Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 1 i

4Q186 1 i 4: The small fragment carrying 1.4 first appears in PAM 41.314 and is joined in PAM 41.804 with 4Q186 1. The first letter is probably he: two legs and part of the head are visible. Two down strokes, the right one of which curves slightly to the left, follow he. These strokes might have been part of ‘aleph, but this is not clear (see also PAM 42.616).

4Q186 1 i 7: With Allegro, I reconstruct the last letter of this line as qoph. The long down stroke curves to the left (“s”-shaped). This feature makes it probable that qoph should be read here. Wise translates “Anyone, the ha[ir of whose head] shall be,” most likely reconstructing šəpher ‘eḥod qoph. Although the reconstruction is interesting, the reading is paleographically improbable. The left down stroke extends further down below the right arm than is usual with šin/sin. Also, one would expect to see remnants of the right arm of sin.

4Q186 1 i 8: The second word, 알고, “round,” is entirely recorded in paleo-Hebrew characters. Allegro reads 알고, נָהֲלָןִים, “rounded,” but paleo-

1 Allegro DJD 5.88. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 380. Apart from three minor instances, the recent presentation (transcription and translation) of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy by N. Gordon agrees completely with Allegro’s DJD edition and does not add anything new; see D.W. Parry and E. Tov (eds.), Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts (DSSR 6; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 220-23. Therefore, I will not refer individually to this publication in the following discussion. The three minor differences are in 4Q186 1 ii 7: מַדְבִּבִים; 1 i ii 3: “and his teeth are …?”/”and his teeth are elevated”; 2 ii 7: the additional suggestion that מָדְבִּי could mean “bowing.”


3 Allegro, DJD 5.88-89 (the italics are Allegro’s and indicate the uncertainty of the translation). Note that in his preliminary publication (“Astrological Cryptic Document,” 292-93), Allegro gives a table of the scripts used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy that differs from the one in the final publication (Allegro, DJD 5.90). In the preliminary publication Allegro understands the disputed letter to be paleo-Hebrew samek, but suggests that it should be recognized as a waw (=?). In the final publication the table has been adapted and the identification of a samek has been replaced by a clear waw. But note that both tables are ordered al-
Reading לארשי differs from the full spelling לארשי in 4Q186 1 iii 5, but this does not speak against this reconstruction.\textsuperscript{15}

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 1 ii

The small fragment containing ll.1-4 first appears in PAM 41.314 and is joined in PAM 41.804 with 4Q186 1 ii.\textsuperscript{16} 4Q186 1 ii 1: Most scholars read יסוז, “unclean, impure,”\textsuperscript{17} except Carmignac and Delcor who read יסוז, “good.”\textsuperscript{18} The first reading is to be preferred. In PAM 42.616 it is clear that the scribe drew part of the down stroke that is attached to the horn of mem and descends to the left. The word יסוז stands too isolated to determine its function. Perhaps it characterizes some state of the described individual, but this is not clear.

4Q186 1 ii 3: Allegro reads יבר,\textsuperscript{19} but the second letter might also be יבר. There seems to be a small crinkle in the leather below the second character, or it may be that a small part of the surface has fallen off. This makes it difficult to determine whether the down stroke continued further down.

Allegro suggests reading יבר. He identifies it with the constellation mentioned in Job 9:9 and 38:32,\textsuperscript{20} but he does not explain the meaning of

\textsuperscript{15} Admittedly, there are only a few cases where one and the same manuscript has alternative spellings. See 4Q403 1 ii 24 (םג, הער), 1 ii 34 (םג); 4Q418 9 5 (םג), 43-45 i 1 (םג); 126 ii 7 (םג). In biblical manuscripts only in the Isaiah scroll from Cave 1; see for the form without aleph (םג) Isa 40:21; 41:26; 48:16.

\textsuperscript{16} Note that at the top of 4Q186 1 ii a stroke of ink is still visible in PAM 40.615 and 41.314, but that it vanishes in PAM 41.804 when the other fragment is joined. What is left is a v-shaped crack, the outline of which is already unmistakably visible in PAM 40.615. Perhaps the fragment broke loose, or maybe it did not belong here in the first place. If it does belong here there would not have been enough room to attach the four-line fragment at the top of 4Q186 1 ii. In PAM 41.804 this fragment crosses right over the v-shaped crack, exactly where the small piece of leather was located in the previous PAM photographs. If we look only at PAM 40.615 and 41.314, the stroke of ink seems to be in a strange place. It is too close to the line below it to be part of another line. It seems like the upper stroke of bet or red, but it is too high to belong to the same line of the nun below it (unless it were a scribal correction?).

\textsuperscript{17} Allegro, DJD 5.88-89; Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 274; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:135; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; García Martínez and Tchekelaar, DSSSE, 380-81.

\textsuperscript{18} Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 201-2; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 299-300.

\textsuperscript{19} Allegro, DJD 5.88-89.

\textsuperscript{20} Allegro, DJD 5.90. For יבר in Job, BHS (ed. G. Gerleman) proposes reading יבר יבר instead as in 38:32, but without any manuscript evidence. The identification of the constellation mentioned in the two passages in Job, however, is somewhat doubtful (see A. de Wilde, Das Buch Hiob: Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert [OTS 22; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981], 142-44, who sides with those identifying יבר יבר with Aldebaran). The most common identification seems to be with the Great Bear (see D.J.A. Clines, Job 1-20 [WBC 17; Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989], 231), but some propose an identification with Leo (see H. Straub, Hiob: 2. Teilband, 19.1-42.17 [BKAT 16/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000].
his reconstructed reading is אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי. Interestingly, the Peshitta translates שֶׁי in Job 9:9 and שֶׁ in Job 38:32 with jœta, which is used of the Hyades, a distinct group of stars in the head of the constellation Taurus, with the red star Aldebaran as its brightest member (cf. the Greek Αὐραήδες).21 As Allegro does not provide a translation for שֶׁי (“a man of Hyades”?), it is difficult to surmise what he has in mind with his suggested reconstruction שֶׁי. How is a reference to שֶׁי as a distinct section of the zodiacal constellation Taurus in 4Q186 1 ii 3 related to the indication of a specific part of the zodiacal sign Taurus in 4Q186 1 ii 9 (בַּתַּלדְּרַת)?22 There is no other textual evidence in which the Hyades are referred to as the “foot of Taurus” (סַנְתָּרֶה), 4Q186 1 ii 9).23 Allegro’s reconstruction does not seem to elucidate our understanding of 4QZodiacal Physiology, and is to be rejected.

Wise translates “[And] anyone [whose] eyes are,” probably reconstructing אַשֶׁר שֶׁי as אַשֶׁר שֶׁי (or, at least, אַשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי תּוֹקָנָה) (בער), similar to the form of the phrase used in 4Q186 1 i 7 (אַשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי תּוֹקָנָה) and in The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage.25 This could mean that it is not necessarily a bodily feature that is referred to in 4Q186 1 ii 3.

If, however, one reads שֶׁי, a reconstruction such as אַשֶׁר שֶׁי is possible, which would mean that the individual described in 4Q186 1 ii is a blind person.26 Another possibility could be that line 3 introduced a certain type of character. If one reads שֶׁי, one might reconstruct אַשֶׁר בָּאָר ("an unjust man"),27 or אַשֶׁר בָּאָר ("a shrewd man").28

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For the position of Aldebaran in the head of the constellation Taurus, see e.g. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos 1.9.3, and, more specifically, the star catalogue in Ptolemy, Almagest 7.5.[23]

22 Allegro, of course, did not see this problem. Translating משינו בַּתַּלדְּרַת as “on the Festival of Taurus” he does not understand it as a reference to a part of the zodiacal sign Taurus.

23 There is, however, evidence that שֶׁי (as the Hyades) was interpreted as the head of Taurus. In the Babylonian Talmud the term שֶׁי is explained as being אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי, and אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי is said by some to mean the tail of the Lamb (Aries), and by others the head of the Calf (Taurus). See b. Ber. 38b: אָרִי אֵין בִּכְּפָנָיו אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי אֲשֶׁר שֶׁי Aries hold the more reasonable position.


25 See the section in Chapter One on the beginning of the physiognomic entries.

26 Lev 21:18; 11Q7> 45.12.

27 4Q417 2 i 7 (4QInstruction) says that an unjust man should not be considered as one who helps אַשֶׁר בָּאָר (לעַל אֲשֶׁר בָּאָר).

28 Cf. 4Q525 23 5 (4QBeautitudes): אַשֶׁר בָּאָר.
If the text is arranged according to physiognomic criteria, it seems more likely that a bodily feature is being described rather than a character trait. If, in addition, מְזָהָר in 1.2 represents the end of a previous account, it follows that 1.3 would be the beginning of another account in 4Q186 1 ii. Perhaps 1.3 mentioned first the head and then commented on the eyes by stating the person was blind. Two lines further on the thighs are described as long and slender.29 This would mean, however, that a person whose zodiacal spirit has more parts in the “house of light” than in the “house of darkness” (6:3) is a blind person. The text, unfortunately, is too fragmentary to enhance our understanding of this matter.

4Q186 1 ii 4: This line is difficult to understand because of the poor condition of the manuscript here. Allegro, Delcor and Maier do not even provide a translation of this line.30 It is hard to determine whether the body is the object of description in this line. One can only assume this on the basis of the next line, 1.5, which begins with the thighs. The presupposition is that 1.5 continues a bodily description from the previous line(s).

The beginning of 1.4 is not preserved. Allegro transcribes the first visible signs as מזח.31 The final letter is paleo-Hebrew תavn, and the third letter is square script וָו, with part of the head still visible in PAM 42.616. Of the second letter, a down stroke and a base are extant. The first letter is only present in a small trace of ink32 and is in itself not indicative. Wise reads the second letter as kap, translates “and long,” and presumably reconstructs מְזָהָר כפ.33 Wise takes this to be a description of the eyes mentioned at the end of 1.3 according to his reconstruction.34 Wise’s reconstruction at the end of 1.3, however, is syntactically problematic (see above). If one accepts Wise’s reading for 1.4, it is not possible to determine which part of the body is described in this line as being long.35 Perhaps his teeth or the fingers of his hands?

29 In 4Q186 1 iii 5 the head is mentioned and two lines down the thighs are described as thick and hairy.
30 Allegro, DJD 5.89; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 309; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:135.
31 Allegro, DJD 5.88-89.
32 See PAM 41.804; 42.616.
34 Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277. At the end of 1.4 Wise reads the word מְזָהָר as a qualification of the eyes (“fixed eyes”), which means that the description of the eyes begins in 1.3 and runs all the way to the end of 1.4 according to his reading. In The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage a person’s eyes are described as long, מִשְׁמַע, see Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.5.
35 Instead of reading kap, one could also read the second letter as bet and reconstruct מְזָהָר מַג, “the knees.” But there are two objections, based on literary considerations, against this reading. First, the physical descriptions run from head to foot (the a capite ad calcem principle, however, need not be a strict criterion. In other physiognomic texts this order is not always rigorously followed). In 1.5 the thighs are the objects of description, but one would
Allegro reconstructs the next word as הָלְכָה. 36 The first two letters are clearly visible. The first could be waw or yod, and the second letter is he. The manuscript is damaged and the surface layer of the leather is partly missing. The right part of the roof and upper part of the right leg of he are therefore lacking. This damaged condition makes it impossible to reconstruct the continuation of the word; only a few dots are visible in this damaged section. When the top layer of the leather is present again one can discern a small horizontal stroke that seems to have a curve upwards at the left, like the upper stroke (the sting) of bet, dalet, kap, mem or reš, but it is very vague. 37 There are two problems with Allegro’s reconstruction. First, the gap seems too large for one letter (even if it were paleo-Hebrew nun), and, second, final he is difficult to read, since the curve seems to go upward.

In his preliminary publication Allegro gave another reading than in the final edition of the last word in 1.4. In the preliminary publication Allegro reads גַּנְבָּה, “clear, clear.” He tentatively suggests that the second letter is used cryptically for qop, although it is clearly paleo-Hebrew šade. 38 But in his final publication Allegro does not maintain this suggestion. He then reads גַּנְבָּה, a nip̄al from גַּב meaning “to be pressed, lean,” but does not provide a translation. 39 Carmignac suggests that the third letter is not yod, but paleo-Hebrew reš. He reads גַּנְבָּה, a qal feminine passive participle plural from the root רבש, “to watch, keep, guard”, referring to Isa 48:6 (רַבְשָׁה, “hidden things”) as an exact parallel for this form. 40

The reading by Carmignac is to be preferred. The first letter, however, need not necessarily be square script but could be paleo-Hebrew nun. 41 The down stroke of paleo-Hebrew mem is tilted to the left in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, 42 and the same may apply to paleo-Hebrew nun. I suggest that this final word in 1.4 is entirely written in paleo-Hebrew characters. The

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37 See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616.
39 Allegro, DJD 5.88-90. See also Garcia Martinez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498, “schraal (ס) (“lean, meagre, poor”).
41 Pace Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 202, who refers to 4Q186 1 ii 6: 22 and 1 ii 9: יֵשׁ as examples of a similar square script nun.
42 See 4Q186 1 ii 8: וּבָהוֹ; 2 ii 2: מַסְטֶר.
second and third letters are paleo-Hebrew šāde and reš. The fourth letter, filling the gap, is paleo-Hebrew waw. In PAM 41.804 one can observe a small stroke to the left of the gap and to the right of the paleo-Hebrew taw. This perhaps represents the horizontal stroke of paleo-Hebrew waw. The fifth and final letter is clearly paleo-Hebrew taw.

