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  ה; two legs and part of the head are visible. Two down strokes, the right one of which curves slightly to the left, follow  ה. 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 גופ. The long down stroke curves to the left ("s"-shaped). This feature makes it probable that  גופ should be read here. Wise translates "Anyone, the hai of whose head shall be," most likely reconstructing  כה.  גופ is not. 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  שין. Also, one would expect to see remnants of the right arm of  שין.

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

1 Allegro DJD 5.88. See also García Martínez 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: שֵׁם נָפָי; 1 iii 3: “and his teeth are …”; “and his teeth are elevated”; 2 ii 7: the additional suggestion that  שָׁנָי could mean “Bowling.”


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 In the final publication the table has been adapted and the identification of a samek has been replaced by a clear waw.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 יфан changes from the full spelling יפנ in 4Q186 1 iii 5, but this does not speak against this reconstruction.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 1 ii
The small fragment containing II.1-4 first appears in PAM 41.314 and is joined in PAM 41.804 with 4Q186 1 ii.16

4Q186 1 ii 1: Most scholars read עשת, “unclean, impure,”17 except Carmignac and Delcor who read עשת, “good.”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 עשת 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 גור,19 but the second letter might also be וָ. 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 גור. He identifies it with the constellation mentioned in Job 9:9 and 38:32,20 but he does not explain the meaning of

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15 Admittedly, there are only a few cases where one and the same manuscript has alternative spellings. See 4Q043 1 ii 24 (כ"א, כ"ב); 1 ii 34 (כ"א); 4Q186 9 5 (כ"א); 4Q186 9 45 (כ"א); 4Q186 1 ii 1 (כ"א); 126 ii 7 (כ"א). In biblical manuscripts only in the Isaiah scroll from Cave 1; see for the form without aleph (ו) Isa 40:21; 41:26; 48:16.

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 resh, but it is too high to belong to the same line of the nun below it (unless it were a scribal correction?).


19 Allegro, DJD 5.88-89.

20 Allegro, DJD 5.90. For ו in Job, BHJS (ed. G. Gerleman) proposes reading וינ ו 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 וינ with Aldebaran). The most common identification seems to be with the Great Bear (see D.J.A. Cline, 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], 339).
his reconstructed reading יַשְׁר יִשְׁרָאֵל. Interestingly, the Peshita translates יַשָׁר in Job 9:9 and יַשׁ in Job 38:32 with יִדָּת, 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 Αυραοδίας). As Allegro does not provide a translation for יַשָׁר ("a man of Hyades"?), it is difficult to surmise what he has in mind with his suggested reconstruction יַשָּׁר. How is a reference to יַשָּׁר as a distinct section of the zodiacal constellation Taurus in 4Q186 1 i 3 related to the indication of a specific part of the zodiacal sign Taurus in 4Q186 1 ii 9 (ברדוע תaurus) ? There is no other textual evidence in which the Hyades are referred to as the "foot of Taurus" (בּוֹדֵד תaurus, 4Q186 1 ii 9). Allegro's reconstruction does not seem to elucidate our understanding of 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, and is to be rejected.

Wise translates "[And] anyone [whose] eyes are," probably reconstructing יַשָּׁר of יַשְׁרָאֵל. The latter reconstruction, however, seems improbable for syntactical reasons. One would expect יַשָּׁר אֱלֹהִים יִדְּתָו בְּעָתוּן יִדָּת יַשָּׁר אוֹתְיוֹ (or, at least, יַשָּׁר אֱלֹהִים יִדְּתָו בְּעָתוּן יִדָּת יַשְׁרִי), similar to the form of the phrase used in 4Q186 1 i 7 (אֱלֹהִים יִדְּתָו בְּעָתוּן יִדָּת יַשָּׁר אוֹתְיוֹ) and in The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage. This could mean that it is not necessarily a bodily feature that is referred to in 4Q186 1 ii 3.

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


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 Aldebaran 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 יַשָּׁר (as the Hyades) was interpreted as the head of Taurus. In the Babylonian Talmud the term יַשָּׁר is explained as being יָשָׁר, and יַשָּׁר is said by some to mean the tail of the Lamb (Aries), and by others the head of the Calf (Taurus). See b. Ber. 58b. In 4Q525 23 5 (4QZodiacal) says that an unjust man should not be considered as one who helps יַשָּׁר (יָשָׁר וּלְאָר אָדָם מְשַׁלָּק הַיָּשָׁר). The passage continues by arguing that those who identify יַשָּׁר with the tail of Aries hold the more reasonable position.


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

26 See 4Q171 4Q191 11QT 45.12.

27 4Q417 2 i 7 (4QPhysiognomy) says that an unjust man should not be considered as one who helps יַשָּׁר (יָשָׁר וּלְאָר אָדָם מְשַׁלָּק הַיָּשָׁר).

28 Cf. 4Q525 23 5 (4QBeatitude): יַשָּׁר וּלְאָר אָדָם מְשַׁלָּק הַיָּשָׁר.
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, אבר פנים 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. 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. 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 רן-א. The final letter is paleo-Hebrew тaw, and the third letter is square script ווא, 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 ink and is in itself not indicative. Wise reads the second letter as kap, translates “and lo[ng],” and presumably reconstructs מֶלֶט אָו. Wise takes this to be a description of the eyes mentioned at the end of 1.3 according to his reconstruction. 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. 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 “ FIXED ” 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, מִמְאָר, see Scholm, “Physiognomy,” 491.5.
35 Instead of reading kap, one could also read the second letter as bet and reconstruct מָלֵט אָו, “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 הָנָנ.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 תִּנְפָּנ, “clean, 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 תִּנְפָּנ, a nip’al from יָנָנ 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 וְיָנָנ, a qal feminine passive participle plural from the root יָנָנ, “to watch, keep, guard”, referring to Isa 48:6 (וַיָּנָנ, “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

37 See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616.
39 Allegro, DJD 5.88-90. See also Garcia Martínez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498, “schraal (?)” (“lean, meagre, poor”).
42 See 4Q186 1 i 8: וַיְנַפְּנָנ.
second and third letters are paleo-Hebrew שד and רט. The fourth letter, filling the gap, is paleo-Hebrew ע. In PAM 41.804 one can observe a small stroke to the left of the gap and to the right of the paleo-Hebrew ט. This perhaps represents the horizontal stroke of paleo-Hebrew ע. The fifth and final letter is clearly paleo-Hebrew ט.

