4Q561 1 ii 1: קִלְחָה, and 4Q186 2 i 2: וְבֵת קִילֹי; *thighs*: 4Q561 2 3: שְׁקִיחֵי, and 4Q186 1 ii 5; 1 iii 7; 2 i 5: וְשִׁקְוֵי; *foot sole(s)*: 4Q561 2 4: כַּף רִגְלָה, and 4Q186 2 i 5: וְכַפּוֹת רִגְלָיו. Cf. also for the *height*: 4Q561 1 ii 8: לְקִוּמָתָהּ, and 4Q186 2 i 3-4: וְהוּאָה לֹא אֲרוּךְ וְלֹא קָצֵר.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. *mixed*: 4Q561 1 i 1: מְעֻרְבִין, and 4Q186 1 i 9: מְעֻרְבִים; *beautiful*: 4Q561 1 i 3: שְׂפִיר, and 4Q186 3 3: יָפִי; *even/well ordered*: 4Q561 1 i 3: שְׁוִין, and 4Q186 2 i 3: עֲלֵ סִרְכְּמָה; *thin/sparse*: 4Q561 1 i 4: דָּק, and 4Q186 2 i 2: מְמַעֵט; *smooth*: 4Q561 1 i 5: וְנִמְחָקִין, and 4Q186 2 i 5: חֲלִקָה; *thick*: 4Q561 1 i 5: לְעֵבִין; 1 ii 5: עֵבִין; 1 ii 7: כְּעֵבִין; 2 4: לְעֵבִין; and 4Q186 1 iii 7-8: עֵבֹת; *long*: 4Q561 1 ii 3: אֲרִיךְ, and 4Q186 1 ii 5-6: וְאֲרוּכּוֹת; 2 i 3: אֲרוּךְ; *slender*: 4Q561 1 ii 6: קִשְׁיָן, and 4Q186 1 ii 5-6; 2 i 4: וְרַקוֹת; *broad*: 4Q561 2 3: פְּתִין, and 4Q186 1 i 8: רְחָבִים; *wavy*: 4Q561 4 2: תְּגֻרָל, and 4Q186 2 i 2: תְּגֻרָל; *round*: 4Q561 5 3: וְסֻגְלָל, and 4Q186 1 i 8: סֻגְלָלִים.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. e.g. 4Q561 1 i 2: בֵּין אֲרִין לְאִבּוּן (*between light and dark-colored*), and 4Q186 2 i 1: בֵּין שְׁחֹרֹת וּבֵין מְנֻמְרֹת (*between black and speckled*).

that there is no fixed sequence for enumerating the different parts of the body. For example, in 4Q561 1 i 3 the teeth are described prior to the beard, but in 4Q186 2 i 1-3 the description of the beard is followed by that of the teeth. Also, in 4Q561 1 ii 7-8 the height is mentioned subsequently to the nails, whereas in 4Q186 2 i 3-5, the fingers are described subsequently to the height.

Terminological overlaps, however, are inherent to the genre of physiognomic texts and, apart from illustrating this generic connection, do not warrant the conclusion that *4QPhysiognomy ar* and *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* are different manuscripts of the same composition. Apart from the physiognomic descriptions, it is far from clear that *4QPhysiognomy ar* is the same text as *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* containing the same elements, but then in Aramaic. This entire interpretation hinges on the reading and understanding of רַוְחָה לֵה, which is problematic.

There are no grounds for assuming that *4QPhysiognomy ar* and *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* represent the same literary composition. The similarities between both texts are satisfactorily explained against their common background in the physiognomic tradition.<sup>204</sup> To argue that *4QPhysiognomy ar* is “aussi astrologique” is not borne out by the textual evidence.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 393 n. 18; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 42.

<sup>205</sup> Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 65. One cannot import astrological elements from *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* into *4QPhysiognomy ar* on the basis of doubtful evidence such as a presumed equivalence between רַוְחָה לֵה and רַוְחָה לֵה.