The sense of the final word in 4Q186 1ii 4, צָרַיִם, is hard to determine. Carmignac proposes the interpretation that, following the sequence of the description of the human body, it refers to the genital area of the body, which is kept secret (“gardées secrètes”).\(^{43}\) But if a part of the body were referred to one would expect a suffix attached to לְדֵי נַפְס, for example.\(^{44}\) Wise presumably agrees with Carmignac’s reading, but he translates לְדֵי נַפְס as “fix[ed],” a reference to “fixed eyes.”\(^{45}\) García Martínez and Tighelaar translate “secrets,” leaving open to what it refers.\(^{46}\) One could perhaps think of revealed secrets or a secretive character?\(^{47}\)

In the context of a physiognomic description, Carmignac’s suggestion is possible. In Babylonian as well as in medieval Jewish physiognomic tradition the penis is the object of physiognomic inquiry.\(^{48}\) And in Greek zodio-logia as well as in the Mandean Book of the Zodiac the secret or private parts are also referred to.\(^{49}\) Again, the text is too fragmentary to establish the sense of the final part of this line.

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\(^{44}\) Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos 3.13.15, mentions injuries and diseases of the secret parts (σπορτῖν τοῖνοι) caused by the planet Mars. Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis 5.3.38, says that if Saturn is positioned in Scorpio he causes tireless pains in the concealed and private parts (absconsorum et latentium locorum assiduos dolores).

\(^{45}\) Cf. n. 35 above.

\(^{46}\) García Martínez and Tighelaar, DDSSE, 381.

\(^{47}\) Cf. e.g. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos 2.2.10: τὰ πολλὰ κρύπτωντες .

\(^{48}\) In the Babylonian physiognomic omen series Summa alamûdimmû the tenth tablet is devoted to descriptions of the penis and testicles (X.64-125), see Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 122-27. There is an astrological-physiognomic text in the Cairo Genizah (T.-S. NS 252:2) that gives descriptions of the male genitals, see Gruenwald, “Jewish Physiognomic,” 317-19. For a comparison between some Babylonian omens and this Cairo Genizah text, see Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 67. The Babylonian series Summa alamûdimmû also pays attention to the vagina in the subsseries devoted to the woman, see Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 165. It seems that Greco-Roman physiognomic tradition did not regard the sex organs as objects of physiognomic inquiry, but see the occurrence in the Anonymous Latin author, De physiognomonia liber §85: quae virilia habent magna lanceaque, stolidi sunt (“those who have large and hairy testicles are stupid”), and also the Greek zodio-logia in n. 49.

\(^{49}\) CCAG 4.159.12; 160.1-2, 18-19, 31-32; 162.1; 163.3-4; 166.15; 167.1, 23-24; 168.23; 169.10; 10.102.8-9; 103.26-27; 105.11-12; 108.15-16; 109-28-29; 114.25; 117.3; 118.19;
Practically no scholar accepts Allegro’s translation “and he is of the Second Vault.” Allegro points to שער אבירי in Job 26:11, and asserts that this terminology from Job is explained as “vaults” in 1 En. 18:3. But, as in Job 26:11, the translation “pillars of heaven” seems better. In Enoch cosmology the universe is imagined as a building. The earth has its foundations, and the heavens are supported by the four winds functioning as pillars that are set at the ends of the earth. The word שער is, therefore, best translated by “pillar” or “column.”

The architectural sense of the word שער is clearly attested in the Hebrew Bible. It is used for pillars supporting the roofs of structures such as the tabernacle and the Temple. The term שער is furthermore employed to describe the divine presence, either of God or of the angel of God, in a pillar of cloud (רהב שער) or a pillar of fire (שעור בר) during the Exodus and the Wandering through the Wilderness. A third distinction is the term’s metaphorical sense. The metaphorical references to the pillars of earth and heaven in Job 9:6, 26:11, and Ps 75:4 reflect a cosmology in which the universe is structured as a building, but it is doubtful whether this imagery is behind the usage of שער in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

Occurrences of שער in the Dead Sea Scrolls fall primarily within the category of architectural usage, while the rest are mainly analogous to the

119.29; 183.21-184.1; 12.176.6-7; 178.8-9; 181.28; 184.25-26. Drower, Book of the Zodiac; 9, 13, 30, 33, 35.
50 Allegro DJD 5.89-90. See also von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial, 187: “Gewölbè”; García Martínez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498: “firma ment.”
51 See Strauß, Hiob, 109; De Wilde, Buch Hiob, 249. Allegro also refers to Job 9:6. The “pillars of the earth” (see also Ps. 75:4), however, are different from the “pillars of heaven,” see Clines, Job 1-20, 230.
52 See Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 276, 284-85. See also Coblentz Bautch, Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19, 35, 162-3.
53 See also Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques,” 241.
55 See the description of the tabernacle in Ex 26:32-37; 27:10-12.14-17; 35:11.17; 36:36.38; 38:10-12.14-15.17.19.28; 39:33.40; 40:18. See the description of the Temple in 1 Kgs 7:15.22.41-42. Pillars are also used for King Solomon’s palace in Jerusalem, the House of the Forest of the Lebanon (see 1 Kgs 7:2-3). The architectural sense of the supportive nature of these pillars is vividly clear in the story of Samson’s destruction of the Philistine temple of Dagon (see Judg 16:25-26.29).
57 A cosmic sense is also apparent in some occurrences of the verb שער, see Josh 10:13; Hab 3:11; Ps 148:6.
58 See IQM 5:10; 3Q15 4:1; 6:1; 11:3; 4Q403 11.41 (perhaps the supporting pillars of the most exalted dwelling, שער יבש), a reference to the pillars of heaven? For שער, see Isa 63:15, and Hab 3:11. Cf. also b. Hag. 12b where יבש is one of the seven heavens. But see C. Newsom, “4QShirot ‘Olat HaShabbath,” in Qumran Cave 4:VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part I [eds. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 253-92, at
second sense describing the divine presence. The reference in 4Q204 1 viii 29 (1 En. 18:11) to the pillars of fire (ןבזיד) might be metaphorical in that it refers to the Watchers.

A metaphorical use of נבזיד is also attested in rabbinic literature. Certain individuals are identified as being a pillar. Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai is addressed as “light of Israel, right pillar (ןבזיד),and strong hammer.” Abraham is called “pillar of the world” (ןבזיד שול עליל), and the same is said about the righteous. These metaphorical examples of נבזיד are related to the architectural sense. They express the supportive nature of certain individuals in a cosmic sense.

The meaning of נבזיד in the phrase הנבזיד פדם מוסר הסדר (“and he is from the second column”) in 4Q186 1 ii 6 is difficult to align with one of the various senses in which the word נבזיד is used in the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and rabbinic literature. It seems to be unique and particular to 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

4Q186 1 ii 7: Scholars transcribe the last word of this line in two ways. The first two letters are clearly Greek beta, but the two last letters are not so clear. The third letter can be either waw or yod, and the fourth letter is read either as reš or tav. Allegro reads כביד, “in the Pit of,” and asserts that the last letter is cursive reš used cryptically. But Carmignac proposes reading כביד, “in the house of,” and thinks that the last letter is a partly erased paleo-Hebrew tav. Strugnell considers both readings to be paleographically doubtful. Carmignac’s reading is not supported by a close study of the surface of the text, which shows no trace of loss, but Allegro’s reading of cursive reš seems equally unlikely. Nonetheless, Strugnell is inclined to accept Carmignac’s reading because it probably corresponds to the text of the author, whatever the exact reading of the text written by the scribe may have been. It is not possible to give a clear identification of

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276; 11Q13 3:10; 11Q19 10:11; 30:9; 31:9; 34:2-3.15; 35:10; 42:11. See also the Aramaic New Jerusalem texts 1Q32 1 1-2; 4Q554 1 iii 22; 5Q15 1 ii 4; 2 4-5; 11Q18 9 2; 11 6.
59 See 4Q565 6a i 9; 4Q470 3 3; 4Q504 6 10; 4Q505 128 2 (?); 4Q506 126 2.
60 Cf. Coblentz Bauth, Geography of 1 Enoch 17-19, 129-33; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 287.
62 Allegro, DJD 5.89-90. See also García Martínez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 387; G. Vermes, The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1997), 358; Ehrman, Holst and Müller, Dodehavsskrifterne, 496.
64 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 274-75.
the last letter. One might suggest that the scribe used a cryptic letter from some unknown script, but there is no basis for such an argument and it does not help much. Given the fact that the issue cannot be decided on paleographic grounds, I accept Carmignac’s reading on literary grounds. Given the other occurrences of רָע, I understand the final word in ll.7 as רָע הֶב.

4Q186 1 ii 8: Part of the upper horizontal stroke and left down stroke of paleo-Hebrew bet is still visible.

4Q186 1 ii 9: Allegro transcribes the third word as וָ, “he will be poor,” whereas Dupont-Sommer reads וָ, “he will be humble.” Both readings are possible. I am in favor of the latter and understand it as an indication of character.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 1 iii

Several fragments have been joined together to form 4Q186 1 iii. From PAM 40.6.15 it is clear that the central fragment (containing columns i and ii) preserves (part of) the last letters of ll.8-9 and also the bottom margin of column iii. In PAM 41.31.41 a large fragment is joined to the third column. This fragment contains four lines (ll.6-9), preserves the left part of the third column for ll.6-8, and also has the right part of column iv (ll.6-8). Finally, in PAM 43.4.38 a small fragment, which appears separately from PAM 41.8.4 onwards, is placed above the left part of column iii as ll.4-5 because it appears to have a left margin.

4Q186 1 iii 4: The third character is problematic. The first letter is paleo-Hebrew waw, the second letter Greek alpha, while the fourth letter is paleo-Hebrew he. Allegro reads π̄ and does not give a translation. The third letter is legible, but Allegro places a question mark over this character in

65 See 4Q186 1 ii 7; 371; 1 iii 8: 372; 1 iii 9: 373.
66 See PAM 41.8.4; 42.6.15.
67 Allegro, DJD 5.89. See also Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 380-81.
68 Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques,” 241. See also Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.
70 In addition, Allegro, DJD 5.91, suggests that the small fragment 4Q186 3 possibly belongs above the left part of 4Q186 1 ii. In DJD 5 Plate XXXI, the fragment is presented separately, but on PAM 43.4.38 it appears joined with 4Q186 1 iii as the left part of ll.2-4. This join, however, seems unlikely. First, the left margin of ll.2-3 is out of line with that of ll.4-8, because it stands ca. 1.0 cm to the right of the left margin of ll.4-8. Second, it is improbable that the designation “beautiful” (π̄) in 4Q186 3 3 is part of a description in which other qualifications such as “terrifying” and “protruding teeth” (π̄ and π̄) appear. Of course, it is possible that 4Q186 1 iii 4 is the end of a previous account, thereby resolving the problem of opposing qualifications, but because it is impossible to determine this, the fragment is best treated separately.
his table of the scripts used in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.\footnote{Carmignac, DJD 5.89, 90. See also Garcia Martinez and van der Woude, *De rollen van de Dode Zee*, 498; Maier, *Texte vom Tote Meer*, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 358.} Carmignac, however, reads the third character as a damaged Greek letter beta, and wonders why Allegro does not do the same instead of supposing it to be an unknown character. Consequently, Carmignac reads יָדָא and translates “et il consentira (?).”\footnote{Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 203-4, 205. See also Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 307; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 382-83.} But Allegro’s unwillingness to read the third character as a Greek beta is understandable. First, this character evidently differs from the other occurrences of Greek B in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.\footnote{Cf. *4Q186 1 i 8: ישכיב לשלום, ii 7: יָדָא (twice); iii 8: יָדָא.} It is more rounded and, more importantly, it lacks an upper “belly,”\footnote{Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277.} resembling Greek minuscule beta. However, and secondly, the minuscule writing system does not predate, in its definitive form, the eighth century.\footnote{Cf. E.M. Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1912; repr., New York: Burt Franklin, 1964), 103, 218; B.A. van Groningen, *Short Manual of Greek Palaeography* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1940), 33.} Although *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* makes use of different scripts, it seems unlikely that within the same script variant characters were also used to express the same letter. The third letter remains, therefore, unidentified.

*4Q186 1 iii 5:* Two small strokes of ink are visible above the word קשת in 1.6.\footnote{See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616; 43.344; 43.438.} Wise reads “[whose] ey[es],” which he connects with the beginning of the next line as fear-inspiring eyes.\footnote{It is clear from PAM 42.616 that the leather is sufficiently intact to determine that this character is not damaged in the sense that it might originally have had an upper “belly.” This observation was confirmed by use of the microscope at the Dead Sea Scrolls laboratory of the IAA, September 22, 2005.} It seems, however, paleographically impossible to assume one of the strokes represents the leg of יָדָא because this runs diagonally and not straight, as is the case with the two strokes of ink in *4Q186 1 iii 5*. It is perfectly possible that the subject’s eyes were mentioned in 1.5, but the manuscript provides no material support for this assumption.

*4Q186 1 iii 6:* Allegro reads יָדָא, but thinks it is used “perhaps erroneously for יָדָא.”\footnote{Cf. *4Q186 1 ii 8; 4Q186 1 iii 5: ישכיב לשלום;} Licht reads יָדָא but will is clearly distinguishable from וָוָו in this case.\footnote{Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277.} Carmignac derives יָדָא from יָדָא, “to be fat,” as a possible qualification of the cheeks.\footnote{Cf. יָדָא in the same line.} Gordis, however, under-
stands to be pi’el participle of ירא, “causing fear, frightening, awesome,” possibly used to describe the subject’s eyes.  