The sense of the final word in 4Q186 1:4, תוריה, 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”). But if a part of the body were referred to one would expect a suffix attached to Leakānām. Wise presumably agrees with Carmignac’s reading, but he translates it as “fix[ed] eyes,” a reference to “fixed eyes.” García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate “secrets,” leaving open to what it refers. One could perhaps think of revealed secrets or a secretive character?

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. And in Greek zodiologia as well as the Mandaean Book of the Zodiac the secret or private parts are also referred to. Again, the text is too fragmentary to establish the sense of the final part of this line.


44 Cf. n. 35 above.

45 Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277. It is improbable that the eyes are being referred to at the end of L3 (see above), which weakens Wise’s interpretation of Leakānām.

46 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DDSSE, 381.

47 Cf. e.g. Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos 2.2.10: τὸ πολλὰ κρύπτοντες.

48 In the Babylonian physiognomic omen series Summa alamdimmû 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 alamdimmû also pays attention to the vagina in the subspecies 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: quibus habent magna lanaeus, stolidi sunt (“those who have large and hairy testicles are stupid”), and also the Greek zodiologia 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;
4Q186 l ii 6: Practically no scholar accepts Allegro’s translation “and he is of the Second Vault.”^-58 Allegro points to שמים שמים in Job 26:11,\(^59\) and asserts that this terminology from Job is explained as “vaults” in I En. 18:3. But, as in Job 26:11, the translation “pillars of heaven” seems better. In Enochic 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.\(^60\) The word שמים is, therefore, best translated by “pillar” or “column.”\(^61\)

The architectural sense of the word שמים is clearly attested in the Hebrew Bible.\(^62\) It is used for pillars supporting the roofs of structures such as the tabernacle and the Temple.\(^63\) The term שמים is furthermore employed to describe the divine presence, either of God or of the angel of God, in a pillar of cloud (םים שמים) or a pillar of fire (םים שמים) during the Exodus and the Wandering through the Wilderness.\(^64\) 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,\(^65\) but it is doubtful whether this imagery is behind the usage of שמים in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy.

Occurrences of שמים in the Dead Sea Scrolls fall primarily within the category of architectural usage,\(^66\) while the rest are mainly analogous to the

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Occurrences of שמים in the Dead Sea Scrolls fall primarily within the category of architectural usage,\(^66\) while the rest are mainly analogous to the
second sense describing the divine presence.\textsuperscript{59} The reference in 4Q204 1 viii 29 (\textit{1 En.} 18:11) to the pillars of fire (תומדד נريا) might be metaphorical in that it refers to the Watchers.\textsuperscript{60}

A metaphorical use of תומדד is also attested in rabbinic literature.\textsuperscript{61} Certain individuals are identified as being a pillar. Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai is addressed as “light of Israel, right pillar (תומדד ירה), and strong hammer.” Abraham is called “pillar of the world” (תומדד לש עולם), and the same is said about the righteous. These metaphorical examples of תומדד are related to the architectural sense. They express the supportive nature of certain individuals in a cosmic sense.

The meaning of תומדד in the phrase " AppState of the Temple (תומדד)" in 4Q186 1 ii 6 is difficult to align with one of the various senses in which the word תומדד is used in the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and rabbinic literature. It seems to be unique and particular to \textit{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 תומדד, “in the Pit of,” and asserts that the last letter is cursive reš used cryptically.\textsuperscript{62} But Carmignac proposes reading תומדד, “in the house of,” and thinks that the last letter is a partly erased paleo-Hebrew tav.\textsuperscript{63} 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.\textsuperscript{64} It is not possible to give a clear identification of

\textsuperscript{59} See 4Q565 6a i 9; 4Q470 3 5; 4Q504 6 10; 4Q505 128 2 (?); 4Q506 126 2.

\textsuperscript{60} Cf. Coblenz Bautch, \textit{Geography of 1 Enoch} 17-19, 129-33; Nickelsburg, \textit{1 Enoch} 1, 287.

\textsuperscript{61} See U. Wilckens, “στυλόν,” \textit{TWNT} 7:734.


\textsuperscript{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 אמש, I understand the final word in ll.7 as אמש.

4Q186 1 ii 8: Part of the upper horizontal stroke and left down stroke of paleo-Hebrew bet is still visible.66

4Q186 1 ii 9: Allegro transcribes the third word as וּ, “he will be poor,”67 whereas Dupont-Sommer reads וּ, “he will be humble.”68 Both readings are possible.69 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 40.615 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 41.314 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 43.438 a small fragment, which appears separately from PAM 41.804 onwards, is placed above the left part of column iii as ll.4-5 because it appears to have a left margin.70

4Q186 1 iii 4: The third character is problematic. The first letter is paleo-Hebrew ו, the second letter Greek alpha, while the fourth letter is paleo-Hebrew he. Allegro reads ו: 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: אמש; 1 iii 8: אמש; 1 iii 9: אמש.

66 See PAM 41.804; 42.616.

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, Dødehavskriften, 496.


70 In addition, Allegro, DJD 5.91, suggests that the small fragment 4Q186 3 possibly belongs above the left part of 4Q186 1 iii. In DJD 5 Plate XXXI, the fragment is presented separately, but on PAM 43.438 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” (יָשָׁם) in 4Q186 3 3 is part of a description in which other qualifications such as “terrifying” and “protruding teeth” (יָשָׁם and יָשָׁם) 4Q186 1 iii 6) 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. 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 בול and translates “et il consentira (?)”. 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. It is more rounded and, more importantly, it lacks an upper “belly,” resembling Greek minuscule beta. However, and secondly, the minuscule writing system does not predate, in its definitive form, the eighth century. 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 i iii 5: Two small strokes of ink are visible above the word תיהו in line 1.6. Wise reads “[whose] ey[es],” which he connects with the beginning of the next line as fear-inspiring eyes. It seems, however, paleographically impossible to assume one of the strokes represents the leg of yod because this runs diagonally and not straight, as is the case with the two strokes of ink in 4Q186 i iii 5. It is perfectly possible that the subject’s eyes were mentioned in line 1.5, but the manuscript provides no material support for this assumption.

4Q186 i iii 6: Allegro reads יבשא, but thinks it is used “perhaps erroneously for יבשא.” Licht reads יבשא, but yod is clearly distinguishable from waw in this case. Carmignac derives ינפא from ד”, “to be fat,” as a possible qualification of the cheeks. Gordis, however, under-

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71 Allegro, DJD 5.89, 90. See also Garcia Martinez and van der Woude, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498; Maier, Texte vom Toren Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358.
73 Cf. 4Q186 i i 8: יבשא; ii 7: יבשא (twice); iii 8: יבשא.
74 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.
76 See PAM 41.314; 41.804; 42.616; 43.344; 43.438.
78 Allegro, DJD 5.89, 90.
79 Licht, “Legs as Signs,” 20. See also von der Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial, 187 n. 3.
80 Cf. יבשא in the same line.
stands to be *pi‘el* participle of ירה, “causing fear, frightening, awesome,” possibly used to describe the subject’s eyes. Allegro does not provide a translation for the sentence but comments that "presumably indicating a meaning opposite to "the teeth of the more favored individual of 4Q186, i 3; so perhaps here = ‘lying askew’ or the like." Carmignac suggests, first, to understand *a‘ayin* in an active sense, and, second, a confusion in hearing occurred between *a‘aleph* and *‘ayin* (“à côté, de travers”): “ses dents (sont) poussées de travers.” Other scholars do not emend and try to make sense of “the wing.” Delcor takes "for the Hebrew aleph is also to mean that the teeth of the person are raised like the tip of a wing (“les dent sont élevées ‘en aileron’”). Dødehavsskrifterne and Delcor read הים instead of והמת and propose that the teeth resemble a wing. Nebe, however, rightly remarks that *ra‘* and *dalet* are clearly distinguishable in 4QZodiacal Physiology. Also, if *ra‘* had been meant figuratively one would expect סָבָך. Firstly, with Segal, the passive participle of the verb ירה 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 והמת in 4Q186 2 i 3. Secondly, *ra‘* is אָּבָך, “Aussenseite.” It is derived from the noun רֶב (barr) with *a‘aleph-prostheticum,* according to Nebe. He finds support for this interpretation in Aramaic אָבּוּךְ and אָבּוּךְ. Nebe, therefore, translates "the Hebrew aleph is also to mean that the Zähne stehen nach aussen." I follow Nebe’s interpretation.

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

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

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


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

Furthermore, Allegro reconstructs נָבֹא,91 but part of the left down stroke of סינ is distinguishable.92 Therefore, I transcribe סינ.

4Q186 1 iii 9: Notice that נבֹא instead of נבֹא is written here. Whether it is significant that נ instead of נ 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 ידו, “And a man…,”95 but Strugnell states that this reading is materially impossible, “mais le fragment devra être gratté au verso, puis lu par transparence, avant d’abourir à un déchiffrement certain.”96 García Martínez and Tigchelaar only transcribe יד: (“And…”).97 Most scholars, however, do not provide a translation at all for the last part of 1.9.98 I think Allegro’s reading is problematic. If the second letter is aleph, 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 יד in 4Q186 1 i 7. From the photographs it is impossible to determine the reading of the letters between ווא and סינ with certainty.99

Nevertheless, the fact that the last word in this line begins with ווא-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; García Martínez and van der Woode, De rollen van de Dode Zee, 498; Maier, Texte vom Toden Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; García 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; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 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 deciphernment.”
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, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.
97 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
98 Cf. Bergmeier, Glaube als Gabe, 78; Maier, Texte vom Toden Meer, 2:136; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; García 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 i 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 ˚wt, but a few scholars interpret it as “there.”

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

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 2 i

4Q186 2 i 1: Allegro transcribes רֶהֶץ, and translates “order. His eyes.” Strugnell, however, reads יָהוֹנָּא. A small dot of ink is visible following קָו 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 יְהוֹנָּא. Perhaps רֶהֶץ 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 יָהוֹנָּא, compares it with Aramaic מַפְתָּא, “glowing coals,” but adds that “the ‘gentilic’ form is strange unless it presupposes an adjective יָהוֹנָּא ‘glowing,’” which is “possibly here an error for יָהוֹנָּא יָהוֹנָּא”.

Strugnell, however, notes that gimel is not very probable, he is impossible, and יָהוֹנָּא, “speckled” (from יָהוֹנָּא, “to give a checkered/striped appearance”), should probably be read. But he has no better explanation for the ending.

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100 Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 8; ˚wt.
102 Cf. for the use of רֶהֶץ in relation to body parts, for example, b. Neg. 6:8; 1 Eq. 4:8; 2 Eq. 14:8 (Gruenwald, “Jewish Physiognomic,” 310).
103 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martinez, Translated, 456.
104 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V.” 275. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Eijmaes, Holst and Müller, Dodekabokerkeren, 496.
105 Cf. PAM 41.804; 42.616.
106 Cf. 4Q186 2 i 6: רֶהֶצת.
107 Cf. 4Q186 2 i 3:6: רֶהֶצת.
108 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278: “light (?)."
Meer Strugnell's possibilities: Woude, "whose reconstructs qualification scholars ing 4Q186 made. received pitch iris 4QZodiacal Physiognomy "both," 4QPhysiognomy ar ˜yb (perhaps being therefore, 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: המ גופその他. בז לבן הל [& לירוק התאמה] (perhaps orange is described?). The construction בז לבן is equivalent to בז לבן used in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy, and also occurs in 4QPhysiognomy ar. The translation "between" is to be preferred either to "both," or "neither/or," which is expressed by the use of א…יא in 4Q186 2 i 3-4. Perhaps the word ספקיית, "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 מם, 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[ählen/(gesprengelt?)]," while Wise suggests "whose beard is sp[arse]." They presumably read the pu‘al participle

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110 Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 5: מים; 1 ii 9: מים; 1 iii 8: מים; 2 i 2: מים; 2 i 5: מים.
111 See 4Q186 2 i 1: מים and מים.
113 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 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.
The lacuna hardly provides enough space for three letters and a blank space preceding the next word. 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 of the pu’al participle of הָאָשׁ. A reconstruction 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 רַגְיָל as a reference to the beard mentioned in 1.1. Some scholars do not offer a translation for רַגְיָל, while others follow Allegro. According to the classical Arabic-Arabic dictionary لساني الامام, the phrase sur' rajil (or rajil or rajil) is explained as “hair between lankness and curliness.” The translation “wavy” seems apt.