Allegro does not provide a translation for the sentence הרגה האבר ת밖에, but comments that ירא is a phrase “presumably indicating a meaning opposite to of the teeth of the more favored individual of f.2, i 3; so perhaps here = ‘lying askew’ or the like.” Carmignac suggests, first, to understand ירא in an active sense, and, second, a confusion in hearing occurred between ’alep and ‘ayin (“à côté, de travers”): “ses dents (sont) poussées de travers.” Other scholars do not emend לברט and try to make sense of “the wing.” Delcor takes ירא and propose that the teeth resemble a wing.  

Nebe, however, rightly remarks that רס and דלאט are clearly distinguishable in 4QZodiacal Physiology. Also, if רס had been meant figuratively one would expect רסא. Firstly, with Segal, the passive participle of the verb ירש should be understood as describing a more or less permanent state as the result of a verbal action. According to Nebe, the same is true for the active participle ירש in 4Q186 2 i 3. Secondly, רסא is understood as “Aussenseite.” It is derived from the noun רס (barr) with ’alep-prostheticum, according to Nebe. He finds support for this interpretation in Aramaic רסא, and translates ירש as “und seine Zähne stehen nach aussen.” I follow Nebe’s interpretation.

4Q186 1 iii 7: Allegro does not show (by his transcription יראש) that in the first occurrence of ירש in this line the letter יראש is not written at all

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83 Allegro, DJD 5.89, 90. See also Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques,” 243; M. Pholenko, “Deux horoscopes Qumranien: Identification des personnages,” RBJR 65/1 (1985): 61-66, at 64; Garcia Martinez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Eijns, Holst and Müller, Dodechavskrierverne, 496.

84 Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 204-5.

85 Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 308.


by the scribe in the manuscript.99 One has to correct the scribe in this instance and read כדרנש>.90

Furthermore, Allegro reconstructs כדרנש but part of the left down stroke of sin is distinguishable.92 Therefore, I transcribe כדרנש.

4Q186 1 iii 9: Notice that כדרנש instead of כדרנש is written here. Whether it is significant that כ instead of כ is used is not clear.93 Contrary to the other reference to the “house of light” or the “house of darkness,” the word is written in square script, except for a paleo-Hebrew tav.94

At the end of this line, Allegro transcribes כדרנש, “And a man…” but Strugnell states that this reading is materially impossible, “mais le fragment devra être gratté au verso, puis lu par transparence, avant d’aboutir à un déchiffrement certain.”95 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar only transcribe כדרנש: (“And…”).95 Most scholars, however, do not provide a translation at all for the last part of 1.9.96 I think Allegro’s reading is problematic. If the second letter is alep, the left down stroke is strangely tilted to the right. Also, if the third letter is yod, the down stroke seems to stand at too sharp a diagonal. It is different from כדרנש in 4Q186 1 i 7. From the photographs it is impossible to determine the reading of the letters between waw and sin with certainty.99

Nevertheless, the fact that the last word in this line begins with waw-conjunctive is significant because it indicates that a new element is introduced subsequent to the numbers allotted to the “house of darkness” and the

99 Cf. Allegro, DID 5.89.
90 See also Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 205; Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275; Garcia Martínez and van der Woude, De rolten van de Dode Zee, 498; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382.
91 Allegro, DID 5.89. See also Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 206; Licht, “Legs as Signs,” 20; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 307.308; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dodehavskrifterne, 496.
92 See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616; 43.344; 43.438.
93 See also 4Q186 3 1.
94 Cf. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reappraisal, 57: “Having deciphered one column including a particularly puzzling phrase, it was encouraging to find another piece in a further purchase which contained the same phrase written, rather carelessly for the coder, in ‘clear’ Hebrew, confirming the decipherment.”
95 Allegro, DID 5.89; 90. See also Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 206; Licht, “Legs as Signs,” 20; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 307-9; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dodehavskrifterne, 496.
97 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
98 Cf. Bergmeier, Glaube als Gabe, 78; Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martínez, Dead Sea Scrolls Translated, 456.
99 See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616.
“house of light.” Whether this new element is the horoscope of the described person, as in 4Q186 1 ii 8, cannot, unfortunately, be determined.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 1 iv
On the basis of the few words preserved in column iv, not much can be said regarding the content of this part of the 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

4Q186 1 iv 6: Most scholars do not translate יִשְׁמָש, but a few scholars interpret it as “there.”

4Q186 1 iv 7: Perhaps something inside (ךָך) a specific body part was indicated.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 2 i
4Q186 2 i 1: Allegro transcribes יִשְׁמָש, and translates “order. His [ey]es.” Strugnell, however, reads יִשְׁמָש, a small dot of ink is visible following kap and preceding the gap. This might be part of the down stroke of mem. I therefore follow Strugnell’s reading. The beginning of this line is a continuation of a previous column that must have ended with הַפְּרָק. Perhaps סָרָה refers to the subject’s eyes as well ordered as opposed to crooked.

The reading and understanding of the word following the second lacuna are difficult, and most translations add a question mark or leave a blank space. Allegro reads תַּאַיּוֹ, compares it with Aramaic אָרָם, “glowing coals,” but adds that “the ‘gentilic’ form is strange unless it presupposes an adjective "to glowing,"” which is “possibly here an error for תַּאַיּוֹ.” Strugnell, however, notes that gimel is not very probable, he is impossible, and פָּרָק, “speckled” (from פָּרָק, “to give a checkered/striped appearance”), should probably be read. But he has no better explanation for the ending.

100 Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 8: יִשְׁמָש.
102 Cf. for the use of יָשָׂם in relation to body parts, for example, b. Neg. 6:8: יָשָׂם יִשְׁמָש יִשָּׂם נַשָּׂם (Gruenwald, “Jewish Physiognomic,” 310).
103 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martínez, Translated, 456.
104 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Eijmaes, Holst and Müller, Dodekahokterner, 496.
105 Cf. PAM 41.804; 42.616.
106 Cf. 4Q186 2 i 6: נָשָׂם
107 Cf. 4Q186 2 i 6: נָשָׂם
108 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278: “light (?)”
It is more probable the letter preceding the broken mem is nun instead of gimel. This is because the vertical stroke of the letter directly following the lacuna is too close for it to be gimel. There seems to be no space for the left down stroke of gimel. Furthermore, there are other examples of nun in this manuscript where the upper part of the vertical stroke curves to the right. Strugnell is also correct to note that he is impossible for the trace of ink to the left of the gap. For he one would expect a horizontal stroke to extend to the right, but such is evidently not the case. It could, however, be the upper right corner of mem, and Strugnell’s reading mem is, therefore, possible. I assume the text attempts to specify the color of the eyes as being between black and a somewhat lighter shade of black.

In The Secret of Physiognomy, a person’s yellow eyes are specified as being between light yellow and reddish: מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה בַּר לְרָקִי גִּימֶל (perhaps orange is described?). The construction מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה is equivalent to מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה מַתְפָּרֵק as used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, and also occurs in 4QPhysiognomy ar. The translation “between” is to be preferred either to “both,” or “neither/nor.” which is expressed by the use of אֶלָא…אֶלָא in 4Q186 2 i 3-4. Perhaps the word מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה, “speckled,” is used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy as a reference to the stripes that are visible in the iris and that are better observed in a somewhat light-colored iris. If so, it is reasonable to assume that in 4Q186 2 i 1 it is used to differentiate between pitch black and a lighter color of black. In ancient physiognomics the eye received a lot of attention, and many specifications as to color were made.

4Q186 2 i 2: At the left side of this line, Allegro transcribes מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה, reading two paleo-Hebrew mems, but he does not provide a translation. Most scholars do not translate the beginning of the second line. Presumably a qualification of the beard, mentioned in 1.1, is given here. Maier, therefore, reconstructs “und sein Bart str[ähnig(gesprenkelt?)],” while Wise suggests “whose beard is sp[arse].” They presumably read the pu’al participle

109 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also García Martínez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 499. Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136, gives both possibilities: “gefleckt/glehend.” García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 382-83, translate Strugnell’s reading (“striped”), but mistakenly transcribe מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה.
110 Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 5: מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה; 1 ii 9: מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה; 2 i 2: מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה.
111 See 4Q186 2 i 1: מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה and מַטְעִית גָּלְפְּלָכָה.
113 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 383.
114 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358.
117 Allegro, DJD 5.90-91.
118 Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278.
But the lacuna hardly provides enough space for three letters and a blank space preceding the next word אֲבָרָה. Perhaps Maier and Wise reconstruct the trace of ink preceding the lacuna as the upper part of the left down stroke of ayin and assume a reading מַשְׂכֵּן for the pu’al participle of מָשַׁך. A reconstruction מַשְׁכֵּן seems possible.

The third word, רַגְיָל, presents a difficulty because this form is unknown in Hebrew or Aramaic. Allegro makes sense of it by recourse to “Arab rajila ‘of a quality between lankness and crispness or curliness,’” and translates “and it is curly,” taking רגילה as a reference to the beard mentioned in 1.1. Some scholars do not offer a translation for רגילה, while others follow Allegro. According to the classical Arabic-Arabic dictionary Lisân al-‘arab, the phrase sa’r rajal (or rajil or raji) is explained as “hair between lankness and curliness.” The translation “wavy” seems apt.

Following רגילה, Allegro reads השען (“And the pitch of his speech [?] is subdued”), But Maier and Vermes seem to read השען instead. Both readings seem possible.

4Q186 2 i 4: Allegro reads אֲבָרָה, and translates “and he is.” Strugnell, however, reads רַגְיָל, and, because of an additional trace of ink, suggests אֱבָרָה, in which case the following word, מַשְׂכֵּן, need not be supplemented by waw-conjunctive. Wise translates “but is well built” (perhaps reading אֱבָרָה, “he is filled,” in the sense of well built?). With Strugnell, I read the third letter as waw. Following lamed in אֱבָרָה the manuscript is too mutilated to discern with certainty whether the traces of ink belong to one or two letters. It is possible to discern the down stroke of dalet, but the trace of ink Strugnell understands as the tip of waw might also be part of dalet. Nevertheless, Strugnell’s reading is plausible, either with damaged or reconstructed yod. García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate

119 It also occurs in 4Q561 4 2.
120 Allegro, DJD 5.91.
121 Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358.
122 Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 383; EJn, Holst and Müller, Dodekaschriften, 496.
123 Lisân al-‘Arab (Beirut: Dār lähn‘ al-Turjī al-‘Arabī, 1988), s.v. qal. I thank Prof. Fred Leemhuis for this information.
124 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
125 Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; EJn, Holst and Müller, Dodekaschriften, 496.
126 Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278, translates “resonates,” presumably understanding it as a qal singular feminine participle from the root IV יָשָׁב (“to sing, cry”).
127 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; EJn, Holst and Müller, Dodekaschriften, 496.
128 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
130 See PAM 41.804 and 42.616.
APPENDIX I

As “and like that from his conception.” But I understand the preposition כ to have causative meaning (“because”). The person’s physiognomic appearance, in this case being neither tall nor short, is said to be so because of his horoscope. This means that the physiognomic description is interrupted by a reference to the person’s horoscope. But, more significantly, it signals awareness of the notion that the configuration of heavenly bodies at the moment of birth influences human appearance.

4Q186 2 i 6: A small stroke of lamed is visible, but Allegro does not suggest a reconstruction. There is, however, enough space to reconstruct the beginning of this line as... Allegro reads nun and he, joins two more fragments to the left of the remaining part of 4Q186 2 i 7-9, and reconstructs הסנה, “eight,” in this line. The reading nun, however, is impossible. The stroke of ink near the left edge of the leather makes a curve to the left. It could be part of samek, ‘ayin or sin. But nun is excluded because, first, a vertical stroke should have been visible on the extant leather of 4Q186 2 i 7, and, second, if Allegro’s join of 4Q186 5 to the left of 4Q186 2 i 7-9 is accepted, a stroke of the base of nun should appear following waw in 4Q186 5 1. Since this is evidently not the case, the impossibility of reading nun in 4Q186 2 i 7 militates against Allegro’s arrangement of 4Q186 2 and 4Q186 5, and also his reading הסנה. The reading he seems strange, but it is not unusual for the legs of he to curve to the left in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. Although the upper horizontal stroke seems to extend too far to the left, this is not conclusive evidence against reading he.

Together with 4Q186 5, Allegro placed 4Q186 4 to the left of 4Q186 2 i 7-9. Thus, he read 4Q186 2 i 7 as... Strugnell then suggested the following reconstruction for 4Q186 2 i 7-8:

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Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 383.

131 Cf. B.K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 213: “The cause or means of a situation is marked by mn.”

132 Allegro, DJD 5.91.

133 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.

134 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.

135 Allegro, DJD 5.91.

136 See e.g. 4Q186 2 i 6: ריהו לזרו

137 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136.

138 See e.g. 4Q186 2 ii 9: ססרוכו

139 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136.

140 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275.
Most scholars accept this reconstruction.\textsuperscript{141} Regarding the placement of 4Q186 4, however, this join is problematic for two reasons.

First, the leather is not so deformed as to allow enough room for Allegro’s arrangement. The state of the manuscript certainly does not justify the large cut and separation of 4Q186 2 into two halves.\textsuperscript{142} Had Allegro not made this cut, there would not even have been room for 4Q186 4, let alone 4Q186 4 and 4Q186 5.\textsuperscript{143} The join is materially incorrect. This judgment was confirmed after studying the fragments at the Dead Sea Scrolls laboratory of the Israel Antiquities Authorities.\textsuperscript{144}

Second, the resulting sentence is improbable.\textsuperscript{145} Although the exact sense of וְיָדוֹת רַחֲבַת is not certain, it is clear from the context in 4Q186 1 ii 6 that someone (וְיָדוֹת), most probably the person who is the subject of the preceding physiognomic description, is from the second column. According to Strugnell’s reconstruction, however, it seems that the person’s spirit (יִלָּה) is not only in the “house of light,” but also from the second column. It is not clear what this means. Also, such a reading is evidently different from the use of יִלָּה in 4Q186 1 ii 6. Furthermore, in the two other extant examples of the section concerning the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” in 4Q186 1 ii 7-9 and 4Q186 1 iii 8-9, there is no interruption by another clause. As this reconstruction creates another difficulty instead of contributing to our understanding of the sense of the phrase יִלָּה, it is, therefore, to be rejected because it has no basis in the extant text of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. This fragment is best treated separately.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{141} See also, although some with slight differences, Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 382-83; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.

\textsuperscript{142} Cf. Allegro, DJD 5.91: “The straight cut through the centre of the fragment has been made to facilitate arranging the pieces where the skin has warped.” In PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616; 43.344 the second fragment of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy is still intact.

\textsuperscript{143} Cf. PAM 42.616; 43.344. See also Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278. Nevertheless, Wise reads יִשְׂרָאֵל, “eight,” accepting at least the join of 4Q186 5 to the left of 4Q186 217.

\textsuperscript{144} September 22, 2005.

\textsuperscript{145} Strugnell, unfortunately, does not give a translation for his reconstruction. Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358, translates: “His spirit consists of eight (parts) [in the House of Light, of] the second Column, and one [in the House of Darkness],” and Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 383, translate “[His] spirit has eight (parts) [in the house of light, in the] second column, and o[ne] [in the house of darkness].”

\textsuperscript{146} Cf. Popović, “A Note,” 635-38.
Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 2 ii

4Q186 2 ii 5: In this case 4QZodiacal Physiognomy has אֲנָךְ instead of אֲנָך. The latter orthography is according to the Qumran scribal practice and it occurs in the other six occurrences in the text. 147

4Q186 2 ii 6: Allegro reads מַעֲזַר and understands it in the same way as מַעֲזַר in 4Q186 1 i 9. 148 Strugnell states that dalet instead of reš should be read, 149 but this is incorrect. 150 A certain bodily feature is described as “mixed.” 151

4Q186 2 ii 7: This small fragment appears separately in PAM 42.616. The amount of space to the right of gimel suggests לְתַשֶּׁל to be the final word of a column. In PAM 43.438 this fragment is joined as another line under 4Q186 2 ii 6. In addition to understanding the word as written in reverse order in accordance with the rest of the manuscript, Allegro suggests that it might not be “coded,” similar to בִּלְתַשֶּׁל in 4Q186 1 ii 2. If read as לְתַשֶּׁל it might refer to a quality of the hair, either in the sense of “flowing hair” as poetically expressed in Song 4:1 and 6:5, or in the sense of “baldness.” On the other hand, with Allegro one should allow for the possibility that the word is written in reverse manner in accordance with the rest of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy as לְתַשֶּׁל, and that it is related to the word לְתַשֶּׁל (“snow”). In this sense it may describe a physical characteristic, for example the skin, as being white or fair. 152 In The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage the sole of someone’s foot is described as having the appearance of either red wine or snow, i.e. being a burgundy red or white (כתאש מינא אגא וא הינא של). 153 The problem, of course, with this reading is that 4Q186 2 ii 7 has לְתַשֶּׁל, not לְתַשֶּׁל, which is presumably the reason why Allegro thought the “non-coded” reading more probable here. 154 The reading לְתַשֶּׁל remains possible, but its sense is not clear. From the context it is impossible to decide which bodily feature is described in this line, and also whether the word should be read “non-coded” or reversed.

147 See 4Q186 1 ii 6; 1 ii 8 (twice); 2 i 2; 2 i 3; 4 3. The table in Tov, Scribal Practices, 341, needs to be corrected accordingly.

148 Allegro, DJD 5.91.


150 In PAM 41.804 and 42.616 a small diagonal stroke of ink is discernable that could be the right down stroke of ‘ayin. Allegro’s reading is, therefore, plausible.

151 Cf. also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:137. For the translation here, see the discussion concerning מַעֲזַר in Chapter One.

152 Allegro, DJD 5.91.


154 Cf. n. 1 above for the suggestion that לְתַשֶּׁל could mean “flowing.”
Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 3

Upon inspection of the plate with the fragments, I found that 4Q186 3 is not on this plate. One of the curators told me it should be on another plate, but it has not been located yet. The readings, therefore, could not be checked.\(^{155}\)

4Q186 3 1: Allegro reads כבש,\(^{156}\) but Strugnell suggests כבש.\(^{157}\) A small trace of ink appears to the left of yod, which might be the bottom stroke of law.\(^{158}\) As in 4Q186 1 iii 9, this probably refers to the “house of light” or the “house of darkness,” again using י instead of ב.

4Q186 3 2: Allegro reads כבש,\(^{159}\) but Strugnell correctly notes that there is a trace of a letter to the right and reads כבש.\(^{160}\) It is evident that another letter is attached to the right leg of law,\(^{161}\) and I suggest this might be pe. A plausible reconstruction is כבש (“with his shoulder(s)”). It could be a reference to the shoulder(s) of a described individual. Another possibility is to understand it as analogous to ידרדרו in 4Q186 1 ii 9. In this case it refers to the shoulders of a zodiacal sign. Moreover, if the space to the left of both כבש and כבש represents the column margin, the entire first line could originally have had something like that in 4Q186 1 ii 8.\(^{162}\) If this were so, כבש refers to a position in a sign of the zodiac in which an individual is said to have been born.

4Q186 3 3: Reading י instead of י as Allegro does,\(^{163}\) it is possible to translate “beautiful,” but due to the fragmentary state it is impossible to determine what was referred to as “beautiful.”

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 4

4Q186 4 3: The text has כבש, but Allegro assumes a scribal error and reads כבש (presupposing a join with 4Q186 5) as in 4Q186 1 ii 9.\(^{164}\) Bergmeier suggests a reconstruction, following Allegro’s arrangement, in which 4Q186 2 i is part of the section concerning the zodiacal sign Taurus. He therefore reads 4Q186 2 i 9 as כבש (“in

\(^{155}\) Checked at the scroll laboratory of the IAA on September 22, 2005.

\(^{156}\) Allegro, DJD 5.91.


\(^{158}\) See PAM 43.344; 43.438.

\(^{159}\) Allegro, DJD 5.91.

\(^{160}\) Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275.

\(^{161}\) See PAM 43.344; 43.438.

\(^{162}\) 4Q186 3 1 would probably be too long if 4Q186 1 ii 8 were exactly copied, but this can easily be solved by leaving ה וה in the text.

\(^{163}\) Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also e.g. Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSS, 382-83; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dodekhasskritterne, 496. The reading of law is, of course, based on the emendation, so we should be cautious about accepting כבש as a certain reading.
the hoofs of Taurus. And this is his zodiacal sign: Taurus”). This reconstruction is entirely based on Allegro’s arrangement of the fragments. It is impossible to determine its plausibility for the isolated fragment 4Q186 4. In this case only the reading thehoorn does remain. It is not possible to identify the zodiacal sign referred to by אכת in 4Q186 4, assuming that this is what כותב refers to. Maier, however, does not suppose a scribal error and translates “es ist in der Jungfrau (?)”, probably reading זוושא אכת אכת and that to dlwmh (4Q186 1 ii 9), one would rather expect it to be preceded by a reference to the birth of the individual, such as the words dlwmh rather than dlwmh. Maier’s reading is without basis in the text and does not clarify its interpretation. Allegro’s reading remains reasonable but needs to be adapted to the new arrangement. It is plausible that 4Q186 4 3 referred to an individual’s zodiacal sign.

Although this fragment is very small, it is interesting for two reasons.

First, it shows that the phrase כותב dlwmh is not followed directly by the words dlwmh dlwmh as in 4Q186 1 ii 6-7, but a word beginning with sin. Equivalent to 4Q186 1 ii 7 one may read dlwmh dlwmh in 4Q186 4 1. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine which word might follow the reference to “the second column.” But it is evident that the reference to “the second column” in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy does not occupy a set position in the text.

Second, 4Q186 4 shows several elements known from 4Q186 1 ii to appear near each other but also some differently from 4Q186 1 ii. In 4Q186 4 2 the word מלול loses its reference to dlwmh dlwmh in 4Q186 1 ii 8 as a reference to a person’s horoscope. But it is also clear that, different from 4Q186 1 ii 6-8, there are fewer lines between the reference to dlwmh dlwmh and that to dlwmh dlwmh in 4Q186 4 1-2. On the other hand, the number of lines between dlwmh dlwmh and dlwmh dlwmh in 4Q186 4 2-3 is equal to that between dlwmh dlwmh and dlwmh dlwmh in 4Q186 1 ii 8-9. Due to the amount of space available (assuming a regular column width of ca. 8-9 cm), it can almost certainly be ruled out that a reference to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” stood between both words in 4Q186 4 1-2. At the same time, the fragmentary state does not allow a clear reconstruction. Perhaps in the case of 4Q186 4 2-3 one can assume a reference to an individual’s horoscope specified as an ecliptical part of a zodiacal sign similar to 4Q186 1 ii 8-9, but this is far from certain.

166 Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136. See also Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 284 n. 22.
Comments on 4Q186 5

This fragment appears only in PAM 43.438 where it facilitates Allegro’s arrangement of fragments for 4Q186 2 i.\(^\text{167}\) It cannot be joined to another extant fragment of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. The fragment is too small to provide any meaningful information. Perhaps l.1 originally had דוד[ם], and line 2 of 4Q186 6 is best regarded as a separate fragment.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 6

Allegro joins this small fragment to 4Q186 4,\(^\text{168}\) but this join seems incorrect. The two small strokes of ink in 4Q186 6 1 cannot belong to 4Q186 4 3.\(^\text{169}\) The legs of he in 4Q186 4 3 are too far apart to be the continuation of these strokes. It is, therefore, doubtful whether Allegro’s arrangement is correct, and 4Q186 6 is best regarded as a separate fragment.

4Q186 6 2: Allegro reads נן יי.\(^\text{170}\) But it is possible to see the remaining stroke of ink to the left as the upper part of a right down stroke of ʼayin or ʿāin,\(^\text{171}\) reading יי, “poor,” or יינ, in which case it is possible to reconstruct יידהמ תגומד תפשיה. Thus, this would be a third occurrence of the phrase יידהמ תפשיה in the extant text of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. Furthermore, if this reconstruction is accepted, it also demonstrates that the words יידהמ תפשיה are not necessarily directly followed by ריה ול as in 4Q186 1 ii 6-7.

4Q186 6 3: Subsequent to a small trace of ink to the left, there is a stroke of ink that might be the down stroke of gimel or nun, although the latter seems more likely because the trace of ink seems to stand too close for it to be a gimel. This letter (probably nun) is most likely followed by he. It is not possible to determine if lamed is part of one word with ייlda, or if it begins a new word.

4QPHYSIOGNY AR (4Q561)

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q561 1 i

This fragment seems to have preserved the left part of a column. This is indicated by the blank space following הָדַע in 1.2, and also by the larger size of final dalet that is more likely to occur at the end of a line.

\(^\text{167}\) See also the notes and comments on readings for 4Q186 2 i 7 in this appendix.
\(^\text{168}\) Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
\(^\text{169}\) PAM 41.804; 42.616.
\(^\text{170}\) Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
\(^\text{171}\) PAM 41.804; 42.616.
4Q561 1 i 1: Starcky reads יא, whereas Wise has ישوح. The state of this fragment, however, is somewhat better in PAM 41.954 than in PAM 43.598. It is, therefore, possible to discern more letters than previous scholars have done. In PAM 43.598 nun is no longer visible, but in PAM 41.954 the vertical down stroke and the lower horizontal stroke are clearly discernible. The lower horizontal stroke of nun is connected to another vertical stroke that is probably the down stroke of waw. Finally, he is possible because its upper horizontal stroke is partly visible. Before he there is enough space for three or four letters, if indeed ב begins 1.2.

4Q561 1 i 2: Starcky reads יא, “brillants,” while Beyer has יא, “weiß.” In order to avoid יא having a masculine plural ending, which conflicts with יא and the ending of the other adjective יא, Beyer explains it as a feminine plural of יא. Against these previous readings must be stated that res is not preceded by waw but by ‘alep. In PAM 41.954 the left top and the attached left leg of ‘alep that bends inwards are clearly visible, and perhaps a slight trace even of the right leg. It is unlikely that ‘alep is preceded by another letter. The photographs show no evidence of this. Also, there does not seem to be enough space for another letter in the preceding word יא. The reading, therefore, of the second word in this line must be יא. Although this reading is strange, following Beyer’s reasoning for יא one might suggest that יא is feminine plural from יא. In addition, one must assume this to be defective for יא to make sense of the reading יא in 4Q561 1 i 2.

4Q561 1 i 3: Starcky reads יא, “et beau,” but Wise reads only יא, although translating “(and) attractive.” A slight trace of the left down stroke of sin is visible in both PAM 41.954 and 43.598. Whether or not waw might be reconstructed depends on where the right margin of the

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174 See PAM 41.954 and cf. also 4Q561 1 i 1: יא; יא.

175 Preliminary Concordance, 2010; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29, where Wise reads יא, “light.”

176 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116-17 (יא, “pale”); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (יא).

177 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:393.

178 Preliminary Concordance, 2438; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163 (יא); Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (יא); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (יא).

column is set. If כ in l.2 represents the right margin, it seems that a reconstructed waw-conjunctive would extend beyond this margin. If this is so, it is unlikely that waw preceded רָשֶׁה. As in 4Q186 1 i 8, however, one might suggest a scribal error and assume that רָשֶׁה כ is meant.

At the end of this line, following רָשֶׁה, a small dot appears. Perhaps this represents a guide dot placed by the person who manufactured the original scroll182. But guide dots usually appear at the beginning and end of sheets, which does not seem to be the case here.