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

4Q186 2:4: Allegro reads יַמָּלַי, and translates “and he is.” Strugnell, however, reads יַמָּלַי, and, because of an additional trace of ink, suggests יַמָּלַי, in which case the following word, יַמָּלַי, need not be supplemented by waw-conjunctive. Wise translates “but is well built” (perhaps reading יַמָּלַי, he is filled,” in the sense of well built?). With Strugnell, I read the third letter as waw. Following lamed in יַמָּלַי, 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

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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; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DDSSE, 383; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.
123 Lisân al-’Arab (Beirut: Dár lḥayt al-Ṭurāt al-’Arabī, 1988), s.v. al-Turāt al-’Arabī. I thank Prof. Fred Leemhuis for this information.
124 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DDSSE, 382-83.
125 Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.
126 Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 278, translates “resonates,” presumably understanding it as a gal singular feminine participle from the root IV יִשָּׁע (“to sing, cry”).
127 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496.
128 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V,” 275. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DDSSE, 382-83.
130 See PAM 41.804 and 42.616.
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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 “...מפלני ה...". 4Q186 2 i 7: Allegro reads *nung* and *he*, joins two more fragments to the left of the remaining part of 4Q186 2 i 7-9, and reconstructs "...ששנה א". The reading *nung*, 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 *nung* 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 *nung* should appear following *waw* in 4Q186 5 1. Since this is evidently not the case, the impossibility of reading *nung* in 4Q186 2 i 7 militates against Allegro’s arrangement of 4Q186 2 and 4Q186 5, and also his reading "...ששנה א". The reading *he* seems strange, but it is not unusual for the legs of *he* to curve to the left in 4QZodiacal Physiology. 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 "...ששנה א...". Strugnell then suggested the following reconstruction for 4Q186 2 i 7-8:

\[
\text{םפלני ה...}
\]

6

\[
\text{םפלני ה...}
\]

7

\[
\text{םפלני ה...}
\]

8

133 Allegro, *DJD* 5.91.
136 See *PAM* 41.804; 42.616.
137 Cf. 4Q186 1 iii 9: *סמה*.
138 See e.g. 4Q186 2 i 6: *סכה*.
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 the text is not certain, it is clear from the context in 4Q186 1 ii 6 that someone (םידדסמ), 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 (תוחלת) 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 המדרס 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 המדרס, 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 Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Ejerens, Holst and Müller, Dodehavskriften, 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 בְּזָהַן, “eight,” accepting at least the join of 4Q186 5 to the left of 4Q186 2 17.

\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 Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 383, translate “[His] spirit has eight (parts) [in the house of light, in the] second column, and of [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 סＵכ instead of סאכ. 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 סכ and understands it in the same way as 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 that it is 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 אפרה in 4Q186 1 ii 2. If read as סכ 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 סכ, and that it is related to the word סכ (“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 (סכ). 153 The problem, of course, with this reading is that 4Q186 2 ii 7 has סכ, not סכ, which is presumably the reason why Allegro thought the “non-coded” reading more probable here. 154 The reading סכ 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.
149 Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V.” 275.
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 4Q186 in Chapter One.
152 Allegro, DJD 5.91.
154 Cf. n. 1 above for the suggestion that סכ 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.\footnote{155}

4Q186 3 1: Allegro reads מָבָט, but Strugnell suggests מָבָט,\footnote{156} which might be the bottom stroke of לָצַי. As in 4Q186 1 ii 9, this probably refers to the "house of light" or the "house of darkness," again using ל instead of ב.\footnote{157}

4Q186 3 2: Allegro reads מָבָט, but Strugnell correctly notes that there is a trace of a letter to the right and reads מָבָט.\footnote{158} It is evident that another letter is attached to the right leg of לָצַי, and I suggest this might be pe. A plausible reconstruction is מָבָט ("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 מָבָט 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 מָבָט and מָבָט represents the column margin, the entire first line could originally have had something like that in 4Q186 1 ii 8.\footnote{160} If this were so, מָבָט refers to a position in a sign of the zodiac in which an individual is said to have been born.

4Q186 3 3: Reading מ instead of מ as Allegro does,\footnote{161} 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 מָבָט, but Allegro assumes a scribal error and reads מָבָט (presupposing a join with 4Q186 5) as in 4Q186 1 ii 9.\footnote{162} 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 מָבָט (in...)

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

\footnote{156} Allegro, DJD 5.91.

\footnote{157} Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V," 275.

\footnote{158} See PAM 43.344; 43.438.

\footnote{159} Allegro, DJD 5.91.

\footnote{160} Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V," 275.

\footnote{161} See PAM 43.344; 43.438.

\footnote{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 מ instead of מ.

\footnote{163} Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also e.g. Vermes, Complete Dead Sea Scrolls, 358; Garcia Martinez and Tigheelaar, DSSSE, 382-83; Ejrnæs, Holst and Müller, Dødehavsskrifterne, 496. The reading of ל is, of course, based on the emendation, so we should be cautious about accepting מ instead of מ 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 is available. It is not possible to identify the zodiacal sign referred to by hmrbh in 4Q186 4, assuming that this is what refers to. Maier, however, does not suppose a scribal error and translates “es ist in der Jung[frau (?)],” probably reading ḫwÎh ḫwÎh, but it is not clear what this might mean. If this were seen as an equivalent to 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 hlÎw ḫwÎh instead of ḫwÎh ḫwÎh. 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 ḥwÎh ḫwÎh is not followed directly by the words ṭmâd hârît as in 4Q186 1 ii 6-7, but a word beginning with sin. Equivalent to 4Q186 1 ii 7 one may read ḥwÎh ḫwÎh sin 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 mlÎhÎl occurs, which can be understood equivalent to mlÎhÎl 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 ḥwÎh ḫwÎh and that to mlÎhÎl in 4Q186 4 1-2. On the other hand, the number of lines between ḥwÎh ḫwÎh and mlÎhÎl in 4Q186 4 2-3 is equal to that between mlÎhÎl and ḥwÎh ḫwÎh 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. 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 , and line 2 ii 6, but this is far from certain.

Notes and Comments on Readings in 4Q186 6

Allegro joins this small fragment to 4Q186 4, but this join seems incorrect. The two small strokes of ink in 4Q186 6 1 cannot belong to 4Q186 4 3. 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 . But it is possible to see the remaining stroke of ink to the left as the upper part of a right down stroke of ‘ayin or sin, reading , “poor,” or , in which case it is possible to reconstruct 4QZodiacal Physiognomy. Furthermore, if this reconstruction is accepted, it also demonstrates that the words  are not necessarily directly followed by 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 nun, or if it begins a new word.

4QPhysiognomy 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 daleth in 1.2, and also by the larger size of final dalet that is more likely to occur at the end of a line.

167 See also the notes and comments on readings for 4Q186 2 1 7 in this appendix.
168 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:136; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
169 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
170 Allegro, DJD 5.91. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 382-83.
4Q561 1 i 1: Starcky reads יק, whereas Wise has יק, 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 יפ begins 1.2.