4Q561 i 4: Starcky reads יִי, “petite,” whereas others seem certain of the first letter and read יִי. The extant manuscript only shows a small trace of ink preceding qop, which might be the serif of dalet. Paleographically it is also possible to read יִי, “empty, void,” but if this is an adjective for רָשֶׁה its sense is not clear. The reading יִי is therefore preferred.

Subsequent to רָשֶׁה, the lacuna provides enough space for כ to have been preceded by waw-conjunctive.186

Regarding רָשֶׁה, the upper parts of the right and left down strokes of sin are visible, as is the upper part of the right down stroke of gimel.187

4Q561 i 5: Starcky reads יַיִפְרַנְּפָנָן, “glabres.” The reading of yod before the lacuna, however, is not completely certain.

Just after the first gap, a small trace of a letter is visible. Starcky reads יַיֵנ, “et entre.”189 Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar do not suggest a reading. Wise reads mem instead of bet and reconstructs יַיֵנ, “and a[e]”191. Finally, Holst and Hogenhaven read yod, יַיֵנ. The trace of the letter con-

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180 Cf. 4Q561 i 3 for the amount of space needed for כ in רָשֶׁה.
181 See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
182 See PAM 43.598. Perhaps a slight trace of another guide dot appears subsequent to כ in l.2. For guide dots, see Tov, Scribal Practices, 61-68.
183 Preliminary Concordance, 2133; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. Wise, “4Q561,” 228, presumably reads likewise, but the circellus is misplaced above qop.
184 See Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
185 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
186 Cf. also Preliminary Concordance, 2262; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
187 See PAM 41.954. Cf. also Preliminary Concordance, 2411 (רָשֶׁה); Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (רָשֶׁה); Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163 (רָשֶׁה); Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (רָשֶׁה); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (רָשֶׁה).
188 Preliminary Concordance, 2279; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
189 Preliminary Concordance, 2085; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163.
190 Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116.
sists of a down stroke to the left of which is attached, first, an upper horizontal stroke, and, second, a lower horizontal stroke. This description excludes yod. Reading bet is possible, and Starcky’s reconstruction is plausible. Paleographically mem seems possible too, but the problem with Wise’s reconstruction is that his reading of the word following the lacuna is unlikely and, therefore, his suggested reading for the lacuna too. Although I follow Starcky’s reading, it must be noted that the amount of space between ה and מ seems rather large.

Following the second lacuna, Starcky reads מינכש, which he apparently translates as “minces.” Wise, however, initially following Starcky’s reading, provides a more apt translation, “malformed.” Another reconstruction is proposed by Beyer, who reads מינכש, “gegliedert.” Recently, Wise has offered yet another reading, מינכש, “thin,” but this reading is very unlikely. First, dalet is immediately after the lacuna. There is no space between the two. Second, and more important, qop is impossible for two reasons. The upper horizontal stroke curves upwards to the right, and there is a diagonal stroke extending to the left. This corresponds to mem rather than qop. Having said that, Beyer’s reading מינכש seems preferable to Starcky’s מינכש, because in the latter case one would expect to see to the right of dalet a trace of the upper horizontal stroke of he extending to the left.

Finally, Starcky reads מינכש, “épais.” The reading of yod, however, is not so certain. Wise correctly places a circellus. In PAM 41.954 it is clear that the stroke of ink moves from a horizontal to a vertical line, most probably representing one continuous move of the pen. This description fits res or taw. This means that a reading מינכש, or מינכש is paleographically possible. But מינכש makes more sense in this context.

192 Preliminary Concordance, 2137; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64.
193 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264.
196 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
197 Cf. Q561 i 1: 1 i 2: בדの場合; 1 i 3: אילו השם; 1 ii 8: רביםಕ.
198 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
199 Preliminary Concordance, 2326; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
200 Wise, “Q561,” 228. The circellus, however, is wrongly placed above bet instead of yod.
201 Cf. Q561 i 1: מינכש.
Notes on Readings in 4Q561 1 ii

4Q561 1 ii 2: Starcky reads יַּטֶנָ כָּנָ as the beginning of this line, but adds a question mark regarding the root שַׁנְּבֵל.202 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar read יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ, “[and filled (?)].”203 Wise, finally, has יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ, “a voice full (?).”204 First, if the join between the two fragments here is accepted, then it is evident that at least lamed has to be read in l.2. The tip of the upper stroke of lamed is clearly discernible in the fragment bearing l.1 in PAM 41.954 and 43.598. Second, it is very probable that mem is preceded by taw. A slight trace of ink is visible at the right edge of the leather, which is far enough from the left leg to represent the right leg of taw.205 It is questionable, however, whether there is enough space between taw and lamed for mem to read יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ,206 Perhaps if mem is written as a narrower sign. Furthermore, in order for l.2 to have the same right margin as l.1, this line cannot begin with lamed; lamed must be preceded by another letter. Wise takes lamed as the final letter, reads יַּטֶנָ כָּנָ, and suggests a blank between יַּטֶנָ and כָּנָ. It seems, however, that a wide letter such as qop would extend beyond the right margin.207 Rather, lamed is probably preceded by a narrower letter such as waw. Therefore, I tentatively suggest reading יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ. tpe'el participle of כָּנָ, “take again”.

Starcky reads יַּטֶנָ כָּנָ, but does not suggest a reconstruction.208 Wise, however, reads יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ, “a voice full (?) and strong.”209 Wise’s reading is possible. His reconstruction, however, assumes too much text devoted to the voice (two lines), which is unlikely in 4QPhysiognomy ar where the descriptions are short and to the point.

4Q561 1 ii 3: Starcky reads יַּנְּא, “bright,” corresponding to יַּנְּא in 4Q561 1 i 2.210 Wise, however, reads יַּנְּא, “long.”211 There are no other

202 Preliminary Concordance, 2281. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264.
203 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 1116-17. See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
204 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
205 See PAM 42.438; 43.598. Cf. 4Q561 1 ii 8: יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ. It seems unlikely to read nun preceded by another letter because there would too much space between them, cf. 4Q561 1 ii 6: יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ.
206 Cf. the space occupied by mem and taw in 4Q561 1 ii 8: יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ.
207 Cf. the width of qop together with lamed in יַּטַּנָ כָּנָ in 4Q561 1 ii 1.
208 Preliminary Concordance, 2281. See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 1116 (v). See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (v).
209 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29. This reconstruction is probably due to the occurrence of the root יַּטַּנָ in the composition that Starcky designates “at S,” see Preliminary Concordance, 1. It consists of three fragments. Wise understands these fragments to be part of 4QPhysiognomy ar.
211 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264. See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 1116-17; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164; Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
examples of final kap in this manuscript. As for final nun, the down stroke following "nî in this line is straight, whereas other examples of final nun in the extant text of 4QPhysiognomy are curve downwards to the left. This makes nun unlikely, and kap is, therefore, the most likely reading.

Before this fragment ends at the left, Starcky suggests reading ƞכ,212 García Martínez and Tigchelaar acknowledge the presence of strokes of ink but do not propose a reading.213 Initially, Wise did not indicate the remaining letter traces,214 but recently he has read ר ות, “[and] is .”215 This latter reading is impossible. First, the two down strokes, connected by a horizontal (slightly diagonal) upper stroke, are too close to each other to be ’alep, and the right down stroke is too vertical.216 A reading he, or bet is more probable. Second, preceding this letter, two lower horizontal strokes are clearly visible, which might belong to bet, kap, mem, nun, or pe.217 However, Wise seems correct in assuming a blank space after the final letter, which means this is the end of a word.218

4Q561 1 i 4: Starcky reads רכז.219 García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct waw-conjunctive, רכז.220 It is possible to discern a tip of the head of waw, רכז.221

Starcky reconstructs the hair of the beard as being thick, רכז.222 The manuscript, however, is better preserved in PAM 42.438 than in 43.598. From PAM 42.438 it is evident that a vertical down stroke stands immediately next to the left down stroke of sin. This excludes the possibility of gimel whose right down stroke is more diagonal so one would expect the upper part to stand further to the left of sin than its lower part.223 Instead, the down stroke might very well be the right leg of het. Therefore, I suggest the reading רכז, “dark, black.”

212 Preliminary Concordance, 2010.
213 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (ı…).
214 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264. See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
216 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: רכז; 1 i 4: רכז; 1 ii 3: רכז.
217 See PAM 42.438; 43.598.
218 The leather has further deteriorated in PAM 43.598, but in PAM 42.438 more leather is visible, supporting the observation of a blank space.
219 Preliminary Concordance, 2412. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164.
220 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
221 See PAM 42.438; 43.598.
222 Preliminary Concordance, 2411. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264 (רכז); Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164 (רכז); García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (רכז); Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (רכז); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (רכז).
223 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: רכז.
4Q561 1 ii 5: Starcky reads ולתנוה תינכ ביכר קק,224 but, because the head of yod is more pronounced than that of waw in this manuscript, I read the feminine form קק.

The second word in the remaining part of this line Starcky reads קק, “short.”226 García Martínez and Tigchelaar read קק,227 Beyer, however, reads קק, “zierlich.”228 This latter reading seems correct. It can be compared with the pre-final nun and final nun in ar S 1 2.229 Also, the feminine form קק accords well with קק.

4Q561 1 ii 6: Following מְלַכְּה, the next word probably begins with וָא and not yod.231

4Q561 1 ii 9: The only indication for this line is the presence of the upper part of lamed beneath he of קְפִיְה in the preceding line.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 2

4Q561 2 1: Wise suggests identifying bet, but the leather shows traces of two letters. The lower horizontal stroke is possibly the base of mem followed by waw, as in יָלָה בַּתְ לא in 4Q561 5 2.232

4Q561 2 2: Starcky reads יָפָש, “elbows.”233 Recently, however, Wise has read יָפָש, “whose nose.”234 The leather is very damaged, which makes it difficult to determine the correct reading with certainty. Following ‘alep the vertical stroke seems to curve to the left.235 This description does not seem to fit the other occurrences of mem or pe in this manuscript236 but seems

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224 Preliminary Concordance, 2326. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
225 Preliminary Concordance, 2035. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
226 Preliminary Concordance, 2386.
227 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (ןָוָש, initially, however, Wise reads קֵסֶפֶס, see Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264); Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36. Wise, “4Q561,” 228, reconstructs the masculine plural קֵסֶפֶס in 4Q561 1 ii 4, and assumes that the extant text of ll.5-6 refers to the limbs, but this is not likely for l.6.
228 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164.
229 See PAM 41.954, 43.598, and Preliminary Concordance, 2450. The reading of Wise, “4Q561,” 228, קֹלָמ, is incorrect, as is that of Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 30, קָלִים.
230 Preliminary Concordance, 2386; Wise, “4Q561,” 228.
231 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
232 See PAM 41.954; 42.438; 43.598.
233 Preliminary Concordance, 2024. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
234 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
235 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
236 4Q561 1 i i: יָפָש, וָא; 1 ii 2: יָפָש, קְפִיְה; 1 ii 7: יָפָש, וָא; 1 ii 8: יָפָש, קְפִיְה.
more in accordance with *kap* or *nun*.

Regarding the final letter, Wise’s suggestion for *he* is highly unlikely. The stroke of ink seems to thicken at the top, and one would expect to see the horizontal upper stroke of *he* that protrudes to the left. Starcky’s reading of final *nun* seems better. Finally, between possible *nun* and final *nun*, it seems possible to read *waw* or *yod*. Due to the damaged state of the leather it is not possible to determine whether a ligature occurred. But the traces of ink between *nun* and final *nun* seem to indicate a rather pronounced head, which would fit *yod* better than *waw* in this manuscript. A reading ]]א seems, therefore, palaeographically the most preferable.

The next word Starcky reads as א‘א‘א, “protruding, pointed.” Recently, Wise has suggested reading 아‘א, “between,” but this is impossible given the amount of space filled by this word and the fact that two letters stand between the first and the final one. Moreover, reading the first letter as *bet* seems difficult. The letter seems too high, and the remaining traces of ink indicate that the upper part of the down stroke slants slightly to the right. Reading *kap* seems more plausible. The two small down strokes between *kap* and final *nun* can be identified as *waw* and *yod*. Therefore, I suggest reading א‘א.

**4Q561 2:3:** Starcky reads א‘א‘א, but recently Wise has suggested reading א‘א, whose thighs [] From the available photographs it is not possible to discern a trace of ink to the right of *šin* that indicates *waw*, but without *waw* the space would perhaps be too large. Both Starcky and Wise assume that א‘א begins 1.3. But it is not certain that א‘א represents the right margin of the column and the beginning of this line because it does not stand in the same vertical line as א‘א of 1.2.

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237 4Q561 1 i 1: Iii 2: cf. 1 i 2: א‘א; 1 i 4: א‘א; 1 ii 6: א‘א; 1 ii 7: א‘א.
238 4Q561 1 i 1: א‘א; 1 ii 6: א‘א; 1 ii 7: א‘א.
239 4Q561 1 i 1: א‘א; 1 ii 6: א‘א; 1 ii 7: א‘א.
241 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
242 See PAM 41.954; 43.598, and cf. 4Q561 1 i 2: א; 1 i 5: א‘א.
243 See PAM 41.954; 43.598, and cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: א‘א.
244 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 2: א‘א; 1 ii 7: א‘א.
246 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29. It is not clear why Wise adds brackets in “bro[a]d.”
247 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
4Q561 2 4: Starcky reads יבש. In PAM 43.598 a slight trace of ink is discernable that possibly represents the upper part of nun.