4Q561 1 i 2: Starcky reads יקאר, “brilliant,” while Beyer has יקאר, “weiß.” In order to avoid יקאר having a masculine plural ending, which conflicts with יק תפ and the ending of the other adjective יקאר, Beyer explains it as a feminine plural of יקאר. Against these previous readings must be stated that res is not preceded by waw but by aleph. In PAM 41.954 the left top and the attached left leg of aleph that bends inwards are clearly visible, and perhaps a slight trace even of the right leg. It is unlikely that aleph 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 יפ. The reading, therefore, of the second word in this line must be יקאר. Although this reading is strange, following Beyer’s reasoning for יקאר one might suggest that יקאר is feminine plural from יקאר. In addition, one must assume this to be defective for יקאר to make sense of the reading יקאר in 4Q561 1 i 2.

4Q561 1 i 3: Starcky reads יקאר, “et beau,” but Wise reads only יקאר, 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


174 See PAM 41.954 and cf. also 4Q561 1 i 1: יקאר; cf. also Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29, where Wise reads יקאר, “light.”

175 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116-17 יקאר; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 יקאר.

176 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:393.

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

column is set. If yb in l.2 represents the right margin, it seems that a reconstructed waw-conjunctive would extend beyond this margin.\textsuperscript{180} If this is so, it is unlikely that waw preceded \textit{tieqeg}. As in 4Q186 1 i 8, however, one might suggest a scribal error and assume that \textit{tieqeg} is meant.

At the end of this line, following ṣin, a small dot appears.\textsuperscript{181} Perhaps this represents a guide dot placed by the person who manufactured the original scroll?\textsuperscript{182} But guide dots usually appear at the beginning and end of sheets, which does not seem to be the case here.

\textit{4Q561} 1 i 4: Starcky reads ṣin, “petite,”\textsuperscript{183} whereas others seem certain of the first letter and read ṣay.\textsuperscript{184} The extant manuscript only shows a small trace of ink preceding \textit{qop}, which might be the serif of \textit{dalet}.\textsuperscript{185} Paleographically it is also possible to read ṣay, “empty, void,” but if this is an adjective for ṣin, its sense is not clear. The reading ṣay is therefore preferred.

Subsequent to ṣin, the lacuna provides enough space for ṣay to have been preceded by \textit{waw}-conjunctive.\textsuperscript{186}

Regarding ṣay, the upper parts of the right and left down strokes of ṣin are visible, as is the upper part of the right down stroke of \textit{gimel}.

\textit{4Q561} 1 i 5: Starcky reads ᵳr₈ayw₂m'ɪhw, “glabres.”\textsuperscript{188} 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 ᵳy⃖, “et entre.”\textsuperscript{189} Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar do not suggest a reading.\textsuperscript{190} Wise reads \textit{mem} instead of \textit{bet} and reconstructs ᵳr₈ayw₂m', “and a[...].”\textsuperscript{191} Finally, Holst and Hogenhaven read yod, ᵳy₈ay. The trace of the letter con-

\textsuperscript{180} Cf. 4Q561 1 i 3 for the amount of space needed for ṣay in ṣin.
\textsuperscript{181} See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
\textsuperscript{182} See PAM 43.598. Perhaps a slight trace of another guide dot appears subsequent to ṣay in l.2. For guide dots, see Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 61-68.
\textsuperscript{183} \textit{Preliminary Concordance}, 2133; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. Wise, “4Q561,” 228, presumably reads likewise, but the \textit{circellus} is misplaced above \textit{qop}.
\textsuperscript{185} See PAM 41.954: 43.598.
\textsuperscript{187} See PAM 41.954. Cf. also \textit{Preliminary Concordance}, 2411 (ḥas); Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116 (ḥas); Beyer, \textit{Die aramäischen Texte}, 2:163 (ḥas); Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (ḥas); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (ḥas).
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Preliminary Concordance}, 2279; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116; Beyer, \textit{Die aramäischen Texte}, 2:163; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Preliminary Concordance}, 2085; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also Beyer, \textit{Die aramäischen Texte}, 2:163.
\textsuperscript{190} Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, \textit{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 וָקָל and וָדָה seems rather large.

Following the second lacuna, Starcky reads וָדָה, 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 מִקְפַּדָה, “gegliedert.” Recently, Wise has offered yet another reading, מ”דוח, “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 מִקְפַּדָה seems preferable to Starcky’s מִקְפַּדָה, 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 מִקְפַּדָה, “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 reš or taw. This means that a reading יִפְעָר, or יִפְעָר, is paleographically possible. But מִקְפַּדָה 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. 4Q561 1 i 1: ולֶקְהָה; 1 i 2: וָקָל; 1 i 3: וָדָה; 1 i 8: וָקָל.
198 See PAM 41.954:43.598.
199 Preliminary Concordance, 2326; Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen,” 64. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:163; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
200 Wise, “4Q561,” 228. The circellus, however, is wrongly placed above bet instead of yod.
201 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 4: אֲבֻדָה.
Notes on Readings in 4Q561 1ii

4Q561 1ii 2: Starcky reads הָיַּת as the beginning of this line, but adds a question mark regarding the root אֹּיר. Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar read יְתֵּל, “[and filled (?)].” Wise, finally, has יְתֵּל אֲרֵב, “a voice full (?).” First, if the join between the two fragments here is accepted, then it is evident that at least lamed has to be read in 1.2. 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. It is questionable, however, whether there is enough space between taw and lamed for mem to read יָתֵּל אֲרֵב. Perhaps if mem is written as a narrower sign. Furthermore, in order for 1.2 to have the same right margin as 1.1, this line cannot begin with lamed; lamed must be preceded by another letter. Wise takes lamed as the final letter, reads יָת, and suggests a blank between יָת and אֲרֵב. It seems, however, that a wide letter such as qop would extend beyond the right margin. Rather, lamed is probably preceded by a narrower letter such as waw. Therefore, I tentatively suggest reading יָתֵּל אֲרֵב, itpe’el participle of אָרֵב.