The second word extant in this line Starcky reads תב. Wise initially reconstructs a waw-conjunctive תב but recently agrees with Starcky's reading. Preceding final pe, a stroke of ink is visible that probably represents the serif of a letter. The most sensible reading is kap, although this letter does not seem to have such a pronounced serif in this manuscript. Depending on the width of kap there is perhaps enough space to reconstruct a waw, but this is not necessary.

Finally, Starcky reads והן, but Beyer seems to reconstruct a singular והן. It is difficult to determine with certainty which letter the slight trace of ink to the left of lamed belongs to. Given the fact that תב is singular, there is no need to reconstruct a plural. Therefore, I agree with Beyer and read the singular והן, "(the sole of) his foot."

4Q561 2 5: Starcky reads והן. Wise, however, reads והן, "exceedingly so." Discernible is, first, the upper part of a down stroke that seems to thicken at the top, and, second, a diagonal down stroke to which is attached a left leg that bends inwards. Apart from the proper identification of the letters these strokes represent, it must be stated that for both readings one would expect to see at least a trace of yod to the left of gimel. Instead, it seems to be the end of a word followed by a blank space. Furthermore, the amount of space preceding ה allows for the reconstruction of an entire word instead of just two letters and a blank space. Having said that, the two latter strokes seem to more closely resemble 'alep than gimel in this manuscript, because of the pronounced left leg. But the first down stroke seems to move to the right, which would exclude it from being the right down stroke of 'alep. The reading gimel, therefore, is more

248 Preliminary Concordance, 2326. See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Wise, “4Q561,” 228 ("םוב"); Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37 ("םוב").

249 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264. See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

250 Wise, “4Q561,” 228.

251 Preliminary Concordance, 2401. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264 ("םוב"), Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 ("םוב"), Wise, “4Q561,” 228 ("םוב"); Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37 ("םוב").

252 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164.


254 Preliminary Concordance, 2309. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

255 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.

256 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.

257 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: והן; 1 i 2: והן.

258 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: והן; 1 i 2: והן; 1 i 4: והן; 2 4: והן.
likely. If the down stroke preceding gimel is part of nun, it must be noted that it seems to stand too close to gimel. 259 But if it represents the left down stroke of sin, one would expect to see a trace of the middle down stroke, unless the top layer of the leather is missing. Due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript it is not possible to determine the identity of this letter.

Starcky indicates that he sees another trace of ink before ק"ו, 260 but this cannot be determined from the photographs. 261 Therefore, I read ק"ו. 262

4Q561 2 6: Wise initially reads נ"ל but recently Wise has read לד"ט. 263 García Martínez and Tigchelaar read לד"ט. 264 Wise is correct to read lamed before taw. Its upper part is clearly visible. 265 To read taw next seems difficult. Contrary to the other occurrences of taw in this manuscript, the upper part of the left down stroke bends to the left instead of the right. 266 Next, I think yod is more probable than waw because the tip of the head is more pronounced. Following pe, both lamed and qop seem possible.

4Q561 2 7: Starcky reads ע"ו, which García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate as a noun, “from the end of.” 267 Wise, however, reconstructs the verbal form ע"ו, “to] come to an end.” 268 The reading depends on one’s understanding of the text. If ע"ו is translated as a noun it can be understood to specify a certain part of the body. But if ע"ו is taken as a verbal form it might be understood as part of a prediction concerning the individual’s life on the basis of his bodily features. It then indicates perhaps the number of years after which a person’s life will come to an end. 269

259 Cf. 4Q561 1 2: ק"ו.
260 Preliminary Concordance, 2254. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264.
261 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
262 See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
263 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264.
264 Wise, “4Q561,” 228.
265 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116. See also Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
266 See PAM 43.598.
267 Cf. 4Q561 2 3: ע"ו; 6 2: ע"ו.
269 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264-65; Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29. Cf. also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:739, “zu jenden.”
270 In Babylonian physiognomics, sometimes a concrete amount of time was given for the duration of people’s lives, but more often it was couched in general terms (“his days will be long/short”), see Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 30-31. Greco-Roman was less predictive, but in Greek zodiologia concrete numbers of years were given for people’s lives, see e.g. the zodiologia in CCAG 12.173-91.
4Q561 2.8: The fragment shows the traces of probably three letters. The second letter probably represents the serif and upper horizontal stroke of dalet. This is possibly followed by waw or yod. The first letter preserves perhaps the upper part of the down stroke and the upper horizontal stroke of gop.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 3

4Q561 3.1: The down stroke curves to the left, which is typical of final nun in this manuscript.

4Q561 3.2: Starcky reads חלד. Starcky’s reconstruction is possible but far from certain. Another possibility is perhaps חלדה, “he has a skull,” but this is not likely since it does not accord with the way that descriptions of the body are given in the text (noun with suffixed pronoun). Also, one would perhaps expect to see a trace of the lower horizontal stroke of mem. See further the section on body and spirit in 4QPhysiognomy ar in Chapter One.

4Q561 3.3: Starcky reads קָנֹד, “narrow (?).” From his translation it seems as if Starcky understands קָנֹד as describing a certain part of the body as being narrow. But it is not necessary to take קָנֹד in this sense. It can also be taken as an indication of the individual’s present or future situation. In this way it might refer to him being in trouble or distress.

4Q561 3.4: Starcky reads קָנֹד. The left down stroke of sin is visible.

The following word is read by Starcky as קָנֹד. One can discern slight traces of the upper part of the right and left down stroke of ayin, and the upper horizontal stroke with serif and lower horizontal stroke of bet.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 4

4Q561 4.1: Wise reads קָנֹד, “and th[ey are.” But it is very unlikely that the remaining trace of ink to the right of mem is he. If it were the...
right end of the upper horizontal stroke one would except to see traces of the middle and left part too. But perhaps the top layer of the leather is missing next to the gap. Even then, he is unlikely because of the amount of space between mem and the trace of ink. It is conceivable that the trace of ink represents the left part of another letter and that a second letter followed before mem. On the other hand, if one letter is to be reconstructed, the trace of ink is perhaps the right upper part of fet. But in this case one would have to assume the left vertical stroke to be lower than the right one.280 A clear reading is, unfortunately, not possible.

4Q561 4:2 Starcky reads יָרְנֵהוּ, “dwarf.”281 Wise partially agrees with Starcky and reads יָרְנֵהוּ, “whose beard is curly.”282 Holst and Høgenhaven read יָרְנֵהוּ, “from the foot.”283 It seems more likely to read taw instead of mem.284 If the horn of mem were intended one would expect it to be more perpendicular on the diagonal stroke. 

4Q561 4:3 Wise reads אָנָי, “but not,” while Holst and Høgenhaven have become, “upon.”285 The stroke of ink preceding lamed is too fine to be the head of waw. It is possibly the upper part of the left down stroke of ’ayin. Following lamed it is not clear from the photograph whether a trace of ink is discernible or whether it is just shade.286

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 5

4Q561 5:1 Although the two traces are not joined, they perhaps belong to sin.

4Q561 5:2 Starcky reads יָיֵת, “be red.”287 Beyer, however, reads waw instead of yod: יָיֵת, “rot,”288 while García Martínez and Tigchelaar read yod after gop: יָיֵת, “red—yellow . . .” “[. . . between . . .] and reddish [. . .]”289 In this manuscript waw is less pronounced than yod. Also, it is evident that yod is the final letter.290 I read יָיֵת.

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279 See PAM 43.598.
280 Cf. 4Q561 1 ii 6: יָרְנֵהוּ; i ii 7: יָרְנֵהוּ.
281 Preliminary Concordance, 2451.
284 See PAM 43.598.
286 See PAM 43.598.
287 Preliminary Concordance, 2325. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
288 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164.
289 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1118-19. See also Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
290 See PAM 42.438 and 43.598.
In *The Physiognomy of R. Ishmael*, “red,” is used to describe the face, and also “slightly red,” for the eyes. It is possible that the complexion of the face is described in 4Q561 5.2.

4Q561 5.3: Starcky reads בְּרֵי, from אֱלֹהִים, “external.” Initially following Starcky’s reading, Wise, however, translates בְּרֵי as “clear” or בַּגּוֹבֵל. But recently Wise has suggested “[whose forehead (?)] will be globular.” In accordance with the following word, מְזַיִּיל, Wise understands both בְּרֵי and מְזַיִּיל to be singular masculine adjectives. Such an understanding is similar to the suggestion made earlier for אֱלֹהִים in 4Q561 1 and 2, that it is derived from אֱלֹהִי (see above). It is, therefore, possible to assume an adjective מְזַיִּיל בְּרֵי in 4QPhysiognomy ar. But Wise’s reading of dalet is not likely. The letter lacks the typical tick upwards at the right of the horizontal stroke. Therefore, I follow Starcky’s reading. If מְזַיִּיל and מְזַיִּיל form one clause, I understand מְזַיִּיל as a masculine singular adjective in conformity with מְזַיִּיל.

It is possible that the text describes one of the eyes as bright and round. In *The Physiognomy of R. Ishmael*, the root בְּרֵי is used in two instances to describe a person’s eyes or eye as bright. Because of the context of these two examples, together with an Aramaic quote from a merkabah tractate in the text Tanna d’be Eliahu, Scholem concludes that bright eyes signal a wicked person. However, *The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage* foretells a good fortune for a person whose eyes are clear. In physiognomic contexts the word מְזַיִּיל can be used to describe the head and the eyes. There is, however, one grammatical problem with understanding מְזַיִּיל in 4Q561 5.3 as a description of the individual’s eye. The word מְזַיִּיל, normally speaking, feminine, whereas מְזַיִּיל and מְזַיִּיל are masculine adjectives. Fortunately, the Cairo Genizah text T.-S. K 21.88 provides a solution. Here, one of the person’s eyes is singled out and described as being round: מְזַיִּיל. The forms used are masculine.

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291 Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 483.47; 486.75; Scholem, “Fragment,” 184 §18, 185 §33.
294 Wise, "4Q561," 228-29.
298 Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.10: וַיִּרְאוּ הָאֲנָשָׁה... see above the comments on 4Q186 1 i 8 for further references.
Before the fragment breaks off, Starcky reads "Physiognomy," but Wise reads "4Q561," and the faint trace of a guide to the right of "4Q561," is possibly discernible.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 6

4Q561 6 1: The down stroke curves to the left, which is typical of final nun in this manuscript.

4Q561 6 3: Starcky correctly reads כ, since the fragment breaks off without any certain indication of a blank space following lamed.

4Q561 6 4: Starcky reads כ, but Wise has כ. It cannot be ruled out that a letter followed bet.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 7

4Q561 7 1: Starcky reads כ, 67 But Wise reads כ, “and extensive,” while Holst and Høgenhaven read כ, “they will be abundant.” From PAM 43.598 it seems as if the final letter originally extended below the line. Therefore, I agree with Wise’s reading. After this letter, the photographs show no trace of another letter.

Also, the faint trace of a guide to the right of כ is possibly discernible.

301 Preliminary Concordance, 2238. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228.

302 See PAM 42.438; 43.598.

303 See 4Q561 1 ii 1; 6 3. Cf. also 4Q561 1 ii 5: כ, Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.


305 Cf. Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1118-19, “for him [,”

306 See PAM 42.438; 43.598. Cf. also Preliminary Concordance, 2254; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1118; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

307 Wise, “4Q561,” 228.

308 See PAM 42.438; 43.598. See also Preliminary Concordance, 2412; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1118; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

309 Cf. e.g. 4Q561 1 i 3: כ; 1 ii 7: כ; 2 3: כ.


311 Preliminary Concordance, 2398. See also Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

312 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; Wise, “4Q561,” 228.

313 Preliminary Concordance, 2411.


315 See PAM 41.944; 43.598.

316 See PAM 43.598.
4Q561 7 2: Starcky reads מ'/*מ'/*מ'/*מ', an *itpe'el* of פך, “it will happen.” Probably due to the rather long additional stroke of *taw*, Wise understands it as a final letter and reads מ'/*מ'/*מ'/*מ'. But it is unlikely that there are two separate words here. Holst and Høgenhaven read מ'/*מ'/*מ', “and they will grow thic[K].” Although their reading of *waw* is plausible, it must be noted that the word does not stand on the same margin line as מ'/*מ'/*מ' in 1.1.

If Starcky’s reading is accepted, it yields another instance of a prediction concerning something that will happen to the type of person described. Regarding Holst and Høgenhaven’s reading, the question is what its meaning is. It is not likely to be a description of a part of the body because these are expressed by means of adjectives or participles. If it is a prediction, does it intend to describe how a part of the body will develop and look like in the future? This seems rather unlikely. Although it is not possible to discern a trace of a letter following *bet* from the available photographs, I accept Starcky’s reading.

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317 Preliminary Concordance, 2328.
320 See PAM 41.944; 43.598.
APPENDIX II

PHYSIOGNOMIC CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

More or less simultaneously with the highlighted “physiognomic consciousness” expressed by Ben Sira (see below), there seems to be an emergence of a marked interest in the physical description of people’s bodies in Second Temple period Judaism, at least as far as our sources are concerned. The concrete descriptions of the human body in literary texts from the Hellenistic-Early Roman period find, to a certain degree, a remarkable parallel in Greco-Egyptian and Jewish documentary papyri.

The texts briefly discussed here show that physiognomic interest, as conveyed in technical form by the two learned lists from the Dead Sea Scrolls, 4QZodiacal Physiognomy and 4QPhysiognomy ar, was not an isolated phenomenon in Second Temple period Judaism. These texts demonstrate in different ways an interest in the appearance of the human body, its descriptions, and what is signified by it.

HEBREW BIBLE

The Hebrew Bible does not contain any physiognomic texts, although later medieval Jewish physiognomic texts elaborated on passages such as Gen 5:1 and Isa 3:9, with the latter providing the technical term סֵפֶל הָגוֹנִים for “physiognomics” in Jewish tradition.