Starcky reads יָת, but does not suggest a reconstruction. Wise, however, reads יָת and suggests יָת אֲרֵב, “a voice full (?) and strong.” 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 1ii 3: Starcky reads יָת אֲרֵב, “bright,” corresponding to יָת אֲרֵב in 4Q561 1i 2. Wise, however, reads יָת אֲרֵב, “long.” There are no other

202 Preliminary Concordance, 2281. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264.
203 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116-17. See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
204 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
205 See PAM 42.438; 43.598. Cf. 4Q561 1ii 8: יָת אֲרֵב. It seems unlikely to read nun preceded by another letter because there would too much space between them, cf. 4Q561 1ii 6: יָת אֲרֵב.
206 Cf. the space occupied by mem and taw in 4Q561 1ii 8: יָת אֲרֵב.
207 Cf. the width of qop together with lamed in יָת אֲרֵב in 4Q561 1ii 1.
208 Preliminary Concordance, 2281. See also Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (א). See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (א).
209 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29. This reconstruction is probably due to the occurrence of the root יָת 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, DSSSE, 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 "ט" 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 רב. García Martínez and Tigchelaar acknowledge the presence of strokes of ink but do not propose a reading. Initially, Wise did not indicate the remaining letter traces, but recently he has read י רבל, "[and] is [.]" 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 יalef, and the right down stroke is too vertical. A reading he, or het is more probable. Second, preceding this letter, two lower horizontal strokes are clearly visible, which might belong to bet, kap, mem, nun, or pe. However, Wise seems correct in assuming a blank space after the final letter, which means this is the end of a word.

4Q561 1 ii 4: Starcky reads רבפ. García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct waw-conjunctive, רבפ[כ]. It is possible to discern a tip of the head of waw, רבפ. Starcky reconstructs the hair of the beard as being thick, רבפ. 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 gimmel 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. Instead, the down stroke might very well be the right leg of het. Therefore, I suggest the reading רבפ, "dark, black."

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212 Preliminary Concordance, 2010.
213 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (⋯⋯).
214 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264. See also Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.
216 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: 4[כפ]; 1 i 4: 4כפ; 1 ii 3: כדיפ.
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 (ע"ס); Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164 (ע"ס); García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (י"ס); Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (י"ס); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36 (י"ס).
223 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: יפכ.
4Q561 1 ii 5: Starcky reads יָבוּד נְבִיאֵי תְכִירָם.\textsuperscript{224}  
4Q561 1 ii 6: Starcky reads יָבוּד,\textsuperscript{225} but, because the head of yod is more pronounced than that of waw in this manuscript, I read the feminine form יָבוּד נְבִיאֵי תְכִירָם.

The second word in the remaining part of this line Starcky reads קֶסֶר, “short.”\textsuperscript{226} García Martínez and Tigchelaar read קֶסֶר.\textsuperscript{227} Beyer, however, reads קֶסֶר, “zierlich.”\textsuperscript{228} This latter reading seems correct. It can be compared with the pre-final nun and final nun in ar S 1 2.\textsuperscript{229} Also, the feminine form קֶסֶר accords well with קֶסֶר.

4Q561 1 ii 8: Following קֶסֶר, the next word probably begins with waw\textsuperscript{230} and not yod.\textsuperscript{231}

4Q561 1 ii 9: The only indication for this line is the presence of the upper part of lamed beneath ה of קֶסֶר 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 4Q561 5.\textsuperscript{232}  
4Q561 2 2: Starcky reads יָבָק, “elbows.”\textsuperscript{233} Recently, however, Wise has read יָבָק, “whose nose.”\textsuperscript{234} The leather is very damaged, which makes it difficult to determine the correct reading with certainty. Following ‘aleph the vertical stroke seems to curve to the left.\textsuperscript{235} This description does not seem to fit the other occurrences of mem or pe in this manuscript\textsuperscript{236} but seems

\textsuperscript{224} Preliminary Concordance, 2326. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.

\textsuperscript{225} Preliminary Concordance, 2035. See also García Martínez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.

\textsuperscript{226} Preliminary Concordance, 2386.

\textsuperscript{227} García Martínez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116. See also Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (קֶסֶר, initially, however, Wise reads קֶסֶר, see Eisenman and Wise, \textit{Scrolls Uncovered}, 264); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36. Wise, “4Q561,” 228, reconstructs the masculine plural קָסָר in 4Q561 1 ii 4, and assumes that the extant text of II.5-6 refers to the limbs, but this is not likely for I.6.

\textsuperscript{228} Beyer, \textit{Die aramäischen Texte}, 2:164.

\textsuperscript{229} See PAM 41.954, 43.598, and Preliminary Concordance, 2450. The reading of Wise, “4Q561,” 228, קֶסֶר, is incorrect, as is that of Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 30, קֶסֶר.

\textsuperscript{230} Preliminary Concordance, 2386; Wise, “4Q561,” 228.

\textsuperscript{231} Eisenman and Wise, \textit{Scrolls Uncovered}, 264; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 36.

\textsuperscript{232} See PAM 41.954; 42.438; 43.598.

\textsuperscript{233} Preliminary Concordance, 2024. See also Eisenman and Wise, \textit{Scrolls Uncovered}, 264; Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, \textit{DSSSE}, 1116; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.

\textsuperscript{234} Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.

\textsuperscript{235} See PAM 41.954; 43.598.

\textsuperscript{236} קֶסֶר.
more in accordance with *kap or *nun.* Regard 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 [ת] seems, therefore, paleographically the most preferable.

The next word Starcky reads as [ת]ו, “protruding, pointed.” Recently, Wise has suggested reading [ת]ו, “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 [ת]ו.

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

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237 4Q561 1 i 1: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 2: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 i 4: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 6: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
238 4Q561 1 i 1: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 6: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
239 4Q561 1 ii 6: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 8: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
241 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
242 See *PAM* 41.954; 43.598, and cf. 4Q561 1 i 2: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 5: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
243 See *PAM* 41.954; 43.598, and cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 i 4: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
244 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 2: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד; 1 ii 7: אַמֵּשׁ נְקֵי אַד.
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 264. 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 264. Wise initially reconstructs a waw-conjunctive 264 but recently agrees with Starcky’s reading.249 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 264 but Beyer seems to reconstruct a singular 264. 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 264 is singular, there is no need to reconstruct a plural.250 Therefore, I agree with Beyer and read the singular 264, “(the sole of) his foot.”

4Q561 2:5: Starcky reads 264. Wise, however, reads 264, “exceedingly so.”255 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.256 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.257 Instead, it seems to be the end of a word followed by a blank space. Furthermore, the amount of space preceding 264 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.258 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 Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (264); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37 (264).
249 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
250 Wise, “4Q561,” 228.
251 Preliminary Concordance, 2401. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264 (264); Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116 (264); Wise, “4Q561,” 228 (264); Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37 (264).
252 Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164.
253 Cf. the plural in 4Q186 2 i 5: 264; and the singular in The Book of the Reading of the Hands by an Indian Sage: 264 (see Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.21).
254 Preliminary Concordance, 2309. See also Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264; Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
255 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
256 See PAM 41.954; 43.598.
257 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: ‘alep; 1 i 2: rim.
258 Cf. 4Q561 1 i 1: ‘alep; 1 i 2: rim; 1 i 4: ‘alep; 2 4: rim.
likely. If the down stroke preceding gimel is part of nun, it must be noted that it seems to stand too close to gimel. 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 גל, but this cannot be determined from the photographs. Therefore, I read היה. 4Q561 2:6: Wise initially reads יב, but recently Wise has read יג. Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar read יגש. Wise is correct to read lamed before taw. Its upper part is clearly visible. 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. 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 יג, which Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar translate as a noun, “from the end of.” Wise, however, reconstructs the verbal form יגש, “to come to an end.” The reading depends on one’s understanding of the text. If יגש is translated as a noun it can be understood to specify a certain part of the body. But if יגש 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.

259 Cf. 4Q561 1:2: גל.
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 Garcia Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1116. See also Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
266 See PAM 43.598.
267 Cf. 4Q561 2:3: גל; 6:2: גל.
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 qopp.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 3
4Q561 3 1: The down stroke curves to the left, which is typical of final mun in this manuscript.
4Q561 3 2: Starcky reads צל הראם. Starcky’s reconstruction is possible but far from certain. Another possibility is perhaps של הראם, “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 כניע, “narrow.” From his translation it seems as if Starcky understands כניע as describing a certain part of the body as being narrow. But it is not necessary to take כניע 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 כניע The left down stroke of sin is visible. The following word is read by Starcky as נכש. 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 כניע, “and the[y are.” But it is very unlikely that the remaining trace of ink to the right of mem is he. If it were the

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271 See PAM 43.598.
273 Preliminary Concordance, 2358. See also Maier, Texte vom Toten Meer, 2:739; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
274 Preliminary Concordance, 2412. See also Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte, 2:164; Wise, “4Q561,” 228; Holst and Hogenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37.
275 See PAM 41.944; 43.598.
277 See PAM 41.944; 43.598.
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.²⁶⁰ A clear reading is, unfortunately, not possible.

4Q561 4 2: Starcky reads דבורה, “dwarf.”²⁸¹ Wise partially agrees with Starcky and reads דבורה, “whose beard] is curly.”²⁸² Holst and Høgenhaven read דבורה, “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 אינא, “but not,” while Holst and Høgenhaven have אינא, “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 סינ.

4Q561 5 2: Starcky reads תיוד, “be red.”²⁸⁷ Beyer, however, reads waw instead of yod: קסם, “rot,”²⁸⁸ while García Martínez and Tigchelaar read yod after qop: ייוד, “red,”²⁸⁹ “[… between …]” and reddish [..].²⁹⁰ In this manuscript waw is less pronounced than yod. Also, it is evident that yod is the final letter.²⁹¹ I read קסם.²⁹²

²⁷⁹ See PAM 43.598.
²⁸⁰ Cf. 4Q561 1 ii 6: סינ; I ii 7: סינ.
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 יראוי, from אראוי, “external.” Initially following Starcky’s reading, Wise, however, translates בראוי as “clear” (בְּרוֹי). But recently Wise has suggested “[whose forehead (?)] will be globular.” In accordance with the following word, Wise understands both בְּרוֹי and בּרָוי to be singular masculine adjectives. Such an understanding is similar to the suggestion made earlier for אראוי in 4Q561 1 i 2, that it is derived from אראוי (see above). It is, therefore, possible to assume an adjective בּרָוי or בְּרוֹי 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 בְּרוֹי and בּרָוי form one clause, I understand בּרָוי as a masculine singular adjective in conformity with בּרָוי.

It is possible that the text describes one of the eyes as bright and round. In *The Physiognomy of R. Ishmael*, the root בּרָוי 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 בּרָוי can be used to describe the head and the eyes. There is, however, one grammatical problem with understanding בְּרוֹי as a masculine singular adjective in 4Q561 5.3 as a description of the individual’s eye. The word is, normally speaking, feminine, whereas בּרָוי and בּרָוי 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: "עיין אדם נגידלו. The forms used are masculine.

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291 Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 483.47; 486.75; Scholem, “Fragment,” 184 §18, 185 §33.
293 Eisenman and Wise, Scrolls Uncovered, 264-65. See also Garcia Martinez and Tigchelaar, DSSE, 1118-19. See also Holst and Høgenhaven, “Physiognomy,” 37-38.
294 Wise, “4Q561,” 228-29.
298 Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 491.10: [...] אֵין זו עיני וחבר יבשש. See above the comments on 4Q186 1 i 8 for further references.
Before the fragment breaks off, Starcky reads "םוּיָא,"[301] Subsequent to he a trace of ink is still visible that is possibly waw.[302] The position of the letters is similar to other occurrences of הָדָה in 4QPhysiognomy ar[303] There is, therefore, no need to read but this is not certain.

Both the right and left down strokes of shin, א, are visible.[308]

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.[309] 4Q561 6:3: Starcky correctly reads ג, since the fragment breaks off without any certain indication of a blank space following lamed.[310] 4Q561 6:4: Starcky reads ג, but Wise has ג and it cannot be ruled out that a letter followed bet.

Notes on Readings in 4Q561 7

4Q561 7:1: Starcky reads ככא, but Wise reads ככא, "and extensive," while Holst and Høgenhaven read ככא, "they will be abundant."[314] 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.[315] Also, the faint trace of a guide dot to the right of ככא is possibly discernible.[316]

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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:ןויהו.
305 Cf. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, DSSSE, 1118-19, "for him [","
306 See PAM 42.438; 43.598. Cf. also Preliminary Concordance, 2254; García Martínez 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; García Martínez 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:ה; 1 ii 7:ה; 2 3:ה.
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 יִהְיֶהוּ an *ite'el* of הָבַד, "it will happen." Probably due to the rather long additional stroke of *taw*, Wise understands it as a final letter and reads יִהְיֶהוּ לַא . But it is unlikely that there are two separate words here. Holst and Høgenhaven read יִהְיֶהוּ לַא, "and they will grow thick." Although their reading of *waw* is plausible, it must be noted that the word does not stand on the same margin line as יִהְיֶהוּ 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.\(^1\) 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, \textit{4QZodiacal Physiognomy} and \textit{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\(^2\) and Isa 3:9\(^3\) with the latter providing the technical term יִנָּחֵד הָזֶבֶד 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 11QPe\(\text{s}\) 28:3-12, see n. 6 below.