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1 Perhaps also indicative of this marked interest are the more elaborate characterizations of David’s brothers in 11QPeº 28:3-12, see n. 6 below.
The only exception is perhaps the *Book of Proverbs* with possible echoes of Babylonian physiognomic omens (e.g. 10:10; 16:30). Even if this were the case, it does not indicate much of a pursuit of physiognomics.

In addition, 1 Sam 16:7 can perhaps be understood as an example of physiognomic consciousness in a negative sense. When Samuel sees the first son of Jesse, he thinks Eliab is the anointed one. God, however, cautions him not to look at his appearance (כַּפָּרָה) or at his stature (נֵתוּ). These are things humans look on, but God looks on the heart (i.e. the inner person). Physiognomic consciousness in a negative sense, however, works well alongside a positive one. The edge of the statement in 1 Sam 16:7 becomes clear when it is compared with what is said earlier of Saul as the anointed one. In 1 Sam 10:23-24 Saul is said to be head and shoulders taller than all the people (יָנָה, ganze Mannskap), whereupon Samuel asks the people if they see whom God has chosen, for there is no one like him among all the people.

**PTOLEMAIC PALESTINE: PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF SLAVES IN A LETTER FROM TOBIAS TO APOLLONIUS**

Greco-Egyptian and Jewish papyri demonstrate the identification purposes of physical descriptions. It is a peculiar feature of the Ptolemaic administration in the third century BCE that it introduced physical descriptions of individual citizens for identification purposes in documents such as military enrolment, wills, deeds of sale, contracts, and proclamations for the capture of runaway slaves. The descriptive elements follow a more or less fixed order: age, stature, complexion, other distinguishing marks, and, finally, scars or moles (but there is variation, even within one and the same document).

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6 The LXX has an additional psalm (Ps 151) not in the MT in which David sings of this occasion saying in v.5 that his brothers were handsome (σολεῖ) and tall (μεγάλοι), whereas he was smaller than them (v.1). In 11Q Pss 28: 9-10 the brothers are handsome of shape (αὐτὸν ἄρσατε), tall of stature (ὑπάρχοντο κατὰ μέτρον), and handsome by their hair (εὐπληθοῦντο ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ).
7 See also 1 Sam 9:2. Cf. e.g. T.N.D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* (ConBOT 8; Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976), 175-79.
There is evidence that at least some Jews were familiar with these identification methods of the Ptolemaic administration. In a letter from one of the Zenon papyri, dated May 12, 257 BCE and presumably sent from the Tobiad family estate in Transjordan, Tobias informs Apollonius, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-246), that he has sent him four young house-slaves together with a eunuch. Tobias says he has appended the descriptions (τὰς εἰκόνες) of the boys for the information of Apollonius. The descriptions given by Tobias carefully follow the general order of the descriptive elements in Ptolemaic papyri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Haimos, about 10</th>
<th>Attikos, about 8</th>
<th>Audomos, about 10</th>
<th>Okaimos, about 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black eyes</td>
<td>curly hair</td>
<td>black eyes</td>
<td>round face, nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curly hair</td>
<td>light skin</td>
<td>curly hair, nose</td>
<td>flat, grey eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black eyes</td>
<td>nose somewhat</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>fiery complexi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rather big jaws</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>scar near the</td>
<td>on forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with moles on</td>
<td>below the</td>
<td>eyebrows</td>
<td>above the right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the right jaw</td>
<td>right eye</td>
<td>uncircumcised</td>
<td>uncircumcised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncircumcised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These descriptions of the children show that Jews such as Tobias were familiar with the customs of the Ptolemaic administration for the identification of individual persons in official documents. In addition, this evidence may bear importance for understanding the appearance of an interest in the physical description of people’s bodies in Second Temple period


11. Due to the formula of greeting at the beginning of the letter (“many thanks to the gods”), scholars assume that Tobias is representative of a Second Temple period Jew open to Hellenistic influences. See e.g. V. Tcherikover, Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America and Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959; repr., Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2004), 71; Hengel, Judentum und Hellenismus, 488; L.L. Grabbe, Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian (London: SCM, 1994), 196; L.L. Grabbe, Judaic Religion in the Second Temple Period: Belief and Practice from the Exile to Yavneh (London: Routledge, 2000), 39-40. It has not been noted before, but, in addition to the greeting formula, the use of the Ptolemaic identification formula for physical descriptions of individuals may be cited as another example of this influence.

Cf. also P.Cair.Zen. 59015 verso for a draft of a letter written by Zenon in 259 or 258 BCE to Epikrates, a person residing in or connected with Palestine, asking him to recover some runaway slaves of which he gives their names and descriptions (τὰς εἰκόνες, 1:20, but these were not provided in the draft). See C.C. Edgar (ed.), Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Zenon Papyri, Nos 59001-59139 (vol. 1; Cairo: L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1925), 35.
literature. Based on the sources at our disposal, it seems that before the Hellenistic period there is not the same interest for more detailed and concrete physical descriptions and portrayals of individuals. It is possible that Jewish familiarity with the demands of the Ptolemaic administration in the third century BCE regarding physical descriptions for identification purposes functioned as a catalyst for the concern with the physical description of individual human bodies in literary sources. The papyri are suggestive. The distinguishing character of marks and moles appears also in 4Q534 (4QBirth of Noah’), and the color and type of hair as distinguishing features receive attention in 1 En. 106.12

BEN SIRA

It is not until the Hellenistic period that we come across a Jewish writer who displays some physiognomic awareness. The Jewish sage Ben Sira, active at the beginning of the second century BCE, seems, on the one hand, to agree with the general idea that an individual’s character can be known by his outward appearance and behavior, because he says that:

By appearance a man is known, and an intelligent person is known by (his) face. A man’s clothing and hearty laughter, and a person’s way of walking announce what he is like.13

It seems likely that Ben Sira here gives expression to a notion that was more widely current in Jewish society in his days and already before him, as is indicated by the letter from Tobias to Apollonius. On the other hand, however, Ben Sira seems to express reservations, because the point made is not to judge on appearance:

Do not praise a person for his good looks, and do not loathe a man for his appearance.14

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12 The literary form of the description of Sarai in the Genesis Apocryphon falls within an Ancient Near Eastern tradition of description songs, but it is far less poetic than Song 4:1-7; 5:10-16; 7:2-10 and other Ancient Near Eastern examples. It mainly uses the adjectives “beautiful” or “perfect” in its descriptions. Cf. W. Hermann, “Gedanken zur Geschichte des altorientalischen Beschreibungsliedes,” ZAW 75 (1963): 176-97. However, the few concrete descriptions of Sarai’s hair as soft, skin as fair (lit. white), and fingers as long and slender are very interesting and suggestive. They perhaps betray the poem’s indebtedness to the plain physical descriptions known from Greco-Egyptian and Jewish papyri.


14 Sir 11:2.
Although it is possible that he had an ambivalent attitude on this, both points of advice show that there was a concern with the semiotic value of people’s bodies and appearances that Ben Sira felt needed to be addressed.

4QBirth of Noah⁴⁰ Ar (4Q534 and 4Q535)

The Aramaic text 4QBirth of Noah Ar is extant in three copies (4Q534-536). The first two copies preserve descriptions of certain features of the human body that appear in a narrative framework. From the two columns preserved of 4Q534 it seems that the physical appearance of perhaps two persons is depicted, while the third fragment of 4Q535 provides the weight of a newborn baby that is probably identical with the figure described in 4Q534 1 i. The text’s content, however, goes beyond simply listing what would be signified by the appearance and weight of the human body.

4Q534 1 i is about a figure identified as “the elect of God” (l.10). He is considered like an intelligent person (חרם) in his youth (l.4), but also like a man who does not know anything “until he knows the three books” (ll.4-5).¹⁷ From then on he will be wise (l.6).¹⁸ Counsel and good sense

¹⁵ See Puech, DJD 31.117-70.

will be with him, he will know the secrets of man, his wisdom shall come
to all peoples, and he will know the secrets of all human beings (Il.7-8). 19
However, this individual apparently experiences opposition from others. All
their calculations against him will fail, but the opposition of all human
beings will be great (I.9). 20 Next, the text reveals that the individual dis-

18 The text possibly attributes to this elect figure some wisdom of sages-seers “coming to
himself on his knees” (דְּבַר חַנְנָה מֹשֶׁר לָוָת לָוָת, ל), which perhaps describes the elect of God
as a student at the feet of a teacher. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 52, reads the
final word as הֵוָת לָוָת, “his knees” (cf. e.g. Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 214; M. Hengel, “Jesus
als messianischer Lehrer der Weisheit und die Anfänge der Christologie,” in Sagesse et
Religion: Colloque de Strasbourg (octobre 1976) (ed. E. Jacob; Paris: Presses universitaires
de France, 1979), 147-88, at 173; Betz, “‘Kann denn aus Nazareth,‘” 10-12. Fitzmyer, “The
Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 150, acknowledges the allusion to Solomon’s wisdom, but
denies that this establishes the messianic identity of the elect figure (cf. García
Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 11). Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” 495, suggests that knowledge of the
secrets of man and of all living things applies to the content of the three books that Enoch
transmitted to posterity (alluded to in Job. 4:16-24), and which Noah will bequeath to the
people (cf. García Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 11, 21-22; Puech DJD 31.140). A. Caquot,
secrets are secrets concerning mankind, not secrets held by humanity, secondly, that יִדִּישָה
probably only refers to human beings and not animals, and, finally, that the words הֵוָת לָוָת
are a specification of יִדִּישָה in the first part, indicating that the elect figure
“aura dans l’esprit l’humanité entière” (cf. García Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 10-11; Zimmer-
mann, Messianische Texte, 179-81; Puech DJD 31.140). Davila, “4QMess Ar,” 377, suggests
that the elect’s “knowledge of the mysteries of others foreshadows the similar knowledge of
the Merkavah mystic in the Hekhalot Rabbati.”

20 Since the calculations of the elect figure himself (דְּבַר חַנְנָה) are mentioned in l.10-11,
Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 58, assumes an opposition expressed by the
aversative use of יִדִּישָה (cf. Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 216; Dupont-Sommer, “Deux docu-
ments horoscopiques esséniens,” 248; Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 151;
Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” 495-96; Hengel, “Jesus als messianischer Lehrer,” 173;
Betz, “‘Kann denn aus Nazareth,‘” 10; García Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 4, 11; Davila,
“4QMess Ar,” 274; Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 174, 181-82). Contrary to this interpr-
etation, Caquot, “4QMess Ar,” 148-49, argues that the possessive suffix in הֵוָת לָוָת has
objective value, meaning the calculations of which the men are the object, and not their
calculations against the elect figure. Consequently, יִדִּישָה does not mean “their
calculations against him (i.e. the elect one) will fail,” but “the calculations concerning them
will be accomplished according to him” (cf. Puech DJD 31.140-41).

Different explanations have been proposed for the word יִדִּישָה (cf. Zimmermann, Messia-
nische Texte, 174-75; Puech DJD 31.141). Because of the antagonism described in the first
cussed in the text is the elect of God (l.10), and there is a reference to his horoscope (ת"כ), which, unfortunately, is not further specified. Before the text becomes too fragmentary, it states that the elect’s calculations will last forever (l.11).

The words “elect of God” are very intriguing and, understandably, the identification of this figure has given rise to many suggestions by scholars. Although initially scholars favored the elect of God being a future messianic figure, a later consensus emerged to identify this character as Noah, but both identifications are possible and the real identity of the figure remains open.

Regardless of the elect one’s true identity, what is of interest here is the description of several features of this figure’s body given in ll.1-3. While the greatest part of the text is concerned with describing how the elect of God fares through life, this is preceded by a section describing the newborn that pays special attention to different sorts of marks and moles on his body:

1. on the hand [and] his two [ק]nees,26 [and] colorful27 of a mark (ת"כ). Red are
2. [his] hairs (ת"כ) [and] moles (ת"כ) on [his body],28 vacat

half of l.9, I follow Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 151, in understanding ת"כ as a form derived from ת"כ, analogous to ת"כ from ת"כ (cf. Grelot, “Hénoch et ses écritures,” 496; García Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 4, 10-11).

21 For several options concerning how this line can be divided into separate sentences, see García Martínez, “4QMess Ar,” 13-14; Puech DJD 31.141-42.


25 4Q534 1 ii has two scattered remarks on body marks that perhaps belong to another figure, but the text is too fragmentary (4Q534 1 ii 2: ת"כ; 5: ת"כ).