\(^3\) Isa 3:9 is quoted in \textit{The Secret of Physiognomy}, see Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 492, 494; Scholem, “Fragment,” 176.
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, caution him not to look at his appearance (מִשְׁמַר יַעֲקֹבָה) or at his stature (מִשְׁמַר יִשְׂרָאֵל). 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 (יַעֲבֹד מִלְחָדֵהֶם מַסְפָּר וַעֲבֹד), 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 (κολοί) and tall (μεγάλοι), whereas he was smaller than them (v.1). In 11QPs 28: 9-10 the brothers are handsome of shape (τόσο ἄφθονα), tall of stature (μεγαλόν κολούσα), and handsome by their hair (τόσος μεγαλόν χρίσθη). 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 εἰκόνας) 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>dark skin</td>
<td>light skin</td>
<td>black eyes</td>
<td>round face, nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curly hair</td>
<td>curly hair</td>
<td>curly hair, nose flat</td>
<td>flat, grey eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black eyes</td>
<td>nose somewhat</td>
<td>protruding lips</td>
<td>fiery complexion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rather big jaws</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>scar near the right eye</td>
<td>long straight hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with moles on</td>
<td>black eyes, scar</td>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>scar on forehead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the right jaw</td>
<td>below the</td>
<td>circumscribed</td>
<td>above the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncircumcised</td>
<td>right eye</td>
<td></td>
<td>eyebrow</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.\(^9\) 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.

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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*, 888; 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. Cai. 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 εἰκόνας, l.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 NOAH\textsuperscript{15} AR (4Q534 AND 4Q535)

The Aramaic text 4QBirth of Noah ar is extant in three copies (4Q534-536).\textsuperscript{15} 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 (שמה) in his youth (l.4),\textsuperscript{16} but also like a man who does not know anything “until he knows the three books” (l.4-5).\textsuperscript{17} From then on he will be wise (l.6).\textsuperscript{18} Counsel and good sense

\textsuperscript{15} See Puech, DJD 31.117-70.


\textsuperscript{18} Counsel and good sense
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 (II.7-8)." 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).  

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18 The text possibly attributes to this elect figure some wisdom of sages-seers "coming to himself on his knees" (Mas 174-75), 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 הולך עון, "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, "4QMess Ar 1 8-11," Rev Q 15/57-58 (1991): 145-55, at 146-47, argues, firstly, that the secrets are secrets concerning mankind, not secrets held by humanity, secondly, that אין ויהוה הולך עון are a specification of אין in the first part, indicating that the elect figure "aura dans l’esprit l’humanité entière" (cf. García Martínez, "4QMess Ar," 10-11; Zimmermann, 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 ( SWITCH ) are mentioned in 1:10-11, Starcky, "Un texte messianique araméen," 58, assumes an opposition expressed by the adversative use of ל (cf. Carmignac, "Les Horoscopes," 216; Dupont-Sommer, "Deux documents 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," 74; Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 174, 181-82). Contrary to this interpretation, Caquot, "4QMess Ar," 148-49, argues that the possessive suffix in הולך עון has objective value, meaning the calculations of which the men are the object, and not their calculations against the elect figure. Consequently, הולך עון means "doesn’t 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 הולך (cf. Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 174-75; Puech DJD 31.141). Because of the antagonism described in the first
cussed in the text is the elect of God (1.10), and there is a reference to his horoscope (סְעִלָה), which, unfortunately, is not further specified. Before the text becomes too fragmentary, it states that the elect’s calculations will last forever (1.11).

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 II.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 k[nees,26] [and color]s27 of a mark (ֶסֶה). Red are
2. [his] hairs (הַיִּשְׂרָאֵל) [and] moles (נַפְּלֵיהָ) on [his body,28] vacat

21 For several options concerning how this line can be divided into different sentences, see Garcia Martinez, “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: ֶשֶׁה; 5: ֶסֶה). 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 הַיְשָׂרָאֵל, “black,” but Puech DJD 31.132-35, reads הַיְשָׂרָאֵל, “his knees,” and connects it with the preceding הַיְשָׂרָאֵל. 27 Cf. Puech DJD 31.135.
3. and small marks on his thighs, but [mole]s (ד"א דגואים) different from one another. 29

It is tempting to attribute predictive value to these descriptions, 30 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. They may signify the special character of this figure and, being distinguishing body marks, function as identity markers. 32 4Q Birth 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 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 fiftieth [hour] of the night he is born and comes out heal[thy
3. ]he weighs three hundred and fi[fty(-one)] shekels. 33

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28 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 כים [re:kim] with דם, but now relates it to דם [personal communication 29.09.2005]). It is also possible, I suggest, that it refers to the color of the body hair. Perhaps the hairs are described as being red due to the color of the moles that appear on the whole body, דם (Puech DJD 31.136 reconstructs דם, “on his face,” but cf. Garcia Martinez, “4Q Mess Ar,” 6-7). In Babylonian physiognomics 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. Bock, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 210-11, 200-1, 228-29.


30 Cf., for example, the following Babylonian omens:

If red pindû-moles cover his whole body, his days will be long, he will become eld.
If red kittaba-moles cover his whole body, he will become an important person and his name famous, his days will be long. (see Bock, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 206-1, 228-29)

31 Cf. Garcia Martínez, “4Q Mess 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.

32 Cf. Zimmermann, Messianische Texte, 176, 192-94.

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 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (BibOr 18/3; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 222-44, 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 אֶזֶה (“how great”) introducing descriptions of a part of Sarai’s body:

2. [ ]how splendid and beautiful the form of her face, and how
3. [plea]sant [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
5. 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,
6. 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
8. is lovely.38

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.39 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.40

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.41

38 Translation from Fitzmyer, Genesis Apocryphon, 101.
41 Cf. also Goshen-Gottstein, “Philologische Mischellen,” 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.42

4QBarkhi Nafshi4, 5 (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.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.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-wasf song in ll.2-4.45 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.46 Again, the poem does

42 Böck, Die babylonisch-assyrische Morphoskopie, 36-38, 58-59.
43 For the texts, see M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, “4QBarkhi Nafshi,” in Qumran Cave 4XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2 (eds. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Claren
don, 1999), 255-334.
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 Annemiek 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.\(^{52}\)

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.\(^{53}\)

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
Photimarr’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.\(^{54}\)

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:

\(^{52}\) 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
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.

\(^{53}\) 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.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{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