26 The first words of this line are not the beginning of the text but the continuation of a sentence from a preceding column, which perhaps mentioned marks appearing on the hand and his two knees. As for this last word, most scholars think the manuscript is too fragmentary. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 55, reads ת"כ, “black,” but Puech DJD 31.132-35, reads ת"כ, “his knees,” and connects it with the preceding ת"כ.
3. and small marks on his thighs, but [mole]s \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) different from one
another.\footnote{Most scholars understand this as a reference to the hair on the head (cf. Puech DJD 31.135-36, except Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 145), which is described as being red (Puech DJD 31.134-35, connects \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) with \( \text{רָמֶשׁ} \), but now relates it to \( \text{רָמֶשׁ} \) [personal communication 29.09.2005]). It is also possible, I suggest, that it refers to the color of the body hair. Perhaps these hairs are described as being red due to the color of the moles that appear on the whole body, \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) (Puech DJD 31.136 reconstructs \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \), “on his face,” but cf. Garcia Martinez, “4QMess Ar,” 6-7). In Babylonian physiognomical attention is paid to hairs growing from moles. Also, much consideration is given to the color of the different sorts of moles and whether they appear on the whole body. Cf. Böck, Die babylonisch-
assyrische Morphoskopie, 210-11, 200-1, 228-29.\footnote{Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 56, understands \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) to mean “teeth,” and reconstructs \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) as “well-ordered teeth” (cf. Carmignac, “Les Horoscopes,” 216); Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques esséniens,” 246-47, takes \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) as the plural participle of the verb \( \text{ךָּנָּן} \), “to be different” (cf. also Grelot, “Hênoch et ses écritures,” 491; Garcia Martinez, “4QMess Ar,” 7; Davila, “4QMess ar,” 373; Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 172), and reconstructs \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \), “two”, referring to small marks on the thighs that differ from one another; Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 145, interprets \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) as the plural of \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \), “year,” and reconstructs \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \), “after two years”; Grelot, “Hênoch et ses écritures,” 491, reads \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \), “barley,” in the sense of a mark or mole (cf. also Puech DJD 31.136). For this sense of \( \text{ךָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) cf. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text,” 145.\footnote{Cf., for example, the following Babylonian omens:

If red \( \text{כָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) cover his whole body, his days will be long, he will become old. If red \( \text{כָּנָּן שָׁפָר} \) cover his whole body, he will become an important person and his name famous, his days will be long. (see Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 206-1, 228-29)\footnote{Cf. Garcia Martinez, “4QMess Ar,” 17-18, 44, who emphasizes the importance of learning the three books as the cause of further things happening in the life of the elect figure.\footnote{Cf. Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 176, 192-94.}\footnote{Cf. Puech DJD 31.157-58.}}

It is tempting to attribute predictive value to these descriptions,\footnote{Cf. Puech DJD 31.157-58.} but these references to marks and moles on the body are probably not related to what is said about the elect figure’s life in such a direct way.\footnote{Cf. Puech DJD 31.157-58.} They may signify the special character of this figure and, being distinguishing body marks, function as identity markers.\footnote{Cf. Puech DJD 31.157-58.} \textit{4QBirth of Noah’ ar} thus displays physiognomic consciousness by attributing special value to the bodily signs. The description of the body serves to identify the elect of God. The concern with distinguishing body marks for establishing a person’s identity is paralleled by Greco-Egyptian and Jewish papyri (see above).

In addition to these observations regarding different marks and moles on the body of the elect of God, the third fragment of \textit{4Q535} gives information concerning the weight of the newborn. It is, however, unlikely that this information has any physiognomic sense; as far as I know there are no references to the concrete weight of people in physiognomic texts:

2. at the fifth [hour] of the night he is born and comes out health[y

3. he weighs three hundred and fifty[-one] shekels\footnote{Cf. Puech DJD 31.157-58.}
THE DESCRIPTION OF THE NEWBORN NOAH IN 1 Enoch 106

The description of the newborn Noah’s miraculous bodily features in 1 En. 106 has an important narrative function. Noah’s appearance leads his father Lamech to think that Noah is not his child but that of an angel:

And when the child was born, his body was whiter than snow and redder than a rose, his hair was all white and like white wool and curly. Glorious <was his face>. When he opened his eyes, the house shone like the sun.

And he stood up from the hands of the midwife, and opened his mouth and praised the Lord of eternity. And Lamech was afraid of him, and he fled and came to Methuselah his father. And he said to him, ‘A strange child has been born to me. He is not like men, but (like) the sons of the angels of heaven. His form is strange, not like us. His eyes are like the rays of the sun, and glorious is his face. I think that he is not from me, but from the angels. And I fear him, lest something happen in his days on the earth.

I beg you, father, and beseech you, go to Enoch our father and learn the truth from him, for his dwelling is with the angels.’

This description obviously differs from that of the elect figure in 4Q534 (4QBirth of Noah’ ar), and opinions differ as to the relationship between the two texts. Be that as it may, the bodily description is significant. For the characters in the story, Noah’s remarkable appearance identifies his angelic nature. Enoch, however, reveals the true significance of Noah’s looks to be indicative of his righteousness and perfection that qualify him as a survivor of the flood and father of a new people. The narrative function of Noah’s extraordinary appearance is to enable Enoch to make this revelation known. What is striking is that the description of the human body, however wondrous it might be, is used explicitly to signify, in this case, a revelation to the intended reader.

THE DESCRIPTION OF SARAI’S BEAUTY IN THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

Another Aramaic text also evinces a physiognomic interest in a narrative setting. In column 20 of the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar) the beauti-

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34 1 En. 106:2-7. Translation from Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 536. Methuselah goes to Enoch and tells him what Lamech told him; the description is recounted a third time. Cf. also the parallels in 1Q19 3; 1QapGen ar 2-5, see J.A. Fitzmyer, The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (1Q20): A Commentary (BibOr 18/3; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 122-44, 258-60; Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 539-50.


ful appearance of Sarai is praised in an inserted poem that is extant in II.2-8. The literary style of praise is clear by the multiple use of the demonstrative adverb μεγάλος (“how great”) introducing descriptions of a part of Sarai’s body:

2. [ ]how splendid and beautiful the form of her face, and how
3. [please]ant [and] soft the hair of her head; how lovely are her eyes, and how graceful is her nose; all the radiance of
4. her face [ ]; how lovely is her breast, and how beautiful is all her whiteness! Her arms, how beautiful! And her hands, how perfect! And (how) attractive all the appearance of her hands! How lovely (are) her palms, and how long and dainty all the fingers of her hands. Her feet,
5. how beautiful! How perfect are her legs! There are no virgins or brides who enter a bridal chamber more beautiful than she. Indeed, she greatly surpasses in beauty all women; and in her beauty she ranks high above all of them. Yet with all this beauty there is much wisdom in her; and whatever she has
6. is lovely.

The poem describes Sarai’s body according to the a capite ad calcem principle. It begins with the head and runs down to the feet. This structure is similar to that used in the descriptions of the body in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy and 4QPhysiognomy ar. Scholars have related the poem’s description technique to the genre known in Arabic as wasf, which was introduced in nineteenth-century literary criticism to characterize the genre of some of the songs in the Song of Songs. Wasf songs are recited during Arab marriage celebrations. Their purpose is to praise the beauty of the wedding couple, especially of the bride. Although the generic name wasf is of Arabic origin, the literary form of the description of Sarai stands within an Ancient Near Eastern tradition of description songs.

Subsequent to the praise of Sarai’s bodily features for their magnificence, the poem says that no virgin or bride who enters the bridal chamber is more beautiful than her (I.6), and also that with all this beauty there is great wisdom with her, and that everything she does with her hands is perfect (II.7-8). The praise of her body is meant to imply Sarai’s impeccable character as a wife, which is clear from the marital context that is evoked.

38 Translation from Fitzmyer, Genesis Apocryphon, 101.
41 Cf. also Goshen-Gottstein, “Philologische Miszellen,” 48.
This physiognomic awareness corresponds to the interest of Babylonian physiognomic omens in women. These physiognomic omens are primarily concerned with women as mothers and wives. It is possible that in Mesopotamia, physiognomics was used to assess a woman’s fertility and ability to give birth, as well as to predict her role in her future household and the way she will treat her husband.\(^\text{42}\)

\[4QBARKHI NAFSHI^{A, C} (4Q434 and 4Q436), AND 4QWILES OF THE WICKED WOMAN (4Q184)\]

Two passages from the Barkhi Nafshi hymns, extant in five copies (4Q434-438), perhaps have a physiognomic interest.\(^\text{43}\) It was argued that the references to parts of the human body in 4Q434 1 i and 4Q436 1 i served a physiognomic function in the Qumran community that presumably read these poems. The purpose of these references would have been to reinforce the notion that divine election to the community was reflected in the state of each individual’s body.\(^\text{44}\) The poems do not actually describe what the body should look like. They describe how parts of the body have been perfected by God so that the poet acts perfectly accordingly.

It has been argued that 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman contains a short anti-\(waw\) song in ll.2-4.\(^\text{45}\) Instead of singing the praises of the physical features, the poem describes the evil, corrupting nature of different parts of the “Wicked Woman’s” body. Its function is to warn the reader to keep away from the “Wicked Woman” and her evil ways.\(^\text{46}\) Again, the poem does


\(^{45}\) For the text, see Allegro, DJD 5:82-85; Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 263-68.

not give any actual descriptions. However, it complements the Barkhi Nafshi hymns in stating the corrupting nature of body parts as opposed to those perfected by God. It is possible that people reading both texts may have related them in this way.

BODY AND SOUL IN THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

In some of the testaments from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the notion of sympathy between body and soul/spirit figures prominently, expressing the correspondence and reciprocal influence between body and soul. For example, in the Testament of Simeon, Simeon describes to his children the effects of the spirit of envy on the body, concluding that that attitude makes the soul savage and corrupts the body. Talking about his brother, Simeon adds that:

Therefore, Joseph was attractive in shape and beautiful in appearance, because nothing evil dwelt in him; for the face reveals any trouble of the spirit.

Before Simeon started telling his children about his jealousy of Joseph, he already made a statement concerning the correspondence between body and soul/spirit, saying that the Most High had given courage to men in both soul and body.

The Testament of Naphtali provides a theological justification for the correspondence between body and spirit saying that:

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47 Scholars disagree on the origin of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs being Jewish or Christian. In its final form the Greek text is Christian, but it is possible that individual testaments like that of Levi or Naphtali go back to an Aramaic or Hebrew Vorlage, fragments of which were discovered at Qumran and the Cairo Genizah. Some scholars, therefore, assume that the other testaments in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs also possibly have an Aramaic or Hebrew Vorlage, but this is far from certain. It is, therefore, not clear whether the passages from these texts represent Second Temple period Judaism or Late Antique Christianity. See e.g. M. de Jonge, Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve (SVTP 18; Leiden: Brill, 2003); Drawnel, New Interpretation of the Levi Document; J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone and E. Eshel, The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004); J.R. Davila, The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other? (JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 5, 232.
48 Cf. also Wis 8:19-20 (I owe this reference to Annemieke ter Brugge); T.-S. K 21.95.I.2a/15.2b/3; See Schäfer, Geniza Fragments, 136-37; Davila, Descenders to the Chariot, 183.
49 T. Sim. 4:8. Cf. also the influence of anger on soul and body in T. Dan 3.
50 T. Sim. 5:1.
51 T. Sim. 2.5.
the Lord creates the body in resemblance to the spirit, and puts in the
spirit according to the power of the body.\textsuperscript{52}

Because of this correspondence between body and spirit created by God, the
appearance of the body shows the character of the spirit. This was explicitly
said of Joseph in the Testament of Simeon. Joseph’s lack of an evil attitude
within him registers through his shape being attractive and his appearance
beautiful.

Apart from the theological basis, the articulated mutual relationship be-
tween body and spirit in these passages from the Testaments of the Twelve
Patriarchs is remarkably similar to the basic premise governing Greco-
Roman physiognomics. In the Peripatetic treatise Physiognomonica the
author states that:

- soul and body react on each other; when the character of the soul changes,
  it changes also the form of the body, and conversely, when the form of the
  body changes, it changes the character of the soul.\textsuperscript{53}

This reciprocal influence between body and soul implies a correspondence
between both. Therefore, people believed that physiognomists could look at
the human body and discern people’s characters or spirits, because these
register on the shape and appearance of the body. The passages taken from
the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs demonstrate familiarity with this
basic premise of Greco-Roman physiognomics. The salient difference being
that God is believed responsible for the sympathy between body and soul.

Finally, there are two passages in the Testament of Joseph that betray
physiognomic consciousness. As he was being besieged and threatened by
Photimar’s wife, Joseph fasted, as a result of which he:

- appeared to the Egyptians as one living in luxury, for those who fast be-
  cause of God receive beauty of face.\textsuperscript{54}

And when Joseph tells of his trip to Egypt as a slave, he recounts why one
of the slave traders does not believe him when he says that he is a home-
born slave, saying:

\textsuperscript{52} T. Naph. 2:2. See M. Kister, “Physical and Metaphysical Measurements Ordained by
God in the Literature of the Second Temple Period,” in Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and
Related Texts at Qumran: Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the
Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute
for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15-17 January, 2002 (eds. E.G. Chazon,
D. Dimant and R.A. Clements; STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 153-76. As to the importance of
measuring and weighing people, see also G.A. Anderson, “Two Notes on Measuring Char-
acter and Sin at Qumran,” in Things Revealed, 141-47.

\textsuperscript{53} Pseudo-Aristotle, Physiognomonica 808b 11-14 (cf. also 805a 1-18).

Asceticism as a more extreme form of fasting resulted in another physiognomy (sunken eyes,
emaciated cheeks, and thinning hair), one looking less like a life lived luxuriously, which was
recorded in late antiquity by Christian pilgrims. Cf. Frank, Memory of the Eyes, 137-44.
You are not a slave, for also your appearance reveals who you are.55

55 T. Jos. 11:3. Cf. Hollander and de Jonge, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 395. On the issue of a distinct physiognomy of slaves in antiquity, see e.g. Gleason, Making Men, 35-36; Sassi, Science of Man, 11-13, 80; Isaac, Invention of Racism, 170-94, 211-13. Physiognomic features of a slavish, servile nature can be found in, for example, Pseudo-Aristotle, Physiognomonica 812b 36-813a 2; Anonymous Latin, De physiognomonia liber §§24, 51, 69; Förster, Scriptores Physiognomonici, 1:314, 359.
FIGURE 1

_4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY (4Q186) FRAGMENTS 2, 4 – 7_

See DJD 5. Plate XXXI and PAM 43.438.
For fragments 1 – 3, see DJD 5. Plate XXXI
PLATE I

RECENT PHOTOGRAPH (B-45417) OF IAA #109 CONTAINING 4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY (4Q186)

Photo Clara Amit, Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority