

A CONTEXTUALIZED APPROACH TO THE
HEBREW DEAD SEA SCROLLS CONTAINING EXODUS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis suggests a new approach to studying the Hebrew-language Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) containing Exodus. After surveying the history of research, Longacre suggests applying a contextualized approach to the study of these scrolls, which seeks to understand them first as individual material artifacts and then in comparison to other manuscripts which are most closely contextually connected to them. Each manuscript is only subsequently compared with increasingly contextually distant manuscripts according to a hierarchy of contextual proximity.

A network of close contextual connections between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus warrant the isolation of this corpus as a test case for application of a contextualized approach. Based on new transcriptions and reconstructions of each of the included manuscripts (1Q2 2Q2 2Q3 2Q4 4Q1 4Q11 4Q13 4Q14 4Q17 4Q18 4Q19 4Q20 4Q21 4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366 Mur1), Longacre then analyzes patterns that emerge from a comparison of the characteristics of each of these manuscripts. Finally, from a close examination of textual overlaps from a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative perspectives, Longacre suggests several specific groups and clusters of texts and synthesizes them to provide clearer insight into the documented Hebrew-language textual history of the book of Exodus.

To my dear wife, Michelle Longacre,
without whose patience, love, and support
this research would not have been possible.

תנו לה מפרי ידיה ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה
-Proverbs 31:31

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יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך יהוה צורי וגאלי
-Psalm 19:15 [Eng. v. 14]

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
Deut	Deuteronomy
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (principle edition series)
DSS	Dead Sea Scroll(s)
Exod	Exodus
FM	Focal manuscript (see section 2.2)
Frg(s).	Fragment(s)
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
G	Septuagint
Gen	Genesis
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
Lev	Leviticus
M	Masoretic text (see section 3.3.1)
NT	New Testament
NTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTTSD	New Testament Tools, Studies, and Documents
Num	Numbers
OT	Old Testament (Protestant, unless otherwise defined)
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum (photograph series)
QSP	Qumran Scribal Practice
(R)P	(Reworked) Pentateuch (see section 1.3.5)
S	Samaritan Pentateuch (see section 3.3.2)
SBLTCS	Society of Biblical Literature Text-Critical Studies
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
TSAJ	Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT I	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

- Circles to indicate ink traces of unknown identification.
- ◌̇ Combining rings above to indicate possible identifications.
- ◌̈ Combining dots above to indicate very probable identifications. Sometimes also combining dots above and below to indicate erasure dots in corrections.
- { } Curly brackets to indicate erased text.
- [] Square brackets to indicate the extent of preserved parchment when necessary. Text within square brackets is, therefore, reconstructed.
- ▭ Gray text to indicate reconstructed text.

INTRODUCTION

Textual history is currently one of the most contentious questions facing scholars who study the text of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (OT). In this discussion, we see a fragmentation of numerous personalized views of how the history of our texts should be conceptualized. In this thesis, I would like to point towards a possible way out of this confused state and demonstrate its potential value on a select corpus.

As a test case for the methodology proposed in this thesis, I have elected to study the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) containing Exodus. The Exodus materials from the Judean desert are an ideal proving ground, because they are extensive, diverse, and frequently discussed in the secondary literature. As will be demonstrated in the course of this thesis, there are also a substantial number of informative textual overlaps between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, which provide a fruitful data set for considering their interrelationships.

Chapter 1 will review the history of research. Chapter 2 will set out my proposed contextualized approach. Chapter 3 will list and describe each of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus as textual artifacts. And finally, chapter 4 will demonstrate the value of a contextualized approach for illuminating aspects of the textual history of the book of Exodus.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE SCRIPTURAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT AND THE TEXT OF EXODUS

1.1 Introduction

In order to set the stage for a contextualized approach, it is important first to understand the history of research to date. Therefore, in this chapter we will document major streams of thought concerning the text of the Hebrew Bible/OT both before and after the Qumran discoveries, as well as critique several important post-Qumran investigations specifically focused on the text of Exodus.

1.2 Pre-Qumran Theories on the Textual History of the Pentateuch

At the time of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), two prominent theories dominated the discussion about the textual history of the Pentateuch (Tov 2012c, 171-172). The default position for many scholars, most influentially formulated by Paul de Lagarde, maintained that all surviving witnesses could be traced back to a single original text of each book (Lagarde 1884, 1:19-26). According to Lagarde, all of the medieval Jewish Hebrew manuscripts descended from a single manuscript and reflected a single recension. Similarly, all of the Greek manuscripts descended from a single manuscript. From these reconstructed texts Lagarde argued that it was possible to reconstruct the original text (in German, the *Urtext*).

Lagarde was not without his dissenters, however. Most notably, Paul Kahle argued the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts could not be traced back to two or three respective source texts and thence a single original, but rather that each was preceded by an indeterminate

number of vulgar or popular texts (in German, *Vulgärtexte*) designed to aid the reading of the text (1951; 1956; 1959).¹ An early textual plurality was homogenized through an extensive process of editing, and the differences now preserved in the manuscripts reflect the surviving traces of these multiple vulgar texts, which stood between the unrecoverable original text and the later manuscript evidence (1956, 32-37). Thus, according to Kahle, the Masoretic text (M) is a standard recension that was created around 100 CE from earlier texts (1956, 33, 35).

When the first DSS were discovered, then, there were two main competing theories about the history of the text, each typically associated with its most influential proponent. Some scholars following Lagarde saw the development of the text as a process of diffusion from an early unity to a later plurality, while others following Kahle saw the development of the text as a process of standardization from an early plurality to a later unity. Both camps were severely hindered by the general absence of early documentary evidence to provide controls on the theories.

1.3 Post-Qumran General Discussions on the Textual History of the Pentateuch

The discovery of the DSS between 1947 and 1956 was revolutionary for the scholarly understanding of the Hebrew Bible/OT text. Early on, scholars were surprised not only to find that many of these early manuscripts closely match our later Masoretic manuscripts, but also by the many different forms of the text which are attested. While, based on comparison of M with the Samaritan Pentateuch (S) and ancient versions, scholars had long suspected significant divergences in ancient text forms, for the first time a significant corpus of ancient manuscript material gave scholars a temporally and geographically situated cross section of the state of the text at a given locale at the turn of the era. But this evidence was by no means

¹ Tov (2012c, 172) points out that in Kahle's earliest formulation, he refers only to a single vulgar text as the source of all other texts, but in his more developed formulations, he refers to plural vulgar texts.

simple to evaluate. Instead, scholars found a complex network of interrelated text forms, ongoing editorial developments, and a blurred boundary between “biblical” and “non-biblical” manuscripts, all within the same contextual situation.¹

Partially hindered by the slow rate of publication, scholars labored to evaluate this complicated new data in a piecemeal fashion, integrating each new manuscript into their developing theories. But as Tov explains, “With the discovery of the first Qumran scrolls, these views, including the depiction of the relation between the textual witnesses, were not altered because it always takes time for the ramifications of new discoveries to be absorbed (2012c, 157).” Conceptual frameworks inherited from textual studies before the Qumran discoveries continued to dominate the field and were subsequently modified to meet the demands of the new textual evidence. Scholars frequently expressed anticipation of the full publication of the scrolls as the prerequisite for more comprehensive treatments. For example, Chiesa despaired in 1992, “A deeper discussion will be possible only in the presence of all the Qumran biblical texts, when, certainly not ahead of time, all the scholars will be in a position to evaluate the theories so far propounded (1992, 271).” Now with essentially the full publication of the DSS, contemporary scholars have been able to incorporate the bulk of the scrolls into their research, but the overarching theories have been relatively slow to develop.

The primary question I seek to answer in this thesis is twofold: How should we evaluate the DSS and construct comprehensive textual histories of works in light of these manuscripts? In order to set out on this endeavor, we must first survey the work done previously to set the research in its proper context. Post-Qumran scholarship can be broadly analyzed based on a few major discussions, normally closely associated with one or more

¹ On the problematization of the usage of the terms “Bible” and “biblical,” see sections 1.3.5 and 2.3.2.4.

prominent theorists. They overlap to some extent and should not necessarily be considered mutually exclusive (Hendel 2010; Ulrich 1999, 82-83), but they do reflect fundamentally different emphases in the classification of Qumran manuscripts and the reconstruction of textual histories.

1.3.1 Local Texts

Early on in Qumran studies, William F. Albright (1975) proposed a theory of local recensions to explain the divergent text forms. For him, the text was intentionally and systematically revised in different ways in different locales, creating three different forms of the text. He argued for a Babylonian provenance for the so-called “proto-Massoretic” text, an Egyptian provenance for the Septuagint (G), and a Palestinian provenance for S. Albright’s formulation was brief, but was picked up and further developed by other scholars. Frank Moore Cross (1975b; 1975c), in the most influential formulation of the local texts theory, rejected Albright’s assertion that each text form was the product of intentional recensional activity and instead proposed an alternative theory of local text types which developed rather in the process of the normal scribal transmission of the geographically separated texts. For the Pentateuch, for instance, he argued that an expansionistic Palestinian text type lay behind the Samaritan tradition, a relatively full Egyptian text type (branched off from an early Palestinian tradition) lay behind the Septuagint, and a conservative Babylonian text type (arrived at by process of elimination) lay behind the Masoretic tradition. For Cross, distinct local origins best explain the existence of three distinct text types, because they allow for independent development into coherent traditions. Concerning the Babylonian text-type he argued,

It must have arisen in isolation. On the one hand it cannot have arisen in a late eclectic recension to judge from the pattern of its superior readings (especially in the Pentateuch). This would be too much to ask of the text-critical skills of the Rabbis. On the other hand, it is not a text drawn from a single or several old manuscripts, so

archaic as to escape or predate the development of the Palestinian and Egyptian families. It is a text-type with a long independent history to judge from its special set of secondary readings (especially in Samuel-Kings) (1975a, 278).

These distinct local text types were then brought back into contact in Palestine, as evidenced by the Qumran community's use of all three texts and the mixed character of many manuscripts (cf. 1975a, 284).

Though it has been extremely influential in Qumran scholarship, the theory of local text types stemming from Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia has been heavily criticized in recent years. For one, there is scant evidence for the proposed geographical origins, as has been repeatedly pointed out (e.g., Hendel 2010, 289). There is no positive evidence for associating the text behind M with a Babylonian provenance (as admitted by Cross 1975a, 287), and minimal evidence for the Palestinian and Egyptian origins of the texts behind S and G respectively (the Alexandrian origin of G and the evidence for pre-G Egyptian influence on the tradition collected in Albright 1975; cf. Cross 1975a, 284). Indeed, the manuscripts from Qumran attest to all three text forms geographically situated in Palestine in the late Second Temple period. Even if, as Cross supposes, these previously distinct text forms were brought back into contact with each other in Palestine in the late Second Temple period, the Palestinian provenance of most of the earliest manuscript evidence complicates any attempts to work back to prior local origins.

Furthermore, the theory of local texts depends on the existence of three well-defined and distinct text types centered around M, S, and G (Hendel 2010, 289). With the full publication of the Qumran scrolls, however, this picture is much more difficult to maintain. Instead, the Qumran scrolls witness to a complex textual plurality including both mixed texts and previously unknown texts that cannot easily be grouped into three clear text types (see section 1.3.2). The three-text-type model was largely inherited from the pre-Qumran state of

knowledge based on the preservation of M, S, and G as distinct text forms (Tov 1982), but it is difficult now to project these text types back beyond the period of plurality attested at Qumran and propose three prior unmixed text types in the early Second Temple period.

1.3.2 Multiple Mixed Groups

Shemaryahu Talmon (1964; 1970; 1975; 2010) differed fundamentally from Albright and Cross in claiming that M, S, and G were not the products of separate development in different locales, but rather reflect only the surviving texts perpetuated within certain socio-religious settings from among a wide variety of possible texts. For him, the three major text types are merely the three forms of the text preserved within the major socio-religious communities, namely the Jewish Masoretic text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Christian Septuagint. The existence of these text types reflects the accidental nature of their preservation, and they do not reflect the full picture of the textual tradition. In fact, there were probably a great many textual traditions current in the Second Temple period, which were not preserved because they were not adopted by a major religious tradition surviving after the turn of the era.

Building on this observation and his own categorizations of manuscripts, Emanuel Tov (1982; 1988; 2000a; 2002; 2012c) classifies the documents according to a multiplicity of textually mixed groups, emphasizing alignment or non-alignment with M, S, and G. For Tov, the textual evidence cannot be explained by clearly distinct text types, but rather by a complex network of interrelated texts with varying characteristics and attestation. Only S can be considered a *text type* proper, since it alone is marked by clear typological features, whereas the other texts can only be treated as different *texts* with similarities and differences to each other (Tov 2012c, 187-188; so also Segal 2007).

Over three decades, Tov has repeatedly modified his statistical analyses, and only a general overview can be given here. A couple of developments are particularly worthy of note. Most importantly, Tov originally proposed five textual groups of manuscripts: proto-Masoretic (or proto-Rabbinic), pre-Samaritan, similar to the *Vorlage* of G, non-aligned (by which he means not clearly aligned with M, S, or G), and Qumran Scribal Practice (for his extensive discussions of the QSP, see Tov 1986; 2000b; 2004a; 2004b, 277-288). In more recent years, in recognition that the so-called QSP is actually independent of textual affiliation (Tov 2002, 153-154; so also Ulrich 1999, 110-111; Segal 2007, 8; Hendel 2010, 292), Tov has divided the manuscripts into four groups: M-like, pre-Samaritan, similar to the *Vorlage* of G, and non-aligned (2012c, 107-110). In this new schema, Tov's QSP becomes an *overlapping* category with the four textual groups, reflecting a set of scribal practices applied to texts of different affiliations. He also distinguishes between an inner circle of proto-Masoretic manuscripts, which are exceedingly close to M, and an outer circle of numerous M-like texts from Qumran, which are similar to M but not as close as the proto-Masoretic texts (Tov 2012c, 28-32; so also Barthélemy 1992, cxii-cxiii, who distinguishes between proto-Masoretic and pre-Masoretic manuscripts; Lange 2010, 53-54, who labels manuscripts with less than 2% deviation from M as proto-Masoretic and those with more than 2% deviation as semi-Masoretic). In Tov's earlier works he combines the statistics for the Pentateuch and other biblical books, but in later works he distinguishes the two data sets to give a more balanced view of the proportional relations of the groups, since S is only extant for the Pentateuch (so also Lange 2010, 57; see table 1.1 below). On this analysis, 48% of Pentateuch manuscripts from Qumran reflect an M-like text, which implies a certain prominence for these texts amidst the pluriformity evident at Qumran. Based on this and the fact that all scrolls containing books of the Pentateuch from Judean Desert sites other than

Qumran reflect a strict proto-Masoretic text, Tov concludes that the proto-Masoretic texts were dominant in at least some parts of Judea and/or some socio-religious groups and may have been the norm in temple circles (Tov 2012a).

	(Tov 2001, 114-117)	(Tov 2002, 153, Pent. only)	(Tov 2012c, 107-110, Pent. only)
QSP	20%	28% ¹	23%
M-like	35%	52%	48%
Pre-S	5%	6.5%	11%
G-like	5%	4.5%	2%
Non-aligned	35%	37%	39%

Armin Lange has suggested a particularly significant statistical rearrangement for categorizing the scrolls. Unlike Tov, who groups texts equally close to M and S with the M-like texts based on the statistical probability that they reflect the more well-attested textual group M (e.g., 2012c, 108), Lange creates a separate category for texts equally close to M and S (2010, 54).² The net result of Lange’s modification is that his proto-Masoretic (5%) and semi-Masoretic (5%) manuscripts now comprise a measly 10% of the Pentateuch manuscripts (2010, 57), rather than the 48% of Tov’s M-like texts. From this, Lange concludes that M was *created* in the second half of the first century BCE from a text very much in the minority in the late Second Temple period, which was dominated by non-aligned texts (52.5%) (2009b; 2010, 57-64).

Tov’s and Lange’s statistical analyses are helpful for illustrating the big picture of textual pluriformity in the late Second Temple period, but their sometimes drastic differences

¹ Tov does not calculate this percentage, but identifies 13 manuscripts as belonging to the QSP out of a total of 46 manuscripts containing books of the Pentateuch.

² Similarly, Chelica Hiltunen critiques Tov’s decision to include the ambiguous evidence in the M-like category, but her proposed solution differs from Lange’s. Rather than creating a new category for ambiguous texts, she calculates ranges of possible support for each group, based on whether or not these manuscripts are included. For her, “as few as 11 (23%) and as many as 22 (47%) ... align with MT, as few as 2 (4%) and as many as 15 (32%) align with SP, as few as 2 (4%) and as many as 5 (11%) are characteristic of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX, and as few as 20 (43%) and as many as 21 (45%) are non-aligned manuscripts (cited in Crawford 2012b, 68).” Both Tov (2002, 154-155) and Lange (2010, 54) claim not to have discovered texts of pentateuchal books equally close to M and G.

betray several weaknesses. For example, Tov probably inflates the percentage of M-like texts in relation to the pre-Samaritan texts by counting manuscripts equally close to M and S as M-like (so also VanderKam 2012, 16), but Lange probably deflates the percentages of both proto-Masoretic and pre-Samaritan texts by excluding manuscripts equally close to M and S from both categories, and hence they arrive at drastically different conclusions.

Even more problematic from a methodological perspective is the way M, S, and G control the classifications, which reveals itself in two ways. First, both Tov and Lange arrange their categories around three central texts. The clearest example is that of texts similar to the supposed *Vorlage* of G, which explicitly centers the textual group on a single manuscript; the group is determined by agreement with the *Vorlage* of G, which defines the group. For the proto-Masoretic (and semi-Masoretic/M-like) and pre-Samaritan, though they do hypothesize categories based on earlier forms than M and S,¹ practically this is determined by comparison with a late central text, namely the Leningrad Codex for the proto-Masoretic manuscripts (cf. Tov 2012c, 28-29; see the apt criticisms of Segal 2007, 9-10, 17-18) and a form of S stripped of its sectarian readings for the pre-Samaritan manuscripts. Thus, these groups do not emerge naturally from an inductive comparison of the manuscripts, but rather

¹ See especially Tov,

In the past scholars regarded such textual variety as evidence of proximity to the so-called “main” texts, sometimes called recensions or text-types, that were known before the Qumran discoveries. This method of describing the Qumran scrolls is, however, a mere convention deriving from the chance situation that for several centuries no Hebrew texts earlier than the medieval manuscripts of **מ** and **ש** were known. Because of this unusual situation, the data were described inversely, and in recent generations texts from antiquity were compared to medieval ones. The new manuscript discoveries, however, now enable a correct description of the relations between the texts. This means that today one should not emphasize the proximity of the proto-Masoretic texts to the much later **מ**, but rather, place the early texts at the center of the description (2001, 191-192).

Crawford also emphasizes that Tov—and, indeed, also Cross, Talmon, and Ulrich—realize that M S G “can no longer be at the center of our textual descriptions, but instead we must work in reverse order, taking all the Qumran evidence into consideration first as the most ancient (2012b, 64).” Nevertheless, despite the revised naming of the categories to stress that the DSS precede the medieval traditions, Segal (2007, 9) rightly notes that this principle has not led Tov to fundamentally alter the criteria he uses for including manuscripts in the various categories.

are determined and defined *a priori* such that the DSS either fit these categories or they do not. In other words, the controlling categories are largely *imposed* on the ancient manuscripts based on the three main text forms that survived into the medieval period, rather than *derived* from the various text forms attested in the DSS. These groups may or may not be appropriate for the Second Temple period, but they lack a solid empirical foundation.

Second, both Tov and Lange include a category of non-aligned (or independent) manuscripts, which further betrays the undue controlling influence of the medieval traditions. Non-aligned status means either that the text of a manuscript reflects a mixture of elements from these different groups, significant development independent of these groups, or else insufficient evidence to indicate textual affiliation.¹ Therefore, though Tov speaks of a “cluster” of non-aligned texts, there is in fact no special relationship between these manuscripts other than their failure to fall clearly into one of the other pre-conceived categories (Tov 2012c, 109). The category of non-aligned texts is a *negative* category, which does not tell us anything *positive* about the manuscripts. It has served its original purpose in showing that the pluriformity of the Qumran texts cannot be easily narrowed down to three clear text types (Segal 2007, 7, 18), but it does not tell us about how the manuscripts are actually related. Tov has successfully deconstructed the three-text-type model, but has not provided a viable alternative explanation of manuscript relationships. As Tov himself suggests, “If the assumption of a tripartite division is a matter of prejudice, attention should now be directed to the actual relation between the textual witnesses (Tov 2012c, 159).”

It is interesting that, despite the recognition of diverse textual traditions and the breakdown of the tripartite view of the history of the text, Tov does not attempt to construct

¹ Hendel (2010, 292-293), among others, has pointed out the inappropriateness of the term “non-aligned,” since all copies of a work are ultimately related in some way. He helpfully suggests dissolving the category of “non-aligned” manuscripts into two more accurately worded groups, “texts of unknown affiliation” and “texts of mixed affiliation.”

any new groups of manuscripts. At one point, he professes an interest in the question, but quickly discounts the possibility, because of the minimal overlaps between manuscripts (Tov 1995, 85-86).

1.3.3 Variant Literary Editions

In an attempt to avoid perceived anachronisms in earlier approaches, Eugene Ulrich (1992a; 1992b; 1994; 1999; 2002b; 2010) has stressed a theory of multiple literary editions as the organizing principle for understanding the textual histories of many works. For him, many books underwent substantial, systematic, and intentional revisions at various points in their history, which operate on the level of literary creation. These revisions form new, variant literary editions of a given work, and the various literary editions form the primary text types. Other minor variation-units are secondary to these classification criteria. For Ulrich, it is quite likely that the text previously existed in far more editions than are currently preserved, as this sort of updating and reformulation was a common scribal practice. When two or more editions of a work are preserved, some known editions may be linearly descended from other known editions—as is the case of the M and S editions of Exodus (Ulrich 1999, 38-39; 2011, 55)—while others may be parallel and independently descended from a common, undocumented, antecedent edition—as is the case of the M and G editions of Daniel, according to Ulrich (2012b).

Ulrich uses the book of Exodus to illustrate his theory, giving comprehensive suggestions for the entire history of the book (2011, 53-55). According to Ulrich, “*twelve* literary editions marked the composition, production, redaction, and transmission of the Exodus traditions into the Book of Exodus before the development ceased due to the Roman destruction and the new approach to the scriptural text adopted by rabbinic Judaism and Christianity (55).” These editions can be summarized as follows:

1. The narrative “kernel” of the oral Book of Exodus was written down (including a core Exodus account, augmented with the birth of Moses and the plagues narrative, and linked to the wilderness and Sinai traditions).
2. This Exodus tradition was adapted to fit between the patriarchal traditions and the conquest of the land.
3. The Yahwist wrote another version (J) of the Exodus story.
4. The Elohist gave an alternative version (E) of the Exodus story.
5. A redactor joined J and E together.
6. The narrative was expanded by a Priestly editor.
7. Large blocks of Priestly legal material was inserted, yielding the “basic text” of Exodus attested in the extant manuscript tradition.
8. The Old Greek tabernacle account of chapters 35-40 is the earliest documented edition.
9. The scribes behind M rearranged chapters 35-40.
10. Pre-Samaritan harmonizations created a new Jewish edition.
11. The Samaritans added a thin layer of significant theological changes.
12. 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch further expanded the text of Exodus with an additional hymn before Exodus 15:22.

The concept of multiple variant literary editions of works has had a profound impact on textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible/OT and has been picked up by many scholars. Tov, for instance, devotes an entire chapter of his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* to the discussion of such “literary (editorial) differences” (2012c, 283-326, especially 285). Brooke strongly argues that scholars should no longer classify these various editions as errors or corruptions, but rather appreciate them as literary contributions (2005, 31-33, 37-38).

While it is beyond doubt that scribes intervened editorially in the texts they transmitted, a few points should be raised in response to the specific theory of multiple editions. First, while Ulrich states that a new edition must reflect substantial and systematic changes, the nature and significance of a new “literary edition” is often unclear. A few examples from Exodus may be helpful in this regard. On the one hand, Ulrich posits seven pre-documentary “editions,” most of which would not be recognizable to modern (indeed, even Second Temple) readers as the Book of Exodus. These editions include competing parallel Exodus stories (J and E), redactional layers (his editions 2 and 5), and large-scale additions (editions 6 and 7). In this context, Ulrich’s use of the label “edition” becomes so

broad and all-encompassing, that one might be justified in questioning its usefulness, even if each of the undocumented states of the texts are correctly identified.

Even for the documented editions the distinction between new editions and occasional editorial interventions (particularly in aggregate as they accumulate over repeated copying acts during the time spans between preserved copies) is not always obvious. For instance, why should the pre-Samaritan harmonizations in Exodus be classed as a new edition, but not the similar harmonizations of G in Genesis (cf. Hendel 1998; Tov 2012c, 82, 136-137; Longacre 2014, 271-272; contra Ulrich 1999, 25)? With regard to classifying the DSS, the difficulties are often exacerbated by the very fragmentary state of the evidence, making it exceedingly difficult to know how substantial and systematic the differences in these manuscripts really were.

Ulrich's classification of editions also raises the questions of authority and supersession, since a new edition normally implies the authorization by an author (or at least a religious community), as well as an intent to supersede previous editions. But Ulrich's editions include examples of competing parallel traditions (J and E), redactional layers influencing the entire textual tradition (editions 2 and 5-7), influential editions accepted by major subsets of the broad Jewish religious tradition (editions 8-10), theologically tendentious revisions specific to the Samaritan community (edition 11), and numerous late, heavily revised or reworked manuscripts from Qumran of uncertain authority for their authors and readers that seem to have had little or no preserved impact on the subsequent transmission of the book of Exodus (edition 12; see section 1.3.5). It is unclear to me what authority and intention are required to satisfy Ulrich's definition of a new edition, or if any significant editorial work by any scribe with or without the intention to supersede previous editions can be so defined.

Finally, Ulrich's focus on new "editions" as the organizing categories for reconstructing comprehensive compositional and textual histories may at points be misleading in that it reflects only part of the picture. He stresses significant semi-compositional, editorial stages as the most important textual categories, relegating smaller alterations to inner-edition variation. But if the periods of editorial intervention and precise textual copying indeed overlapped in the Second Temple period, as Ulrich maintains, there is no reason to assume that subsequent editions would have been based on pristine copies of earlier editions. In fact, a later edition almost certainly would have been based on one (or more?) faulty copy of an earlier edition of which numerous other copies had already been made. It is possible (indeed probable) that the later edition was created by revising a text of an earlier edition that had already undergone significant development and differentiation from the rest of the tradition developing from the earlier edition. A series of literary editions, then, may describe the most obvious, substantial, and systematic differences between texts, but not necessarily the most basic splits in the tradition. The various editions would not be the central axes in the development of the tradition, but rather the later edition would be merely a significant development within a subset of the tradition of a given earlier edition. In this situation, it would be somewhat arbitrary to privilege the semi-compositional editorial interventions over other types of intentional and accidental alterations.

1.3.4 Descriptive Categorization

One alternative to the above categorizations is to group manuscripts by criteria that are descriptive of their character. According to this perspective, manuscripts can best be classified by observing the characteristics of their texts and using those characteristics to identify traditions. This approach has the advantage of using terms appropriate for given traditions and avoiding anachronisms, but is not without drawbacks of its own.

For example, Eshel (1991) labels Tov's so-called pre-Samaritan tradition the "harmonistic" tradition. There can be little doubt that a harmonistic impulse lies at the heart of many of the major changes characteristic of this tradition, despite the reservations of Segal (2007, 10-17). Nevertheless, Segal is certainly correct that this impulse does not explain all of the typologically significant changes in this particular tradition. Furthermore, the pre-Samaritan tradition is not the only harmonistic tradition. For instance, in many passages, G is actually more harmonistic (Hendel 1998; Tov 2012c, 82, 136-137; Longacre 2014, 271-272). Thus, the term "harmonistic" is neither comprehensive nor exclusive, so the value of its usage as a category for grouping and distinguishing texts is minimal.

Crawford (2012b) has alternatively suggested classifying manuscripts on the basis of the degree of editorial intervention evident in their texts. She argues that there were two different scribal approaches—one conservative and the other revisionistic—and suggests classifying manuscripts as stemming from one or the other of these approaches.¹ This approach does help avoid anachronistic labels and replaces them with helpful information about the manuscripts,² but it still has drawbacks. For one, it is possible (indeed highly probable) that the texts preserved in our manuscripts are the results of mixed treatment throughout their long histories, rather than simply conservative or revisionistic. And even

¹ This is remarkably similar to the descriptive approach taken by the Alands for classifying New Testament papyri as "strict," "normal," or "free" (Aland and Aland 1989, 93-95).

² Crawford elaborates on her motives for suggesting this descriptive classification,

By changing the direction of our text-critical study from a focus on the three canonical collections that resulted from the process of textual transmission to a focus on the beginnings of that transmission process, we can free ourselves from the tyranny of the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch. After all, the scribes who worked in the fifth, fourth, and third centuries B.C.E., handing down what became the books of the Bible, had no idea that certain exemplars of their work would become fixed and canonical for later generations of Jews and Christians. Rather, their job was to pass along the written tradition of their community according to the conventions of the scribal school to which they belonged. We have a remnant of the fruits of their labor in the Qumran scrolls. The evidence of those scrolls should force us to discard old paradigms that are no longer useful, and adopt a new paradigm for the history of the transmission of the biblical text(s) (Crawford 2012b, 69).

more importantly, such descriptive classifications tell us about the characteristics of the traditions, but not about the specific relationships between the manuscripts. There may have actually been numerous revisionistic textual branches, independently revising different base texts in different directions (e.g., G and S), in which case they could not easily be grouped together into a single revisionistic tradition. And even within conservatively preserved traditions there is still a diffusion of differences. Thus, the history of the text cannot be modeled on the basis of purely descriptive classifications, even if they can be helpful for understanding the natures of manuscript traditions. Such labels are frequently helpful to describe textual groups, but not normally to identify them.

1.3.5 The Challenge of the 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch Manuscripts

In 1994, Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White (now Crawford) published four manuscripts (4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, and 4Q367) and identified a fifth (4Q158) as multiple copies of a single composition which reworked the text of the Pentateuch, named 4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QRP (Tov 1994a, DJD 13). These manuscripts have radically challenged the way scholars conceptualize the history of the text of the Pentateuch. According to Tov and White,

The five manuscripts of 4QRP share important characteristics. These five groups of fragments should therefore be seen as copies of the same composition, rather than, in more general terms, of the same literary genre. This composition contained a running text of the Pentateuch interspersed with exegetical additions and omissions. The greater part of the preserved fragments follows the biblical text closely, but many small exegetical elements are added, while other elements are omitted, or, in other cases, their sequence altered. The exegetical character of this composition is especially evident from several exegetical additions comprising half a line, one line, two lines, and even seven or eight lines (191, DJD 13).

On this analysis, 4QRP is a single literary work attested in five manuscripts and is a composition distinct from its pentateuchal base text. Subsequent debates about the manuscripts have centered on these two assertions of Tov and Crawford.

Tov and Crawford argued that the five manuscripts of 4QRP should be considered witnesses to a single composition based on some minimal agreement in overlapping text against other witnesses and the similarity of methods used to rework the pentateuchal base text. Several scholars have rejected their arguments, however. Zahn argues that the agreements against other witnesses in overlapping texts are insignificant (2011b, 4). Segal (2000, 396-397), Bernstein (1998, 134; 2005, 196; 2013a, 392), and Zahn (2011b, 229-230) have stressed differences in the editorial techniques evidenced in each manuscript, arguing instead for a more diverse collection of manuscripts with some similarities. Additionally, Brooke has argued that the manuscripts cannot be reconstructed in the same way in places where they overlap or nearly overlap, and suggests rather renaming them as five separate compositions (namely, 4QReworked Pentateuch A-E, rather than 4QReworked Pentateuch^{a-e}) (2001). Even Crawford has now reversed her earlier opinion, concluding that they are not copies of a single non-biblical composition (2008, 39).¹

Tov's and Crawford's second assertion that 4QRP is a separate literary composition "reworked" from the Pentateuch, rather than a copy of the Pentateuch proper, has also proven to be controversial. Several scholars have argued that the types of changes noted in the 4QRP manuscripts are also found in other witnesses commonly understood to be "biblical," suggesting that the 4QRP manuscripts should be understood as different versions of the Pentateuch, rather than as non-biblical texts (Ulrich 2000, 76; Lange 2002, 27; Zahn 2011a, 27; 2011b, 236). Tov and Crawford have themselves recently adopted similar opinions, though both note there is no clear evidence that these manuscripts were received by any community as scripture (Tov 2007, 365-366; 2009, 26-28; 2010; Crawford 2008, 56-57).

¹ Zahn (2011b, 5) notes of Tov's more recent work, "Tov nowhere in these newer articles addresses the issue of whether the 4QRP MSS represent a single composition, and continues to talk about 4QRP as if it were a single text." On 19 February 2014, I asked Tov for clarification of his position, and he suggested that the question requires further study, but indicated that he still thinks of them as a closely related group of texts.

Segal argues that 4Q364-367 are biblical texts, but that 4Q158 is non-biblical (2000, 394-395). Other scholars have supported the original position of Tov and Crawford that the 4QRP manuscripts are in fact new literary compositions distinct from the Pentateuch itself (e.g., Bernstein 2013b, 497).

The debate about the literary status of the 4QRP manuscripts has greatly problematized the distinction between a literary work and distinct derivative works that has been so central to the study of the text of the Hebrew Bible/OT. In particular, formerly clearly delineated categories of “biblical” texts and “non-biblical” or “para-biblical” texts have been obscured by the 4QRP texts, which seem to bridge the gap between categories. Scholars have typically responded to the dilemma in one of two ways. Some have argued for *quantitative* measurements for determining when a reworked text becomes a new work. On this view, the pentateuchal and Pentateuch-based literature is typically plotted along a spectrum of reworking, with conservative texts on one end, free compositions on the other, and a graded interval between them depending on how much a given text is reworked from its pentateuchal base text (Brooke 2002; Crawford 2008, 13-15; Swanson 2004, 426-427; VanderKam 2002a, 99, 108; 2002b, 46). At some point on this spectrum, reworked texts depart so far from their base texts that they become new compositions.

On the other hand, other scholars have argued for *qualitative* measurements for determining when a reworked text becomes a new work. On this view, new compositions are set apart from their base texts by significant types of differences, such as new narrative settings, new speakers, and new scopes (Segal 2005; Zahn 2008; 2011b, 7-11, 239-241; 2011c). On this view, ancient editors used specific literary cues to indicate to readers that the resulting rewritten work was to be read as a separate literary work supplementing that of the base text, rather than a new, expanded version of it.

A separate question related to the literary status of the 4QRP manuscripts is their scriptural status. The two questions are often subsumed into one on the assumption that a variant edition of a scriptural work would still be considered scripture but a distinct literary work derived from a work of scripture would not inherit its scriptural status. This perspective conflates two different questions, however, and tends to confuse more than illumine. In fact, even rewritten derivative works may themselves be considered scripture, so we must consider the question of their scriptural status and their literary relationship to their base texts separately (Zahn 2011b, 9 n. 30).

The net result of studies on the 4QRP manuscripts has been to problematize the traditional distinction between “biblical” and “non-biblical” manuscripts. At the very least, the 4QRP manuscripts force us to speak with precision about the literary relationships between reworked texts and their base texts and the scriptural status of the reworked texts.

1.3.6 The Question of the Original Text(s)

The aforementioned post-DSS discussions generally depend at least on the assumption of the common (if not exclusive) descent of all the preserved texts of a work from a single written source, if not an original text (or *Urtext*). While the existence and significance of such an original text have traditionally been assumed as self-evident, both assumptions have been challenged since the discovery of the DSS and remain extremely controversial in today’s intellectual climate. In particular, scholars who propose the independent textualization of the various text forms deny the *existence* of a single original text, and scholars who stress repeated editorial developments in the history of the text may also deny the *meaningfulness* of labelling any given editorial stage as an “original” text.

Talmon, in particular, vocally challenged the *existence* of a single original text for the books of the Hebrew Bible/OT. He explained the pluriformity of the earliest preserved

evidence with a theory of multiple “pristine” originals, which do not stem from a single original tradition, but rather reflect parallel pristine compositions.¹ According to him, various independent collections of Pentateuch-like material were gradually standardized into the Pentateuch as it is known today, and many of the differences between the surviving witnesses reflect early differences that had not yet been standardized (2010, 220-223). This theory could rightly be illustrated with an upside down triangle, with a single point at the bottom representing the late, standardized form of the tradition, preceded by ever wider pluriformity, which ultimately stems from a diverse set of starting points. In this respect, Talmon was very much building on the theory of Kahle, but taking diversity even further back, all the way to multiple distinct origins.

Talmon’s theory has been considered by a number of scholars to be less than satisfactory for explaining the earliest periods in the history of the text, however (Tov 2012c, 162; Hendel 2010, 291; 2013, 79-83), and the concept of a single starting point for our preserved tradition continues to dominate the discussion (Ulrich 2013, 103). Talmon’s primary support for this theory was in the form of so-called “synonymous readings,” which reflect equally valid ways of saying the same thing and for which no criteria can demonstrate the priority of either reading (Talmon 2010, 171-172, 219), but this evidence is at best ambiguous. As Carr has emphasized, these kinds of readings can arise as memory-induced variant readings in the process of the writing-supported transmission of traditions (Carr 2011, 13-36), so they do not necessarily preserve early pristine texts. I would go even further, however, and note that *every* copying act requires retaining text in the copyist’s memory as he reads, memorizes, and then reproduces the text, even if the memory involved is only short-

¹ Tov (2012c, 164) documents similar statements in the writings of Barthélemy, Goshen-Gottstein, Greenberg, Kahle, and Walters.

term and in relation to short stretches of text at a time (so also Worthington 2012, 14). Thus, as others have noted, “synonymous variants” do not necessarily (or even likely) support the non-existence of a single common ancestor for our preserved witnesses (e.g., Tov 2012c, 164), and compelling evidence for multiple independent origins of the preserved texts is very difficult to find.

On the other hand, some scholars have argued that the vast majority of the evidence is best explained as the result of the natural entropy of written textual transmission due to both copyist errors and editorial interventions. Tov (2012c, 162, 165), for instance, concludes that since the similarities between our witnesses are so extensive and the differences typically best explained as alterations of known prior written texts, there is little to commend a theory of multiple, independent, original starting points. If this is correct, then the discoveries at Qumran have moved the documentary evidence for pluriformity significantly further back into the past than was available to scholars before the discovery of the DSS, but they have not fundamentally strengthened the theoretical approach of those who would deny the common descent of the preserved texts.

A rather more potent critique of the concept of a single original text comes from the frequent denial of the *meaningfulness* of the concept for the books of the Hebrew Bible/OT. According to many scholars, these books were gradually formed by repeated processes of reformulation of earlier traditions, with each successive editorial stage possessing literary innovation and merit of its own, in which case it makes little sense to speak of an “original” text (Tov 1991; Ulrich 1997; Brooke 2005, 33-35; van der Toorn 2007). From this perspective, the true “original” text(s) would be unrecognizable to modern readers, and each subsequent edition would contain both inherited and “original” elements and could itself also

be considered “original,” yielding multiple “originals” (Tov 2012c, 167-169; Ulrich 2013, 103).¹ Thus, the term becomes so confused as to be essentially meaningless.²

Others have objected that there was indeed a definitive editorial stage at which point any prior source materials were reworked into a shape that would be recognizable to modern readers and would constitute the original of that work. Van der Kooij, for instance, insists on aiming for the “‘original’ (complete) text in the sense of the text/edition, whether it is proto-MT or pre-MT, that underlies available copies and/or editions (2002, 174).” Crawford similarly argues,

Like Tov and Ulrich, I would argue that each biblical book reached a recognizable shape at the end of its redactional process, and that shape then governed the activity of the scribes who transmitted it going forward. For example, the shape of Exodus began with the Israelites in Egypt and the birth of Moses, proceeded through the Plague and Passover narratives, the Exodus, and the journey to Sinai, and ended with the long section of the giving of the Law at Mt. Sinai. The text within that shape was not fixed, but the shape itself was stable. The scribes who transmitted Exodus henceforth worked within that shape. Thus, even though Exodus exists in two literary editions (proto-rabbinic and pre-Samaritan), it is recognizably Exodus in both editions (2012b, 66).

One important point of agreement between scholars who maintain the meaningfulness of the concept of a single “original” text and those who reject it is that most appear to presume that the preserved witnesses are linearly descended from a single common ancestor via a number of accidental alterations and intentional editorial alterations of prior base texts (e.g., Crawford 2012b, 66; Hendel 2010, 298-299; Tov 2012c, 167; Ulrich 2013, 103; van der Kooij 2002, 174). Thus, from this angle, the question of the original text seems to me to be more a value judgment about the various states of the text than a disagreement about the genealogical relationships between known texts (see section 4.4.4.1).

¹ To be precise, Tov prefers to speak of multiple “determinative texts,” while Ulrich speaks of multiple “urtexts.”

² For a similar influential critique of the term “original text” by a New Testament textual critic, see Epp (1999).

1.4 Post-Qumran Detailed Studies of the Text of Exodus

In addition to the general discussions of the text of the Pentateuch that have taken place since the discoveries in the Judean Desert, several scholars have published detailed investigations into the history of the text of Exodus and the place of the DSS within this history.

1.4.1 Judith E. Sanderson

In her 1985 doctoral dissertation from the University of Notre Dame under Eugene Ulrich, published as *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (1986), Judith E. Sanderson conducted an exhaustive text-critical evaluation of 4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^m). For this purpose, she collated 4Q22 M S G for all passages where 4Q22 is extant, noting all readings in which any of the four texts differed from any others. Sanderson then critically evaluated the differences and classified the readings as either preferable, synonymous, or secondary. According to her taxonomy, preferable readings are those judged to have given rise to readings judged to be secondary. Synonymous readings are those which reflect equally valid ways of saying the same thing or those which she is unable to judge preferable or secondary with sufficient degrees of confidence. Secondary (and, in a few cases, tertiary) readings are those judged to be derived from antecedent preferable readings. Sanderson then uses agreements in secondary readings to determine textual affiliations, though she also allows that patterns of agreements in preferable and synonymous readings may provide further supporting evidence.

In the course of her study, Sanderson identifies 165 variation-units between the four selected texts, of which she is able to determine the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint with “reasonable confidence” for 121 (243). For 85 variation-units, Sanderson judges one reading to be preferable to the others, and in 80 she refrains from making such a judgment, limiting

herself to classifying the preserved readings as synonymous (153). From this data set, Sanderson arrives at two main conclusions. First, on the basis of 18 secondary readings shared by 4Q22 S—12 of which are major expansions—she concludes that these two clearly come from the same text-type loosely defined (164, 189). Nevertheless, she concludes that 4Q22 reflects an earlier stage in the development of this tradition than does S, because S never uniquely preserves preferable readings, 4Q22 does uniquely preserve (in Sanderson’s opinion) five preferable readings, 4Q22 agrees more often in small details with M than does S, and 4Q22 lacks the specifically Samaritan tenth commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim (160, 164-165, 189). Second, on the basis of seven secondary readings shared by 4Q22 M S, Sanderson also concludes that the common tradition attested by these witnesses developed independently of the tradition behind G for a time before itself splitting (168, 171, 189), contradicting the long-standing consensus since Gesenius (1815) that S and G are closely related against M.¹ According to Sanderson, G is expansionist in character, but nevertheless was unaffected by expansions common to 4Q22 M S.

On the first question—the main purpose of the book—I think Sanderson’s conclusion is unassailable. There are so many significant agreements in secondary readings between 4Q22 S that it cannot be doubted that these two texts stem from a common branch of the tradition against M and G. For this reason, Sanderson has done us a great service, and her textual grouping of 4Q22 with S has rightly become the consensus opinion about 4Q22 (see section 3.2.14). On other points, her work is more open to criticism, but even then she provides a wealth of text-critical data and considered evaluation of the evidence that cannot be ignored.

¹ For a more recent reappraisal, see Kim (1994), who identifies 493 significant S G agreements against M—of which 328 are common harmonizations—seeing significantly less support for a close relationship between S and G than has traditionally been argued.

Sanderson's work is packed with detailed argumentation and nuanced conclusions, so it is deserving of a more in-depth critique at this point, emphasizing (perhaps disproportionately) my reservations about an otherwise outstanding book. Several methodological points in particular require further discussion. First, at the risk of being unnecessarily pedantic, her use of the category of synonymous variants with two different—at times conflicting—meanings is confusing, since variant readings which say the same thing in different ways and variant readings which are impossible to adjudicate with a reasonable amount of confidence are not coterminous categories. Nevertheless, such terminological confusion does not significantly affect her results.

On a more serious note, somewhat problematic was Sanderson's method of evaluating readings, which rested almost entirely on internal transcriptional probabilities. To some extent this is understandable, since we cannot *a priori* assume the superiority of any one text or a given relationship between manuscripts, nor can we preclude the possibility of the mixing of traditions during the transmission of the text. Nevertheless, Sanderson failed to capitalize on the results of her own research, which could have acted as a further control on textual decisions in an iterative manner. In failing to do so, she frequently arrives at conclusions that are incoherent with each other and historically dubious. In particular, she essentially concludes that 4Q22 and S are descended from a common source text, which is in turn descended from another source text shared in common with M, which latter source text is in turn descended from a source shared with G. If this is the case, then when 4Q22 and S disagree, we would naturally expect the one which agrees with both M and G to preserve the earlier reading, but Sanderson does not use this reasoning. Instead, the results of her conclusions based on intrinsic probabilities are stated regardless of their historical coherence. The most obvious examples come from her discussion of five (later six, based on a

reappraisal of a reading in 17:13) supposedly preferable readings uniquely preserved in 4Q22 (Sanderson 1986, 54-58; Skehan et al. 1992b, 69), none of which is particularly compelling.¹

¹ In 34:1, 4Q22 lacks the adjective הראשנים “the first” describing the tablets Moses broke, which is preserved in all three of the other traditions. While Sanderson notes the complicating factor that an omission in 4Q22 may have been prompted by the fact that the word כראשנים from earlier in the verse occurs in 4Q22 directly over the place where הראשנים would have been written, she discounts this as an unlikely cause for omission. Instead, she concludes that it was a clarifying expansion that was either made early enough to affect the entire rest of the tradition or made multiple times independently in the various textual traditions (Sanderson 1986, 55). If the former were the case, that would then imply that 4Q22 preserves a reading older than its immediate source text shared with S, the prior source text shared with M, and also the source text shared with G. While it may never be possible to prove definitively that 4Q22 could not have been subsequently influenced in this one reading by a parallel tradition preserving text earlier than a hypothetical predominant source for the four traditions studied (a phenomenon which Timpanaro 2005, 179 labels “extra-stemmatic contamination”), such a scenario seems relatively unlikely. Equally improbable is Sanderson’s proposal that multiple scribes independently introduced the plus, since this would require three separate acts of expansion in exactly the same way. Perhaps it is more likely that her preference for the shorter reading of 4Q22 is simply incorrect.

In 32:7, 4Q22 reads the imperative רד “Go down!” in place of the longer hendiadys לך רד “Walk! Go down!” of the other three traditions. Sanderson supposes that the longer reading was expanded in the other three traditions (Sanderson 1986, 55-56), but it is much more likely that the complex hendiadys of the rest of the tradition was accidentally replaced by the simpler imperative of 4Q22. Intrinsic probability and external controls converge against the 4Q22 reading. The visual similarity of the two words in the square script does not obtain in the paleo-Hebrew script of 4Q22.

The supposed lack of מארצו in 7:2 in 4Q22 is also unlikely to be preferable. One complicating factor is that the minus is not preserved on the parchment, but is actually reconstructed, since in normal spacing we would not expect the word to fit within the lacuna. The fit would indeed be difficult (but perhaps not impossible?), but the reading is still reconstructed. Even if the reading was absent from 4Q22, Sanderson’s claim that “there is no similarity of letters which would have given rise to parablepsis” is simply incorrect (Sanderson 1986, 56). Three of the five letters of the word in question are found in the words immediately preceding and following it (ישראל מארצו ואני), which could easily have caused the scribe to miss this word, which is not necessary for the sense of the passage. This explanation is considerably more likely than identical three-fold independent expansion in the other traditions or that 4Q22 reflects a reading that was somehow corrected to a parallel tradition earlier than a supposed predominant source text for all four preserved traditions.

In 18:27, Sanderson recognizes the possibility that the idiomatic לו אל “for himself?” in וילך לו אל “he went (for himself?) to...” may have been accidentally omitted in 4Q22, but opts instead for preferring its shorter reading, arguing that the idiom of the longer reading is rare in contexts not imperatival, colloquial, or late (Sanderson 1986, 56-57). But surely the easier, more familiar reading of 4Q22 is more easily explained as secondary than proposing identical expansions towards this rare reading in M S (the Greek evidence is ambiguous, as the difference is hardly translatable into idiomatic Greek).

In 17:13, Sanderson revised her initial conclusion (Sanderson 1986, 99, 221) in the DJD edition of the scroll to reflect her reappraisal of the secondary insertion of ואת עמו as coming from a second hand, rather than the original scribe (Skehan et al. 1992b, 69, DJD 9). On this new estimation, the secondarily inserted phrase is an interpolation now preserved in 4Q22^c M S G, but not yet extant in the copyist-exemplar of 4Q22, since the shorter reading better fits the “style of the pericope.” But Sanderson herself lays the groundwork for dismantling this argument, since she notes an obvious visual trigger for the accidental omission of ואת עמו and an unusually high concentration of error-correction patterns at this point in the scroll (e.g. יהיה נסי • שמו in 17:15, which can

The detailed evaluation of some of Sanderson's more important judgments seems to me to reflect a problematic tendency. The results of her text-critical decisions are based purely on the intrinsic merits of the readings without reference to the relationships between manuscripts or the internal coherence of her conclusions. It reflects an overconfidence in the textual critic's ability to adjudicate even some of the most difficult variation-units on purely internal criteria. In particular, five of the six examples cited here seem to betray an overly mechanical preference for shorter readings (see the previous footnote for discussion), when in fact the known historical relationships between the manuscripts suggest exactly the opposite. There is now a growing body of evidence for the frequent accidental omission of letters, words, and longer stretches of text (e.g., Royse 1995, 246-247, who cites studies of New Testament papyri by Colwell, Royse, and Head), and this needs to be factored into our text-critical evaluations. My own work on the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus has yielded many clear examples of such accidental omissions, even in places where there are no obvious visual triggers for parablepsis (see section 4.3.2.3), suggesting a consistent preference for the shorter reading is not a reliable criterion for making textual decisions.

On the additional question of her data set, Sanderson's decision to focus on four traditions is both a blessing and a curse. It is a blessing in that it allows for more detailed

only be explained as an accidental omission, even without an obvious visual trigger for parablepsis), which elsewhere is usually very carefully copied (Sanderson 1986, 99, 221). These observations, supported by the secondary correction at this point and the known genealogical relationships of 4Q22 make Sanderson's evaluation very unlikely for this variant.

Sanderson's final example of a uniquely preserved preferable reading in 4Q22 is philologically unwarranted. In 21:6, she supposes that 4Q22 preserves the older singular form אֲדֹנָיו "his master" against the plural of majesty אֲדֹנָיו "his master" of M S (the difference is not translatable into Greek, since the word is plural in form, but singular in meaning) purely on the basis of "the assumption that this [i.e., the plural of majesty, DGL] is a convention that developed within the Hebrew language" (Sanderson 1986, 58). Sanderson produces no evidence that the plural of majesty is a later form with which the formal singular was characteristically updated in the tradition, and indeed there is much evidence against this supposition. This reasoning is highly dubious, to my mind, and it is much more likely that the copyist of 4Q22 or a predecessor simply miswrote the singular for the plural of majesty, since they are semantically identical and possibly also phonetically identical in the late Second Temple period.

examination of these four traditions in relationship with each other than will be possible in a more comprehensive study like the present thesis. She is able to exhaust (at least based on the evidence available to her at the time) the textual value of 4Q22 in relation to M S G by evaluating its every reading against the other traditions, and I consider her most important general conclusion that 4Q22 reflects an earlier stage of a textual tradition shared in common with S against M and G to be beyond dispute. In many respects, her methodology is very similar to that adopted for this thesis by placing the focus on the text preserved in a Qumran manuscript and coming to solid conclusions about its place in the history of the text. That said, the data set selected by Sanderson is also limiting. Her use of only three reference texts other than her Qumran source serves to reinforce the three-text-type perspective of the history of the text of Exodus that has been greatly undercut by the Qumran discoveries. Unfortunately, due to historical circumstances beyond her control, the rest of the Qumran scrolls containing Exodus from cave 4 were not available to Sanderson, which hampered her ability to break free from the old paradigm. Nevertheless, she should have had access to a number of Exodus scrolls that had already been published by the time (1Q2, 2Q2, 2Q3, 2Q4, 7Q1, Mur1), several of which overlap minimally with 4Q22, so Sanderson was somewhat less ambitious than she could have been. She repeatedly looks forward to the day when the complete evidence from Qumran is available to be systematically compared (xii, 167), but does not go as far as the evidence allows even according to her contemporary access to the material.

And yet, somewhat ironically, while she does not take the evidence from the Judean Desert far enough in this respect, in another respect she may take it too far. Since her data set only includes the passages where 4Q22 is extant and ignores the major problem of the tabernacle account entirely, her theory about the early departure of the tradition behind the

Septuagint from the rest of the tradition is built on a tenuously small proportion of the data, as she herself recognizes when she states that “no definite conclusions should be drawn because the data are based only on the random fragments of the scroll” (180). In fact, Sanderson’s conclusion is based on only seven variation-units where G is judged to have uniquely preserved the preferable reading against a secondary reading shared by 4Q22 M S (101-106, 168). Revealingly, showing the tenuousness of the argument, the counter-evidence according to Sanderson’s evaluations is exactly equally numerically weighted in the opposite direction. She argues that M uniquely preserves seven preferable readings against secondary readings shared in 4Q22 S G, though most of them are relatively minor (172). Even qualitatively, however, the case is far from conclusive. In my opinion, several of her examples of preferable readings supposedly uniquely preserved in G are probably more likely attributed to the translator’s attempt to render the text into smooth Greek.¹

¹ For instance, in 28:40, G lacks a formal equivalent for *וַעֲשִׂיתָ לָהֶם* “and you shall make for them” in *וּלְבְנֵי אַהֲרֹן* “and for Aaron’s sons you shall make tunics, and you shall make for them sashes,” but this is unlikely to be a secondary expansion in the other traditions (contra Sanderson 1986, 105). Instead, the translator, recognizing that *וַעֲשִׂיתָ* and the preceding *תַּעֲשֶׂה* would be translated identically in Greek as *(καὶ) ποιήσεις* and that the indirect object of the two verbs was also referentially identical (i.e., Aaron’s sons), decided to conflate the two verbs into one to simplify the syntax and avoid the excessively redundant five-fold repetition of *ποιήσεις* in two verses (see vv. 39-40 in most modern translations for the same phenomenon).

Similarly in 9:10, for *וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת פִּיחַ הַכִּבְשָׁן וַיַּעֲמְדוּ לִפְנֵי פַרְעֹה* “They took the soot from the furnace and they stood before Pharaoh,” G reads *καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν αἰθάλην τῆς καμινάιας ἐναντίον Φαραώ*, lacking an equivalent for *וַיַּעֲמְדוּ* “and they stood.” Sanderson suggests this Hebrew word was added to the other traditions to make a play on words, noting that here Moses and Aaron stand before Pharaoh, but in the next verse the magicians were not able to stand before Moses (105-106). This paronomasia, however, may in fact argue for the intrinsic preferability of *וַיַּעֲמְדוּ* against the shorter reading reconstructed from the Greek. If the translator missed the pun while translating on the fly (he had not yet encountered v. 11) and treated the verbs as a hendiadys, it is easy to understand why he would have simplified the syntax of the Hebrew. The verb “take” implies a destination to which (or whom) the object is taken, and in this case the context makes clear that Pharaoh is ultimately the one to whom the soot is taken. If Moses and Aaron take the soot and stand before Pharaoh, that is essentially the same thing referentially as their taking the soot before Pharaoh, rendering the verb “stood” extraneous to the translation.

The lack of a Greek equivalent for *בבקר* “in the morning” in 34:2 may also be translational in nature, since the time frame for ascending Mount Sinai is already clear from the command to be ready “in the morning” in the previous clause. Once again, the translator may be simplifying redundant elements to create more

Of Sanderson's examples of probable secondary expansion shared in 4Q22 M S, only one stands up well to greater scrutiny. Exodus 32:9 ויאמר יהוה אל משה ראיתי את העם הזה והנה עם קשה ערף הוא "The LORD said to Moses, 'I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiff-necked people'" in the Hebrew witnesses is lacking in G. While it is possible that this verse was omitted accidentally by parablepsis at some point in the Hebrew tradition behind the Septuagint (ויאמר ן ועתה) or early within the Greek tradition after the initial translation (καὶ εἶπεν ן καὶ νῦν ἕασόν)—especially since the lacking text would fill one complete line of a column of average width (so also Jastram, in his unpublished notes)—Sanderson has made a plausible case that the verse was imported from the parallel passage in Deuteronomy 9:13 with contextual modifications either to complete the speech as reported in Deuteronomy or to heighten the contrast between Israel and Moses (1986, 101-102). The fact that such harmonizations are common in the history of the text gives this explanation added weight, though it is noteworthy that this is the only instance Sanderson can cite of such an assimilation occurring in M and not in another tradition. On the other hand, the fact that the rest of this speech has not been harmonized somewhat weakens the argument, though it is not impossible that such a harmonization was made only inconsistently, since 32:9 = Deuteronomy 9:13 is the only substantial text in the Deuteronomy quotation without parallel

idiomatic Greek. On the other hand, there would have been little reason for a scribe to add such a redundant expression (contra Sanderson 1986, 104, who says that it may have been intended to make the Lord's command "totally precise"). The lack of a Greek equivalent for היום "today" in ולתת עליכם היום ברכה "to put a blessing on yourselves today" in 32:29 probably reflects the same translation practice of omitting tautological temporal clauses, since this temporal reference frame was already clear from the word היום earlier in the verse (for a similar situation, see the translations of the temporal clauses in 30:12). Less likely, the intrusive temporal clauses between the stereotyped expressions "go up the mountain" and "put a blessing on" could easily have been accidentally omitted. Accidental omission could potentially also be suggested for the lack of equivalents for את עבדיו "and his servants" in 9:20 and למשה "to Moses" in 18:1 in G.

in one of the major traditions of Exodus. Overall, Sanderson makes a good case that this significant variant reading might indicate a common tradition behind 4Q22 M S against G, but I wonder if this variation-unit alone is sufficient to bear the weight of the far-reaching theory she proposes.

In the end, I think Sanderson has made a good first step towards the argument that the three Hebrew traditions she examined developed for a time independently of the tradition behind G, but final resolution of this difficult problem must await a more comprehensive analysis of the complete texts of M, S, and G. Such a conclusion should be based on the full data set of differences between these traditions, rather than partial sets. In particular, it would be extremely hazardous to proffer a suggestion about the histories and relationships of M, S, and G without taking into account the major content and sequence differences exhibited by G against the Hebrew traditions in the tabernacle sections of chapters 35-40.

One final miscellaneous note from Sanderson is also in order, namely that she proposes that the scroll may have been used as part of dramatic readings of the Exodus narrative, which would have been enhanced by the harmonistic expansions of this section (Sanderson 1986, 223-224), but this theory is highly speculative and does not account for similar typologically-significant characteristics elsewhere in Exodus.

To sum up the results of my critique, Sanderson's book is an excellent work filled with detailed arguments and nuanced conclusions that are worthy of consideration. I consider her primary contention that 4Q22 and S form a textual group against M and G to be firmly established, and for this she is to be commended. I consider some of her secondary conclusions to be more questionable, however, especially her arguments that 4Q22 preserves readings preferable to those in the M S G tradition and that 4Q22 M S experienced a period of common development after G split off from them. The former misjudgment (in my

opinion) can be corrected by the use of the external control of known manuscript relations, and the relationships between M, S, and G can be determined sufficiently well only by examination of the full data sets of their readings.

1.4.2 Nathan Jastram

In 1990, Nathan Jastram completed a dissertation under Frank Moore Cross at Harvard conducting a comprehensive text-critical evaluation of 4QNum^b, a manuscript with frequent expansions shared with the Samaritan Pentateuch, as well as additional expansions (Jastram 1990). His examination of the major traditions of the book of Numbers (4QNum^b M S G) led Jastram to postulate a common “Palestinian” branch for 4QNum^b S G separate from the M tradition, in contrast to Sanderson’s proposed textual relationships for the book of Exodus with a common source text for 4Q22 M S not shared by G. Based on an *a priori* expectation that the various books of the Pentateuch should be expected to have experienced similar textual histories, Jastram was suspicious of the discrepancy and undertook a fresh text-critical evaluation of the same four Exodus texts as Sanderson (4Q22 M S G) (Jastram 1998, 265-267). While frequently weighting the strength of the evidence and resulting confidence levels differently, Jastram came to results remarkably similar to those of Sanderson. They reached opposite conclusions about the preferability of readings in only 11 cases (Jastram 1998, 268-271).

In 7:15, Jastram prefers the shorter M reading **והנה** to the longer (and more common) 4Q22 S G reading **והנה הוא**. In 9:10, he prefers the inclusion of **ויעמדו** with 4Q22 M S against G on the basis of the suitability of the verb in the narrative context and the unidiomatic nature of the Hebrew expression **לקח ... לפני** “take ... before,” as Sanderson would reconstruct the

Vorlage of G.¹ In 16:34, he prefers the less common expression *אל משה ... צוה* of M as more contextually appropriate (i.e., Moses was not directly commanded, but was rather given the command for Aaron) than the more common expression *את משה ... צוה* of 4Q22 S, evaluating the evidence of G as ambiguous. In 18:23, Jastram prefers the preposition *על* of M for direction “towards” (an uncommon, if not erroneous, usage) against the more common *אל* of 4Q22 S, again evaluating the evidence of G as ambiguous. In 21:6, he concludes that the morphologically singular form *אדוניו* “his lord” of 4Q22 likely resulted from an accidental omission of the *yod* from the morphologically plural—but semantically singular—*אדניו* “his lord” of M S, a variation-unit for which the evidence of G is ambiguous.² In 22:24, he prefers the more difficult *את העני עמך* “the poor with you” of M G to the easier *את עני עמכה* “the poor of your people” of 4Q22 S. In 32:7, Jastram prefers the plus *לאמור* of 4Q22 S G against the lack of the word in M and the plus *לך* of M S G against the lack of the word in 4Q22, both of which shorter readings he suggests derive from accidental omissions.³ In 32:29, he argues that *היום* of 4Q22 M S was probably omitted in G to smooth out the translation, or else possibly was omitted by parablepsis due to homoioteleuton.⁴ In 34:2, Jastram concludes that *בבקר* of 4Q22 M S was most likely omitted by haplography due to its close proximity with

¹ I have argued similarly above in response to Sanderson that the G reading probably reflects an attempt to render the Hebrew hendiadys into idiomatic Greek.

² I have also rejected Sanderson’s reasoning in relation to this variant above, arguing that the morphologically singular reading is an incorrect reading for the semantically and (possibly) phonologically identical morphologically plural reading.

³ I have argued similarly against Sanderson above that the *לך* was likely omitted by 4Q22 as a result of the simplification of the more complex hendiadys in the other traditions.

⁴ My argument against Sanderson at this point is very similar to Jastram’s first possibility, namely that it was omitted for the sake of smooth, idiomatic Greek in the act of translation.

לבקר.¹ Finally, in 34:11, Jastram judges the plus in 4Q22 S G of the Girgashites not mentioned in M to be a shared secondary expansion.²

As a result of Jastram's disagreements with Sanderson's evaluations, he sees considerably more support for the contrasting theory that 4Q22 S G shared a common period of development apart from M, just as he had expected based on the parallel of 4QNum^b (Jastram 1998, 271-272). Because—on his analysis—4Q22 S G share a large number of secondary readings against M, and because 4Q22 M S rarely share any secondary readings against G, Jastram proposes against Sanderson that 4Q22 S G developed together for a time independently of M (Jastram 1998, 278-282). Nevertheless, on the crucial question of 4Q22's textual affinity, he is in perfect agreement with Sanderson on the “pre-Samaritan” (in his terms “Proto-Samaritan”) character of its text (Jastram 1998, 279, 282). Jastram summarizes his own conclusions:

There appears to have been a time when the traditions behind the major texts shared a common origin, after which the ‘Palestinian’ textual tradition (composed of the traditions behind Q, W, and S) split off from the tradition behind M. Before the major interpolations that characterize the Proto-Samaritan textual tradition were added, S split off and began to develop its many unique secondary readings. Finally the traditions behind W and the Proto-Samaritan texts at Qumran split apart, with both sets of traditions showing the ability to continue to make further interpolations on their own (Jastram 1998, 282).

In response to Jastram's conclusions, a number of points should be raised. First, I note that his conclusions often coincide with my own critiques of Sanderson's conclusions on a number of crucial readings, though the full details of his analysis were not published in his

¹ In my critique of Sanderson above, I arrived at the same conclusion as Jastram, but for different reasons. לבקר and בבקר are not directly adjacent to each other, so it is somewhat unlikely (though not impossible) that the latter should be accidentally omitted. More likely, the redundant temporal clause was simply omitted by the translator in the interests of smooth, flowing Greek.

² I agree that the additions of the Girgashites throughout Exodus in both S and G are important similarities between these traditions, but the complicating factor of their differences in the sequences of the list elements cannot be easily brushed aside. Any explanation for the readings in these lists must explain the similarities and differences in *both* contents and sequence (see section 4.3.4.1).

summary article.¹ Second, Jastram oddly does not discuss in his article Sanderson's most compelling supporting example for her theory that 4Q22 M S underwent common development apart from G, namely the proposed harmonistic interpolation of Exodus 32:9 from Deuteronomy 9:13. In his unpublished notes, he remains undecided about the originality of either the longer or shorter reading, noting that similar phraseology is used in Exodus 32:9 (M S, lacking in G); 33:3, 5 (M S G); and Deuteronomy 9:13 (M S G), and suggesting that the entire verse 32:9 could have been accidentally omitted as one long line in G by parablepsis. Since he remains undecided on this variation-unit, it does not appear with an explanation in his published article, but is nevertheless not listed as evidence contrary to his main thesis. Third, these opposing reconstructions of the history of the text are based on very similar evaluations of the majority of variation-units, which shows how even a handful of debatable textual decisions can drastically affect the overall outcome of a study. Fourth, like Sanderson, Jastram derives his reconstruction of the textual history of Exodus inductively from decisions on individual variation-units based on internal evidence, but does not appear to use his general conclusions to refine his results in an iterative fashion. And fifth, also like Sanderson, Jastram utilizes only a limited subset of the data, restricted to text preserved in 4Q22.² His disagreement with Sanderson highlights the difficulties and potential pitfalls of working with incomplete data, suggesting a methodological caution about drawing broad conclusions about the interrelationships of texts not comprehensively compared (M, S, and G) from a dataset limited by another text (4Q22). The data set chosen by both Sanderson and

¹ Nathan Jastram kindly sent me his unpublished notes and full database in an Excel spreadsheet in a form very close to what he used for the publication of his article, though his notes on readings have not been fully prepared for publication.

² Though he does also include 30 reconstructed variants from Exodus, without significantly altering the general conclusions (Jastram 1998, 274). His database of preserved variants is also somewhat larger than Sanderson's, since he worked with the published DJD edition, reflecting a more developed reconstruction and analysis of the scroll than was available to Sanderson during her 1986 study.

Jastram is sufficient to arrive at the best possible textual analysis of 4Q22,¹ but it may not provide the clearest picture of the relationships between M, S, and G. Instead, a comprehensive comparison of M, S, and G in their totalities would allow for more reliable and well-substantiated conclusions. Either Sanderson's or Jastram's reconstructed textual history of Exodus may be correct, but this should be verified by a more thorough analysis of the full texts available for comparison. Nevertheless, on the fundamental question of the place of 4Q22 in the textual history of the book of Exodus, Sanderson and Jastram are in perfect agreement that it is descended from a source text shared with S against M and G, which is an important consensus in this controversy.

One final unique idea of Jastram should also be mentioned. While Sanderson assumes that the absence in 4Q22 of the Samaritan commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim in 20:17^b indicates that the Samaritans further developed the "pre-Samaritan" text reflected in an earlier form in 4Q22, Jastram suggests that it is also possible that this Samaritan plus had already been included in this expanded tradition, but was rejected (and omitted) by Jewish scribes who otherwise adopted this expanded text form (Jastram 1998, 282). This seems unlikely to me, since it is improbable that Jewish scribes would have adopted this objectionable text form at all, if it already possessed this Samaritan reading.

1.4.3 Bénédicte Lemmelijn

As part of a long-term project studying the "Plagues Narrative" in Exodus 7:14-11:10 from a unified literary- and text-critical perspective, Bénédicte Lemmelijn has produced a large amount of literature on this passage (1996; 1998; 2001; 2002; 2009; 2012), for our purposes most importantly exemplified in her 2009 book *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical*

¹ Though admittedly, the loss of textual data in the lacunae of 4Q22 has the potential to skew our evaluation of this scroll as well, we can only work with the material that is available to us, so we have no better options. We must utilize all the evidence available to us for any given scroll, but we cannot use more than what is available to us (either by preservation on the parchment or—on occasion—reconstruction).

Study of the So-Called “Plagues Narrative” in Exodus 7:14-11:10. For Lemmelijn, though literary criticism and textual criticism cannot be clearly distinguished (2009, 3), “serious literary criticism cannot be done without a detailed prior study of the textual material available to us with reference to the passage in question” (2009, 22).

For her study, she compares M, S, and G and all the Exodus scrolls from Qumran preserving the selected passage (2009, 27-28). A particular strength of Lemmelijn’s approach is the emphasis she places on establishing the translation technique of G as preliminary to utilizing its readings for text-critical purposes, concluding that it is a faithful but free translation into idiomatic Greek (2009, 96-150). She collates and evaluates all the differences between any of these witnesses, labelling each reading either preferable (which she defines as relatively “more original,” i.e. prior to other attested readings), secondary (i.e., derived from a preferable reading), or synonymous (i.e. readings either saying the same thing in different ways or readings in variation-units for which she is not able to suggest a preferable reading) (2009, 20-21). These evaluations indicate merely the relative antiquity of the various readings, rather than the reconstruction of any particular stage in the transmission of the text (2009, 27, 210). To do this, Lemmelijn self-consciously limits herself to evaluating individual variation-units on the basis of internal criteria without any attempt to reconstruct a resulting textual history or use this historical hypothesis as a criterion for evaluating variation-units (2009, 18, 26, 210).¹

¹ More explicitly expressing her disinterest in the early history of the text,

[I]t seems desirable to consider the entire question [i.e., the question of the origin(s) of the tradition, DGL] as a phase concerning which we can say little if anything without venturing into the extremely hypothetical and engaging in pure guesswork. We prefer to take our point of departure in the observation that various texts were in circulation at a given moment in history (scholars tend to refer to the fourth and third centuries BCE) without endeavouring to hypotheses [*sic*] concerning their origin or prior textual history. We opt to describe this period as a sort of ‘prehistory’ about which we currently know precious little (2009, 26).

In the final analysis, Lemmelijn is able to suggest preferable readings for 54 variation-units, of which M preserves an impressive 47 (all but four in combination with other witnesses),¹ with G exclusively preserving the remaining seven (2009, 212-213). Despite her identification of seven readings as preferable to those in M, she remains convinced that literary criticism should base itself on a single preserved manuscript with awareness of other readings judged preferable to its readings, rather than a critically reconstructed eclectic text. Based on these results, then, she judges M to be the best working text for literary analysis of the Plagues Narrative, while maintaining awareness of occasional earlier readings (2009, 215-216). Regarding the troublesome relationship between M, S, and G, she notes seven secondary S G readings against M² and seven secondary M S readings against G,³ but she does not draw any historical conclusions from these, other than to mention that each of the latter are consistent with Sanderson's theory (2009, 212-213, et passim). No readings preserved exclusively in S or any DSS are deemed preferable.

Lemmelijn has done the scholarly world a great service by conducting a methodologically intentional, unified literary-textual analysis of the Plagues Narrative. Her careful attention to the translation technique of G and nuanced evaluation of variant readings are also welcome contributions. Some aspects of her study are more problematic, however. Her concluding preference for what we might describe as a mentally corrected form of M (as opposed to an eclectic text) as the single working text for literary critical analysis seems to be a significant step backwards towards the problematic preference for M in literary critical studies that she seeks to move beyond.

¹ By comparison, S preserves 28 total preferable readings, and G preserves 20.

² Six cases of the harmonistic addition of one or two words (8:5, 12; 9:7; 10:12; 11:2, 3) and one case of an addition of a reference to Aaron (10:24).

³ Four cases of the harmonistic addition of one to four words (9:20, 21, 25; 11:1), one case of the harmonistic alteration of three words (10:13), one case of the addition of one word for added emphasis (9:10), and one case of dittography of two words (8:13).

Lemmelijn's ambivalence about the question of the (un-)common descent of the textual witnesses and consequent disinterest in the history of the text also severely limits the usefulness of her results. Even in cases where she does find sufficient evidence to propose that one reading is derived from another, she does not draw historical conclusions from these decisions, leaving us without any indication of the relationships between textual witnesses or any external controls on her interpretations of the often-ambiguous internal evidence. Every one of the witnesses utilized in her study except 4Q1 and 4Q11 were considered to have preserved secondary readings at some point in her analysis (2009, 212-213). Thus, even if, with Lemmelijn, we speak of only a *relative* preference for variant readings, her decisions probably should have suggested common descent for most or all of her witnesses, if she had attempted to systematize her conclusions (cf. Tov 2012c, 162-163).

1.4.4 James R. Davila

Based on his 1988 dissertation under Frank Moore Cross (Davila 1988), James Davila sought to bring clarity to the groupings of manuscripts by applying terminology and methods from New Testament (NT) textual criticism to numerous Genesis and Exodus manuscripts from Qumran including 4Q1 (4QGen-Exod^a) and 4Q22 (1993). He adopted from E. C. Colwell a classification hierarchy of text-types, sub-text-types, tribes, and families in descending order of size and a benchmark of at least 70% agreement in variant readings for members of a text-type (5-6). Davila compared each Qumran manuscript with M, S, G, and other Qumran manuscripts, evaluated the variant readings (assuming Sanderson's arguments for 4Q22), and attempted to group the manuscripts with M, S, and G on the basis of both secondary readings and overall percentage agreement. In the end, he suggests that S should be understood as a recension based off of a text-type that included M and 4Q1, which in turn differed greatly from a text-type that included G (35-37).

Unfortunately, even though Davila cites alternative Qumran readings in his apparatus where preserved, when he attempts to group the manuscripts he only analyzes the results with respect to M, S, and G and ignores overlaps between Qumran manuscripts. Thus, while Davila's appeal to maintain consistent terminology when discussing textual groups is commendable and his demonstration of a close similarity between M and 4Q1 is helpful, his proposed categories were largely predetermined by a tripartite division based on M, S, and G. Davila's claim was undoubtedly true that "A definitive analysis of the text of *Exodus* at Qumran must await the publication of all the *Exodus* manuscripts from Cave IV (30)," but his own methodology would have benefited from the full utilization of the Qumran evidence available in his day.

1.5 Conclusion

Our survey of the history of post-Qumran scholarship on the text of *Exodus* highlighted two methodological problems that are pandemic in the study of the text of *Exodus*. First, with the discoveries from the Judean Desert, works that were in the early 20th century known in Hebrew only in medieval manuscripts are now attested in (mostly) fragmentary form by manuscripts from around the turn of the era or even earlier. As these individual manuscripts were discovered and published, they were integrated into new critical apparatuses and placed within pre-existing, contemporary models of textual history. Indeed, in the case of isolated fragmentary witnesses, there was probably little more that scholars could have done. But as the mass of new ancient manuscript evidence accumulated, many scholars were pressed for time to publish and study the new material and methodologically ill-equipped to absorb the entirety of the cumulative evidence. This is largely excusable (and probably inevitable), given the effort required to publish each new find and the piecemeal manner in which the new publications appeared. But the result was that the new manuscripts

were simply slotted into pre-existing theories, categories, groups, textual histories, and patterns of thought without making the full revolutionary impact that they could have had on textual scholarship. As Tov explains,

These studies show the self-imposed limitations of the scholars' approach, since they confined themselves to a comparison of the three so-called central texts mentioned above. Likewise, upon its discovery, each new source was immediately integrated into the existing framework of a bipartite or, at an earlier stage, tripartite division (2012c, 156-157).

The main limitation with this approach, in my opinion, is that it fails to utilize the early evidence to the fullest extent possible or appreciate its full significance for understanding the textual histories of ancient literary works, making it rather conform to prior expectations.

Second, we must also clarify our methodology in light of a degree of disinterest in questions of textual history, which can be seen in two different tendencies. On the one hand, a recent trend stresses the material nature of individual manuscripts as situated textual artifacts with significance in their own right,¹ but also sometimes devolves into self-conscious limitation to the study of extant manuscripts in isolation without reference to the larger historical picture which ties them together. I will argue that the emphasis on the material nature of our preserved textual artifacts and their contextual situations is a helpful development, which should enhance the textual historian's work of reconstructing textual histories from particular data points, rather than replacing it. Just as history writing is more than a series of biographies, so also writing the textual history of a work is more than a description of its preserved textual particulars. Textual historians must seek to explain not only the textual artifacts but also the historical connections and developments which tied together and explain these isolated data points, rather than succumbing to a shortsighted

¹ At a recent conference at the University of Copenhagen (3-5 April 2014) entitled "Material Philology in the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Approaches for New Text Editions," several papers explored the possible implications of such an approach for DSS studies.

disinterest in the complete history of the text. In other words, I will argue that detailed examination and contextualization of manuscripts and the reconstruction of textual histories are complementary and equally necessary aspects of the field of textual scholarship. In this sense I am arguing for a middle ground position between competing tendencies among some scholars either to let prior models of textual history determine the interpretation of new evidence or to ignore the question of textual history altogether.

On the other hand, even those who are interested in textual history often fail to utilize the implications of their text-historical reconstructions for evaluating variant readings. They do not make their preliminary conclusions on the history of the text a further criterion for refining their initial results, frequently yielding historically incoherent results and a mass of leftover variant readings without any good criteria for evaluating them. The decision to make judgments based entirely on the intrinsic merits of readings without reference to the history of the text resembles similar problematic approaches of the so-called thoroughgoing eclectics in NT textual criticism (e.g., Kilpatrick 1990; Elliott 2010). I will argue rather that textual history and variant readings are best treated as mutually informative and studied in light of each other.

In the early days of post-Qumran scholarship, scholars did not have the benefit of looking at the corpus as a whole and formulating new theories based on the totality of the evidence. But with the recent completion of the publication of all of the DSS (with the exception of a few fragments in private collections) we are now in position to do just that. Now is the time to look afresh at the corpus in its entirety, refine our methodology for understanding the evidence, and synthesize the results based on critical engagement with the collective wisdom of those who have gone before.

CHAPTER 2

A CONTEXTUALIZED APPROACH TO THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS FOR TEXTUAL HISTORY

2.1 Introduction

Our survey of the history of post-Qumran scholarship on the text of Exodus in the previous chapter highlighted several major methodological problems. The most crucial of these can be summed up again in two tendencies among textual scholars. On the one hand, textual categories and expectations based on prior reconstructed textual histories have frequently dominated discussions of the scriptural DSS. On the other hand, many studies of these manuscripts and their texts pay insufficient attention to textual history both as an end in itself and as a diagnostic tool for understanding the manuscripts. This dilemma creates a methodological disconnect between the textual analysis of individual manuscripts, evaluations of textual variants, and broader reconstructions of textual history, wherein the significance of none of these aspects is fully appreciated.

The solution that I will propose to this methodological tension in the course of this chapter is a contextually sensitive reappraisal of the preserved evidence. In the rest of this chapter, I will expand on what I mean by a contextually sensitive reappraisal of the textual evidence and delineate a methodology for getting the optimal results from the ancient manuscript evidence available to us. *In sum, it is my assertion that the significance of an ancient manuscript is best appreciated as part of an attempt to reconstruct a textual history by an inductive study of that manuscript in its own right and in comparison first and foremost to manuscripts most closely contextually relevant to it, rather than incorporation into previously established textual groups, categories, theories, and models of textual history.*

In this chapter I will lay down guiding principles for: 1) the analysis of the intrinsic evidence of individual textual artifacts, 2) the identification of possible criteria for rating the contextual connectivity of manuscripts, 3) a process of considering the entirety of the preserved evidence in a contextually appropriate way, and 4) the comparative analysis of a given manuscript with the rest of the tradition. While not every criterion and process might apply to every witness and there may be circumstances where the method cannot be implemented rigorously, consistently, or completely linearly, I am convinced that the general outline and thrust of the method proposed in this chapter will at least put scholarly conclusions on firmer methodological foundations and at best revolutionize the way we appreciate the significance of new textual discoveries for the histories of the texts we study.

Additionally, while the impetus for this study and the proposed test case stem from the recent (almost) complete publication of the full corpus of DSS, the principles discussed here also have a much wider application to the field of textual scholarship more broadly conceived and to the study of other textual traditions, even if different traditions may require modifications to the methodology at specific points. Thus, I have constructed this methodology with a view to applicability to a wide range of textual traditions including some aspects that may not feature prominently in the study of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, but I will stress aspects that are particularly significant for the study of our selected corpus. Let us briefly sketch the key aspects of the study of ancient manuscripts as they relate to the overarching methodology I am proposing.

2.2 Individual Textual Artifacts

Critical reconstructions of textual histories must be built from the ground up, based on detailed analysis of the preserved **textual artifacts***¹—the material entities which embody the encoded texts—in an ancient context typically manuscripts. The most fundamental starting point for appreciating the significance of a textual artifact for the textual history of the work or works to which it attests is a detailed examination of the witness both in terms of its physical makeup and the text it contains and/or contained. For purposes of clarity, I will label any given textual artifact primarily under consideration at a given point in the discussion as the **focal manuscript (FM)***. This term is appropriate in two senses. First, the FM is the particular manuscript receiving the focused attention of scholars at any given time with a view to understanding its physical features, its text, and its place in the history of the text of the work or works to which it attests. Second, the FM can be defined as the center of multiple hierarchically arranged concentric circles reflecting contextual proximity and distance between the FM and all other manuscripts, as will be further explained in section 2.3.3. A circle is properly an ellipse whose two foci converge on a single focal point called the “center.” Thus, the manuscript here labelled the FM could also have been called the “central manuscript,” but this could wrongly be taken to imply that the manuscript is the *actual center* of the textual tradition, rather than simply a *temporary focal point* within a wider scholarly investigation of the entire textual tradition. The label FM stresses a temporary focus of scholars on the manuscript, rather than an absolute characterization of the manuscript. Each manuscript should function as the FM at some point in the study of the history of the text, but there can only be one FM per scholar at a given point in time.

¹ Throughout this thesis, words highlighted with bold font and marked with asterisks appear in the glossary in appendix A.1

Each textual artifact consists of both its material features and the text it contains, both of which must be studied in conversation with each other as closely related. I label the study of the material features of a textual artifact **bibliographical analysis***, in accordance with a trend in the broader field of textual scholarship which applies this label not only to the categorization and classification of books, but also to the detailed description of the physical properties that make them “books” (e.g., Greetham 1994, 13, 153-168).¹ While I have not seen this term used in this way in conjunction with the DSS, its widespread use in the field of textual scholarship and its broad applicability to a range of artifactual situations makes it an ideal term to describe the study of ancient manuscripts as physical entities.² The terminology of other sub-disciplines seems markedly less appropriate for our purposes. “Codicology” is inappropriate, since most of the manuscripts from the Judean Desert were (sc)rolls, rather than codices. “Papyrology” is inappropriate, since most of the literary texts were written on parchment, rather than papyrus. “Bibliography,” on the other hand, is broad enough to include books of various formats (*βιβλία books*, after all, were originally scrolls) and materials. Though etymologically related to *βύβλος papyrus* (Liddell et al. 1996, 333), the concept of “book” has expanded to include many additional materials, such as parchment, paper, electronic books, etc.

I label the study of the text of a textual artifact **textual analysis***. The question of whether text itself is also material has been and continues to be a point of contention among textual scholars (cf. Greetham 1999, 26-63; Van Mierlo 2013, 138-142). Nevertheless, whether one considers text to be physical or abstract, the above distinction between bibliographical and textual analysis is at least pragmatically helpful. For my part, I do think it is possible to abstract

¹ Greetham’s preferred label for the aspect of bibliography pertaining specifically to the study of manuscripts as material artifacts is descriptive bibliography.

² In studies of the DSS, scholars typically speak around the topic with adjectives such as “physical” and/or “material” without specifically labelling it with any technical terminology (e.g., Stegemann 1990; Skehan et al. 1992b, 56; Tov 2004b, 5; Oesch 2009). The proposal here thus fills a lack in the field and simultaneously makes connections between DSS studies and the wider field of textual scholarship.

text from the physical medium in which it is preserved, even though the two are related. I will, however, speak of “text” in the conventional way referring to letters preserved in ink on the material surface. When it becomes important to distinguish between the abstract text and the ink traces on the material surface (e.g., errors and corrections), I will explicitly differentiate between the two. Bibliographical analysis and textual analysis are distinct but complementary and mutually-informative aspects of study, neither of which can safely be ignored. They are like two sides of the same coin, without either of which there is no manuscript.

Central to the methodology proposed in this thesis is that each manuscript should be extensively studied as much as possible in its own right as an essential starting point. The **intrinsic evidence*** of a manuscript is the bibliographical and textual information that can be drawn from the manuscript itself without reference to other manuscripts. Any additional information that can be brought to bear on the study of a FM from manuscripts other than the FM is **extrinsic evidence***. When a FM is too hastily compared to other texts and manuscripts, the results can not infrequently distort our understanding of the FM and/or shortcut the process by which we might draw out the full evidence that the manuscript could actually have to offer. Manuscripts should inform our intellectual constructs, rather than simply be made to conform to them. A self-conscious emphasis on exhausting the intrinsic evidentiary value of the manuscript in its own right is sure to yield useful results. At points where evidence from the manuscript itself is lacking, we should only resort to referring to other texts and manuscripts for illumination with due caution and methodological reflection.

Below I will discuss some of the key information that is helpful for understanding ancient manuscripts and how that might fit within the approach outlined above. I will attempt to be relatively comprehensive in scope, while assuming the reader’s basic familiarity with these standard aspects of textual scholarship. In the process, I will stress the various ways these

aspects can potentially affect our appreciation of the contextual connectivity of manuscripts and highlight those elements which will come into play in significant ways in the study of our selected corpus.

2.2.1 Preliminaries to the Study of Fragmentary Manuscripts

Before we can conduct a comprehensive analysis of any fragmentary FM, we must first satisfy certain preliminary conditions.

2.2.1.1 Collection, Identification, and Transcription of Fragments from the Manuscript

As is frequently the case with ancient manuscripts, the “manuscripts” are actually scholarly constructs based on the results of efforts to sort out and arrange a disorderly collection of a large number of fragments originally from a large number of different manuscripts (Tigchelaar 2010b). In these situations, there is the added complexity of having to determine which fragments belong to the same manuscript, a process that can lead to errors in attribution either by exclusion of fragments actually from the same manuscript or inclusion of fragments actually from different manuscripts.

Once the fragments of the manuscript have been collected, scholars must seek to identify the text preserved on the fragments. In cases of well-known literature, clear patterns of verbal agreement will typically emerge with a relatively tight group of closely related texts and at the same time a lack of agreement with other texts. If we are able to identify clearly what literary tradition we are working with, we will be in a much better position to situate our manuscript within its appropriate context.

Once the basic literary character of the manuscript has been preliminarily determined, we will be in a much better position to undertake a comprehensive transcription of the preserved text. The use of extrinsic textual evidence for the identification of uncertain letters should be done cautiously with recognition of different readings within the tradition and the

possibility that the manuscript in question might disagree with all other texts, constantly being controlled by the evidence from the manuscript itself (i.e., the preserved traces and consequent linguistic expectations of the scholar). The resulting transcription is itself a scholarly construct, reflecting the interpretation of the scholar, since scholars will frequently need to disambiguate visually similar letters (e.g., v / v , which are virtually indistinguishable in many hands) and poorly preserved letters. Scholars should also note lacunae, surface damage, scribal marks, random ink spots, and any other features of the manuscript and its text which might be important for understanding them (e.g., Tov 2004b and the editors of the DJD editions).

2.2.1.2 Material Reconstruction

In the fortunate cases where ancient manuscripts are preserved virtually intact, the difficulties in describing them pertain to occasional problems with the manuscripts and large quantities of preserved data. In most cases, however (certainly in our corpus of DSS), ancient manuscripts are preserved only in fragmentary form. Words, lines, columns, and the material medium in which they were originally embodied are frequently only partially preserved if at all, and the task of scholars working on these manuscripts becomes much more complex. If the preserved text of a manuscript is best understood within the context of the manuscript that contained it, the responsibility falls on scholars to recreate the original material and textual context of the preserved text to the degree that is possible based on the preserved evidence. Since this process is an act of historical reconstruction rather than simple description and will of necessity require frequent input from other traditions, we must be especially methodologically rigorous to ensure the most reliable possible results. To my mind, the process of reconstruction can be divided into two mutually supportive aspects: material and textual reconstruction.

The **material reconstruction*** of a manuscript entails placing (either really or virtually) its scattered fragments in their original positions relative to each other according to the physical features of the preserved fragments. Careful examination of the material features of the preserved fragments of a manuscript such as their margins, rulings, edges, surface features,¹ sizes, shapes, and patterns of damage due to decomposition can provide important clues as to the original construction of the manuscript, the original position of fragments relative to each other, and their original locations in the context of the complete manuscript. Several scholars have laid out guiding principles for the use of such data for the material reconstruction of the DSS (see especially Stegemann 1990; Steudel 1998), and they have frequently been implemented in relation to specific textual traditions. Nevertheless, many studies fail to pursue the material reconstruction of manuscripts to the fullest extent warranted by the evidence and miss important clues about the manuscripts. This is particularly true of the biblical DSS, since the reconstruction of such scrolls is often thought to be of relatively minor importance. Since the content and order of the work are presumed to be already known, what would be the benefit of reconstructing the scrolls beyond what is obviously attested on the preserved fragments?

I would argue, in contrast, that material reconstruction of biblical scrolls has much to offer to the study of the DSS and textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible/OT (so also Herbert 1997; Jain 2012).² Important observations about physical features can sometimes be made independently of the text preserved on the fragments, serving both as an extra-textual control

¹ For example the color and preparation of parchment, patterns of papyrus fibers, etc.

² Thanks to generous funding from the Educational and Cultural Affairs division of the U.S. Department of State and the University of Helsinki, I will have the opportunity to spend 4.5 months at the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem from January to May 2015 working on the material reconstruction of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus selected as the primary test data set for this thesis. The reconstructions proposed in chapter 3 should be understood as preliminary in this light. I intend to publish full transcriptions and reconstructions of these manuscripts at a later time.

on the textual reconstruction and a fruitful source of additional information. It allows us to draw as much information from a given manuscript as the intrinsic evidence permits, with minimal imposition of information presupposed on the basis of outside sources. In other words, material reconstruction is a necessary tool for letting the scrolls speak for themselves in our studies of texts and textual histories.

These reconstructions have great potential to add important information about four aspects of the scrolls, which are underdeveloped in many DJD editions.

1. Physical features and scribal practices. Material reconstructions can tell us much about the constructions of scrolls and the artifactual contexts for preserved texts.
2. Scroll contents. Material reconstructions can tell us whether a scroll likely contained excerpted text, a single work, or multiple works.
3. Large pluses/minuses. Material reconstructions can tell us whether a scroll had or lacked significant amounts of text, such as “pre-Samaritan” expansions and others.
4. Passage sequence. Material reconstructions can provide independent evidence for the order of passages in a scroll without necessarily presupposing sequences known from other witnesses. This is particularly significant in a book like Exodus, where various witnesses are known to differ in sequence.

2.2.1.3 Textual Reconstruction

The material reconstruction of a manuscript should also be supported by its **textual reconstruction***—the restoration of lacunose and illegible text to the extent warranted by the evidence. Partially preserved words, lines, and columns originally existed in full, and the fragmentary textual evidence cannot be fully understood without reference to the now-missing **co-text*** with which it was originally combined, namely the words, sentences, and paragraphs before and after a given passage of text.¹ Nevertheless, since this co-text is no longer preserved,

¹ The term “co-text” is often used in linguistic studies to refer to the linguistic environment of a text, whereas “context” is used to refer to extra-linguistic contextual realities. See, for example, Michael Halliday,

Originally, the context meant the accompanying text, the wording that came before and after whatever was under attention. In the nineteenth century it was extended to things other than language, both concrete and abstract: *the context of the building, the moral context of the day*; but if you were talking about language, then it still referred to the surrounding words, and it was only in modern linguistics that it came to refer to the non-verbal environment in which language was used. When that had happened, it was Catford, I think, who suggested that we now needed another term to refer explicitly to the verbal environment; and he proposed the term “co-text” (2007, 271).

textual scholars must seek to reconstruct it to the extent the evidence warrants. When reconstructing lacunose or illegible texts, textual scholars have a number of resources at their disposal.

Some of these resources may be intrinsic to the manuscript being studied and should be given priority. For instance, when attempting to reconstruct partially preserved words or phrases, scholars can often be guided by lexical and grammatical expectations limited to the possibilities consistent with partially preserved letter traces. The preserved text may also impose literary expectations which would suggest specific forms or content for the reconstructed text.

In many cases, however, a lack of sufficient information for a purely intrinsic reconstruction of a manuscript's text will leave the editor with no alternative but to consider extrinsic evidence in the form of reference texts as potential sources for the reconstruction. I would argue that a hierarchy of contextual relevance should be determined for these selected reference texts along similar lines as the broader methodology for contextually appropriate comparison of manuscripts, which I will lay out in detail in section 2.3. In brief, the first reference texts to be considered as potential sources for reconstruction should be those most closely contextually connected to the manuscript whose text is being reconstructed (where extant), and only subsequently should more contextually distant texts be considered. This is not to say that contextually closer texts will *necessarily* provide a more accurate reconstruction than contextually more distant texts, and indeed in the case of a very eclectic corpus like the Qumran scrolls this will frequently *not* be the case. It is only to say that as a general principle contextually closely related manuscripts are *a priori* more likely to be relevant and useful sources for reconstruction than those more contextually distant, even if, upon further consideration, this turns out not to be the case for particular examples. For instance, no editor

of a medieval Samaritan manuscript would take a random Latin Vulgate manuscript as the initial point of comparison when attempting to reconstruct lacunose text in the Samaritan manuscript. Other Samaritan manuscripts, rather, are on the whole far more likely to provide valuable sources for the reconstruction, even if prominent exceptions could be cited to the contrary. Nevertheless, the extremely fragmentary nature of much of our most ancient preserved evidence will frequently provide insufficient comparative material from closely contextually connected manuscripts, which will require subsequent reference to more contextually distant manuscripts if we are to have any potential source texts at all. Furthermore, since there is always the possibility of contextually distant manuscripts providing the most probable source text for a reconstruction, it is advisable to include a selection of contextually distant reference texts for comparison even when nearer parallels are available. A contextualized approach considering each of these witnesses according to their contextual relevance will minimize these limitations and optimize our reconstructions. In the following paragraphs I will give general guidelines for determining which reconstructions are most probable from a number of identified possibilities.

In light of the methodology proposed in this chapter, I would suggest that the potential textual sources for reconstructing the DSS should be arranged in a hierarchy of contextual relevance, whereby other DSS (where extant) are considered as the first reference texts, followed by the more contextually distant M S G (and potentially different readings within these broad traditions where appropriate), the latter three reference texts in no particular order.¹ This hierarchy might be illustrated as DSS M S G. In other words, when reconstructing a fragmentary DSS, preserved parallels in other DSS should all be considered as possible source

¹ Other intermediate stages might also be proposed, but this would be beyond the scope of this thesis. Indeed, though perhaps impractical for such a large tradition as the book of Exodus, all preserved manuscripts of Exodus could theoretically be included at some point in this hierarchy and provide potential source texts for the reconstruction of a given manuscript.

texts for its reconstruction, and subsequently also the reference texts M S G (and sometimes variant readings within these broad traditions). When no parallels in the DSS have been preserved, scholars will have no choice but to resort immediately to the contextually distant reference texts M S G. This hierarchy will ensure both the sufficient consideration of other DSS parallels and a useful set of potential source texts from a wide range of reference texts.

There will be cases where there is insufficient evidence to suggest any one possible reconstruction over a number of other possibilities with a reasonable degree of confidence. Nevertheless, scholars should not content themselves with listing possibilities, but rather also with determining probabilities wherever possible. The most probable reconstructions can be determined on the basis of a number of important factors. First, as discussed above, certain lexical, grammatical, and literary clues intrinsic to the FM itself can provide guidance on which reconstruction is most likely. The reconstructed text should be consistent with the known readings and characteristics of the FM.

Second, textual reconstructions based on historically coherent patterns of agreement and disagreement with source texts are more likely to be accurate than *ad hoc* eclectic selections from a wide variety of source texts. In other words, possible reconstructions should be evaluated not in isolation, but rather with reference to other reconstructions in the same manuscript, known textual affinities of the text preserved on the FM (of course this can only be known subsequently to the initial comparative evaluation with other manuscripts, but this is not problematic within the iterative process to be suggested in this thesis; see section 2.5.2), and patterns of readings in the potential source texts. Sets of reconstructions which share a limited number of source texts closely related to each other and the FM are preferable to those which share a large number of diverse source texts. This is not to say that the reconstructed text should be forced to conform to other known traditions or pre-conceived textual categories if

evidence arises to the contrary, but only that textual scholars should not create unnecessary textual chaos with arbitrarily selected reconstructions. For instance, a manuscript with the expansions of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition preserved in the extant text should typically be reconstructed as having had the other related “pre-Samaritan” expansions where the text is now lacunose, unless specific evidence indicates this was not the case. On the other hand, the FM should not be reconstructed at points according to the tabernacle account of G and at other points according to the tabernacle accounts of M or S without strong supporting evidence, since these reflect typologically discrete versions of the account.

And third, textual reconstructions should aim at consistency and physical plausibility. Reconstructions with relatively consistent line lengths (within columns) and column heights are more likely to be accurate than those which suggest wildly inconsistent line lengths or columns of widely divergent numbers of lines. The ability to compare various possible reconstructions for dimensional consistency and physical plausibility can be greatly enhanced if the transcriptions and reconstructions are constructed in an electronic medium. The flexibility of electronic texts to instantly adjust to account for repositioning fragments, resizing column dimensions, and testing different source texts can make the process of comparing alternative possibilities much more efficient than is the case when scholars draw the possible reconstructions by hand, without necessarily a loss of precision.¹

With these three criteria in mind, it will frequently be possible to propose a single reconstruction that more probably reflects the text originally contained in the FM than any of the known alternative possibilities. When no reconstruction is forthcoming that meets all of the criteria discussed above, it may be necessary to admit that the text to be reconstructed is simply

¹ Even the typical letter formation of a scribe could potentially be replicated by the use of specifically created fonts, thus largely undercutting the benefits of hand drawing reconstructions.

unknown and unrecoverable given the current state of the evidence. Reconstructions of long stretches of text will typically be determinable to a lower degree of confidence and precision than shorter stretches of text.

The textual reconstruction of manuscripts introduces an increased element of subjective decision making on the part of scholars, but the drawbacks can be greatly minimized with methodological caution and modesty as discussed above. In reality, the pragmatic difficulties are typically not likely to be insurmountable, since most manuscripts of well-documented traditions (with a few significant exceptions) fairly closely follow other known texts. Indeed, DSS M S G frequently all yield essentially the same source text for a given reconstruction, which in turn yields a physically plausible reconstruction, in which case reconstruction is hardly problematic. Textual reconstruction only becomes problematic if scholars inappropriately use the reconstructed text for purposes which require a more precise knowledge about exact wording and orthography than can be inferred with a reasonable degree of confidence from the preserved evidence. The instances where the text to be reconstructed simply cannot be determined are relatively few, typically concentrated in texts with significant alterations or expansions not known from elsewhere. I suggest using reconstructed text for situating the preserved text in relation to its original co-text in terms of general content, spacing, and physical position in the manuscript, rather than as raw textual data to be analyzed in its own right. In cases of certain large-scale textual differences between reference texts (e.g., the long expansions of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition or major sequence differences in the tabernacle passages), however, textual reconstruction may also exceptionally be able to

preclude the possibility of agreement with one or more traditions, even if the precise text originally in the manuscript cannot be known over long spans of reconstructed text.¹

These suggested limitations on the uses of reconstructed text greatly minimize the potential dangers of incorrect reconstructions, while still embracing the importance of contextualizing preserved text to the maximal degree to which the evidence permits. When material and textual reconstructions are merged and (where they seem to conflict) reconciled, we stand in a good position to determine the most accurate possible reconstruction of a given manuscript and its text.

2.2.2 Bibliographical Analysis

Once the fragmentary FM has been reconstructed as a bibliographic entity, we can then begin a thorough bibliographic analysis from a wide variety of angles.

2.2.2.1 Provenance

One of the most important pieces of information for any archeological artifact is its provenance. An unprovenanced manuscript leaves textual scholars at a major disadvantage in determining the proper context(s) for the manuscript in comparison with manuscripts which are discovered in controlled archeological excavations. Nevertheless, scholars can often make informed deductions about the provenance of a manuscript. For instance, a Greek papyrus fragment purchased on the antiquities market in Egypt was likely found in Egypt, and many unprovenanced DSS fragments were likely illegally excavated from Qumran, particularly Cave 4, which contained the bulk of the fragments and was disturbed by Bedouin before professional

¹ While it is often difficult to reconstruct text on the level of fine details based on space concerns, many of these pluses are large enough to fill upwards of 10 lines of text. It is often possible to determine whether a manuscript originally had or lacked such a large span of text with a high degree of confidence, and it would be unhelpfully minimalistic not to utilize this information in our study of the manuscripts. Thus, the caution of Hugo, Kottsieper, and Steudel that “no reconstruction longer than [*sic*] only some letters of a word or phrase can be taken as sure enough to be used as a decisive argument in further scholarly discussion (2012, 130-131)” requires some modification to account for large-scale quantitative and sequence differences between witnesses.

archeologists discovered the site. Occasionally loose leaves or fragments might also be reunited with others originally from the same manuscript and of known provenance. Even without a known provenance, an ancient manuscript is still a very valuable artifact with much information to yield to those who are interested, but scholars should try to determine the provenance of each manuscript to the extent that the evidence allows.

2.2.2.2 Manuscript Format

An important part of a manuscript's cumulative evidence is its **format*** (see, e.g., Greetham 1994, 67, for the terminology), the physical structure of the manuscript resulting from the way in which it was made, in most cases relevant for our literature being pieced together from separate sheets of parchment or papyrus into either (sc)rolls or codices. While in some cases this evidence may be relatively straightforward, for fragmentary manuscripts it will often depend on the results of their material reconstruction. Preserved texts are embodied in material artifacts, and the ways these artifacts were constructed can tell us much about their natures and backgrounds and how this material might affect the text they contain. For instance, scrolls are typically of Jewish provenance, whereas ancient codices are typically of Christian provenance. Large scrolls could obviously contain more text (including sometimes multiple works) than small scrolls. Column heights and widths could be affected by their positions on the various sheets of parchment scrolls (Tov 2004b, 82-83). Furthermore, when a scribe had a choice of different possible materials with which to construct the document, this can provide valuable information about the scribe's intention for it. For instance, among the DSS, typically documentary texts were written on papyrus and literary texts were written on parchment (Tov 2004b, 31). Scholars should seek to understand the physical makeup of the scroll as part of the material context in which to interpret its text.

2.2.2.3 Manuscript Contents

The contents of a manuscript are key to understanding its evidence. Literary manuscripts in antiquity typically were relatively expensive and time-consuming to produce, and scribes and patrons were heavily invested in their production. The intentional inclusion of specific contents frequently implies literary statements and/or functional purposes for the manuscripts, which must influence how we interpret them.

2.2.2.4 Layout and Segmentation

Texts in manuscripts are typically not uninterrupted strings of running letters. Rather they are intentionally structured to fit the material constraints of a document, to aid the reader in the proper segmentation of the text, and to enhance the aesthetic appeal of the manuscript. The influence of the material format of the manuscript is obvious, since text cannot overrun the material on which it is inscribed. The size of a manuscript puts constraints on the dimensions of text blocks, enforcing vertical and horizontal limits in the form of pages in codices or sheets in scrolls.¹ The subdivision of pages and sheets into columns, on the other hand, reflects the desire of the scribe to make the text easier to read and/or more visually attractive, since it is easier for readers to progress through a text with narrow columns without backtracking or jumping ahead than with wider columns. Conversely, known inscribed text block dimensions can often help estimate the original size of manuscripts not sufficiently well preserved to measure.

Within the text itself, scribes also had recourse to a number of means of visually cueing readers as to the proper structure and segmentation of the text. They might signal book divisions

¹ The manner of physically joining sheets of papyrus into scrolls could theoretically allow the limitless extension of the text, but principles of reasonable proportionality and aestheticism typically prevailed. The same could potentially be said of parchment scrolls, since occasionally scribes could write across already stitched sheets as is the case in 1QIsa^a columns XXX-XXXI, but in reality sheets almost always determined the horizontal limits of the text blocks. Texts on other materials might be slightly different in the way these limitations are realized, but the material *always* limits the presentation of the text in some way.

with substantial blank space and/or titles. They might set apart headings from the main body of text with blank space or different colored ink. They might signal various hierarchical levels of paragraph divisions with different quantities of blank space, *paraphoi*, or letters protruding into the margin of the inscribed columns. They might present poetry in special stichographic arrangements to help the reader track with the parallelism and/or meter and to enhance the appearance of the poetry. Even small divisions such as sentence-, clause-, and word-divisions can be utilized to aid the readers and drastically affect the readability of a text.

The layout and segmentation chosen by a copyist for the text of his new copy may or may not reflect the layout and segmentation of his exemplar. One caveat in this regard is that the decisions to replicate or reformulate the layout and the segmentation of the exemplar may have been made independently, such that, for instance, the layout of a new copy was determined by the physical construction of the new manuscript, but segmentation was reproduced from the exemplar. Furthermore, some *paraphoi* and other scribal marks may have been added after the initial inscription and so reflect later contributors to the manuscript. Thus, these features may or may not be indicative of the textual affiliation of a manuscript and can only be utilized in this regard within the context of the cumulative evidence.

2.2.2.5 Paleography

Every scribe has a distinctive handwriting, which to a skilled paleographer with sufficient comparative material can yield much information. First of all, in cases where multiple types of script were available for use by the scribe, he inevitably must have made a decision either consciously or by default as to which script type to use. This decision may yield clues about the temporal, geographical, or socio-religious background of the scribe. The cryptic Hebrew scripts from Qumran, for instance, were probably used to exclude non-initiated readers from esoteric knowledge, which tells us about the socio-religious background of the scribe and

the nature of the manuscript (Tov 2004b, 49-50). In contrast, texts written in the square Hebrew script probably tell us little about the backgrounds of the manuscripts, since this was the default script type for most scrolls.

Even beyond the type of script used by the scribe, the ductus of the scribe can be helpful for determining the temporal, geographical, or socio-religious background of the scribe. The most commonly utilized typology for our corpus was developed by Cross (1961). Though the accuracy and precision of the typologies and the absolute dates they are pegged to are frequently debated, paleography is often the best or only method by which manuscripts can be dated. Occasionally, paleographers are also able to note regional variations, which can be helpful for setting the broad geographical context. Other factors such as the proficiency of the scribe, the influence of cursive elements, the speed and care of the letter formation, and the ornamentation of letters can sometimes clarify the educational background of the scribe and the purpose for which the manuscript was intended. When additional manuscripts can be identified as having been copied by the same scribe, often the source material for understanding the scribe and his context can be greatly increased (e.g., Ulrich 1979; Tigchelaar 2003; Tov 2004b, 22-24; Yardeni 2007).

At this point it is also important to note whether a given manuscript was copied and/or corrected by a single scribe or by multiple scribes. It is possible that a long text was divided up between two or more scribes to copy (Tov 2004b, 20-22),¹ which would greatly complicate the process of gathering fragments from the same manuscript.² That said, in most cases a single original scribe should probably be assumed for an entire work unless there is evidence to the

¹ Tov's list of changes of hand in Table 1 is instructive, though I would object to his use of 1QIsa^a as an example for reasons discussed elsewhere (Longacre 2013).

² With reference to the Qumran scrolls, this leaves open the possibility that some groups of fragments published as separate manuscripts on the basis of different hands may in fact have come from larger scrolls written by multiple scribes. For this reason, fragments should be gathered into manuscripts with reference to a wide range of features (perhaps most importantly the physical construction of the scroll), rather than exclusively by paleography.

contrary (so also Tov 2004b, 20-21). The first hand(s) is particularly helpful for deducing the inscription context of a manuscript, but has little (if anything) to say about the later lived and deposition contexts. On the other hand, corrections and supplements by later hands can potentially yield useful information about the inscription context or the later lived context, depending on the nature of their relationship to the main hand(s). In the context of a scriptorium, for instance, correctors may have performed a role very much prior to the initial release of the manuscript, which would make them additional active contributors with respect to the inscription context, as in the case of the correctors of Codex Sinaiticus (Jongkind 2007, 9-18, 39-59). On the other hand, the later correctors/supplementers of 1QIsa^a reflect the subsequent lived context of the scroll as it was used in the Qumran community (Longacre 2013).

2.2.2.6 Paratextual Information

Scribes could also include a wide range of possible **paratextual*** information, textual or non-textual information inserted outside of the main body of the text.¹ They could insert scribal marks flagging important texts, text-critical problems, and text segmentation. They could incorporate punctuation, verse division, accentuation, or other liturgical/reading aids. They could fill blank space in the margins and between lines with titles, commentary, glosses, variant readings, cross-references, or comments on the condition of the exemplar. They could use page or sheet numbers either to aid the process of the construction of the manuscript or for reference purposes within the complete manuscript. They could also supplement the text with front and back matter like canon tables or colophons or ornament the manuscript with special decorative elements or illuminations. The number of possibilities for what scribes could include

¹ For this usage of the term “paratextual,” see Gérard Genette (1997) and many others who have adopted the term (e.g., Tov 2004b, 214).

paratextually in their manuscripts are virtually limitless, and the above listing is only suggestive of some of the more common and prominent types of information. The paratextual information frequently reflects the background, creativity, and intentionality of scribes more than the main texts they copied, and scholars interested in the context, history, and significance of manuscripts must pay close attention to such important details.

2.2.3 Textual Analysis

The texts embodied in manuscripts also provide important information for studying them, and preserved texts should be analyzed from a number of perspectives.

2.2.3.1 Language

One of the most fundamental distinctions between texts is that of the language in which they are preserved. The language is very important for setting the context of a given textual artifact. For one, in most cases the scribe can be presumed to have been (at least to a degree) proficient in the language of the text he copied. The fact that he is copying a literary text in a particular language probably also implies at least some scribal training in or familiarity with the practices and conventions which characterized this linguistic corpus. Thus, we would naturally expect a close contextual relationship with the scribal practices of other literary texts written in the same language. That is not to say that scribal practices were not implemented inter-lingually (they certainly were; see, e.g., Tov 2004b, 1, 273-274, and parallels throughout the book), but only that scribal practices implemented within a linguistic corpus are typically more likely to be similar than those implemented across linguistic boundaries.

Furthermore, many traditors consciously or unconsciously updated the language of the texts they transmitted to reflect later or dialectical forms with which they were familiar. Thus, an awareness of the historical development of the language in which the texts were transmitted may be helpful in explaining certain features of some texts.

2.2.3.2 Orthography

The orthography of a text is an important part of any manuscript, potentially affecting both the ease of reading and the possibilities for various readings. Full orthography in the Semitic languages, for instance, can facilitate the reading of difficult or archaic language, which might not be immediately evident to a scribe or reader. At times, this facilitation can also be used to disambiguate ambiguous texts, which could potentially be read in more than one way. In this case, the scribe limits the options of the reader by excluding some readings that would otherwise be possible in a more defective orthography. While some of these effects may be intentional in the mind of the scribe who implemented a given orthography, many of them probably simply reflect patterns of contemporary speech and the orthographic conventions of the scribal community of which the scribe was a part. In most cases, orthography does not substantially alter the meaning of the text, other than the above-mentioned disambiguation of readings.

In any given copying act, a scribe may either attempt to preserve the orthography of his exemplar (with varying degrees of precision and success) or adapt the text to an alternative orthographic system preferred by the scribe. When scholars encounter texts with consistent orthography, it is difficult to tell whether the consistency should be attributed to the copyist of the manuscript, a predecessor copyist, or the earliest orthographic forms of the work. In cases where the consistent orthography reflects systems known to be later than the earliest orthographic forms of a work, either the copyist of the manuscript or a predecessor in its antecedent tradition may have reformulated the orthography. This then implies a disregard for the replication of the orthography of the exemplar, and may perhaps hint at the care with which the text was copied and the intended use for which a certain manuscript was prepared at that (unknown) point in the tradition.

When the consistent orthography reflects a system appropriate for the earliest orthographic forms of the literary work, this may either reflect a relatively pure preservation of the earliest orthography or else an archaistic tendency either of the copyist of the manuscript or a predecessor. When the orthography of a text is inconsistent, however, we can probably deduce far more from this state of affairs. Inconsistency in orthographic practices positively implies the *lack* of a desire to systematically adapt the orthography of a scribe's exemplar, a corollary of which is that the scribe was (at least generally) attempting to replicate the received orthography of his exemplar. It probably further implies the lack of such an attempt in the course of the antecedent tradition as well.

If additional manuscripts written by the same scribe can be identified, these can provide valuable comparative material as an external control on the impressions derived from a single manuscript. The consistency or inconsistency of the scribe's orthography across the corpus of manuscripts known to have been penned by him can potentially indicate a scribal practice of replicating the orthography of his exemplars, adapting the orthography of his exemplars to the scribe's preferred orthographic system, or else the lack of a consistent implementation of an orthographic policy across texts of various classifications (e.g., literary vs. documentary texts, scriptural status, genres, etc.).

Since systematic orthographic reformulation can potentially (but not necessarily) operate independently of textual ancestry, we are not on safe ground to assume that the orthographies of texts are reliable guides to their textual affiliations. Thus, Hendel notes that three copies of Exodus (2Q3 4Q13 4Q20) reflect Tov's QSP, but stem from three different branches of the tradition (2010, 290). Nevertheless, if patterns of the replication of the orthography of exemplars emerge from the examined evidence, it may indeed turn out to be

the case that orthography can serve as a guide to textual affiliation, so orthography should not be altogether ignored for textual comparisons.

2.2.3.3 Errors and Corrections

In copying texts of substantial length, every scribe committed errors of various types, such as are frequently discussed in text-critical handbooks. While there has been in recent years a notable (and in some senses helpful) movement away from viewing all scribal changes as errors corrupting the text and emphasizing the creative contributions of scribes (e.g., Brooke 2005), it cannot be denied that copyists did indeed frequently accidentally alter the text in such a way that the resulting inscribed text of the new copy is either nonsensical or would be recognized by the scribe as incorrect and erroneous if he had been made aware of the difference. The presence of nonsensical readings and first-hand corrections in many manuscripts is sufficient to prove this point (cf. Tov 1999; 2004b, 221-223, for numerous examples).

Scribes cannot be assumed to have all copied their texts with the same degree of care and accuracy. Scribes were real, historically situated people with different educational backgrounds, skill levels, technical abilities, writing speeds, environmental conditions, literary and theological interests, physical stamina, abilities to mentally focus, attention to detail, distractions, and lives beyond the copying of manuscripts. Many of these factors could change over time even for a single scribe and have a drastic effect on the accuracy of a new copy. For instance, scribes may have gotten tired or distracted at certain points, which explains uncharacteristic clusters of errors and corrections in certain passages in otherwise carefully copied manuscripts. The degree of accuracy could be affected by the quantity of text copied between visual references to the exemplar (i.e., the number of letters, syllables, words, clauses, etc. copied at one time), the speed of copying, and the degree to which the copyist was influenced by memory or prior familiarity with the text he was copying. The types of errors

might also differ depending on how intellectually engaged the scribe was with the material he was copying. High-order semantic concepts are extremely difficult to access when the text is fragmented into small textual units and processed at the relatively slow pace at which scribes could copy a text, but copyists who attempted to do so should be expected to produce a somewhat different profile of error types than scribes who copied with a more mechanical approach.

It is also possible that scribes could have been aiming at different degrees of precision in their copying. As discussed above in 2.2.3.2, some scribes may have intended to reproduce even the orthography of their exemplars, while others may have felt free to revise such accidental details, which did not generally affect the meaning of the passage. Some may have been content simply with the general meaning of the passage, with little concern even for the precise wording of the exemplar. The degree of precision expected in the scribe's approach to his exemplar can sometimes suggest information about the scribe's attitude towards the text he is copying and/or the possible intended use(s) of the new manuscript.

Corrections can have three possible sources (so also Tov 2004b, 223-225). First, proof-readers may simply read the new copy on its own checking for nonsensical or obviously incorrect text and making corrections as a form of conjectural emendation without reference to any written exemplars. Second, correctors may compare the new copy with the exemplar from which it was copied and revise the text of the former to match the latter. And third, correctors may compare the new copy with other available reference texts as sources for corrections. In the latter case, texts can be influenced by readings from other traditions, producing a mixed hybrid text with multiple source texts, even if one predominant source text provided the bulk of the readings.

Texts can also be corrected with varying degrees of consistency and precision, particularly when referring to other manuscripts as sources for correction. Sometimes only obvious or semantically important problems are corrected, but at other times the corrections may be more thoroughgoing. If corrections are systemic and share a common source, this would lead to the corrected text reflecting a different textual tradition than the initial inscribed text. If scholars can discern patterns of such corrections of numerous manuscripts towards a single, common source textual tradition, they may even propose a process of standardization of a given text at some point during its textual history.

When readings are corrected by the same scribe who copied the text (particularly if the scribe corrects it in the process of the initial inscription of the manuscript), textual scholars typically assume that the scribe was correcting what he considered to be an error in the new copy he has created relative to his exemplar, and the corrected text is treated as the final intended text of the first hand. When additional scribes also contribute corrections to a manuscript, the picture becomes much more complex. Depending on the relationship(s) between the first and later hands, the later hands may be considered part of either the inscription or lived contexts of the manuscript. If the former, then the corrections of the later hands may in fact have been made with the (perhaps implicit) consent of the original scribe. If the latter, scholars typically consider the later hands as distinct textual witnesses, given the possibility that their corrected readings might reflect alternative source texts. If the corrections of a later hand are consistent and systemic, we can perhaps assume that the later hand gave implicit consent to the initial inscribed text that he leaves uncorrected, but such is not necessarily the case when corrections are sporadic.

One final caveat is worthy of note with reference to scribal errors and the nature of a given scribe or manuscript. In recent years, several scholars have proposed a method of

studying scribal practices by identification and evaluation of so-called “singular readings” (e.g., Cross and Saley 2013; Royse 2008). The category of singular reading is variously defined, but normally refers to readings uniquely preserved in a given manuscript in relation to a set corpus of other manuscripts. The assumption is that these singular readings, since they are not elsewhere attested in the examined tradition, are more likely than not peculiar readings created by the copyist of the manuscript in which they are preserved. Evaluation of these readings has the potential to reveal patterns of scribal activity, therefore, which can illuminate the scribal practices of the scribe who copied the manuscript. There is indeed some justification for this methodology, since most singular readings (so long as the broader tradition is sufficiently included in the reference corpus) are likely to reflect alterations of earlier texts and patterns of such readings may very well warrant theories of tendentiousness within a given tradition. This methodology runs into a major theoretical difficulty, however, since there is only rarely sufficient evidence to determine whether a given singular reading was newly created in the manuscript being studied or was inherited from an antecedent tradition.¹ In other words, singular readings may (assuming the singular readings are actually secondary) provide information about the alterations made within a given textual tradition of which the manuscript being studied is the final preserved product, but they do not necessarily reflect alterations made in the specific copying act that created the FM or the scribal habits of the scribe who inscribed it. He could simply have inherited these readings and reproduced them accurately. Any use of singular readings to determine scribal habits should be conducted cautiously with this caveat in mind.

¹ This is a point repeatedly stressed to me by my colleague Edgar Ebojo.

2.2.3.4 Miscellaneous Scribal Practices

An extremely important part of understanding a manuscript is to understand the scribe who inscribed it and the methods he (or sometimes she?) used to do so. To appreciate the full evidence a manuscript has to offer and evaluate it properly, we have to know what is characteristic and what is not, and what this tells us about the scribe, the manuscript, and the text we are studying. There are many different aspects of scribal practice that should be considered (for surveys of possibilities, see Martin 1958; Tov 2004b).

2.2.3.5 Analysis of Intrinsic Textual Evidence

Within the so-called New or Material Philology, there has been a much greater emphasis on the text as embodied in a preserved manuscript as the locus of meaning. As such, the text of a manuscript is worthy of consideration in its own right, rather than simply in relation to other texts (preserved or reconstructed) of the same literary work. Indeed, when sufficient textual evidence has been preserved, scholars can undertake an internal literary analysis of the text in terms of its contents, structure, order, characters, plot, themes, coherence, theology, tendencies, and a whole host of other literary features, as well as tensions and possible lacunae (for examples related to our corpus, see e.g. Gurtner 2013, as well as the other volumes in the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series). This analysis may yield helpful information about key features of a given manuscript and the purpose for its creation.

On the other hand, there are a number of theoretical problems that complicate the implementation of such an analysis. First, it is beyond doubt that the texts of ancient manuscript copies are composite, reflecting both features of the inherited tradition and new features resulting from the act of copying, correcting, and/or improving the text in the new manuscript. In fact, in a typical act of copying the new contribution of the ancient scribe was probably minute in proportion to the features preserved from his inherited text, as is evidenced by

relatively high percentages of agreement between various texts of many ancient traditions.¹ Thus, the meaning of a text of a manuscript cannot be easily equated with the intention of a scribe (or contemporary scribal collective), since the bulk of the text was simply carried over by default from the antecedent text without any particular creative intention.

Second, even many (if not most or even all) of the new readings created by the scribe do not reflect a literary intention on the part of the scribe at all, but simply accidental alterations that were or would have been rejected by the scribe himself if he had been made aware of them. For our corpus at least, I would argue that copyists were not typically intent on creating new literary masterpieces. In literary theories which stress the intentionality of meaning, therefore, it would be virtually impossible to collapse the meaning of a work into the text of the single, preserved manuscript being studied.

Third, it is implausible to propose text-immanent meanings for the texts of most manuscripts, since they not infrequently contain nonsensical readings. If we propose to correct these deficiencies as preliminary to a literary analysis of the intrinsic textual evidence, we largely undercut our case by distancing ourselves from the manuscript as it actually exists and would have been read in antiquity.

Thus, while an analysis of the intrinsic textual evidence of the manuscript may yield helpful insights into the way the text was read at various times and places, we must also be aware of the limitations of such an approach and not stop our textual analysis at the level of the intrinsic evidence of preserved manuscripts. Manuscripts can only be fully understood in light of the whole tradition of which they are a part.

¹ To cite an example from Exodus, according to my calculations, M and S are in 87% post-regularization agreement (see appendix A.3) in Exodus (82% pre-regularization agreement). It would have been impossible for these two recensionally different texts transmitted in almost complete isolation from each other for well over a millennium to have such high levels of agreement if generally accurate preservation of inherited tradition with limited innovation was atypical.

2.3 The Nature of Contextual Connectivity between Manuscripts

A fundamental assertion of the methodology proposed in this thesis is that manuscripts are typically most fruitfully illuminated when studied in their own right, then in relation to other manuscripts closely contextually connected to them, and only subsequently in comparison with contextually more distant manuscripts. Defining context and describing contextual connections, however, is more complex than might at first seem to be the case. In particular, the question of context is complicated by the facts that manuscripts frequently encountered numerous different contexts during the course of their useful lives and that these contexts were multifaceted.

2.3.1 Multiple Distinct Contextual Stages

Manuscripts are not static entities with static contexts. Rather, manuscripts could change ownership, be transported, be used by different people for different purposes, be modified by later scribes and readers, experience different storage conditions at different times, suffer damage due to general wear and tear or traumatic events, and a whole host of other possibilities. Thus, “the context” of a manuscript must actually be understood as a dynamic complex of various distinct yet interrelated contexts.

We designate first the **find context*** as the archaeological context in which a given manuscript was (re-)discovered by modern scholars. From this, we can often infer the **deposition context***, namely the circumstances in which the manuscript was finally deposited and lost to ancient readers. The deposition context is preceded by the manuscript’s **lived context(s)***, which includes all the various contexts in which the manuscript was actively in use or at least accessible for use in antiquity during its useful “life.”¹ The “life” of a manuscript

¹ I owe the terms “deposition context” and “lived context” to Mladen Popović (2012, 553), who uses “deposition context” to refer to the final resting place of a manuscript before its rediscovery by modern scholars and “lived context” to refer to the various situations which the manuscript encountered over the course of its “useful life.” He argues that it is sometimes possible to “reason back from the deposition context to the lived context.” Of

is initiated with its **inscription context***, the context at the point at which the material medium becomes a manuscript with its initial inscription.

Since the “context” of a manuscript is actually a complex, dynamic concept, so also must be our appreciation of contextual connections between manuscripts. Manuscripts may be contextually connected at different contextual stages. For instance, two manuscripts created in the same inscription context may have been disbursed and experienced drastically different lived contexts. Two manuscripts from the same deposition context may have had drastically different origins, but shared elements of a common history. A manuscript with a lived context overlapping with the inscription context of another manuscript may have served as its exemplar or a source for corrections. The possibilities are endless, which means that it is important to consider each period of the context of each manuscript to determine possible contextual connections, sometimes even beyond the obvious.

2.3.2 Multiple Distinct Contextual Factors

In addition to the various stages of context experienced by each manuscript, the contextual picture is also complicated by the various temporal, geographical, socio-religious, and literary aspects of context, each of which is operative at each contextual stage. These will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections. It should be noted here that the various stages and aspects of the various contexts of manuscripts may not be clear or recoverable to modern scholars, but it cannot be doubted that they were in fact real historical influences that (at least potentially) affected the manuscripts in question, and we cannot safely ignore these contexts to the degree that they can be ascertained.

course, a manuscript is in a sense “revived” when (re-)discovered by modern scholars and experiences numerous further contextual stages that are not irrelevant to understanding its evidence. Nevertheless, we primarily have in view here the ancient contexts.

2.3.2.1 Temporal Contexts

One important aspect of the context of a manuscript is the time period in which it was situated. Probably most fundamental to the temporal context is when the manuscript was originally inscribed. This inscription date—variously ascertained with reference to paleography, limitations imposed by archaeological contexts, radiometric dating methods, and occasionally colophons—serves as the starting point for the life of the manuscript and the earliest limit for contextual connections with other manuscripts. The deposition context, on the other hand, establishes the latest limit for contextual connections, such that the ancient lived context(s) must be placed temporally between the two. It was during this period of lived context that the manuscript was used, or at least available for use, by ancient scribes and readers.

It is clear that the temporal context of a manuscript is important to understanding its significance, but it is considerably more difficult to define the temporal connections between manuscripts. For one, it is usually impossible to date the original inscription of a manuscript precisely. Even the most well-established and well-supported dates are usually given in terms of possible ranges (usually fifty years or more in breadth), and in lieu of greater precision, we must consider all dates within these ranges as potential temporal contexts for the inscription of the manuscripts. When comparing manuscripts, the problem is compounded because each typically has a range of possible dates. When considering possible contextual connections, then, I suggest that we consider the amount of time between the closest extremes of the given date ranges when the ranges do not overlap.

Beyond comparison of the inscription dates of two manuscripts, however, we have to factor in the possibility of other temporal connections. For instance, the inscription context for one manuscript might overlap with the lived context for another manuscript, in which case it is possible that the earlier manuscript served as a source text for the later. Otherwise, when the

lived contexts of both manuscripts overlapped, we again have a contextual connection. Thus, when ranking temporal contextual connectivity, we should consider not only the closeness of inscription contexts, but whether there are any other possible connections between the two manuscripts in the course of their ancient “lives.” Awareness of these connections or lack of connections will aid the observation of both synchronic and diachronic patterns and developments.

2.3.2.2 Geographical Contexts

Where a manuscript was copied and kept can also provide important context for understanding its significance. Sometimes regional paleographic or linguistic variations or paratextual information can provide important clues as to the various geographical contexts a manuscript might have experienced in the course of its life. More commonly, however, the best indication modern scholars have is the context of the (re-)discovery of the given manuscript. From the find context, we can directly infer the deposition context. Frequently, the deposition context also allows scholars to hypothesize about the geographical setting of the inscription and lived contexts of the manuscript, based on the assumption that ancient manuscripts were typically more likely to remain in the same general locale than to travel far abroad. Distant displacement of manuscripts would have been exceptional in antiquity, before the development of a lucrative and extensive book trade (cf. Hurtado and Keith 2013, 74-75). In light of this, separate geographical origins for distinct text-types developing in isolation have often been proposed in reconstructions of the textual histories of a variety of traditions (for the Hebrew Bible/OT, see, e.g., Albright and Cross in section 1.3.1).

On the other hand, some manuscripts did in fact relocate, whether as the personal copies of travelers (cf. Epp 2005; 2013a, 13, with reference to the situation in Egypt) or refugees, in conjunction with population migrations, as personal or official gifts, or for intentionally

eclectic collections of manuscripts (e.g., the libraries of Assurbanipal and Alexandria). For the DSS, relocation with refugees to caves in the Judean Desert (e.g., Wadi Muraba‘at) and the probably intentional eclectic collection of manuscripts (e.g., Qumran) feature prominently in the discussion.

2.3.2.3 Socio-Religious Contexts

Besides the temporal and geographical context of manuscripts, their context was also heavily informed by the human elements and interactions that governed the lives of those who created and used them. Influenced by such background elements as ethnicity, religion, culture, education, social class, language, national allegiance, and many others, these individuals and communities each brought their own unique perspectives and needs, and these can sometimes illuminate the nature and use of the manuscripts. Occasionally, they may even have determined ways in which their received texts were altered.

Socio-religious communities can have a certain internal coherence and exclusiveness that can in turn lead to limitations in the tolerable levels of diversity in textual evidence and the types of scribal practices considered acceptable.¹ For instance, Samaritan manuscripts tend to preserve texts with common characteristic features and follow similar scribal practices against other traditions. At the same time, socio-religious communities frequently exist in contact with each other, rather than in complete isolation, resulting in complex patterns of influences. In this respect, a scribe’s background, education, and experiences can play an important role in the production of a manuscript.

Loosely under this section of socio-religious context, I would also include the various economic factors and political forces which can influence the production, preservation, and use

¹ As discussed in section 1.3.2, Talmon has argued that socio-religious divides were central in the preservation of three main textual traditions for the Hebrew Bible/OT.

of manuscripts. Quality ancient literary manuscripts were not cheap or easy to produce, but required significant financial resources and/or patronage. Knowledge of such factors and their significance for the manuscript in question can sometimes shed light on the purpose for its creation and how it was used. The manuscript may also be contextually influenced by the politics of the time. The production, preservation, use, and sometimes destruction of manuscripts can differ significantly during times of war or peace, turmoil or stability, strong centralized authority or fragmented rule, native or foreign government, different rulers and agendas, and a whole host of possible political factors.

2.3.2.4 Literary Contexts

Every manuscript and its text are also set within a wider literary context. This context largely determines the prior expectations of readers and guides the choices of authors, editors, and copyists. This literary context can, therefore, influence the manuscripts and the texts they contain in ways that must be understood in order to properly evaluate them.

One of the most fundamental distinctions in literary contexts is that of language, already discussed in section 2.2.3.1 above. The language in which a text is written typically indicates a scribal culture and readership within that linguistic context. Since each language has a distinctive corpus of native or translated works, the expectations and influences can vary significantly from one language to the next.

The literary genre of a work may also heavily influence the reception of a manuscript and its text by scribes and readers. While we will generally be focusing on a single work, there are many complicating factors that make genre important to consider. Works of different genres may be treated by scribes and readers somewhat differently, such that legal texts might be handled in a different way than narrative texts, for instance. And even within works there are frequently changes in the modes of discourse, which can affect way the text is treated. For

example, a narrative text might be interspersed with poetic material (e.g., Exod 15) or reports of direct speech, which could potentially have very different characteristics.

The scriptural, authoritative, and/or canonical status of a work and the manuscripts which reproduce and/or further develop it can also have a significant impact on how the manuscripts were created and used. In the case of the DSS, the literature on these topics is voluminous. There can be little doubt, however, that the Pentateuch was considered both sacred and authoritative by essentially all religious Jews (and Samaritans) during the late Second Temple period.

The question of the Jewish canon has been much more controversial, however, with many scholars contesting the appropriateness of canonical terminology, concepts, and categories altogether in the Second Temple period (for a recent survey, see Barton 2013). Probable examples of collections of authoritative scripture which are more restrictive (e.g., Samaritans including only the Pentateuch) or more inclusive (e.g., 1 Enoch, Jubilees, et al. at Qumran?) than what is commonly considered to constitute the Hebrew Bible/OT greatly complicate the picture, leading many to conclude that there was no closed canon in the Second Temple period. Nevertheless, there was clearly a wide consensus in the Second Temple period on the identification of the Law and Prophets (the precise contents of the latter not always clearly identifiable) as sacred scripture, in distinction from literature not considered to be scripture. To my mind then, the question of canon hinges largely on one of definition.

In line with the same trend, many scholars now consider it inappropriate to distinguish between “biblical” and “non-biblical” manuscripts during the Second Temple period for a number of reasons. First, the entire collection of the Hebrew Bible/OT as we know it today was never included within the confines of a single manuscript in the Second Temple period, so it

may be anachronistic to speak of a “Bible” at this stage.¹ This raises the question of whether the concept of Bible is primarily a literary or a bibliographical one. Second, to speak of a “Bible” is to imply a canonical collection with definite limits, which may be anachronistic for the Second Temple period. Thus, to label Exodus as “biblical” and Jubilees as “non-biblical” imposes canonical lenses on the manuscripts, which may not have been felt by their ancient scribes and readers. And third, such categories rely on a relatively static definition of what constitutes a literary work, whereas the dividing line between composition and transmission is often much more blurred in a scribal culture wherein at least some scribes attempted to advance and further develop their received literary traditions, rather than simply replicate them without changes. When multiple literary stages in the history of a work (and its derivatives) are documented, it is often difficult to isolate one or more stages as “biblical” and the others as “non-biblical.” Indeed, some would argue that the concept of “biblical” implies a relatively fixed text, which may not be the case. In light of these objections, I have cautiously limited my infrequent use of the term “biblical” to refer generally to the 24/39 works included in modern Jewish Bibles and Protestant OTs without any implication as to bibliographical unity, canonical status, or textual fixity in the Second Temple period, typically using the more general term “scripture” when attempting to set the context for the manuscripts studied in this thesis.

And finally, a crucial literary context for understanding a manuscript and its text is its typological classification. Manuscripts containing the text of a literary work are not all the same in terms of contents, order, form, and function. Instead, manuscripts can vary considerably, though typically in similar ways as other manuscripts which share major typological features. While many manuscripts may simply be copies of a single work, there are many alternative

¹ Then again, the Samaritans might well object that their “Bible” (i.e., the Pentateuch) actually *was* a bibliographical unity in the Second Temple period.

possibilities. For instance, a manuscript may be a multi-work collection, either intentionally or accidentally (e.g., reuse of the backs of scrolls or palimpsests for economic purposes) bringing different works into contact with each other within the confines of a single material artifact. This in turn can sometimes yield important information about the perceived relationships between these various works. On the other hand, sometimes manuscripts are much more minimalistic, including only excerpts of selected passages from a literary work rather than its complete running text, usually for some sort of special liturgical, educational, or reference usage (e.g., testimonia, *tefillin*, *mezuzot*). Other works may copy the running text as lemmata with commentary interspersed between passages (e.g., pesharim). Still others may simply take the text of the work as a whole and substantially rework it to new ends, freely reframing, adding, omitting, and altering the base text to suit the purposes of the derivative work (e.g., Rewritten Scripture; see section 3.4.3). Additional works not heavily dependent upon the contents, structure, and wording of the work in question may also cite or allude to passages of a work and require a different set of tools for handling. Since each of these types of manuscripts often differ radically from each other in the way they treat the text and in their material details, it is important to ascertain the nature of a manuscript to understand its significance.

2.3.3 Concentric Circles of Contextual Connectivity

The exhaustive study of individual manuscripts as contextually situated textual artifacts has been a helpful trend in much of modern textual scholarship. Such studies can provide a wealth of important information about the manuscripts and aid in the interpretation and appreciation of their texts. But manuscripts are not simply isolated individuals to be understood as detached from any overarching textual traditions and histories (so also Brooke 2014, 616). Rather, they are also the material data points which document the histories of texts and are historically situated within them. The job of a textual historian is to connect these points in

such a way as to explain the similarities and differences and to reconstruct missing data points to the degree that the evidence allows.

The aim of this chapter is to set out a methodology for understanding the significance of the evidence of ancient manuscripts for the histories of the works to which they attest in their own right without imposing prior theories based on previously known and contextually distant evidence (cf. especially the programmatic discussions on this topic in Segal 2007, 7-10, 18-20). With respect to our selected corpus, the significance of the DSS should not be deduced on the basis of pre-DSS theories and medieval textual evidence, but rather inferred from an internal examination of the DSS as individual textual artifacts and in relation first and foremost to other contextually close manuscripts. As Segal has suggested,

[A]lthough it might be difficult from a practical standpoint due to the fragmentary nature of the scrolls, we should consider a reassessment of all of the biblical scrolls and their inner-relationships, without any reference to the later medieval witnesses. Only by viewing the Dead Sea biblical texts in isolation will it be possible to arrive at a more accurate, empirically sound, picture of their textual affiliations. The end result of this process might be the same as the divisions drawn by scholars today, but this reevaluation may also result in the realignment of the various textual families (2007, 9).

To some extent both the reference to prior theories of textual history and the prominent use of contextually distant textual evidence was a practical necessity as a first step in the early publication of the scrolls, as scholars sought to make sense of the continuous flow of new material and situate the scrolls within the context of prior knowledge. But with the (almost) complete publication of the corpus of Qumran scrolls, we are now in a position to go back and study the corpus of DSS in its entirety. Understanding the DSS in their own right and in comparison first and foremost with their closest contextually connected manuscripts will put us in a more secure position to integrate its evidence and our conclusions into the broader study of the textual histories of the Hebrew scriptures.

As we endeavor to set out the methodology for this contextualized approach we will constantly be torn between two opposing extremes, both of which should be avoided. A maximalist approach to the evidence would demand that the DSS evidence be understood in light of all potentially pertinent evidence without discrimination. This approach would seek to understand the Qumran material with reference to all manuscript sources (including contextually distant manuscripts), reconstructed critical texts, and prior theories about the textual history of the works being studied. Each of these sources and scholarly constructs potentially have a claim to illuminating the DSS evidence, and this approach would ensure maximal input from these sources of information and ideas. It would promise to deliver the fullest possible understanding of the DSS material, but it would do so at the cost of potentially contaminating the results with improperly used evidence or inaccurate scholarly constructs (so also Segal 2007, 9, 19-20). While the potential for rewards are great, the danger of misinformation is directly proportional. What it gains in quantity, it loses in quality. In order to attain the most reliable results from our study, we must use extrinsic evidence (see section 2.2) with particular caution so as to ensure that the DSS evidence retains its own distinctive voice and is not distorted with inaccurate information or dominated by pre-Qumran theoretical frameworks.

On the other hand, a strictly minimalist approach to the evidence would demand that the DSS evidence be understood entirely apart from external sources and prior theories.¹ This approach would seek to understand the DSS material through examination of individual manuscripts in isolation from each other or from contextually more distant manuscripts and texts. It would not permit temporally, geographically, socio-religiously, and literarily distant

¹ This minimalist approach would be considerably more minimalistic than that so labelled by Segal (2007, 19), whose “minimalist” approach is actually very similar to that proposed in this thesis, since Segal actually commends the subsequent comparison of DSS material with medieval textual evidence.

manuscript evidence, reconstructed texts, or prior theories about textual history to influence the interpretation of DSS evidence. This approach would help to guard against improper use of extrinsic evidence (primarily anachronism) and yield results not dependent upon empirically unverifiable reconstructed texts, but it would do so at the cost of ignoring evidence that may be helpful or even essential for rightly interpreting the DSS material. While this rigid methodology may give the impression of scholarly rigor and objectivity, it is based on an inadequate epistemology which wrongly presumes to be able to evaluate sufficiently the DSS evidence in isolation as a solid foundational starting point upon which other studies can build, whereas in fact extrinsic evidence may refine conclusions that would be drawn from the DSS alone. Conclusions drawn from the DSS evidence must remain open to refinement from outside evidence to avoid our stagnating or being misled by insufficient evidence.

The middle ground approach that I am proposing in this thesis deliberately seeks to avoid the hazards of the extremes. It consciously restricts or regulates the role of extrinsic evidence in interpreting the DSS evidence to avoid improper use of source material and undue weighting of hypothetical reconstructions. This can be accomplished by close consideration of the DSS material as individual manuscripts and in connection with their closest contextually connected manuscripts. Before the DSS can be integrated into the broader study of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible/OT, we must understand them as a historically situated corpus. At the same time, this approach cannot remain completely disconnected and uninformed by the broader evidences and theories about the textual history of the works preserved among the DSS. This extrinsic evidence can illuminate missing or obscure details, provide insight into observed phenomena, and set the broader context in which the DSS evidence must be understood. We can call this methodology a “contextualized approach” to the DSS evidence. It is “contextualized” in the sense that the intrinsic evidence of each of the DSS is first

examined to determine to the best of our ability the significance of these manuscripts, leaving the results tentative and open to further refinement or correction. Once the individual manuscripts have been thoroughly examined, we can proceed to compare them with other manuscripts sharing the same immediate context. Subsequently, we can begin to work outwards to other near- and far-context extrinsic data, reconsidering the results from our prior studies in the light of ever broader and broader contexts. It is inductive in that it consciously avoids imposing scholarly frameworks and expectations upon the data in the form of prior theories or reconstructed texts, but instead seeks to draw out the states and significances of the DSS from a ground-up analysis of their contents. Carried out rigorously, this approach should optimize the breadth and depth of our conclusions by ensuring that the DSS evidence is given its full voice and then appropriately integrated into the broader study of the textual histories of the attested books.

In the following sections, I will lay out some guidelines for this process of working outwards through concentric circles of contextual connectivity in order to situate each manuscript within the broader textual history of the work in a contextually sensitive manner. As discussed in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, each level of contextual connectivity is not a simple quantum leap, but rather is a dynamic contextual complex comprised of a combination of multiple life stages of a manuscript and various contextual factors. These factors are not easily quantifiable, so the resulting levels of connectivity are not absolute. Additionally, the various factors frequently point in different directions, such that two manuscripts can be considered closely connected or more contextually distant, depending on which angles we are focusing on. Therefore, the levels discussed below are merely a generalized hierarchy illustrative of the subjective scholarly judgment about the overall levels of contextual connectivity of manuscripts in relation to each other. They are helpful as guiding principles for contextually

situating manuscripts in relation to each other, but not to be misinterpreted as a simplistic, absolute hierarchy listing the contextual closeness of all manuscripts in relation to each other.

2.3.3.1 Immediate Context

When we move from considering an individual manuscript in isolation to comparison with other manuscripts, we should first compare it to the manuscripts with the closest possible contextual connections. These comparisons have the potential to shed light on the evidentiary value of the FM by supplementing, refining, and potentially even correcting conclusions based on the study of the FM in its own right. As discussed above, the contextual proximity of two manuscripts can be determined by noting overlaps in temporal, geographical, socio-religious, and literary contexts over the various phases of the ancient lifespans of the manuscripts. The various aspects and phases of the contextual nexus may point in different directions at times, but scholars should attempt to determine an overall, summary level of contextual connection. The contextual connections between manuscripts are closer the more precise, significant, and varied they are. For instance, two manuscripts inscribed in the same century by the same scribe are more closely connected than two manuscripts from the same region with lived contexts separated by more than a century. Similarly, two manuscripts which shared a temporal, geographical, and literary lived context are far more closely connected than two manuscripts which share only a common geographical provenance, but differ widely in other aspects.

I label the first level of most closely contextually connected manuscripts the **immediate context*** of the FM, and manuscripts in this level serve as the first points of reference when interpreting the evidence of the FM. This does not *necessarily* mean that these reference manuscripts are specifically textually affiliated with the FM, though this may frequently be the case. Instead, they serve as points of departure for understanding the history and significance of the manuscript in its proper context, which may or may not in fact correspond to textual

affiliation. The precision of the criteria for including a manuscript in the immediate context of the FM will vary from tradition to tradition, depending on the number, age, and geographical spread of the preserved manuscripts and unique factors influencing the reception history of the work.

2.3.3.2 Near Context

Once we have investigated possible relationships among manuscripts immediately contextually related to the manuscript in question, we are then in a position to expand our comparative corpus further to include additional near-context manuscripts. The **near context*** consists of manuscripts that are not directly contextually connected to the FM, but can still claim closer contextual ties to the FM than the bulk of manuscripts with little or no contextual connection. They may lack significant, specific contextual overlaps with the FM, but still have a general contextual proximity.

Considering this additional level of contextual connectivity has three main benefits. First, it opens up numerous additional possibilities for contextual relationships that would not be available if we only considered the immediate context of the FM. Second, it allows us to set the manuscript in the broader context of the textual tradition of which it is a part. And third, the additional information can supplement, refine, and/or correct conclusions based on comparison of manuscripts sharing an immediate context. For our corpus, this means that study of the Qumran evidence alone and in isolation will not be sufficient. When focusing on the Qumran evidence it is easy to lose perspective and start treating the evidence as the center of the textual universe, when in reality it is merely one (if important) contributing part in the whole study of the history of the texts and should be integrated into the broader picture of their textual transmission. In fact, this additional evidence can fill out the often incomplete picture resulting from the Qumran evidence and aid the proper interpretation of the Qumran evidence.

This is especially the case, since the eclectic nature of the Qumran evidence extensively broadens the possible contextual connections with manuscripts and traditions outside of Qumran.¹ Our conclusions must be built up from context-sensitive comparison of manuscripts, but they must also remain tentative and open to information from contextually more distant manuscripts.

2.3.3.3 Far Context

The main point of a contextualized approach to manuscript comparisons is not to ignore any evidence, but rather only to place manuscripts in their most appropriate context first and foremost before looking further afield. Ideally, all manuscript evidence should eventually be incorporated into our analyses, including those that belong to the **far context*** of the FM, namely the mass of manuscripts that share no particular contextual closeness with the FM. Even these contextually distant manuscripts have the potential to illuminate the evidence of the FM and provide an overall view of the textual history of the work(s) to which the FM attests.

Thus, while Epp similarly stresses the need for contextually appropriate comparisons, he probably goes too far when he says,

After all, if one is seeking groups in the early centuries, why would the thousands of late MSS be included in the study, for they were not present in the early period and so are not relevant in the analysis?... Common sense and perhaps wisdom suggest that the latter MSS be left out of the equation when assessing the early period (2013b, 548).

Segal, on the other hand, argues that we cannot completely ignore the medieval evidence because it often preserves important early readings and because of the general paucity of early material. Nevertheless,

If one wants to identify a textual family or group, then it needs to be done on the basis of the internal evidence of these texts, and not upon later categories. Only after these witnesses have been analyzed on their own terms can they then be compared with the

¹ As will be clear from our analysis of the Exodus materials from Qumran in chapters 3 and 4, they do not as a whole form a closely related group of texts in isolation from the rest of the textual tradition, but rather the collection practices that led to the deposit of the Qumran scrolls drew from a wide variety of different text forms.

later evidence, so that later categories are not superimposed on earlier material (Segal 2007, 19).

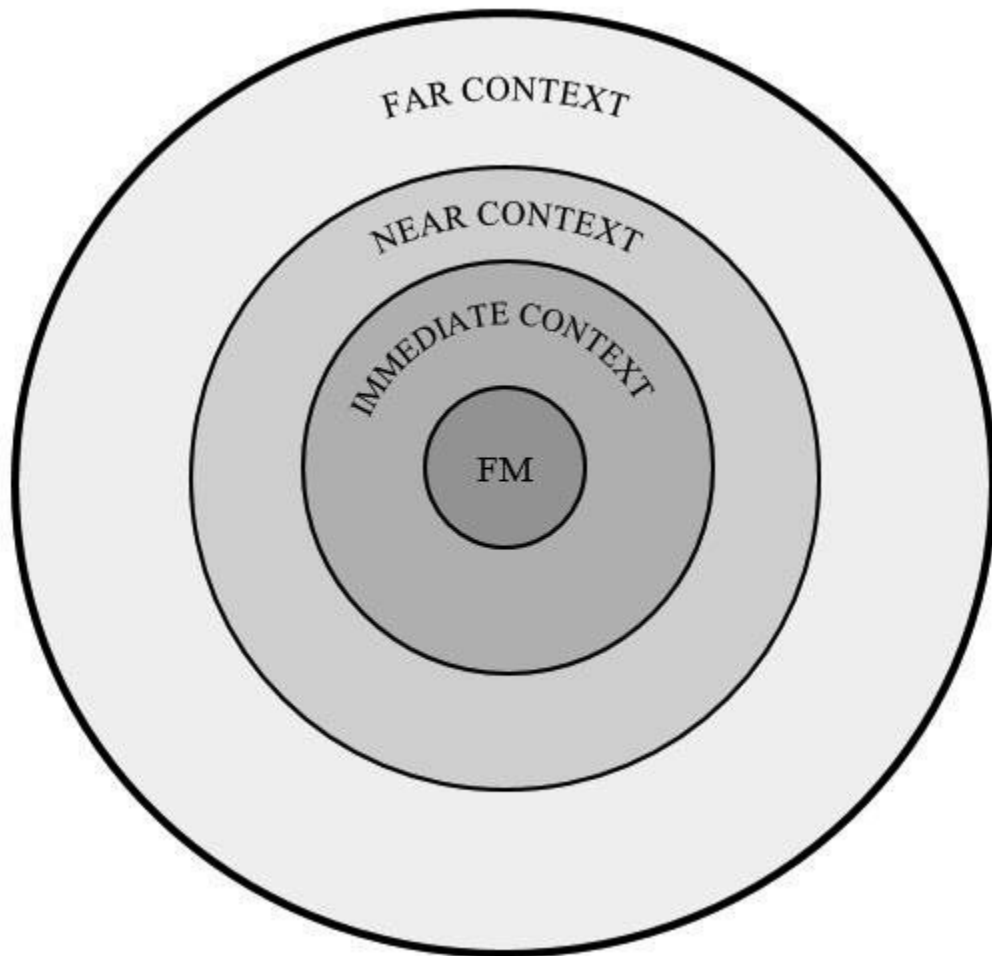
Both of these scholars appreciate the importance of appropriate contextual comparisons, but Segal sensibly does not dispense with the later material entirely. Instead, the later material should be incorporated into the analysis subsequent to the comparison of the earlier materials to each other.¹ In the terminology adopted in this thesis, the far context material should not ultimately be excluded, but rather included subsequently to the immediate and near context materials. Contextually sensitive incorporation of manuscript evidence avoids absolute dichotomies of including and excluding data, preferring instead to prioritize data for comparison around hierarchically arranged concentric circles of contextual connectivity focused on a single FM at a time (see figure 2.1 below).²

¹ Note the similar suggestion from Colwell, “In the location of a manuscript with reference to groups, the wealth of early sources strongly suggests beginning the story as close to the beginning as possible and working down towards the present (1969, 38).”

² Thus, we avoid the pitfalls noted by Colwell,

If our newly-found manuscript is to be compared with previously known manuscripts, it should, ideally, be compared completely with all other manuscripts. How, otherwise, can complete accuracy be obtained? Partial comparisons—between two individuals or two groups—are often misleading; and ignoring large numbers of individuals reduces the probability that our conclusions are accurate (1969, 26).

Figure 2.1
Concentric Hierarchy of Contextual Proximity to the FM



2.4 Comparative Analysis

Understanding the textual realia in isolation is only one part of describing the textual history of a work. Fully meaningful analysis also requires the description and evaluation of the FM in comparison with other manuscripts of its tradition.¹ Ideally, all manuscripts should be compared systematically with all other manuscripts within the tradition, but with large textual traditions, this is rarely feasible. Instead scholars tend to compare texts based on apparatuses

¹ So also Geer and Racine, “There is certainly value in examining each MS in its own right and not in relation to others; but any discussion that evaluates a variation unit requires some knowledge of how the MSS that support other readings relate to each other. In addition, such information is crucial for any writing of the history of the NT text (2013, 497).”

of variants from a set collation base text or select representative witnesses or test passages for comparison. These data sources are at best limiting and at worst sometimes actually misleading. According to the contextualized approach laid out in this chapter, the problem is solved somewhat differently by suggesting comprehensive comparison of the FM first and foremost with the most closely contextually connected reference texts in their entirety, and only subsequently incorporating reference texts that are contextually more distant. This means that the textual evidence most likely to be immediately relevant is prioritized and utilized to its fullest potential. It also relativizes the comparison of each manuscript to the FM, rather than establishing a single (or even a few) base text as the anchor for all textual comparisons.

2.4.1 Description of Similarities and Differences

A significant part of comparing manuscripts entails a comparison of their material and contextual characteristics. These may or may not be related to the textual affinities of manuscripts, but they are important for understanding the FM as a textual artifact. Textual scholars should seek to identify the similarities and differences between the FM and other manuscripts to gain a clearer understanding of the FM.

In addition to the material and contextual factors, textual comparison must also inevitably retain a prominent place in our studies. At first, we must collate the textual evidence and describe it in as neutral a manner as possible to avoid biasing our results with premature conclusions. For instance, terms like “expansion,” “abbreviation,” “harmonization,” “rearrangement,” “transposition,” “modernization,” “gloss,” “corruption,” “primary,” “secondary,” etc. should be avoided as prematurely evaluative. Instead, we must aim at a more purely descriptive terminology, such as perhaps “plus,” “minus,” “sequence difference,” “alternative reading,” etc. Such terminology will help us defer judgment until enough of the evidence is collated and avoid making premature judgments, which might in turn bias our

interpretations of later collected evidence. A full description of the manuscripts and their similarities and dissimilarities must precede analysis of the value of their texts.

2.4.2 Evaluation of Manuscript Relationships

Once we have systematically described the similarities and differences between manuscripts, we are then in a position to evaluate their relationships. We can suggest significances for various material and contextual characteristics of the FM, yielding new insights into its contributions. We can also analyze the text of the FM in relation to other manuscripts to determine its textual affiliation.

2.4.2.1 Connective Readings

Classically, the most effective method for isolating textual groups and determining manuscript relationships has been to identify distinctive readings, shared between two or more manuscripts against one or more others, which diverge from the source text from which each of the manuscripts descended (Segal 2007, 7; Hendel 2010, 283-284). Sebastiano Timpanaro, for instance, emphatically declares that “only coincidence in error can indicate the kinship between two manuscripts; coincidence in the correct reading proves *nothing*, since it is a fact of conservation that can also occur in manuscripts unrelated to one another (2005, 89).” As Bruno Chiesa contests, “In order to prove the existence of a connection between two witnesses one has to discover at least one both monogenetic and disjunctive error” (1992, 267). Cross, in constructing his theory of textual history mentioned above, repeatedly calls these the “bad genes” which are passed along in transmission (1998, 211). In these cases, the two or more manuscripts that have diverged from the prior text most likely shared a common ancestor, which was the source of the divergence. These shared distinctive divergences have traditionally been labelled “indicative errors,” but editorial interventions may be just as or even more helpful than scribal errors. Gerd Mink has helpfully labelled these readings **connective readings***

(2004, 29, 54-55), which more neutrally denotes their importance for manuscript groupings and will be adopted in this thesis.

2.4.2.2 Statistical Clusters of Texts

In cases where no clearly connective readings demonstrate specific genealogical relationships, it may still be possible to categorize manuscripts based on statistical patterns of agreement and disagreement. Scholars differ greatly on the specific statistical methods and cut-off points to use for constructing textual categories, but sometimes clearly recognizable clusters of like texts emerge, which in turn differ significantly from other texts. In these cases, scholars may suggest statistical relationships between manuscripts, even if these clusters do not provide specific genealogical information.

2.5 Reconstruction of Textual History

Individual textual artifacts and demonstrable manuscript relationships form the fundamental building blocks and connections for reconstructing the textual history of the work(s) which we are studying. Anneli Aejmelaeus notes that textual history is “concerned with the overall view of the development of the text at hand and the character of its various witnesses and textual traditions” (2012, 1). I would define **textual history*** similarly as the historical description of the development of the text in light of preserved textual artifacts, their interrelationships, and reconstructions of lost states of the text directly inferable from a comparison of known texts. In other words, it is the job of a textual historian to describe and connect the dots (i.e., the textual particulars) into a coherent metanarrative that better explains the data than other known alternative possibilities. As in all historical disciplines, textual history is inherently probabilistic in nature, but not arbitrary. In order to yield the most reliable results, our reconstructions of textual history must be both inductive and iterative.

2.5.1 Inductive Reconstruction of Textual History

Reconstruction of textual history must be inductive in the sense that it builds from the ground up, working from the textual particulars towards an overall picture of the development of the tradition. In its initial stages, we must self-consciously avoid imposing preestablished textual categories and theories on the evidence, and instead derive our textual categories and theories from the evidence.¹ Manuscript relationships identified from connective readings and statistical clusters form connections between data points and fill out our knowledge of the textual tradition. With a thorough knowledge of both the textual artifacts and their relationships, textual scholars will be in a position to suggest a partial narrative description of the development of the text over time.

2.5.2 Iterative Refinement of Textual History and Analysis

One of the major problems identified with previous studies on the text of Exodus in chapter 1 was the lack of reference to the history of the text as a controlling factor on textual evaluations. A few, such as Tov, purposefully reject textual relationships as a criterion for evaluating variant readings (Tov 2012b, 29).² Many others surveyed in chapter 1 simply refrain from proposing text-historical theories (e.g., Lemmelijn) or stop short of using their own text-historical conclusions as criteria for further textual analysis and refinement (e.g., Sanderson, Jastram, Davila). From this perspective, each variant reading is evaluated on its own merits,

¹ Cf., e.g., Geer and Racine on the Coherence-Based Genealogical Method,

The various methods that have come into existence since the nineteenth century to classify MSS attempt to assign them to preestablished groups of MSS on the basis of the proportion of readings shared with the members of these groups... This method [CBGM] does not assume preestablished groups. It rather works inductively, moving from local stemmata toward a global stemma that indicates genealogical relationships among MSS (2013, 506)."

² Concerning the use of hypothetical relations between textual witnesses for evaluating textual variants, Tov concludes, "In my view, these theories contribute little to the advancement of textual praxis (29)." Tov does not entirely reject the importance of text-historical theory for text-critical praxis, since he considers an opinion on the origins of our traditions an essential prerequisite for textual analysis (30), but he does not find the specific relationships between manuscripts to be very helpful for evaluating particular variants. For a similar perspective on the NT corpus, see the collected works of Kilpatrick (1990) and Elliott (2010).

and theories of textual history reflect the end result of a process of evaluating variants without respect to manuscript relationships. This approach has the appearance of empirical rigor, but such linear models are inadequate for dealing with complex textual traditions. The resulting text-historical pictures are frequently incoherent, raising serious doubts about their validity.¹ Errors in judgment in the initial stages frequently distort the text-historical conclusions, and scholars are often left without any viable criteria for evaluating numerous difficult readings.

An alternative model, however, serves the purposes of historical inquiry much more effectively and deserves consideration here. On this model, particular textual evaluations and reconstructions of textual history are interdependent and mutually informative. Decisions about individual variant readings have text-historical implications, and the reconstructed textual history in turn provides the context for making textual decisions. Reconstructions of textual history and evaluations of variants can be repeatedly alternated in an iterative process, yielding progressive refinement of both aspects of textual scholarship (e.g., Mink 2004, 25, 46). Such an iterative process has frequently been described as a “hermeneutical circle,” but need not be a vicious circle of self-reinforcing, arbitrary, presupposed propositions (Gadamer 1999, 266-267).

The crucial question for this model is how to ensure that the process is productive (Aejmelaes 2012, 1).² The process becomes a “helpful circularity” when “it uses what can be

¹ Interestingly, Gadamer understands harmony between the parts and whole as the essence of correct understanding. “The harmony of all the details with the whole is the criterion of correct understanding. The failure to achieve this harmony means that understanding has failed (1999, 29).”

² Aejmelaes observes,

In order to reach reliable decisions on the details, textual criticism needs all the information there is on the textual history of the text in question, but all text-historical information and the information on the character of the witnesses is based on the evidence of the small details of the text. The two ways of looking at textual evidence are clearly interdependent, which means that caution is needed. A certain overall view tends to turn the decisions on the details toward a direction that further corroborates that very same overall view. For instance, the notion of the MT representing a reliable and very old textual tradition tends to create text-critical decisions that support this notion. It is like the domino effect:

more confidently known to illuminate what is more difficult to know (Geer and Racine 2013, 507).” In starting from the known and working to the unknown, we are in a good position to avoid futile circularity and optimize our results. Rather than our conclusions being arbitrary or incoherent, we actually stand in a better position to understand the totality of the evidence.

Practically, this means that demonstrable relationships between manuscripts can and should be incorporated as one of many factors when evaluating (and re-evaluating) textual differences. It also means that textual scholars should aim at coherent, integrated treatments of textual particulars and broad historical reconstructions. Our knowledge of textual history will still remain limited and contingent, but it will be more reliable than would be achievable on a purely linear model.

At this point, we should also make an important connection between the iterative nature of text-historical inquiry and the contextualized approach suggested in this thesis. While textual relationships cannot be noted as direct contextual connections between manuscripts prior to their initial comparison, when comparison of manuscripts demonstrates a close textual relationship between them, we are justified in suggesting closer contextual connectivity than was the case before their texts were compared. Therefore, after the initial contextualization and comparison, textual affiliation should be included as one factor in the complex of contextual connections in subsequent iterations of the study of the FM (see section 2.3.2). Manuscripts which are demonstrably closely textually related are typically more likely to yield valuable

dominoes all falling one direction, one way or the other. How can we make them fall in the right direction (1)?

She then proposes a starting point in select individual cases,

For the overall characterization, it is necessary to have evidence from the individual cases, and for the interpretation of the individual cases, an overall characterization is needed. The solution to the dilemma is to be sought in individual cases that are complex enough to serve as key cases. The accumulation of similar cases corroborates the characterization (4-5).

evidence for interpreting each other than those which are not closely related. If we move closely related manuscripts up the hierarchy of contextual connectivity towards the immediate context of the FM, we will better stress the importance of the extrinsic evidence of these manuscripts for the FM.

2.6 Conclusion

I am convinced that the contextualized approach expounded in this chapter provides an important corrective to several methodological problems with previous studies. Full study of each textual artifact in its own right ensures that scholars draw out the maximum amount of evidence from the manuscripts themselves, with minimal imposition of expectations based on extrinsic evidence. Consideration of the contextual connectivity of manuscripts with the FM optimizes our textual comparisons by sorting manuscripts by relevance, rather than by exclusion of evidence or indiscriminate or partial comparisons. Furthermore, an inductive and iterative process of reconstructing textual history ensures a productive dialogue between the study of textual particulars and models of textual history, which promises to shed new light on our textual traditions. The importance of these correctives should not be underestimated.

In some senses, the methodology proposed here is not entirely new, and this contextualized approach clarifies and provides a theoretical basis for what many textual scholars already instinctively do. And yet, there is great value in making our methods and their implications explicit, especially when text-critical praxis frequently reflects deficient underlying theoretical approaches. Thus, I see the greatest contributions of this thesis in the foregrounding of theory and providing a corrective to and/or refinement of the methods which (wittingly or unwittingly) drive much of our textual praxis. Nevertheless, theory without data is a very ethereal endeavor, and a methodology is only as good as the results it yields when applied to particular cases. With this in mind, in the next two chapters, we will explore the

practical implications of a contextualized approach to the manuscript evidence of a particular textual corpus.

CHAPTER 3

PRIMARY EVIDENCE FOR THE TEXT OF EXODUS IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

3.1 Introduction

Central to our proposed contextualized approach to evaluating the scriptural Dead Sea Scrolls is the need for careful examination of the manuscripts both as physical entities and as bearers of texts. The manuscripts to be examined in this study have, to one degree of thoroughness or another, already received such treatment in their principal editions (and sometimes subsequently), with mostly satisfactory results. Nevertheless, many of these editions contain inaccurate or incomplete information, and even the best warrant a second look as part of a comprehensive re-examination of the scrolls from a unified perspective. Since this stage is a necessary prerequisite for any further analysis or comparison of the scrolls and the foundation of our proposed methodology, I have undertaken a comprehensive re-examination of the manuscripts included in this study.

In this chapter, I will list the primary manuscript evidence for the text of Exodus utilized for this study, describe the key features of each manuscript, and highlight noteworthy observations and conclusions resulting from my examination of the manuscripts. What follows is a summary of the physical features of each manuscript, the significance of its text, the history of scholarship on it, and my own conclusions about the manuscript based on my re-examination of the evidence. In the course of this study, I have created fresh transcriptions and reconstructions of each manuscript selected for study from images available in the DJD editions, the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM) photographic plates and more recent photographs available from the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (<<http://www.>

deadseascrolls.org.il/?locale=en_US>, accessed 19 Sep 2014), and images graciously made available by the West Semitic Research Project (<<http://www.inscriptifact.com/index.shtml>>, accessed 19 Sep 2014). Full comparative analysis of the manuscripts is reserved for chapter 4. Here I provide only a summary of the most important data resulting from my work with the manuscripts. Furthermore, since the witnesses to the text of Exodus are numerous and diverse, I will also discuss my justification for including some texts in my study and excluding others.

3.2 Primary Evidence for the Text of Exodus in the DSS Utilized for This Study

A project of this scope and constraints of time and space requires a careful selection of the data set and the exclusion of non-essential data. Any time researchers make such decisions, there is always a risk of including material of only limited significance and excluding important information, but I have tried to isolate a data set that I find pragmatically workable, methodologically justifiable, and sufficient for obtaining the best possible results in the time and space available. Based on the contextualized approach proposed in chapter 2, I have elected to include all manuscripts found in the Judean Desert and reconstructed to have contained the continuous Hebrew text of the entire book of Exodus. With this goal in mind, I selected all manuscripts labelled as “Exodus” (including those in combination with other books) in the DJD editions with the exception of those which I deem to have contained only excerpts of Exodus (4Q15 and 4Q16) and one small Greek papyrus (7Q1). I have also taken a cautious approach to the so-called (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts (see section 1.3.5), including them in the analysis in deference to those who understand them as alternative texts of the Pentateuch in the strictest sense, without necessarily taking a position on the literary relationships of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts to their pentateuchal base texts or the resulting scriptural or non-scriptural status of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts. The data set defined by these criteria provides a large sample of the most important evidence for

the text of Exodus from among the DSS and is methodologically justifiable on the grounds that continuous-text manuscripts are obviously more similar in nature to each other than to the various types of non-continuous texts and new compositions that might also touch on the text of Exodus in antiquity. The following is a descriptive list of the manuscripts included in this study.

3.2.1 1Q2 – 1QExod

1Q2 (1QExod) is written in Hebrew in a square formal hand, probably Herodian, from approximately 1-50 CE (Lange 2009a, 56). It is reconstructed from 13 parchment fragments containing text from the middle of Exodus,¹ of which frgs. 8-13 are unidentified. The similarity of damage patterns on frgs. 1, 2-3, and 5-6 likely indicates that these fragments came from the same vertical position in the scroll and were preserved in a pile on the cave floor before being dispersed, which allows estimation of the inscribed column height at around 30 lines and 19 cm (Barthélemy 1955, 50, DJD 1). No top or bottom margins have been preserved, so the total height of the scroll cannot be reconstructed. No complete intercolumnar margins have been preserved. The lines consistently average around 55 letter spaces per line, and Barthélemy estimates the column width at around 10 cm (Barthélemy 1955, 50, DJD 1). If this reconstruction is correct, the relatively small column height makes it unlikely that this scroll contained the entire Pentateuch (Lange 2009a, 56).

1Q2, therefore, appears to be a continuous-text copy of the book of Exodus. Its orthography is generally defective with few exceptions, and it does not attest the alternative morphological forms of Tov's so-called Qumran Scribal Practice (QSP) (Barthélemy 1955, 50, DJD 1; Lange 2009a, 56). Tov considers 1Q2 to be equally close to the proto-Masoretic

¹ Exod 16:12-16; 19:24-25; 20:1, 3, 5-6, 25-26; 21:1-2, 4-5.

and pre-Samaritan traditions (Tov 2002, 155), whereas Lange concludes there is not enough text preserved for text-typological analysis (Lange 2009a, 56-57).

3.2.2 2Q2 – 2QExod^a

2Q2 (2QExod^a) is written in Hebrew in a square, late Herodian formal hand from approximately 50-68 CE (Baillet 1962b, 49, DJD 3; Lange 2009a, 57). It is reconstructed from 13 parchment fragments from throughout the book of Exodus,¹ frgs. 11-13 of which are unidentified in the *editio princeps*. On the basis of my research, I propose identifications for frgs. 11-13.² The similarity of damage patterns on frgs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (and probably others as well) indicates that these fragments came from the same vertical position in the scroll and were preserved in a pile on the cave floor before being dispersed, which allows estimation of the inscribed column height at around 30-35 lines and approximately 21-28 cm. If this reconstruction is correct, the relatively small column height makes it unlikely that this scroll contained the entire Pentateuch. No margins have been preserved, so the total height of the scroll cannot be reconstructed. The column widths are inconsistent, with line lengths ranging from around 45-70 letter spaces. Baillet estimates an average width of around 13 cm per column (Baillet 1962b, 49, DJD 3).

2Q2, therefore, appears to be a continuous-text copy of the book of Exodus. Its orthography is usually—though not consistently—full, but it does not generally attest the alternative morphological forms of Tov’s so-called QSP (Baillet 1962b, 49, DJD 3; Lange 2009a, 57).³ Tov, on the other hand, suggests 2Q2 may possibly belong to the QSP (Tov 2002,

¹ Exod 1:11-14; 3:4-6; 7:1-4; 9:27-29; 11:3-7; 12:32-41; 21:18-20?; 26:11-13; 30:21?, 23-25; 32:32-34.

² Frg. 11 = 12:38-39 (certain); frg. 12 = 26:12 (probable); frg. 13 = 3:4-6 (probable).

³ Lange notes the full reading *וּחְבַּרְתָּהּ* in 26:11, which is hardly a compelling example, since this fuller form occurs frequently in all traditions.

154). Baillet notes several agreements with Septuagint readings (Baillet 1962b, 49, DJD 3), but Tov and Lange consider it a non-aligned tradition (Tov 2002, 156; Lange 2009a, 57).

3.2.3 2Q3 – 2QExod^b

2Q3 (2QExod^b) is written in Hebrew in a square Herodian formal hand from between 1-68 CE, with the tetragrammaton written in paleo-Hebrew characters (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3; Lange 2009a, 57). Yardeni tentatively suggests that 2Q3 may have been written by a scribe who also copied numerous other texts from the Judean Desert, including possibly 2Q4 and 4Q13 (2007, 284). It is reconstructed from 13 parchment fragments from throughout the book of Exodus,¹ of which frgs. 9-13 are unidentified in the *editio princeps*. On the basis of my research, I propose identifications for frgs. 11 and 12.² I have also suggested that similar fragment shapes and damage patterns on frgs. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 (and possibly others) may be helpful for reconstructing the size and sequence of this scroll. If frgs. 4 and 5 were overlapping layers reflecting successive turns of the scroll and the missing text is reconstructed according to known DSS M S G readings,³ the average column would have contained around 25 lines. Baillet calculates 7-8 mm between dry lines (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3), yielding an estimated inscribed column height of around 18-22 cm. No top or bottom margins have been preserved, so the total height of the scroll cannot be reconstructed. Line length ranges from around 35-50 letter spaces per line, and Baillet estimates an average column width of about 12-12.5 cm per column (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3). The only fully preserved margin is a 2 cm intercolumnar margin (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3). If this reconstruction is correct, the relatively small column height makes it unlikely that this scroll

¹ Exod 4:31; 12:26-27; 18:21-22; 21:37; 22:1-2, 15-19; 27:17-19; 31:16-17; 34:9+, 10; 36:3-4?, 33-34?.

² Frg. 11 = 36:33-34 (probable; alternatively 26:28-29); frg. 12 = 36:3-4 (probable).

³ Of course, it is possible that 2Q3 contained a significantly longer text of chapter 22 than known readings, which could make our column heights significantly greater, but there is no evidence to suggest this.

contained the entire Pentateuch. At the reconstructed dimensions, if the scroll contained the entire book of Exodus, it would have measured approximately 9-13 meters in length.

Given the uncertainties in the reconstruction, it is very difficult to determine the precise nature of 2Q3. Material reconstruction probably precludes a large pentateuchal collection, and it is uncertain whether the scroll could have contained the entire text of Exodus. A further complication is the unique juxtaposition of text known elsewhere only in Exodus 19:9 immediately before 34:10. For Baillet, this arrangement raises the question of whether this scroll is merely a collection of excerpted Exodus passages, instead of a continuous-text manuscript, though he does not come to a firm conclusion either way (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3; similarly Lange 2009a, 58). Stegemann and Brooke consider 2Q3 an excerpt manuscript for this reason (Brooke 1993, 102, 109; Stegemann 1967, 220). Furthermore, the scribal practice of writing the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script suggests to Baillet that this manuscript may not have been simply a copy of Exodus, but a manuscript containing excerpts of Exodus (Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3), since this practice was used almost entirely for non-biblical manuscripts among the Qumran scrolls known to Baillet. Against this latter argument, it should be noted that several biblical manuscripts in the square script have been published, which likewise have the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script (Tov 2004b, 243).¹ In contrast to understanding 2Q3 as an excerpt manuscript, Tov considers it more likely to be an example of “rewritten Bible,” possibly related to the 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts (Tov 1994b, 119; 1996; 2008, 23).

Though the decision is quite difficult, given the fragmentary evidence and the uncertainties about the reconstruction of the manuscript, I am inclined to understand 2Q3

¹ Namely, from Qumran, 4QExod^j, 4QLev^g, 11QLev^b, 4QDeut^{k2}, 4QIsa^c, 1QPs^b, and 3QLam. Tov also notes that this phenomenon is not uncommon in the Greek tradition as well.

either as a revised copy of Exodus or a borderline case of rewritten hypertext (such as the [Reworked] Pentateuch tradition) for a number of reasons. First, the limitations in reconstructing this scroll make it impossible to prove that 2Q3 could not have contained the entire running text of Exodus. Second, similar damage patterns and shapes of groups of fragments make it likely that the preserved texts were presented in 2Q3 according to the sequence and general contents of other known texts of Exodus, and there is no material evidence to the contrary. Third, the range of texts preserved is unlikely for an excerpt manuscript, including texts from throughout the entire book of Exodus in a wide variety of modes of discourse (e.g., narrative, direct speech, legislation) with no apparent thematic unity. And fourth, the juxtaposition of excerpts from chapters 19 and 34 does not seem likely, since they are obviously not referring to the same event, but rather two successive ascents to receive tablets from Sinai. Rather more likely, however, is that language from one passage was inserted into the other to strengthen the obvious parallels (e.g., ascent of Sinai, covenant with the people, stone tablets, theophany). The shape and size of frg. 8 makes it more probable that it was originally from chapter 34 in 2Q3 than from chapter 19,¹ and literary arguments support this. The announcement of the covenant and wonders to come would be quite redundant in the context of chapter 19 after the announcement of 19:3-5. On the other hand, the desire to connect the theophany in chapter 34 to the purpose given for the theophany in chapter 19 (given in 19:9) and/or the desire to reaffirm the assent of the people to the covenant (both of which are not mentioned in chapter 34) would provide ample reason for a scribe to make such an expansion in the context of chapter 34. This literary motive is

¹ The size, shape, and damage patterns on frg. 8 fit much more easily after frg. 6 than between frgs. 3 and 4, as would be required if it was found in the context of chapter 19.

consistent with the harmonistic tendencies of much of the tradition, so I find it more likely that 2Q3 was a continuous revised or rewritten text of the book of Exodus.

The orthography of 2Q3 is consistently full (including עמכה in 34:10), but does not consistently attest the alternative morphological forms of Tov's so-called QSP (e.g., בניכם in 12:26) (so also Baillet 1962c, 53, DJD 3; Lange 2009a, 57), though Tov suggests it may belong to the QSP (Tov 2002, 154). Lange concludes there is not enough text preserved for text-typological analysis (Lange 2009a, 58).

3.2.4 2Q4 – 2QExod^c

2Q4 (2QExod^c) is written in Hebrew in a miniature, square formal hand (Baillet 1962d, 56, DJD 3), either late Hasmonean or early Herodian, from approximately 50-1 BCE or earlier (Lange 2009a, 58). Yardeni tentatively suggests that 2Q4 may have been written by a scribe who also copied numerous other texts from the Judean Desert, including possibly 2Q3 and 4Q13 (2007, 284), but Baillet isolates this fragment as a manuscript distinct from that of the other scrolls containing Exodus from cave 2 (Baillet 1962d, 56, DJD 3).¹ It is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment almost certainly containing the text of Exodus 5:3-5 and part of a right margin. The first line can be reconstructed according to the M S G reading (with slight differences) at 65 letter spaces, and the second line at 73 letter spaces (cf. Lange 2009a, 58). Baillet estimates from this a column width of around 12 cm (Baillet 1962d, 56, DJD 3). Since so little of the manuscript is preserved, it is impossible to reconstruct the scroll beyond its column width.

¹ My own comparison of the scripts of the other pentateuchal (2Q1-3, 2Q5-12) and Pentateuch-related manuscripts (2Q19-21) from cave 2 would tend to support Baillet's identification of 2Q4 as a different hand (and hence a separate manuscript?). Several of these other hands are of similar size and/or form, but all seem sufficiently different to warrant separating 2Q4 as a different hand.

Baillet published 2Q4 as a probable Exodus manuscript (Baillet 1962d, 56, DJD 3), but Lange says it is uncertain whether it was originally an Exodus manuscript or a citation of Exodus in another literary context (Lange 2009a, 58). I would argue that the narrative interchange of speakers in the preserved passage suggests a continuous-text manuscript, rather than an isolated scriptural citation, which would typically be more likely to preserve text from a single quotation, rather than the narrative structure of the passage. Furthermore, Lange and Weigold can identify no known citations of Exodus 5 in other Second Temple Jewish literature (Lange and Weigold 2011, 67). Thus, 2Q4 was almost certainly a manuscript containing the running text of Exodus. Lange says it is impossible to analyze the orthography of the manuscript (Lange 2009a, 58), but for the one preserved word where orthographic differences are likely, spacing suggests to me that 2Q4 had a full form (𐤀𐤌𐤍𐤏 in 5:5). Lange concludes there is not enough text preserved for text-typological analysis (Lange 2009a, 58), which is certainly correct. The minimally preserved text does not preserve any non-orthographic variants, and the slight difference between letter space counts on lines 1 (65) and 2 (73) may or may not imply textual variation (unknown in other witnesses) in the lacunae of one or the other line. The most we can conclude is that 2Q4 is consistent with the general M S G tradition.

3.2.5 4Q1 – 4QGen-Exod^a

According to Davila, 4Q1 (4QGen-Exod^a) “is written in an early Hasmonaean formal hand with some semi-formal influence, dating from approximately 125-100 BCE” (Davila 1994, 8, DJD 12). It is reconstructed from 62 parchment fragments, of which frgs. 38-61 are unidentified in the *editio princeps*. Subsequent to the DJD publication of the manuscript, an additional frg. 7a was identified by Puech, who also suggested identifications for three of the

unidentified fragments (2011).¹ On the basis of my research, I propose an alternative identification for frg. 39 against Puech.² The fragments contain parts of the second half of Genesis and the beginning of Exodus,³ with Exodus reconstructed as beginning halfway down a column. The transition between the books has not been preserved. The first eight columns containing Exodus can be reconstructed based on the fragments (so also Davila 1994, 8, DJD 12). Line lengths range from 52-72 letter spaces in Genesis and from 58-66 letter spaces in Exodus (Davila 1994, 8, DJD 12). The columns probably consisted of approximately 40-42 lines (so also Puech 2011, 106-111), not around 36 lines as claimed by Davila (1994, 8, DJD 12).⁴ Davila argues that 4Q1 is closely related to the same text type as M (1993, 30-35), and Tov places it in his outer circle of proto-Masoretic texts (2002, 154).

3.2.6 4Q11 – 4QpaleoGen-Exod^l

According to McLean, 4Q11 (4QpaleoGen-Exod^l; also called 4QpaleoExod^m by McLean) is written in a small, neat paleo-Hebrew hand from 100-25 BCE (cited with approval in Skehan et al. 1992a, 21, DJD 9). It is reconstructed from 64 parchment fragments, of which frgs. 39-64 are unidentified in the *editio princeps*. On the basis of my research, I propose identifications for frgs. 39, 41, 44, 47, and 48.⁵ The fragments preserve part of the last verse of Genesis, the transition between Genesis and Exodus indicated by three blank

¹ Frg. 7a (his label) = Gen 37:8; frg. 39 = 5:2-3 (possible, but contra my preferred identification with 3:18); frg. 40 = 7:16 (possible, but not distinctive enough in my opinion); frg. 50 = 5:10-11 (probable).

² Frg. 39 = 3:18 (probable, but contra Puech's preferred identification with 5:2-3).

³ Gen 22:14; 27:38-39, 42-43; 34:17-21; 35:17-29; 36:2-13, 19-27; 37:5-6, 22-27; 39:11-23; 40:1; 45:23; 47:13-14; 48:2-4, 15-22; 49:1-5; Exod 1:3-17, 22; 2:1-5; 3:8-16, 18-21; 4:4-9, 26-31; 5:1, 3-17; 6:4-21, 25; 7:5-13, 15-20; 8:20-22; 9:8?.

⁴ While Davila states that reconstruction of the Exodus columns indicates columns of around 36 lines, my own reconstruction suggests that this cannot be the case. Frgs. 19, 22, and 25 each preserve text from two adjacent columns and can serve as anchors for estimating column height. In each case reconstruction according to DSS M S G readings indicates column heights of approximately 40-42 lines, and in no case can all expected text be made to fit on columns of only 36 lines. Columns of around 36 lines would also require impossible column breaks at points preserved on fragments. Though citing Davila's reconstructed column height, Tov sometimes states that the evidence is "unclear" (2004b, 75, 88), apparently also sensing a problem with this reconstruction.

⁵ Frg. 39 = 1:1-5 (certain, though only tentatively suggested in the DJD edition); frg. 41 = 18:19-21 (certain, and not 40:15 as erroneously suggested in the DJD edition); frg. 44 = 12:5-8 (certain); frg. 47 = 23:9-11 (certain); frg. 48 = 15:2-4 (certain).

lines, and passages throughout Exodus.¹ I have been able to reconstruct 14 consecutive columns securely (tentatively columns n + VI to n + XIX), with fragments on either side of the main section whose precise positions are uncertain. The average line lengths range from 38-73 letter spaces per line, with measurable column widths of 8-10 cm (Skehan et al. 1992a, 19, DJD 9).² 4Q11 must be reconstructed on the basis of the short text form of Exodus, rather than the longer text form known from 4Q22 S (as also suggested somewhat too cautiously in Skehan et al. 1992a, 23-24, DJD 9).³ The columns probably consisted of 55-60 lines, measuring approximately 30 cm in height (Skehan et al. 1992a, 19, DJD 9). Though only the bottom margin has been partially preserved, estimating 4 cm each for the top and bottom margins brings the approximate height of the scroll to at least 38 cm (Skehan et al. 1992a, 19, DJD 9). The small script and tall columns make it likely that this scroll originally contained the entire Pentateuch (considered possible by Skehan et al. 1992a, 17, DJD 9; considered probable by Lange 2009a, 51). Tov places 4Q11 in the outer circle of proto-Masoretic texts (2002, 154), and Lange considers it semi-Masoretic (Lange 2009a, 52).

3.2.7 4Q13 – 4Q[Gen]-Exod^b

According to Cross, 4Q13 (4Q[Gen]-Exod^b) is written in Hebrew in an early Herodian round semiformal hand from approximately 30 BCE to 20 CE (Cross 1994a, 79, DJD 12). Yardeni tentatively suggests that 4Q13 may have been written by a scribe who also

¹ Gen 50:26?; Exod 1:1-5; 2:10, 22-25; 3:1-4, 17-21; 8:13-15, 19-22; 9:25-29, 33-35; 10:1-5; 11:4-10; 12:1-13, 41-46; 14:15-24; 15:2-4; 16:1-7, 13-14, 18-21, 23-31, 33-35; 17:1-3, 5-13; 18:16-25; 19:24-25; 20:1-2; 22:22-24; 23:4-16; 25:7-20; 26:28-37; 27:1, 4-14; 28:32-35, 38-43; 36:34-37.

² Some reconstructed columns would have been wider, but the parchment is not sufficiently preserved for measurement.

³ Several fragments preserve text from two contiguous columns, allowing for estimations of column height. Frgs. 2, 10, and 30, where the text of the longer and shorter text forms are of the same length, consistently indicate 55-60 lines per column. Frg. 5 yields 57-62 lines per column when reconstructed according to the short text form, but 72-92 lines per column when reconstructed according to the longer text form. Frg. 7 yields 53-58 lines per column when reconstructed according to the short text form, but 65-76 lines per column when reconstructed according to the longer text form. The implication of these reconstructions is that 4Q11 cannot have had the expansions of the longer text form of 4Q22 S in passages where reconstruction allows for verification.

copied numerous other texts from the Judean Desert, including possibly 2Q3 and 2Q4 (2007, 284). It is reconstructed from seven parchment fragments from the beginning of Exodus,¹ one of which was identified by Tigchelaar (2004, 483) subsequent to the publication of the DJD edition.² The first four columns containing Exodus can be reconstructed on the basis of the fragments (so also Cross 1994a, 79-80, DJD 12). Reconstruction places the first words of Exodus halfway down a column, yielding a probable reconstructed scroll containing at least Genesis and Exodus. Average line lengths vary from around 60-70 letter spaces (Cross 1994a, 80, DJD 12). The columns probably consisted of approximately 42-45 lines, rather than around 50 lines as claimed by Cross (1994a, 79, DJD 12).³ Based on Cross' calculation of around 50 lines per column, Lange surmises that this scroll might have contained the entire Pentateuch (2009a, 58). Tov (2002, 154) says that 4Q13 reflects the QSP, but Cross and Lange note that in many cases it is closer to the orthography of M (Cross 1994a, 81-82, DJD 12; Lange 2009a, 59). Cross (1994a, 84, DJD 12) argues that 4Q13 is textually close to G, but Tov and Lange (Tov 2002, 156; Lange 2009a, 59) prefer to consider it non-aligned.

3.2.8 4Q14 – 4Q[Gen]-Exod^c

4Q14 (4Q[Gen]-Exod^c) is written in Hebrew either in a late Hasmonean or an early transitional Herodian formal hand from approximately 50-25 BCE (Sanderson 1994a, 100, DJD 12; Lange 2009a, 60). It is reconstructed from 47 parchment fragments from the first

¹ Exod 1:1-6, 10-11, 16-21; 2:2-18; 3:13-21; 4:1-8; 5:3-14.

² Frg. 1a (my label) = 1:10-11 (certain). A photograph of the fragment can be found in DJD 33 (Pike and Skinner 2001, plate XXI of PAM 43.680, frg. 687).

³ While Cross states that reconstruction of the Exodus columns indicates columns of around 50 lines, my own reconstruction suggests that this estimation is probably too high. Frgs. 3 and 6 each preserve text from two adjacent columns and can serve as anchors for estimating column height. In each case reconstruction according to the DSS M S G readings indicates column heights of approximately 42-43 lines. The characteristically full orthography of this manuscript could add an additional line or so per column. 4Q13 sometimes has a significantly higher number of short intervals within its lines than other witnesses, which could add a maximum of two to three additional lines (on the high-end assumption of one interval per line). Accounting for both of these factors, the line count per column could potentially have been as high as 45 lines or so, but not 50 as claimed by Cross.

half of Exodus,¹ of which frgs. 37-45 are unidentified in the *editio princeps*. After the initial publication, Esther and Hanan Eshel identified two additional fragments now in the Schøyen collection (Eshel and Eshel 2007, 272-274).² On the basis of my research, I propose identifications for frgs. 37 and 43.³ Eight columns of Exodus can be reconstructed securely based on the fragments (so also Sanderson 1994a, 97-99, DJD 12). If frg. 43 is correctly placed, then Exodus began towards the bottom of a column, probably implying that 4Q14 also originally contained the text of Genesis and necessitating its renaming as 4Q[Gen]-Exod^c, instead of 4QExod^c. Average line lengths vary from around 55-85 letter spaces, with narrower columns being crowded at the ends of sheets (Sanderson 1994a, 97-98, DJD 12). The columns probably consisted of approximately 41-44 lines, with 43 being the best fit in most cases (Sanderson 1994a, 97-99, DJD 12).⁴ The orthography of 4Q14 is typically close to M (Lange 2009a, 60). Tov places 4Q14 in the outer circle of proto-Masoretic texts (2002, 154), and Lange considers it independent (2009a, 60).

3.2.9 4Q17 – 4QExod-Lev^f

According to Cross, 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev^f) is written in Hebrew in an archaic protocursive hand from the middle of the 3rd century BCE, making it one of the oldest scrolls found at Qumran (Cross 1994b, 134, DJD 12). The ink is badly deteriorated and has eaten through the parchment in numerous places, making the text very difficult to read. It is reconstructed from five parchment fragments from the end of Exodus and beginning of

¹ Exod 1:11, 13; 3:13-15; 5:9-14; 7:9-14?, 17-19, 20-23, 26-28; 8:1, 5-14, 16-18, 22; 9:10-11, 15-20, 22-25, 27-35; 10:1-5, 7-9, 12-19, 23-24; 11:9-10; 12:12-16, 31-48; 13:18-22; 14:1-13; 15:9-21; 17:1-16; 18:1-12; 19:12-14.

² Frg. 1a (their label) = 3:13-15 (certain); frg. 1b (their label) = 5:9-14 (certain).

³ Frg. 37 = 7:8-14 (probable, on the supposition of the scribe dropping out a few lines of text due to parablepsis, though some difficulties remain); frg. 43 = 1:11-13 (certain).

⁴ Based on a line count of 43 lines per column alone, Tov seems to suggest that 4Q14 should be expected to have contained more than one book of the Pentateuch, though he wrongly cites the manuscript as 4QExod^c (Tov 2010, 82, n. 33).

Leviticus,¹ the fifth of which is unidentified.² The transition between the two books has not been preserved. Three columns can be reconstructed on the basis of the fragments (so also Cross 1994b, 133-134, DJD 12). The height of the second of the three reconstructed columns can be estimated at approximately 60 lines (so also Cross 1994b, 134, DJD 12).³ Because of the extraordinarily high line count, Lange raises the possibility that this scroll may have contained the entire Pentateuch (2009a, 62), which would be especially significant, since this is one of the oldest scrolls from Qumran. If the scroll contained only Exodus and Leviticus, it would have measured approximately 7.75 meters in length. If the scroll contained the entire Pentateuch, it would have measured approximately 21-22 meters in length, which is well within the realm of possibility. Cross (1994b, 136, DJD 12) considers 4Q17 to be a “Palestinian” manuscript, but Lange (2009a, 62) considers it to be non-aligned.⁴

3.2.10 4Q18 – 4QExod^g

According to Sanderson, 4Q18 (4QExod^g) is written in Hebrew in a late Hasmonean hand from the middle of the first century BCE (Sanderson 1994d, 145, DJD 12). It is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment containing Exodus 14:21-27 and a left margin with stitched edge. The line lengths are reconstructed between 53-60 letter spaces, with an estimated column width of 10-13 cm (Sanderson 1994d, 145, DJD 12). There is

¹ Exod 38:18-22; 39:4?-24; 40:8-27; Lev 1:13-15, 17; 2:1.

² Lange (2009a, 61-62) suggests that frgs. 13-16 of 4QDan^d—which Ulrich and Niccum suggest were wrongly attributed to 4QDan^d (2000, 286, DJD 16)—may also belong to 4Q17. This is almost certainly incorrect, however. Where verifiable, the hand(s) of frgs. 14-16 is clearly distinct from that of 4Q17. Insufficient traces have been preserved to determine whether or not frg. 13 could have come from 4Q17, but there is no reason to suspect that it did. Thus, I have excluded these fragments from my reconstruction of 4Q17.

³ This is calculated on the basis of frg. 2, which preserves text from the first and second columns, as well as the bottom margins of both. Frg. 1 also contains text from the same two columns, but its evidence is more ambiguous and problematic. If frg. 1 is identified correctly, then its lines seem too long for the narrow column of which they are a part. Thus, though somewhat difficult to determine, calculation based on frg. 1 could potentially yield a somewhat shorter column height than 60 lines (though still extraordinarily high), which could only work if we posit some sort of omission in the reconstructed text of the second column. Nevertheless, because the evidence from frg. 1 is so uncertain, a column height of approximately 60 lines seems to be more likely.

⁴ Tov (2002, 155-156) lists 4Q17 as pre-Samaritan on p. 155, but also lists it in his discussion of non-aligned manuscripts on p. 156.

insufficient evidence to reconstruct the column height, other contents, or the length of the scroll. Though the preservation of fragments is historically accidental, it is perhaps interesting that this lone preserved fragment contains text about the crossing of the Red Sea, as does the apparently excerpted text 4Q15 (4QExod^d, which omits chapter 14). Both 4Q15 and the excerpt manuscript 4Q16 (4QExod^e) also focus on the cluster of the Passover and Red Sea crossing events, but unlike those manuscripts, 4Q18 preserves the narrative portion of the text.

3.2.11 4Q19 – 4QExod^h

According to Sanderson, 4Q19 (4QExod^h) is written in Hebrew in an apparently late Hasmonean or early Herodian semiformal hand from the middle or second half of the 1st century BCE (Sanderson 1994e, 147, DJD 12). It is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment containing Exodus 6:3-6 without any preserved margins. The line lengths are reconstructed between around 55-59 letter spaces, with an estimated column width of around 12 cm (Sanderson 1994e, 147, DJD 12). There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the column height, other contents, or the length of the scroll. Lange notes the possibility that this fragment could have been a citation of Exodus in another literary context, but he prefers to consider it an Exodus manuscript because of the scope of the preserved text (2009a, 63).

3.2.12 4Q20 – 4QExodⁱ

According to Sanderson, 4QExodⁱ is written in Hebrew in a Herodian formal hand from the beginning of the 1st century CE, with the tetragrammaton written in relatively large paleo-Hebrew letters (Sanderson 1994f, 149, DJD 12). It is reconstructed from seven parchment fragments, numbers 3-7 of which are unidentified. Only one full line can be reconstructed, which Sanderson estimates at 53 letter spaces plus the tetragrammaton (Sanderson 1994f, 149, DJD 12). There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the column height, other contents, or the length of the scroll. The fragments can be reconstructed

according to either the short form of Exodus as in 4Q14 M (7:28-8:2) or the longer form known from 4Q22 S (7:29^b-8:1^b), but the longer form is more likely, since the reconstruction would require awkward paragraph indication if reconstructed according to the short text (Sanderson 1994f, 149-150, DJD 12). Tov (2002, 154) says that 4Q20 may reflect the QSP.

3.2.13 4Q21 – 4QExod^k

According to Sanderson, 4Q21 (4QExod^k) is written in Hebrew in a late or even post-Herodian formal hand from the middle of the 1st century CE or later (Sanderson 1994g, 151, DJD 12). Because of the lateness of the hand, Sanderson questions whether this scroll was actually from Qumran or whether it came from another find site (Sanderson 1994g, 151, DJD 12). Lange, however, argues that the scroll did indeed come from Qumran, following Tov's interpretation of a scribal mark in the top margin as a Cryptic A *lamed*, distinctive of the Qumran texts (Tov 2004b, 205, 211; Lange 2009a, 63). 4Q21 is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment containing parts of Exodus 36:9-10 and the top and right margins and sheet edges. The two complete reconstructed lines yield 33 and 40 letter spaces (Sanderson 1994g, 151, DJD 12). There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the column height, other contents, or the length of the scroll. The scribal mark in the top margin, however, may give some hint. If the mark is indeed a Cryptic A *lamed* indicating a sheet number as suggested by Tov and Lange (Tov 2004b, 205, 211; Lange 2009a, 63), then this number could potentially yield important information about the original size of the scroll.

3.2.14 4Q22 – 4QpaleoExod^m

4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^m, previously known as 4QEx^α)¹ is written in a neat paleo-Hebrew formal hand (Skehan et al. 1992b, 53, 61, DJD 9). It has been variously dated from

¹ Two erroneous labels should also be pointed out to avoid confusion. First, some publications wrongly transcribed the superscripted Greek α (Greek letters having been used for paleo-Hebrew scrolls) as English a,

the middle of the 5th century BCE (Birnbaum), 225-175 BCE (Hanson), 200-175 BCE (Skehan), 175-125 BCE (Purvis), c. 100 BCE (Hanson, revising his earlier dating), and 100-50 or 100-25 BCE (McLean, endorsed by Frank Moore Cross), with an emerging consensus shifting towards a later date (for documentation of the discussion, see Skehan et al. 1992b, 61-62, DJD 9; cf. also Sanderson 1988a, 549; Ulrich 1995, 115; Lange 2009a, 65, who all prefer McLean's later date). The DJD editors suggest that at least two additional hands are evident on the manuscript (Skehan et al. 1992b, 64-65, DJD 9).

In its *editio princeps*, 4Q22 is reconstructed for 45 consecutive columns, plus an additional 447 unidentified parchment fragments.¹ Jastram successfully identified six of the previously unidentified fragments (1998, 283-284).² On the basis of my research, I propose identifications for 72 previously unidentified fragments³ and reconstruct three additional

thus 4QEx^a (Skehan et al. 1992b, 53, DJD 9). Additionally, Lange (2009a, 64) states that McLean names 4Q22 4QpaleoExodⁿ, but the DJD editions of 4Q11 and 4Q22 note that McLean's 4QpaleoExodⁿ refers instead to 4Q11 (Skehan et al. 1992a, 17, DJD 9; Skehan et al. 1992b, 62, DJD 9).

¹ Not 439, as Lange (2009a, 64) incorrectly states.

² Frg. 114 = 20:20-21a (almost certain); frg. 117 = 28:10-11 (almost certain); frg. 167 = 21:32-34 (certain); frg. 173 = 19:9-11 (certain); frg. 282 = 24:9-10 (certain); and an unidentified fragment attached to the back of the fragment containing 21:26-28 = 22:20 (certain). Jastram also notes six fragments correctly identified and transcribed in the DJD edition, but also incorrectly listed as unidentified, namely: frg. 162 = 18:17 (incorrectly cited as 18:18 by Jastram); frg. 163 = 18:1; frg. 179 = 16:6-8 (cited as 16:7-8 by Jastram); frg. 183 = 33:19-20; frg. 188 = 32:17-18; and frg. 242 = 16:32.

³ Frg. 7 = 20:21b (probable); frg. 14 = 12:14 (certain); frg. 27 = 6:14 (probable); frg. 44 = 32:13 (almost certain); frg. 54 = 4:6 (probable); frg. 57 = 16:35-17:1 (certain); frg. 80 = 8:20 (probable); frg. 84 = 33:9-10 (certain); frg. 86 = 22:16-17 (certain); frg. 88 = 32:11-12 (certain); frg. 92 = 4:31 (certain); frg. 100 = 12:4-5 (certain); frg. 102 = 4:18-19 (almost certain); frg. 109 = 34:31 (almost certain); frg. 111 = 30:25-26 (almost certain); frg. 113 = 29:12-13 (almost certain); frg. 118 = 18:4-5 (certain); frg. 120 = 29:37 (almost certain); frg. 126 = 22:3 (certain); frg. 127 = 22:30-23:1 (certain); frg. 132 = 36:24 (possible); frg. 137 = 12:29 (probable); frg. 148 = 22:9-10 (probable); frg. 149 = 16:35 (probable); frg. 160 = 20:24 (certain); frg. 164 = 12:27-28 (almost certain); frg. 165 = 30:35-36 (certain); frg. 186 = 32:16-17 (certain); frg. 201 = 6:15-16 (certain); frg. 202 = 6:15-16 (almost certain); frg. 205 = 18:21-22 (certain); frg. 206 = 34:11-12 (certain); frg. 207 = 37:18 (almost certain); frg. 208 = 26:11 (probable); frg. 213 = 19:19-20 (probable); frg. 225 = 19:23 (almost certain); frg. 250 = 29:35 (possible); frg. 259 = 18:11-12 (almost certain); frg. 270 = 12:18 (probable); frg. 285 = 22:21-23 (certain); frg. 288 = 32:11-12 (almost certain); frg. 289 = 29:3-4 (certain); frg. 294 = 21:22-23 (certain); frg. 297 = 26:24-25 (probable); frg. 302 = 22:4-5 (certain); frg. 303 = 33:11 (probable); frg. 308 = 15:15 (certain); frg. 313 = 5:12-14 (certain); frg. 315 = 31:6 (certain); frg. 316 = 30:33-34 (almost certain); frg. 317 = 28:23-24 (probable); frg. 318 = 28:20-21 (probable); frg. 320 = 29:46; 30:11 (certain); frg. 326 = 21:22 (certain); frg. 328 = 31:5-6 (certain); frg. 332 = 6:25 (certain); frg. 333 = 9:19a (probable); frg. 334 = 24:7-8 (certain); frg. 335 = 4:29-30 (probable); frg. 339 = 34:22-23 (certain); frg. 340 = 12:37 (possible; alternatively 30:25-26); frg. 355 = 32:27 (almost certain); frg. 375 = 20:21^b (probable); frg. 378 = 12:6 (almost certain); frg. 389 = 22:3 (possible);

columns prior to the first column reconstructed in the *editio princeps*.¹ 4Q22, therefore, is one of the best preserved manuscripts from Qumran.² Additionally, 4Q22 suffered damage in antiquity and was supplemented in a different hand by means of a repair patch sewn onto the scroll from the back in column n + VIII, which is all that remains of 11:8-12:2 (Skehan et al. 1992b, 56, 84-85, DJD 9).³ Examination of damage patterns on the fragments in August 1986 led Hartmut Stegemann to suggest that the conclusion of Exodus was at the center of the scroll, such that it could not have continued with the book of Leviticus, but material reconstruction cannot preclude the possibility that the scroll originally began with Genesis (Skehan et al. 1992b, 56, DJD 9). Each column can be reconstructed at either 32 or 33 lines and estimated at 25-27.5 cm in height (Skehan et al. 1992b, 57, DJD 9). The relatively small number of lines per column makes it even more unlikely that this scroll contained the entire Pentateuch or even more than one book. There are also no difficulties reconstructing the scroll on the supposition that Exodus began at the top of a column. Preserved top and bottom margins require that the scroll was at least 35 cm in height (Skehan et al. 1992b, 56, DJD 9). The column widths are inconsistent, with line lengths ranging from around 35-60 letter

frg. 404 = 15:25 (probable); frg. 414 = 7:20 (probable); frg. 415 = 12:39-40 (certain); frg. 416 = 33:16 (certain); frg. 421 = 18:12 (probable); frg. 422 = 32:27 (possible); frg. 423 = 24:7 (probable).

Additionally, nine fragments beyond those noted by Jastram are correctly identified and transcribed in the DJD plates and transcriptions, but are also incorrectly listed amongst the unidentified fragments: frg. 168 = 18:6-7; frg. 182 = 30:12-13; frg. 191 = 14:5; frg. 194 = 7:11-12; frg. 275 = 26:9 (possible); frg. 281 = 30:29-31; frg. 290 = 31:12-14; frg. 307 = 28:11; frg. 314 = 28:28.

¹ Labelled n – II, n – I, and n, respectively, so as to avoid complicating matters by renumbering the columns against the DJD edition. My reconstruction leads me to suspect that there would have been three additional columns before column n – II, against the DJD editors, who suggest a probable seven columns before their first reconstructed column (Skehan et al. 1992b, 56, DJD 9).

² Exod 4:6, 18-19, 29-31; 5:12-14; 6:15-16, 25-30; 7:1-20, 24, 29b; 8:1a, 12-22; 9:5b-16, 19a-21, 35; 10:1-12, 19-28; 11:8-10 (supplement); 12:1-2 (supplement), 4-8, 13-15, 17-22, 27-28, 31-32, 34-40; 13:3-7, 12-13; 14:3-5, 8-9, 25-26; 15:15, 23-27; 16:1, 4-5, 7-8, 31-36; 17:1-16; 18:1-27; 19:1, 7-17, 19-20, 23-25; 20:1, 18-21b, 24; 21:5-6, 13-14, 22-34; 22:3-7, 9-13, 15-30; 23:1, 13-16, 29-32; 24:1-4, 6-11; 25:11-12, 20-29, 31-34; 26:4, 8-15, 21-30, 36 (preceded by 30:1-10); 27:1-3, 9-14, 18-19b; 28:3-4, 8-12, 20-24, 26-43; 29:1-5, 12-13, 20 (29:21 reconstructed after 29:28), 22-25, 31-41, 46; 30:9-10 (placed before 26:36), 11-18, 25-26, 29-31, 33-38; 31:1-8, 12-15; 32:2-19; 33:9-23; 34:1-3, 10-13, 15-18, 20-24, 27-28, 31; 35:1; 36:21-24; 37:9-16, 18.

³ For purposes of text-critical analysis, I have chosen to treat this patch as a supplement, rather than subsuming it into the main text of 4Q22.

spaces, yielding estimated column widths of around 12-15 cm at points sufficiently well-preserved for measurement (Skehan et al. 1992b, 57-58, DJD 9). At the reconstructed dimensions, the book of Exodus would have filled 56 or 57 columns, and the scroll would have measured approximately 7.5-9 meters in length, without factoring in a possible handle sheet (so also Tov 2004b, 76).¹

4Q22, therefore, appears to be a continuous-text copy of the book of Exodus. The scribe uses word-division dots and frequently wraps words across lines such that the end of a divided word follows at the beginning of the next line (Skehan et al. 1992b, 58, DJD 9). An extension of this latter phenomenon is the scribe's preferred method for indicating large paragraph divisions by isolating and enlarging paragraph-initial *waw* at the end of a line containing text from the previous paragraph, beginning the first line of the new paragraph with the remainder of the paragraph-initial word on the subsequent line (Skehan et al. 1992b, 58, DJD 9; Tov 2004b, 185). The scribe indicates small paragraph divisions with short intervals, normally without any special treatment of paragraph-initial *waw* (Skehan et al. 1992b, 58-61, DJD 9).

The orthography of 4Q22 is frequently—though not consistently—full, but it does not generally attest the alternative morphological forms of Tov's so-called QSP (Skehan et al. 1992b, 62-64, DJD 9; Lange 2009a, 65). A unique characteristic of the scribe's morphology is that he distinguished between the word מצרים meaning “[the land of] Egypt” and מצריים meaning “[the people of] Egypt = the Egyptians” (Skehan et al. 1992b, 64, DJD 9).

¹ The DJD editors do not give an estimate for the total length of the scroll, but Tov uses their details to arrive at his own reconstruction. Tov's precise reconstructed length is stated as 7.82-9.66 (average: 8.74), which is based on a reconstruction with 57 columns. This stated level of precision is obviously far beyond what the evidence allows, but my own reconstruction generally agrees with his numbers, with approximately 8-8.5 meters as most probable.

There is a broad consensus on the textual character of 4Q22 as pre-Samaritan (Sanderson 1986, 164-165, 166-167; 1988a, 550, 559-560; 1988b, 88-89; Tov 1989, 405; 2002, 155; Skehan et al. 1992b, 65-70, DJD 9; Brooke 1993, 103-104; Davila 1993, 35; Jastram 1998, 279, 282; Ulrich 1999, 135-136; Lange 2009a, 65-66). In 1955, Skehan, who was editing 4Q22 for the DJD series, proposed that it was a Samaritan manuscript based on shared harmonistic expansions, but his further work on the reconstruction of the scroll subsequently demonstrated that it lacked the additional Samaritan commandment after 20:17 to build an altar on Mount Gerizim (for documentation of the history of the reconstruction of the scroll, see Sanderson 1986, 10-13; Skehan et al. 1992b, 66-68, DJD 9).¹ Skehan's conclusions were confirmed in detail by Sanderson (1986) in a comprehensive textual analysis of the scroll as it was then known, leading to the current consensus opinion, which is almost certainly correct. In sum, where the evidence permits evaluation, 4Q22 shares all the major typological features of S except its additional Samaritan commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim and often agrees with S in small details. Nevertheless, it also differs from S in many small details, which shows separate development of both traditions beyond their common source text.² On the basis of the lack of the Samaritan commandment and a higher proportion of readings judged to be preferable in small details, Sanderson suggests that 4Q22 reflects an earlier stage in the development of this common tradition than does S (Sanderson 1986, 164-165, 166-167; Skehan et al. 1992b, 68-70, DJD 9). This seems to me considerably more likely than Jastram's (1998, 282) alternative suggestion that Jewish scribes may have excised the additional Samaritan commandment upon adopting an expanded text

¹ Thus, Segal's (2007, 10-11) claim that 4Q158 is the only manuscript from Qumran sufficiently well preserved to prove the existence of a "pre-Samaritan" textual stage without the theologically Samaritan editorial layer requires modification.

² Thus, given the complex patterns of agreement and disagreement, Lange's (2009a, 66) suggestion that 4Q22 may possibly itself be the direct forerunner of the Samaritan tradition cannot be maintained.

form which already contained the additional commandment. Much more controversially—and in my view probably wrongly—Sanderson also claims to have identified six singular readings of 4Q22 that uniquely preserve the oldest known text of Exodus (Sanderson 1986, 54-58; Skehan et al. 1992b, 69, DJD 9), but she does not adequately explain how this fits with her overall characterization of the textual affiliation the scroll (see my critique of Sanderson’s arguments in section 1.4.1).

One final miscellaneous note from Sanderson is also in order, namely that she proposes that the scroll may have been used as part of dramatic readings of passages about the Exodus, which would have been enhanced by the harmonistic expansions of this section (Sanderson 1986, 223-224), but this theory is highly speculative and does not account for similar typologically significant characteristics elsewhere in Exodus.

3.2.15 4Q158 – 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch^a

4Q158 (4Q[Reworked] Pentateuch^a) has a complex publication history. In 1968, Allegro published a minimalistic edition in the much-criticized volume 5 of the DJD series (Allegro 1968, DJD 5). In 1970, Strugnell published a long article critiquing and supplementing the volume, including important discussions on 4Q158 (Strugnell 1970, 168-175). 4Q158 received new life when it was identified by Tov and White (now Crawford) as a copy of the 4QReworked Pentateuch composition and relabeled 4QReworked Pentateuch^a (Tov 1994a, DJD 13, cf. section 1.3.5 for a history of research on the [Reworked] Pentateuch manuscripts). Molly Zahn has since published a preliminary transcription and evaluation of 4Q158 based on her work with Moshe Bernstein for a planned re-edition of DJD volume 5 (Zahn 2011a; 2011b). To date, however, there is still no satisfactory critical edition of 4Q158.

According to Strugnell, 4Q158 is written in Hebrew in a Herodian or slightly pre-Herodian formal hand (1970, 168), which corresponds roughly to the second half of the 1st

century BCE. It is reconstructed from 15 parchment fragments, several of which cannot be easily identified with known pentateuchal texts (frgs. 3, 4, 14, 15).¹ Tov considers 4Q158 to be written in the so-called QSP (2010, 83). 4Q158 reflects a heavily edited text, placing a revised version of Genesis 32:24-33 before Exodus 4:27, repositioning Exodus 20:7-17 between 20:21a and 20:21b (cf. Zahn 2011b, 66), freely composing and interpolating new texts, and making many other smaller editorial changes. The base text from which 4Q158 was edited already contained the so-called “pre-Samaritan” harmonistic expansions in chapter 20, but apparently did not include the additional Samaritan commandment to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim in 20:17b.

3.2.16 4Q364 – 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch^b

According to Tov and White (now Crawford), 4Q364 is written in Hebrew in a late Hasmonean or transitional formal hand (1994a, 201, DJD 13), which corresponds to 75-50 BCE (Lange 2009a, 38). It is reconstructed from 32 groups of identified parchment fragments and 35 unidentified fragments, containing parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.² On the basis of my research, I propose an identification for one previously unidentified fragment.³ The transitions between the books have not been preserved, but my reconstruction suggests that Deuteronomy would have begun in the middle of a column. While the preserved evidence does not allow the complete reconstruction of the scroll, clusters of preserved fragments allow for the rough reconstruction of a number of consecutive

¹ Previously known pentateuchal texts which probably can be identified include Gen 32:24-32+ (before Exodus 4:27); 47:29-30?; Exod 4:27-28+; 6:3-8 (loose paraphrase?); 19:17-23; 20:19a-21b, 12-17a, 22+-26; 21:1-11, 15-25, 32-37; 22:1-13; 24:4+-7+; 30:31-34.

² Gen 25:18-21; 26:7-8; 27:39 or 41?; 28:5+-6; 29:32-33?; 30:8-14, 26-36+; 31:47-53; 32:18-20, 26-30; 34:2?; 35:28; 37:7-8; 38:14-21; 44:30-34; 45:1, 21-27; 48:14-15?; Exod 21:13+-22; 24:11-14, 18-18+; 25:1-2; 26:1, 33-35; 33:10-11; Num 14:16-20+?; 20:17-18 (placed before Deut 2:8); 33:31-49; Deut 1:1-6, 17-33, 45-46; 2:8-14 (preceded by Num 20:17-18), 30-37; 3:1-2, 18-23; 9:6-7, 12-18, 22-24, 27-29, 21?, 25?; 10:1-4, 6-7?, 10-13, 22; 11:1-2, 6-9, 23-24; 14:24-26.

³ Frg. K = 33:10-11 (certain).

columns. The average column width was 48 letter spaces per line, with averages for each column ranging from 40 to 64 letter spaces (Tov and White 1994a, 198, DJD 13). 4Q364 apparently had columns of approximately 40-50 lines, with the greatest probability resting somewhere around 45 lines.¹

The manuscript uniquely and consistently marks the tetragrammaton with a colon in the middle of the space separating it from the preceding word (Tov and White 1994a, 200, DJD 13), and Tov considers 4Q364 to be written in the so-called QSP (2010, 83). 4Q364 shows close agreement with S, including sharing two harmonizing additions in Genesis 30:36 and Deuteronomy 2:8 (Tov 1994a, 193-194, DJD 13), though we cannot necessarily assume this to be the case for Exodus as well. Its running base text of the Pentateuch is frequently interspersed with uniquely attested exegetical interpolations of varying length (Tov 1994a, 191, DJD 13; Tov 1992). Among the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts, however, it follows its pentateuchal base text relatively closely, such that even Bernstein concedes that 4Q364 “might very well be” itself a copy of the Pentateuch (2013b, 497).

3.2.17 4Q365 – 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch^c

According to Tov and White (now Crawford), 4Q365 is written in Hebrew in a hand from the transitional period between the late Hasmonean and early Herodian periods (1994c,

¹ Tov and White use only two places to calculate the number of lines per column (Tov and White 1994a, 198, DJD 13). According to them, the column containing frg. 4 ii can be reconstructed according to M and S at 41 lines, and the column containing frg. 5 i and frg. 6 can be reconstructed at 39 lines, though they allow that the columns could have been significantly different if the text did not follow M closely in the reconstructed portions. Because of the uncertainties and the likelihood of exegetical interpolations in the reconstructed text, I would estimate columns of 40-45 lines for each of these locations. Column heights of 40-45 lines, when reconstructed according to M and S, are also suggested by several other fragments, such as frg. 3 i-ii (if 3 i is identified correctly), frgs. 7 – 8 i (two columns), and frgs. 8 ii – 9 (two columns of 35-40 lines, which probably requires a significant amount of interpolated text in these columns to fill two full columns). Several other fragments suggest column heights of 45-50 lines, such as frgs. 5b ii – 7, frg. 8 i-ii, frgs. 15 – 17 (two columns). Frgs. 21 – 23 and frgs. 24 – 25 suggest reconstructions of columns of 43-46 lines. Since the character of the manuscript is generally expansionistic, I suggest that the line count should be more heavily weighted towards the larger reconstructed columns. Thus, I propose that 4Q364 had columns of 40-50 lines per column, with the greatest probability resting somewhere around 45 lines per column. Interestingly, Stegemann came to similar conclusions, arguing that “4Q364 and 4Q365 ... represent a large Torah scroll with about 45 lines in each column (1990, 215, n. 291).”

260, DJD 13), which corresponds to 75-50 BCE (Lange 2009a, 41). It is reconstructed from 35 groups of identified parchment fragments and 24 unidentified fragments, containing parts of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.¹ There is some discussion as to whether or not the fragments attributed to a separate scroll 4Q365a in the *editio princeps*—written in the same hand, but not containing any known pentateuchal text—should be considered part of the same scroll (for discussion of the controversy, see White [now Crawford] 1994, 319-320, DJD 13; Lange 2009a, 39-40).² The transition between an apparently expanded ending of Leviticus and the beginning of Numbers has been preserved on the parchment with one blank line separating the books (Tov and White 1994c, 299, DJD 13). While the preserved evidence does not allow the complete reconstruction of the scroll, clusters of preserved fragments allow for the rough reconstruction of a number of consecutive columns. The average column width was 62 letter spaces per line, with averages for each column ranging from 48 to possibly as high as 88 letter spaces (Tov and White 1994c, 256, DJD 13). 4Q365 apparently had columns of approximately 40-50 lines, with the greatest probability resting somewhere around 45 lines.³ In an unpublished report on 4Q364-7

¹ Gen 21:9-10; Exod 8:13-19; 9:9-12; 14:10-10+, 12-21; 15:16-27; 17:3-5; 18:13-15; 26:34-36; 28:16-20; 29:20-22; 30:37-38; 31:1+-3; 35:3-5; 36:32-38; 37:29; 38:1-7; 39:1-19; Lev 11:1-2, 17-24, 32, 40-45; 13:6-8, 15-18, 51-52; 16:6-7 or 11-12 or 17-18; 18:26-28; 23:42-44; 24:1-2+; 25:7-9; 26:17-32; 27:34?; Num 1:1-5; 3:26-30; 4:47-49; 7:1, 78-80; 8:11-12; 9:15-23; 10:1-3; 13:12-25; 29-30; 15:26-28; 17:20-24; 27:11; 36:1-2; Deut 2:24 or 36?; 19:20-21; 10:1.

² Zahn, for instance, argues that 4Q365a should be included as part of 4Q365 and that the scroll may have served as a source for the Temple Scroll (Zahn 2011b, 6, 98, 100, 228), a position which Crawford herself now endorses (Crawford 2012a).

³ Tov and White use three places where columns have been substantially preserved to calculate the number of lines per column (Tov and White 1994c, 256, DJD 13). According to them, the column containing frg. 6a i can be reconstructed according to M and S at 47 lines, and the columns containing frgs. 12a-b ii and iii can be reconstructed at 43 lines, though they allow that the columns could have been significantly different if the text did not follow M and S closely in the reconstructed portions. From my own reconstruction, other combinations of fragments allow for calculations which center around the same range of 40-50 lines. The columns containing frgs. 9b i and 9b ii can be reconstructed either at around 40 and 50 lines respectively (if the DJD identification of frg. 9b i is correct) or at around 45 lines each (if the DJD identification of frg. 9b i is incorrect). The text between frgs. 7 ii and 8a-b can be estimated roughly at around five columns of 45-50 lines. We can also reconstruct two columns of around 50 lines between frgs. 10 and 11 i. Higher numbers are yielded between frgs. 9b ii and 10 (around 57 lines, when reconstructed according to M; around 48 lines if 30:1-10 were lacking with

(August 1984), Stegemann suggested a scroll length of 25 meters for 4Q365 (cited in Tov 1994a, 192, DJD 13), though Tov gives a broader estimate of 22-27 meters to allow for uncertainties in the reconstruction.

Tov considers 4Q365 to be written in the so-called QSP (2010, 83). 4Q365 follows the order for the tabernacle sections known from M against G and does not place Exod 30:1-10 at the end of chapter 26 as in the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition. However, 4Q365 is not extant for any passages where this tradition has introduced large, harmonistic expansions. Its running base text of the Pentateuch is frequently interspersed with uniquely attested exegetical interpolations of varying length (Tov 1994a, 191, DJD 13; Tov 1992), and the end of Numbers 4 and beginning of Numbers 7 appear on the same fragment, omitting the miscellaneous laws of Numbers 5-6 (Tov and White 1994c, 301-302, DJD 13). If the fragments attributed to 4Q365a are included in this scroll, then the scroll presents even more evidence of the insertion of freely composed material. Tov notes that the evidence for the affiliation of 4Q365 is not clear, but originally suggested a probable relationship with the so-called pre-Samaritan tradition (Tov 1994a, 194, DJD 13; so also Lange 2009a, 41). Angela Kim (now Harkins), on the other hand—based on her study of the tabernacle sections in 4Q365—suggested that 4Q365 is closest to M (Kim 2002), a conclusion which Tov now finds compelling (2010, 83 n. 39).

S) and possibly between frgs. 11 i and 12a i (around 67 lines, if one column is reconstructed between them). Lower numbers are yielded between frgs. 7 i-ii (around 30 lines) and possibly between frgs. 11 i and 12a i (around 35 lines per column, if reconstructed in two columns). The great range of numbers probably indicates major pluses and minuses in 4Q365 at various points, but the fact that they all center around the range of 40-50 lines, makes our solution quite probable. Interestingly, Stegemann came to similar conclusions, arguing that “4Q364 and 4Q365 ... represent a large Torah scroll with about 45 lines in each column (1990, 215, n. 291).”

3.2.18 4Q366 – 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch^d

4Q366 (4Q[Reworked] Pentateuch^d) is written in Hebrew in a square, late Hasmonean formal hand from approximately 75-50 BCE (Tov and White 1994d, 336-337, DJD 13; Lange 2009a, 42; Zahn 2011b, 122). It is reconstructed from five parchment fragments containing text from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.¹ The average letter counts per line range from around 50-65 (Tov and White 1994d, 335, DJD 13), yielding estimations of approximately 10-12 cm per column. The number of lines per column and the height and length of the scroll cannot be reconstructed.²

The nature of 4Q366 is very difficult to discern. The Pentateuch texts preserved generally closely follow texts known from other witnesses with little or no evidence of intentional rewriting. Frg. 2, however, juxtaposes Leviticus 24:20-22 and 25:39-43, and frg. 4 i juxtaposes Numbers 29:32-30:1 and Deuteronomy 16:13-14. Zahn makes a compelling case that both of these examples reflect editorial rearrangement of the material (Zahn 2011b, 123-126).³ A further important point often overlooked, but noted also by Bernstein (2013b,

¹ Exod 21:35-37; 22:1-5; Lev 24:20-22?; 25:39-43; Num 29:14-24, 32-39; 30:1 (preceding Deut 16:13); Deut 14:14-21; 16:13-14 (following Num 30:1).

² Frg. 4 preserves a bottom margin of at least 2.5 cm, and I suggest that frg. 1 may preserve a top margin of 2.7 cm not noted in the DJD edition. Frg. 4 has text from two successive columns, but we cannot estimate the number of lines per column from this, since the second column cannot be identified with any known text in the Pentateuch. One left-hand and one right-hand margin have been preserved to the stitching, each measuring 1.2 cm, and one intercolumnar margin measures 1 cm (Tov and White 1994d, 335, DJD 13).

³ So also Tov and White (1994d, 339, 341, DJD 13), though for different reasons regarding the arrangement of the Leviticus texts. Tov and White argue that Leviticus 24:20-22 and 25:39-43 were juxtaposed because of the lexical parallel of having one law for the sojourner (גר) and native in 24:22 and the treatment of Hebrew slaves as sojourners (תושב) in 25:40. Zahn, supported by Bernstein (2013b, 490-491), does not find this explanation compelling. Instead, she prefers Tov's and White's alternative suggestion of a parallel with Exodus 21:24-25 and 26-27, where two similar laws are juxtaposed. Bernstein (2013b, 490-492) argues instead that the intervening text of Leviticus 24:23-25:38 may have been removed to elsewhere or (more likely) simply omitted, rather than reflecting an intentional juxtaposition of Leviticus 24:20-22 and 25:39-43. Zahn rightly notes, however, that the similar juxtaposition of Numbers 29:32-30:1 and Deuteronomy 16:13-14 cannot be explained by omission of the intervening material, since frg. 5 preserves text from the intervening Deuteronomy 14 (Zahn 2011b, 125), though this does not necessarily answer the question of the editorial process reflected in the Leviticus texts. Thus, while there are a number of possible editorial motives that have been proposed for the juxtaposition of Leviticus 24:20-22 and 25:39-43, some sort of editorial rearrangement of the legal material seems to be the most likely explanation. The juxtaposition of related regulations about Sukkot from Numbers

492), is that frg. 4 ii contains unidentified text that should influence our appraisal of the nature of 4Q366. The text preserved in frg. 4 ii apparently does not correspond to any known pentateuchal text, so I suspect it reflects free composition of new material (contra Zahn 2011b, 126, 129-130, who observes no examples of large additions in 4Q366, but does not address frg. 4 ii).¹ It is possible, though highly speculative, that this large amount of additional text could have come from the same expansion (or a similar one) as is evident in 4Q365 on frg. 23 after the Sukkot material from Leviticus 23:42-24:2 (Tov and White 1994d, 341, DJD 13; Brooke 2001, 221), but there are no textual overlaps to confirm or falsify this suggestion. Thus, of the six columns partially preserved in 4Q366, two reflect the rearrangement of legal material, and one apparently reflects the free composition of new material.

It is also worthy of note that all identifiable texts preserved in 4Q366 are legal in nature, and there is no surviving evidence for any narrative structure. The fragmentary and accidental nature of the preserved fragments makes it hazardous to try to extrapolate from this to speculate about the complete original contents and overall structure of 4Q366 (Bernstein 2013b, 490), but the facts that only legal material is preserved and that the texts betray an intensive focus on reworking this material (Zahn 2011b, 229-230), may hint at some sort of legal anthology of pentateuchal legislation, rather than a reworked hypertext of the entire Pentateuch. On the other hand, if the preserved materials are not representative, 4Q366 could have contained a reworked form of the complete Pentateuch (Lange 2009a, 42).

29:32-30:1 and Deuteronomy 16:13-14 is much more easily explained (Tov and White 1994d, 341, DJD 13; Bernstein 2013b, 491; Zahn 2011b, 124).

¹ Perhaps it is possible that this composition is not entirely original, but is rather a rewriting, conflation, or rearrangement of pentateuchal material. Given the limited evidence preserved, however, I have not been able to relate the preserved text to any known pentateuchal passage or likely combination of passages.

The orthography of 4Q366 is generally—but not consistently—full, sometimes however preserving unusual defective readings with M (e.g., תמימם in Num 29:36), and it does not attest the alternative morphological forms of Tov’s so-called QSP (Tov and White 1994d, 337, DJD 13; Lange 2009a, 42). This leads Tov to suggest that 4Q366 was copied somewhere other than Qumran (Tov 1994a, 189, DJD 13). Tov concludes that there is not enough text preserved for an individual text-typological analysis, but suggests a pre-Samaritan character based on his association of 4Q366 with 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, and 4Q367, which elsewhere can be shown to have close affinities with S (1992, 76; 1994a, 195-196, DJD 13). Lange, on the other hand, labels it as independent (2009a, 42).

3.2.19 Mur1 – MurGen-Exod, Num^a

According to Milik, Mur1 (MurGen-Exod, Num^a) is written in Hebrew in an elegant post-Herodian formal hand from the beginning of the 2nd century CE (Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2; Lange 2009a, 55). It is reconstructed from seven parchment fragments from cave 2 of Wadi Murabba‘at containing parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers.¹ Though the books are often listed as separate manuscripts in official lists (see the bibliography in Lange 2009a, 55), the hand and dimensions are identical between the fragments, arguing strongly that these fragments were all part of one large manuscript (Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2; Lange 2009a, 55). The transitions between the books have not been preserved. The average column width was 8-9 cm (Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2). The columns probably consisted of approximately 50 lines and measured around 34 cm in height (Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2). Including margins, the scroll would have been about 46.5 cm in height (Lange 2009a, 55). The extraordinarily tall, narrow columns make it quite possible that this manuscript originally contained the entire Pentateuch

¹ Gen 32:4-5, 30, 33; 33:1; 34:5-7, 30-31; 35:1, 4-7; Exod 4:27-31; 5:3; 6:5-11; Num 34:10; 36:7-11.

(Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2; Lange 2009a, 55). Since Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers are extant, presumably it also contained the intermediate book Leviticus, but there is no evidence as to whether or not it originally contained Deuteronomy. If Mur1 contained Genesis through Numbers, I estimate it would have been approximately 19-20 meters in length. If it contained the entire Pentateuch, it would have been approximately 23-25 meters in length. Mur1 agrees perfectly with the Masoretic Leningrad Codex, so there is a broad consensus that it reflects the so-called “proto-Masoretic” tradition (Milik 1961, 75, DJD 2; Lange 2009a, 55).

3.3 Other Major Textual Traditions Utilized for This Study

While this thesis has focused on relating the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus without immediate reference to the three major traditions that have long been known (M, S, and G), the analysis would be incomplete and potentially misleading without subsequently discussing the earliest manuscript evidence from the Judean Desert in light of the other traditions. I have used M and S throughout as reference texts to fill out the often very fragmentary picture of the earliest manuscript evidence in two ways.

First, since so much of the book of Exodus has not been preserved in any DSS witnesses, we are often necessarily dependent on M S G as the most important witnesses to the complete text of the book. The stated methodology of this thesis prioritizes consideration of DSS readings as potential sources for the reconstruction of lacunae in DSS manuscripts, but it does not preclude the use of other traditions such as M S G (see section 2.2.1.3 for a detailed description of my preferred methodology for textual reconstructions). Thus, when reconstructing manuscripts, I have consistently considered DSS M S G as potential sources.

The second usage for the reference texts M S is for textual comparison. In the proposed contextualized approach of this thesis, DSS should first and foremost be compared to other DSS. Nevertheless, we must subsequently also compare the DSS to these reference

texts for a number of reasons. First, the number of places where DSS overlap and differ are statistically minimal, whereas comparison with the major complete traditions of Exodus allows fuller cataloguing of important textual variation. Second, comparison with M S allows us to situate the DSS within the broader textual tradition of Exodus, providing a larger perspective than would be possible if only DSS were compared. The DSS will be studied in relation to each other *and* (secondarily) the larger tradition (see section 2.3.3.3 for methodological reflections on the use of far-context material).

It should always be borne in mind that these texts are used only as reference texts for comparison with the scrolls utilized in this study, and I make no pretension of having systematically evaluated these traditions against each other. In most cases I considered it preferable to consult a single complete manuscript that is fairly representative of the tradition of which it is a part, rather than work with eclectic reconstructions of the supposed source texts of the respective traditions. In light of this, I have consulted several editions of these traditions in the course of my research that require mentioning.

3.3.1 Masoretic Text (M)

I have selected one medieval Masoretic manuscript as representative of the Masoretic tradition (M) for comparison. For this role I have chosen the manuscript Leningrad B19a or the famous *Codex Leningradensis* (L) from 1008 or 1009 CE. This manuscript has been heavily corrected towards the renowned Ben Asher tradition and provides a good (though imperfect) reflection of that tradition. Since we will only be concerning ourselves with the consonantal text for purposes of this thesis, reference to this representative codex should suffice for purposes of general textual comparison. I have utilized the consonantal text from the Groves-Wheeler Westminster Theological Seminary Hebrew Morphology database in

BibleWorks7 (<<http://www.bibleworks.com/>>, accessed 8 Nov 2014), which is nearly identical to *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.

3.3.2 Samaritan Pentateuch (S)

I have also made frequent reference to the Samaritan Pentateuch (S) in the course of my research. As a manuscript representative of the Samaritan tradition, I have selected the manuscript Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 751 from 1225 CE (D¹), as is the policy of the project creating a critical *editio maior* of the Samaritan Pentateuch under the direction of Stefan Schorch (2013, 112-113). Schorch has been kind enough to provide me with a preliminary version of the *editio maior* for Exodus (dated 10 October 2013), including a transcription of D¹ as the base text and collations of variant readings from six other significant manuscripts. I have generally cited D¹ when referencing the Samaritan Pentateuch, but I have also compared its readings to the other cited manuscripts when D¹ seems problematic for one reason or another. The manuscripts cited in the preliminary edition of Exodus are as follows:

- D¹ – Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 751 (1225).
- C¹ – Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1846 (12th century).
- C⁴ – Cambridge, University Library, Add. 714 (1219).
- G¹ – Nablus/Garizim, Synagogue, 1 (1336) [chapters 21-40 not yet collated].
- G⁶ – Nablus/Garizim, Synagogue, 6 (1204) [= ed. A. Tal, chapters 30-40 not yet collated].
- Li – Leipzig, University Library, Vollers 1120 (c. 1345) [chapters 30-40 not yet collated].
- M¹ – Manchester, John Rylands Library, Sam 1 (1211).

3.4 Textual Witnesses Not Systematically Integrated into This Study

The contextualized approach we have argued for in this thesis does not require the ultimate neglect of any textual witness to a work, but it does provide a methodological justification for the temporary pragmatic exclusion of evidence outside of the contextually-related core of our data set. Eventually all textual sources relating to the literary work should be incorporated into the analysis, but those contextually more distant from the core data set

are of less immediate significance. In a study with such limited time constraints as this thesis, it is important to limit one's ambitions to a manageable goal, optimizing the results of the research by careful selection of the data set and exclusion of other material for study at a later time. As discussed in the previous section, I have decided to include all Hebrew manuscripts containing the continuous text of the entire book of Exodus found in the Judean Desert, which in turn implies that I have decided to exclude numerous important texts from systematic incorporation. I believe this is the best solution to limiting the data set, given the methodological premises of this thesis. The entirety of the textual evidence should be worked into the overall analysis in the future as time permits, but in the meantime I have had to exclude many important witnesses. The following section gives a categorical breakdown of some of the evidence not utilized systematically for this study.

3.4.1 Non-Hebrew Texts

Most importantly, I have chosen to exclude Greek texts (and other versional evidence) from systematic incorporation at this point in the research for a number of reasons. First, the linguistic context of a manuscript is one important contextual factor determining the contextual proximity between manuscripts, such that manuscripts written in different languages are significantly more distant than manuscripts written in the same language (see sections 2.2.3.1 and 2.3.2.4). Thus, there is strong warrant within a contextualized approach for excluding manuscripts written in a different language than the FM from our initial comparisons.

Second, it must never be forgotten that the "G" cited in most text-critical studies is not a preserved ancient manuscript, but a scholarly construct. It is an eclectic, critical, reconstructed text that purports to approximate a state of the text in the third century BCE, but it is not tangibly verifiable, and many small details and even large-scale textual readings

are contested. Perhaps most noteworthy is Bogaert's reconstruction of the Old Greek tabernacle account against Wevers on the basis of the Old Latin *Codex Monacensis* (Bogaert 1996). The contextualized approach laid out in chapter 2 is heavily documentary in focus, building connections between preserved textual artifacts, and it would be entirely inappropriate to treat a modern eclectic edition as equivalent to an ancient manuscript. Thus, while I have frequently consulted the edition of Wevers (1991) when G readings are important for understanding textual evidence within our corpus, I have not systematically incorporated it as a manuscript witness in this study.

Third, if we insist on a documentary approach to the Greek texts, we encounter a large body of manuscript evidence that would be entirely impractical to include at this stage of the research. According to the catalogue of the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen (http://rep.adw-goe.de/bitstream/handle/11858/00-001S-0000-0022-A30C-8/RahlfS-Sigeln_Stand_Dezember_2012.pdf?sequence=1), accessed 19 Sep 2014), there are at least 20 known Greek fragmentary manuscripts containing Exodus material, many of which were not available to Wevers. The sheer bulk of the material would require an additional monograph to treat sufficiently and is certainly far beyond the possible scope of this thesis. Additionally, most of this Greek material is of Egyptian provenance with inscription dates between the 3rd and 6th centuries CE, which makes them collectively much more closely contextually connected to each other than to the Hebrew witnesses considered in this thesis. The same is true of other early Greek witnesses to the text of Exodus.

And fourth, the one example of a Greek papyrus which could feasibly be placed in the immediate context of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus (7Q1) is better treated as part of

the corpus of Greek fragments.¹ The incorporation of the Greek papyrus from Qumran 7Q1/Rahlfs 805 would require significant methodological reflection on the use of versional evidence, which is better dealt with in the context of a full study focusing on the Greek material. Furthermore, even if 7Q1 were incorporated, there is no overlap between it and any Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, so the benefits would necessarily be minimal.

For these reasons, I have refrained from systematically incorporating Greek (and other versional) evidence at this point in the research. This in no way suggests that these witnesses are unimportant, as this is certainly not the case. In fact, many have suggested that the Greek (and/or Latin) tradition may actually reflect an editorially earlier stage in the development of the tabernacle account than our extant Hebrew witnesses (e.g., Aejmelaeus 2007a; Salvesen 2014).² Rather, this decision reflects an attempt to set methodologically warranted and pragmatically feasible limits on the data set for this thesis. The Greek (and other versional) manuscripts deserve to be studied with the same degree of methodological rigor implemented here for the Hebrew manuscripts without settling for easy shortcuts. For this reason, I defer

¹ 7Q1 (7QpapLXXExod, previously known as 7QExodus) is written in Greek in a decorated uncial hand from approximately 100 BCE (according to C. H. Roberts, in a personal letter to R. P. de Vaux, cited in Baillet 1962a, 142, DJD 3; Wevers 1991, 14; Lange 2009a, 107). It is reconstructed from two identified papyrus fragments from Exodus 28, which can be placed relative to one another both by reconstruction of the text and by patterns of fibers on the papyrus (Baillet 1962a, 142, DJD 3, identification by R. P. Boismard). It is inscribed only on the recto side, which implies a (sc)roll format for the manuscript. No margins have been preserved, so there is no way to estimate the height of the columns or the scroll. The lines consistently average around 20 letters per line (with no spaces between words), and Baillet estimates the column width at around 5.4 cm (Baillet 1962a, 142, DJD 3). Since the column height is unknown there is no way to estimate the total length of the scroll. It is most unlikely that such a papyrus scroll would have contained the entire Pentateuch.

7Q1, therefore, appears to be a continuous-text copy of the book of Exodus. Its text is generally closer to M than to Wevers' reconstructed G text, with frequent agreements with the Greek minuscules 376 and 72 (Baillet 1962a, 142, DJD 3). Wevers concludes that 7Q1 reflects early recensional activity towards the Hebrew (Wevers 1992, 40), whereas Lange concludes there is not enough text preserved for text-typological analysis (Lange 2009a, 107).

² To date, I have not been able to identify any arrangement of the tabernacle account in any of the Hebrew witnesses that could be said to correspond to the Old Greek arrangement, but further reconstruction of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus may yield more light on this question.

thorough treatment of the Greek tradition for a future research project.¹ In the meantime, I have frequently referenced important Greek readings for purposes of reconstructions and evaluations of variant readings.

3.4.2 Excerpted Texts

Portions of the text of Exodus of varying quantity were frequently excerpted from within their continuous-text contexts in the book of Exodus and juxtaposed with other excerpted passages. These manuscripts remove selected texts of the books and place them in decontextualized (or recontextualized) juxtaposition to each other, yielding a running text consisting exclusively of passages intentionally isolated for some specific thematic or liturgical purpose. These types of manuscripts frequently preserve long strings of text from Exodus without significant alterations and so are undoubtedly important witnesses to the text of Exodus. Nevertheless, the literary contexts in which these texts are preserved differ greatly from those of the continuous-text manuscripts and should be understood as contextually distant from our corpus. These excerpted texts often provide interesting clues about the history of the texts they excerpt, but are of a sufficiently different nature from the continuous-text manuscripts which form the core of our data set to be excluded for purposes of this study.

There are many such examples of excerpted texts from the Judean Desert. *Tefillin* and *mezuzot* are examples of such potentially significant evidence, as these manuscripts frequently contain text from Exodus 12-13, among other passages (cf. Cohn 2008, 55-87). Inclusion of these sources would provide much more data for small portions of the text, but bring a range of complications beyond the purview of this thesis. Similarly, the Nash Papyrus attests to an intriguing combination of excerpted texts from Exodus and Deuteronomy (cf.

¹ As of September 2014, I have begun conducting research on the early Greek fragments of Exodus at the University of Helsinki as a member of the Centre of Excellence in Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions. This research project is intended to expand the data set considered in this thesis by applying a contextualized approach to the Greek tradition.

Martin 2010, 205-236). 4Q175 (4QTestimonia) juxtaposes excerpted passages from Exodus with those of other works (Talshir 2008). 4QDeutⁱ appears to be a small excerpt manuscript containing liturgically significant passages from Deuteronomy and Exodus 12-13 (Duncan 1995, DJD 14; Tov 2002, 163 n. 140).

Two manuscripts published in DJD as “Exodus” manuscripts have also been determined to have been of this nature. In the single fragment of 4Q15 (4QExod^d),¹ 15:1 immediately follows 13:15-16, omitting 13:17-14:31. The juxtaposition of 13:15-16 and 15:1 is literarily inappropriate in the context of a continuous-text manuscript of Exodus, so it is unlikely that this manuscript preserves a coherent alternative text form to those otherwise known. Chapter 13 is in the context of the Exodus and Passover, whereas chapter 15 is a song celebrating the crossing of the Red Sea. The connection makes no sense without the intervening narration of the crossing of the Red Sea in chapter 14, regardless of whether one supposes 4Q15 to have lacked 13:17-14:31, to have contained it in another location, or to have repeated 13:15-16 as an introduction to 15:1. 4Q15, therefore, probably did not preserve a coherent continuous text form of Exodus.

If it was a continuous text manuscript of Exodus, then the passage may have been omitted accidentally.² However, because of the unlikelihood of such an omission, the

¹ According to Sanderson, 4Q15 is written in a Hasmonean formal hand from the late 2nd century or early 1st century BCE (Sanderson 1994b, 127, DJD 12). Tov (2004b, 169) incorrectly cites the date range for this manuscript as being from 225-175 BCE. It is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment containing parts of Exodus 13:15-16 and 15:1, as well as the top margin of the column. The lines can be reconstructed between 66-78 letter spaces, with estimated measurements of 12-14 cm in width (Sanderson 1994b, 127, DJD 12). There is insufficient evidence to reconstruct the column height, other contents, or the length of the scroll.

² Sanderson (1994b, 127, DJD 12) supposes that 13:17-14:31 could have been omitted by homoioteleuton (יהוה םממממ [13:16] ן יהוה במממ [14:31]), but rejects this possibility as improbable, because of the large quantity of text that would have been omitted. Another problem with this theory is that it would leave the rest of 14:31 (וייראו העם את יהוה ויאמינו ביהוה ובמשה עבדו), which cannot easily fit in the reconstructed space for the line, even without an interval (contra Sanderson). A more likely possibility is that the scribe accidentally omitted these verses by homoioteleuton (יהוה םממ [13:16] ן יהוה 2° םממ [14:31]). The missing text is exactly enough to fill a column of average size for our Exodus manuscripts (42-44 lines of 60-65 letter spaces each), which raises

liturgical significance of the contents, and the decontextualized nature of their juxtaposition, 4Q15 is more likely an excerpt manuscript (so also Tov 2002, 149). On this explanation, text from chapters 13 (well-known for its use in phylacteries) and 15 (a song celebrating the Lord's deliverance through the Red Sea) were excerpted from their narrative context in Exodus and copied one after another, probably for some type of liturgical reference.¹ It is perhaps noteworthy in defense of this thesis, that chapter 13 is frequently attested in manuscripts with excerpts from Exodus.

Similarly, given the extremely small height of 4Q16 (4QExod^e),² this scroll could not physically have contained the entire text of Exodus, but must instead have been some sort of liturgical excerpt manuscript (so also Tov 2002, 163 n. 140; Lange 2009a, 61; also tentatively proposed by Sanderson 1994c, 130, DJD 12). It is noteworthy that only verses from Exodus 13 have been preserved, which—as I have noted above—is frequently found in other excerpted texts of Exodus.

3.4.3 Obvious Exodus Hypertexts

The study of literary texts which generally follow the structure and text of their pentateuchal base texts but also rewrite it in significant ways (additions, omissions, alterations, paraphrase, etc.) has received much attention (e.g., Alexander 1988; Alexander et

the possibility that the scribe accidentally omitted an entire column from his exemplar. If two consecutive columns ended in יהוה, skipping a column would be an easy mistake to make. Nevertheless, for the reasons stated below, I prefer an even more probable explanation.

¹ Tov (2004b, 170) suggests that the occasionally stichographic arrangement of Exodus 15 in the manuscripts may further hint at a liturgical usage for the song. This could support the liturgical use of the song in 4Q15, but such a theory is highly speculative. It is perhaps also worthy of note in this regard that Philo's *Therapeutae* are said to have used Exodus 15 in a liturgical setting at Pentecost (Newman 2008, 462-463). This reference was pointed out to me by Shani Tzoref.

² According to Sanderson, 4Q16 is written in an early Hasmonean semicursive hand from approximately the middle or end of the 2nd century BCE (Sanderson 1994c, 129, DJD 12). It is reconstructed from a single parchment fragment containing Exodus 13:3-5 in one vertically-bounded column with both top and bottom margins preserved. The lines range from 30-34 letters, with an estimated column width of 7.2 cm (Sanderson 1994c, 129, DJD 12). Since both top and bottom margins are preserved, the column of only eight lines can be measured precisely at 5.5 cm (Sanderson 1994c, 129, DJD 12). Adding the top margin of 1.5 cm and bottom margin of 1.2 cm, the scroll measures 8.2 cm in height (Sanderson 1994c, 129, DJD 12).

al. 2010; Bernstein 2005; Brooke 2000; 2002; Campbell 2005; Crawford 2008; Falk 2007; Kraft 2007; Najman 2004; Nickelsburg 1984; Petersen 2007; Segal 2005; VanderKam 2002b; Zahn 2010; 2011b; 2011c; Zsengellér 2014, and even this is only a partial listing). Much recent scholarship prefers the term “Rewritten Scripture” over “Rewritten Bible,” viewing the use of the term “Bible” as anachronistic for the late Second Temple period (e.g., Crawford 2008; VanderKam 2002b).¹ Others—following a preliminary suggestion by the literary critic Gérard Genette for “relationships of imitation and transformation” (1992, 82)—label this literature as “paratextual” (or sometimes “parabiblical”) (e.g., Alexander et al. 2010; Falk 2007; García Martínez 2012; Lange 2011; Trebelle Barrera 2000).² In his more fully developed taxonomy, Genette himself later labelled these types of works “hypertexts” and the base texts which they transform “hypotexts” (Genette 1997, 5), terminology which has been adopted in some studies of the DSS (Brooke 2010) and which I have found helpful for purposes of this description.

The hypertexts resulting from the act of substantially rewriting the pentateuchal hypotext are typically understood as new literary compositions with literary characters and lives of their own, even though they are largely derivative from the earlier literature. Since the producers of revised versions of scriptural texts often engaged in similar rewriting processes, sometimes it is not obvious whether a given rewritten text was intended as a new copy of the work attested by the base text or whether it was intended as a new literary work

¹ While the question of canonical consciousness in Second Temple Judaism remains hotly contested, at very least the potential bibliographical implications of the singular use of “Bible” makes it problematic except as a self-consciously modern construction (Williams 2012). Extant evidence seems to suggest that the various books of the Bible were first collected into a single codex in the fourth century CE, and this mode of presentation of scriptural texts did not become predominant until the advent of the printing press. For this reason, I tend to prefer the more generic term “scripture” when referring to the Second Temple period and use the term “biblical” only when the need arises to distinguish scriptural books which were later collected into complete Bibles (generally the Protestant Old and New Testaments, unless otherwise specified). See also sections 1.3.5 and 2.3.2.4.

² Lange (2011, 207) explicitly prefers Genette’s early suggestion of the term “paratext” with this meaning against his later usage (see below), because of its appropriateness to a wide range of derivative literature.

separate from the work attested by the hypotext. The most obvious example of this phenomenon is the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts from cave 4 of Qumran, since these at times follow their pentateuchal hypotext quite closely, and yet frequently rearrange or freely rewrite it at other times. Because of this ambiguity and differences of opinion regarding the nature of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts (for which, see section 1.3.5), I have cautiously included them in my study of the continuous-text manuscripts containing the entire text of Exodus. Often, however, the picture is much clearer, and the hypertexts are clearly to be understood as separate literary entities. I have chosen to exclude such separate literary compositions for the simple reasons that they would expand the data set far beyond feasible limits and that the methodological complications of utilizing a diverse array of derivative literature would detract from the core thesis. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that these derivative works have much to say about the histories of their hypotexts and cannot safely be ignored. The methodology proposed in this thesis implies only that manuscripts and their texts should be studied first and foremost in light of their nearest contextual relations, but not exclusively. In further implementation of the methodology of this thesis, we should expect to incorporate rewritten hypertexts and, indeed, all literature bearing on the history of the text of the book of Exodus.

For the book of Exodus, there are several important hypertexts that have been excluded from consideration in this thesis for the reasons mentioned above. First of all, the book of Deuteronomy, itself a pentateuchal work, is often considered a rewriting of the book of Exodus, and hence a witness to the text of Exodus (e.g., Zahn 2011c, 110). Other important hypertexts include *Jubilees*, the Temple Scroll, Demetrius the Chronographer, Ezekiel's *Exagoge*, Philo's *Life of Moses*, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, 4Q127 (pap4QParaExod gr), 4Q368 (4QapocrPent A), 4Q374

(4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition), 4Q375 and 4Q376 (4QapocrMoses^{a, b?}), 4Q377 (4QapocrPent B), and 4Q422 (4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus), a list which is by no means exhaustive. Each of these sources warrants further examination, and the amount of secondary literature on many of them is enormous, but we cannot include them in our core data set for this study. Such hypertexts have not been completely ignored, since I have considered them occasionally for the light they can shed on the evidence in question, but they have not been systematically incorporated into the analysis at this point in the research.

3.4.4 Commentaries

A further important source of textual information can potentially be found in commentaries on the book of Exodus. Though the evidence for pentateuchal *pesharim* from Qumran is sparse (possibly 4Q252?), Rabbinic and Christian literature frequently yield commentaries in the lemma-comment format so familiar to modern readers. These commentaries provide helpful information about the history of the text and its interpretation, but the topic is far too broad for the purposes of this thesis.

3.4.5 Citations and Allusions in Free Compositions

Since the book of Exodus was clearly considered authoritative scripture by essentially all Jewish socio-religious communities already in late Second Temple times, it is not at all surprising to find that it is frequently quoted and alluded to in freely composed Jewish and Christian literature from the late Second Temple period up to the present. This literature is unlike the hypertexts previously mentioned in that it does not closely follow the structure and text of Exodus, but instead only occasionally cites Exodus for intertextual scriptural support for an argument made in the context of a work largely independent of the structure and precise wording of Exodus. Any sense in which this literature might be “derivative” from Exodus is only very minimal (in the case of citations) or indirect (in the case of allusions); the

work itself is not a rewriting of Exodus, no matter how much the author intended to draw his or her conclusions from the text of Exodus.

The methodology for identifying scriptural citations and allusions (and various other nuanced usages) and evaluating their evidence for the history of the text has been the subject of a wealth of scholarly literature and is far beyond the scope of this thesis. Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold have recently published a good survey of the most important biblical quotations and allusions in Second Temple Jewish literature (2011), though much work remains to be done. Exodus continued to be referenced in early Rabbinic and Christian literature, providing an abundance of additional source material. These quotations can at times be significant for understanding the history of the text, but they cannot be systematically incorporated into the analysis for this thesis.

3.5 Conclusion

As can be seen from the above discussions, the text of the book of Exodus is attested by a large and diverse tradition. According to the contextualized approach laid out in chapter 2, I have isolated a methodologically justifiable and pragmatically workable core data set in the form of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, relegating full incorporation of the broader textual tradition to a later stage in the research on the textual history of Exodus. To provide further context for understanding, I have also incorporated representative witnesses from the Masoretic and Samaritan traditions as more contextually distant reference texts, but excluded a wide variety of textual witnesses from initial consideration, even though they too undoubtedly have much to contribute to our understanding of the text of Exodus in their own right. The selected corpus of texts should, therefore, be understood merely as an intermediate stage in the research, but a methodologically important one nevertheless. With this corpus in

mind, we can now begin to explore the implications of the application of a contextualized approach to the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus.

CHAPTER 4

A CONTEXTUALIZED APPROACH TO THE HEBREW DEAD SEA SCROLLS CONTAINING EXODUS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 we laid out a methodology for studying the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus in a contextually sensitive manner. It remains to be seen, however, how well this methodology is pragmatically suited for the data set in question and whether any new results will emerge from its implementation. Due to the large data set incorporated into this study, we will not attempt to evaluate every single collated variation-unit systematically. Instead, in this chapter, we will aim to accomplish two more modest goals: 1) *exploring the textual evidence* that arises from the collation of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus against each other and two representatives of the major medieval Hebrew traditions, and 2) *demonstrating the value of the contextualized approach* as applied to the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. To do this, we will demonstrate the close contextual connections between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, provide a general description and analysis of the differences between their texts, and attempt to synthesize the results of these investigations for the reconstruction of textual history.

4.2 Contextual Connections of the DSS Containing the Text of Exodus

In order to implement the proposed method for studying the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus in a contextually appropriate manner, we must begin by considering the contextual backgrounds of each of these scrolls. We will do this in light of the methods and terminology laid out in chapter 2.

4.2.1 Temporal Connections

One of the most distinctive contextual connections between the Hebrew DSS is the temporal proximity of their inscription and lived contexts.

4.2.1.1 Temporal Inscription Contexts

The Hebrew DSS containing Exodus reflect a wide range of dates of inscription. Cross (1994b, 134, DJD 12) dates 4Q17 to the middle of the third century BCE, and it is indeed indubitably one of the oldest scrolls from Qumran. On the other end of the spectrum, Milik (1961, 75, DJD 2) dates Mur1 to the beginning of the second century CE, resulting in a range of over 300 years. Nevertheless, even these two manuscripts are much closer to each other temporally than either is to the medieval Hebrew manuscripts available for comparison. Thus, there is a strong temporal contextual connection between all the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, even though finer differences in inscription dates should not be ignored.

This observation is even more apparent when we move from the temporal extremes of our corpus to the center of the range. All of the remaining scrolls (see chapter 3 for details) could potentially be dated either to the first century BCE or first century CE (1Q2, 2Q2, 2Q3, 2Q4, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q13, 4Q14, 4Q18, 4Q19, 4Q20, 4Q21, 4Q22, 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366). Of these, ten were most probably inscribed in the first century BCE and five in the first century CE (see table 4.1). According to Cross (1994a, 79, DJD 12), 4Q13 comes from the early Herodian period from either the late first century BCE or early first century CE, a period to which Yardeni suggests 2Q3 and 2Q4 may also be dated (2007).

Table 4.1 Chronological Spread of Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus	
Century	Manuscripts
III BCE	4Q17
II BCE	4Q1
I BCE	2Q4 4Q11 4Q14 4Q18 4Q19 4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366
I BCE – I CE	4Q13
I CE	1Q2 2Q2 2Q3 4Q20 4Q21
II CE	Mur1

Since nearly twice as many of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus come from the first century BCE as from the 1st century CE, one could argue that the first century BCE was the more productive at Qumran in terms of creating or importing new manuscripts, but the fact that the settlement was not occupied for nearly half of the first century CE (i.e., after the destruction of Qumran in 68 CE) and the possibility that older scrolls were imported into Qumran at a later time period would make such a line of argument perilous. Instead, we see evidence of steady creation and/or importation of manuscripts throughout the periods of occupation by the Qumran community. Only 4Q17 and 4Q1 were likely to have been written before the occupation of the settlement by the Qumran community on Magness' (2002, 68) revised chronology (i.e., early first century BCE), which would imply that at least these were imported into Qumran, rather than copied on site.

Only Mur1 comes from the second century CE or later, which is commonly considered to be an important temporal dividing line in the standardization of the text of the book of Exodus. All others were inscribed before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE and the major parting of the ways of Judaism and Christianity.

4.2.1.2 Temporal Lived Contexts

If we look beyond the inscription contexts of these manuscripts, the temporal contextual connections are even greater. The discovery of all but one of these manuscripts in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran probably implies similar deposition contexts, and possibly also frequently overlapping lived contexts. It is impossible to say for sure precisely when after the dates of their respective inscriptions each of the scrolls were deposited in the caves or how frequently (if at all) they were removed, consulted, and/or returned.

4.2.2 Geographical Connections

The DSS containing Exodus also share close geographical contextual connections with each other.

4.2.2.1 Geographical Inscription Contexts

There is unfortunately little direct information about the geographical origins of these scrolls. The scrolls themselves lack colophons to indicate where they were written. To the best of my knowledge, there is currently insufficient material for paleographers to distinguish regional variations in ancient Hebrew scripts and locate any of these scrolls within specific regional contexts. Similarly, material studies of the parchment and ink of the scrolls have yet to locate the geographical origins of any of these manuscripts. Several of these scrolls exhibit features of Tov's suggested Qumran Scribal Practice, which according to him would suggest that they were copied at Qumran or in a similar location which utilized this practice (2Q2?, 2Q3?, 4Q13, 4Q20?, 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365; see chapter 3 for details), but the ability to locate the origins of scrolls based on the scribal practices identified by Tov has been contested by some scholars (e.g., Tigchelaar 2010a, 203).

On the other hand, we can infer important information about these scrolls from a number of angles. Most importantly, it is likely that the find sites of these manuscripts inform us about their geographic origins as well. On the supposition that manuscripts were not typically transported across long distances, it is more likely than not that these manuscripts originated in Judea. Mur1 was found in the archaeological context of a Judean refugee site from the Bar Kokhba revolt (cf. Popović 2012, 555, 558), so it was likely produced in Judea. All of the other manuscripts were found in the Qumran caves and were either produced locally or imported, more likely from other sites in the vicinity than from far afield.

Further support for a common geographical origin for a number of these scrolls may be found in the suggestion of Ada Yardeni that 2Q3, 2Q4, and 4Q13 may have been written by a single prolific scribe (Yardeni 2007). If indeed as many as 94 scrolls from Qumran and Masada can be attributed to this scribe, it is virtually certain that he was operative in Judea, and probably more specifically at Qumran itself, according to Yardeni (282).¹

Such inferences cannot provide definitive evidence for geographical origins, but they do make a Judean provenance for these manuscripts more probable than any alternatives, given the current state of the evidence. Certainly there is no clear evidence to the contrary. There is no hint of specifically Samaritan readings (which might indicate a northern provenance) in the so-called “pre-Samaritan” manuscripts.

4.2.2.2 Geographical Lived Contexts

In the end, even if the precise provenance of these scrolls cannot be determined with certainty, they were all still available for use and deposited in the Judean Desert, most of them in the immediate vicinity of the Qumran settlement. Thus, there is a strong geographical contextual connection between all of these scrolls in terms of their lived contexts.

4.2.3 Socio-Religious Connections

There are also close socio-religious connections between the various contexts of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus.

4.2.3.1 Socio-Religious Inscription Contexts

There is very little we can say with confidence about the socio-religious contexts in which the scrolls were originally inscribed. Variation-units are one potentially valuable source for understanding the socio-religious backgrounds of texts, but this avenue of research has not

¹ In this regard, it is worthy of note that Émile Puech recently endorsed Yardeni’s general argument (without referring to 2Q3, 2Q4, or 4Q13) at the workshop “The History of the Caves of Qumran” (February 20-21, 2014) organized by the Facoltà di Teologia in Lugano, Switzerland.

been particularly fruitful in our situation. One important observation is that, as just noted, there is no indication of Samaritan origins for any of these scrolls, including in the so-called “pre-Samaritan” manuscripts (see sections 4.3.4.1 and 4.3.4.8). Whenever sufficient material is extant to determine whether any of these scrolls originally read specifically Samaritan readings, the evidence is always negative. Thus, we can confidently assert that each of these manuscripts were Jewish copies. On the other hand, of the 603 variation-units collated between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, none of the readings of these scrolls appear to reflect obviously partisan changes. The observation of Nam (2007, 155-156) that the reading העדה of 4Q365 for ישראל of M S in variation-unit 17:5 β reflects so-called “proto-sectarian” terminology is of uncertain significance for its inscription context, and others do not find his overall argument for a close relationship with the Qumran community particularly compelling (e.g., Tov 2010, 83, n. 35; Zahn 2011b, 6). Thus, our data tends to confirm the impressions of an increasing number of scholars that the scriptural manuscripts generally lack such partisan alterations (e.g. Ulrich 2002a; see also section 4.3.4.8 for further discussion of the general lack of partisan ideological changes in our corpus). Changes to scriptural texts, therefore, are of little help in situating these scrolls within their socio-religious contexts.

While variation-units are of little help in this regard, some have suggested that the scribal practices reflected in the scrolls may suggest socio-religious backgrounds. Tov has argued that finely constructed manuscripts in paleo-Hebrew (4Q11 and 4Q22) may indicate a priestly Sadducean context (Tov 1996), but the argument is highly speculative and unverifiable. Based on the exact agreement between Mur1 and the important medieval Leningrad Codex, Tov concludes that Mur1 is likely one of the celebrated scrolls corrected to a reference text stored in the temple, thus connecting it with the temple establishment in Jerusalem (Tov 2012a, 47-48; so also van der Kooij 2012). Tov has also suggested that several scrolls (2Q2?, 2Q3?,

4Q13, 4Q20?, 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365; see chapter 3 for details) share many features in common with other manuscripts that follow the so-called Qumran Scribal Practice, which could then potentially situate these scrolls within the same scribal school or approach. Nevertheless, as noted above, a number of scholars have contested the distinctiveness and coherence of Tov's suggested features as well as his attempt to locate the manuscripts which share these characteristics in a particular scribal school (e.g., Tigchelaar 2010a). Crawford has proposed locating manuscripts within one of two scribal schools, one conservative and the other revisionist, in which case the degree of editorial intervention into the text is indicative of the scribal school in which it was transmitted (Crawford 2012b; similarly Tov 2004b, 24-25; 2012c, 184-185; Ulrich 1999, 11, 23, 51 et passim). To me, however, this sharp dichotomy tends to oversimplify the evidence and fails to recognize the possibility of the same scribes alternatively operating in different modes of textual transmission—namely, exact replication of exemplars and editorially intervening in the act of transmitting texts (cf. van der Toorn 2007, 109-110, 125-126; see also my more detailed critique of Crawford's position in section 1.3.4). While interesting and at times potentially correct, none of these proposed backgrounds can be asserted with enough confidence to be particularly helpful in the early stages of contextually situating these scrolls.

4.2.3.2 Socio-Religious Lived Contexts

For most of these manuscripts, however, their later life stages provide much clearer socio-religious contexts and connections. The fact that all of the Qumran scrolls were found in the vicinity of the Qumran settlement probably implies that each of these scrolls passed through the hands of members of the Qumran community at some point in their lives. Theories that separate the scrolls from the settlement have rightly failed to convince most scholars. If then, we can assume that these manuscripts were either created or acquired by the Qumran

community, we can establish strong socio-religious contextual connections between all of these Qumran manuscripts during their useful lives.

4.2.4 Literary Connections

Several literary features also serve to tie the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus together as contextually connected.

4.2.4.1 Language and Content

The literary connections between all of these manuscripts are obvious. For one, they are all written in Hebrew, particularly the Classical Hebrew of Israel's literary past. This is contextually very important, because the act of translation from one language to another necessarily entails many linguistic and cultural transformations. Similarly, the subsequent transmissions of texts in different languages sometimes experience different influences and forces working on the respective traditions, leading to different intra-language developments. Thus, there is good reason to isolate the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus as closely contextually related to each other from a linguistic perspective.

The Hebrew DSS containing Exodus also all share a similar range of genres, content, sequence, themes, and even extensive verbal agreement. Even before a precise textual comparison is complete, we can expect these manuscripts with similar literary profiles to have encountered similar pressures in their transmissions.

4.2.4.2 Pentateuchal Context

Furthermore, all of these scrolls share a literary context as part of the larger corpus of the Pentateuch. The Hebrew DSS containing Exodus strongly suggest that the various pentateuchal books were widely circulated together in the late Second Temple period as a literary and bibliographical unity in multi-work manuscripts (see table 4.2). Based on the statistics collected in chapter 3, all the scrolls containing the text of Exodus which have been

reconstructed to have had a column height of 40 or more lines can also be shown to have originally contained multiple books of the Pentateuch (cf. Tov 2004b, 98, who suggests that scrolls with 20-30 lines per column would have contained only one book, while scrolls with 40-60 lines "could have contained two or more books"). The Qumran scrolls attest to manuscripts containing at least Genesis and Exodus (4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q13, 4Q14) in the same scroll, as well as at least Exodus and Leviticus in the same scroll (4Q17). Mur1 contained at least Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. 4Q364 contained at least parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. 4Q366 contained at least parts of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. 4Q365 preserves parts of every book of the Pentateuch. Since this survey of the evidence indicates that at least half of the complete copies of Exodus circulated as part of the larger corpus of pentateuchal books,¹ we must factor the frequent corpus-based transmission of the text into our appreciation of the textual history of the book.²

	Genesis	Exodus	Leviticus	Numbers	Deuteronomy
4Q1					
4Q11					
4Q13					
4Q14					
4Q17					
4Q364					
4Q365					
4Q366					
Mur1					

In every verifiable case, the books in these multi-work manuscripts follow the same order known from later manuscripts, and in no case do any of these scrolls contain a work not

¹ This conclusion includes the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts 4Q364, 4Q365, and 4Q366 in the category of pentateuchal collections. The evidence for many of the manuscripts listed as Exodus manuscripts below is ambiguous, but any misidentifications in this category would only serve to increase the proportional dominance of larger pentateuchal collections over Exodus manuscripts.

² E.g., Segal (2007, 10) assumes that S can be treated as a single witness for the entire Pentateuch and suggests that the Pentateuch of M may also be taken as a unit, rather than having different textual histories for each book.

part of the Pentateuch, further reinforcing the general impression of the Pentateuch as a recognized collection with defined limits already in the Second Temple period. Deuteronomy is the only book of the Pentateuch not attested in combination with the book of Exodus in the DSS published as “biblical,”¹ but three of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts do contain it.² Thus, the evidence for large pentateuchal collections of multiple books in the Second Temple period is very strong, and almost certainly at least some of them contained the entire Pentateuch (so also Lange 2009a, *passim*; contra De Troyer 2008, 273-276, who is much more cautious and noncommittal in her conclusion, but provides no contrary evidence). The book of Exodus at this time, then, must be understood in light of the larger literary corpus of which it was a recognized part, even if not every copy of Exodus was materially joined with the other books of the Pentateuch (so also Crawford 2008, 40).

In addition to the many examples of the text of Exodus preserved as part of a larger pentateuchal corpus, however, the complete text of Exodus does appear to have circulated independently as well in exclusively Exodus manuscripts. Approximately half of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus are probable Exodus manuscripts, but the numbers are greatly complicated by the ambiguities of the evidence. In many cases the evidence is simply insufficient to determine the nature of a given manuscript, resulting in identifications as Exodus manuscripts by default. However, some of these could have originally been part of larger pentateuchal collections (e.g., 4Q21), and others may have originally contained only

¹ Significantly, Deuteronomy is preceded by Numbers in P. Chester Beatty VI (Rahlfs 963), a codex dated by the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen to the second century CE. This manuscript is probably of Christian origin, but it is roughly contemporaneous with the second Jewish revolt and almost certainly inherits a Jewish tradition. Thus, De Troyer’s statement that “There is thus on the Greek side, solely evidence that points to the existence of separate scrolls and books (De Troyer 2008, 278)” requires modification, even though she is probably right that a complete Torah scroll on papyrus would be quite unlikely.

² Even if one prefers not to consider the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts to be “biblical” scrolls (and hence complete Torah scrolls), they still argue for the physical feasibility of such scrolls of similar length and the perceived bibliographical and literary unity of the Pentateuch in the late Second Temple period.

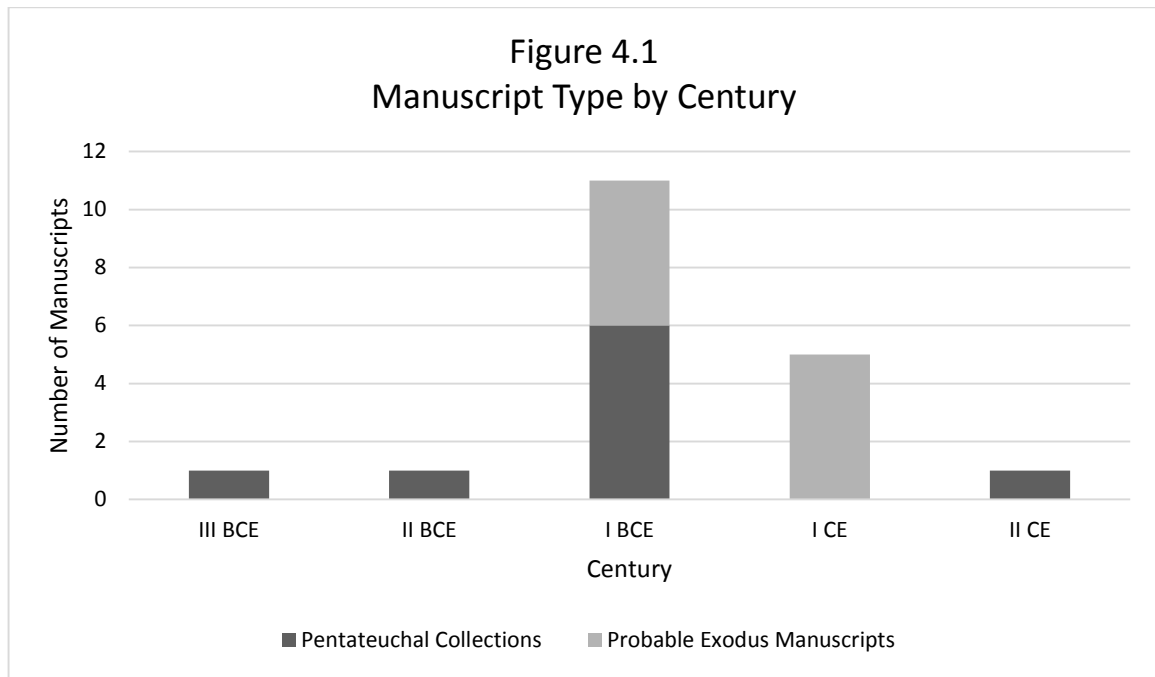
selected parts of Exodus (4Q18, 4Q19), either as excerpted text or citations of Exodus in another literary context.¹ It is unclear whether the preserved fragments of 4Q158 originally covered material from Genesis and Exodus or only Exodus, but since some fragments from the context of Exodus include Genesis-like material, it is quite possible that the original scope of 4Q158 was determined by an Exodus base text and structure (Zahn 2011a, 15). Though the burden of proof is quite high, it is noteworthy that in no case can we verify that any manuscript from Qumran contained only the book of Exodus in its entirety. This category of texts, therefore, is an unverifiable inference based on the nature of the minimally preserved evidence for some manuscripts, which often allows for alternative possibilities. Nevertheless, the facts that some manuscripts preserve only text from Exodus and can be reconstructed with columns of 35 or fewer lines make this classification likely in many cases. The contents of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus can be illustrated as in table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Bibliographical Classification of the Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus										
Pentateuchal Collections	4Q1	4Q11	4Q13	4Q14	4Q17	4Q364	4Q365	4Q366	Mur1	
Probable Exodus Manuscripts	1Q2	2Q2	2Q3	2Q4	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q21	4Q22	4Q158

If we compare our classifications with the chronological spread of manuscripts (counting 4Q13 in the first century BCE), all pentateuchal collections except Mur1 are likely to be from before the turn of the era, whereas half of the probable Exodus manuscripts are from after the turn of the era (see figure 4.1). Thus, there seems to be a general predominance of pentateuchal collections among the earlier scrolls, which is superseded by later Exodus manuscripts. Perhaps this could relate to the treasured nature of the *de luxe* Torah scrolls (cf. Tov 2004b, 125-129, for a discussion of this type of scroll). The Qumran community may have

¹ For these reasons, the titles and lists from the DJD editions can be deceptive, and the number of exclusively Exodus scrolls originally containing the entire book appears to be inflated.

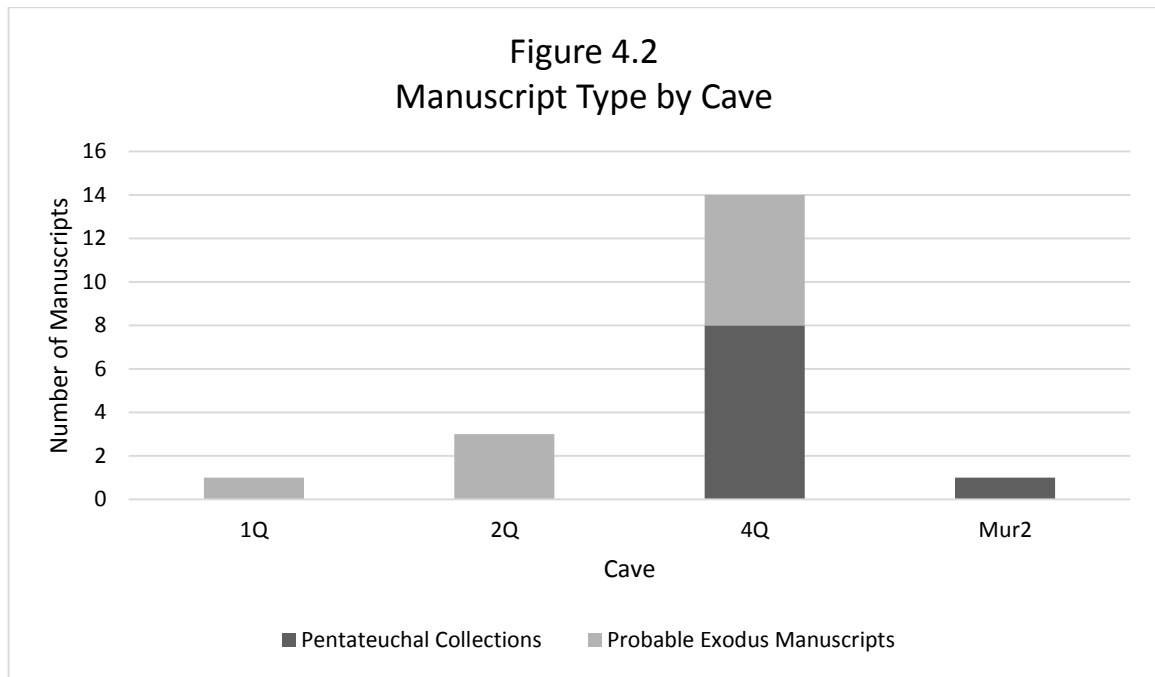
collected older Torah scrolls, or else they may simply have lasted longer due to infrequent use. On the other hand, the smaller copies of the book, which would be more useful for regular study, would tend to deteriorate faster and need to be frequently replaced.



The distinction between pentateuchal collections and probable Exodus manuscripts also yields interesting correlations between manuscript type and cave profile,¹ showing a possible relationship between the geographical and literary connections of these manuscripts (see figure 4.2). Mur1, which was discovered in the archeological context of a refugee shelter (cf. Popović 2012, 555, 558), was likely a treasured family or community heirloom. The Qumran materials, however, show an interesting pattern. All of the pentateuchal collections come from cave 4, and more than half of the cave 4 manuscripts are pentateuchal collections. In contrast, caves 1 and 2 yield only probable Exodus manuscripts. The same pattern can be seen when we look at all of the manuscripts containing any of the books of the Pentateuch, as only cave 4 contains

¹ The question of the various Qumran cave profiles has exercised scholars throughout the history of DSS studies (for a recent survey, synthesis, and new contribution to the question, see Hempel 2013, 303-337) and has recently received increased attention, such as at the workshop “The History of the Caves of Qumran” (February 20-21, 2014) organized by the Facoltà di Teologia in Lugano, Switzerland.

larger pentateuchal collections, with the single possible contested exception of 1QpaleoLev-Num^a (cf. Lange 2009a, 66-68). It is difficult to tell the significance (if any) of this observation, but it is at least worth mentioning as part of the ongoing discussion of cave profiles.



4.2.4.3 Scriptural Status

Most (if not all) of these scrolls would certainly have been understood as sacred scripture by both their copyists and the vast majority of subsequent readers. Only the so-called (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts raise any major complications in this regard, but it is quite possible that at least some of them would have been widely considered scriptural. This question is integrally linked with the question of whether they are copies of the Pentateuch or new compositions based on the Pentateuch, though it is of course possible that some could have understood these texts as non-pentateuchal, but still scripture. Thus, most (if not all) of these scrolls would have been closely connected in the minds of ancient readers.

4.2.5 Contextual Connectivity of the Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus

In the past four sections, we have demonstrated numerous close contextual connections between all of the DSS containing the text of Exodus in terms of their temporal, geographical,

socio-religious, and/or literary contexts. While it is often difficult to pinpoint the precise contexts of their inscription (other than approximate dates) with confidence, they almost certainly shared important connections both in terms of their original inscription and even more so their useful lives and deposition in caves in the Judean Desert. The contextual connections are most obvious between the Qumran scrolls, but even Mur1 is contextually far closer to these scrolls than is any other manuscript (with the possible exception of 7Q1, a Greek papyrus copy of Exodus from Qumran). Therefore, we are warranted in considering all of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus in light of each other as immediately contextually relevant.

4.3 Differences in Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus

In order to understand the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus and the textual tradition to which they attest, we must identify the differences between the texts of these manuscripts. In the course of my research, I have systematically collated every one of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus against every other Hebrew DSS containing Exodus and the two reference texts M and S.¹ Through this process, I have identified 603 sets of textual differences between these manuscripts for the book of Exodus, excluding purely orthographic differences. For purposes of the following discussions, I will label these contested locations in the text **variation-units*** and identify them by the verses in which they are found and Greek letters distinguishing them from other variation-units in the same verses (e.g., variant 15:22β is the second variation-unit collated from chapter 15, verse 22 of Exodus).² I will label each attested text at these points of variation the particular **variants (or variant readings)***. See appendix A.4 for the full collations.

¹ I also systematically compared our reference texts M and S together, but I have only included the variants between these two if they are attested by one or more of our DSS.

² The term “variation-unit” was proposed by Colwell and Tune (Colwell 1969, 96-105) and has since become quasi-standard terminology among NT textual critics (cf. Epp 1993, 49).

4.3.1 Descriptive List of Differences

When we set out to analyze textual traditions, it is important first fully to collect and describe the data independently of scholarly judgments about the priority or posteriority of the readings or their significance (Epp 2013b, 546-547). This description provides the raw material for further research by scholars and ensures that the fullest possible amount of data will be accounted for, instead of basing far-reaching conclusions on a selective portion of the evidence. In this section, I will divide the types of differences identified into five descriptive categories: 1) alternative readings; 2) small pluses/minuses; 3) large pluses/minuses; 4) small sequence differences; and 5) large sequence differences. This typology will provide a good starting point for understanding the type of variation in the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus.

4.3.1.1 Alternative Readings

The most frequent type of difference between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of alternative readings. I define **alternative readings*** as textual differences between manuscripts that reflect the same sequence and (generally) quantity of words, but differ somehow qualitatively.¹ Alternative readings typically reflect the same number of words in the same order, such as differences in particles, pronouns, lexemes, morphology, and occasionally significant orthographic variation. In all, there are 415 differences that reflect alternative readings, fully two thirds of the collated variation-units. 380 differences are straightforward alternatives. 32 reflect alternatives within complex variation-units including small pluses/minuses. One reflects a complex variation-unit including small pluses/minuses and sequence differences (20:18 α). One other reflects alternative readings in a four-word phrase

¹ Occasionally alternative readings may differ slightly in the number of words, such as when a preposition is prefixed in one text and separate in another (e.g., למשה vs. אל משה). In these situations, it would be inappropriate to label the latter as a plus, since the two are merely alternatives that are quantitatively different due to principles of Hebrew word division.

lacking in one manuscript (15:22 β). And another reflects alternative readings in a phrase located in a different location in one manuscript (29:21 β).

4.3.1.2 Small Pluses/Minuses

The second most frequent type of difference between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of small pluses and minuses. I define **pluses/minuses*** as textual differences between manuscripts that reflect quantitative differences in wording, with one text containing one or more words not contained in another text. The contested wording is classified as a **plus*** in the text which contains it and a **minus*** in the text which lacks it. Because pluses and minuses of different sizes often have different causes and influence on the textual tradition, I have chosen to further divide the pluses/minuses into small and large. **Small pluses/minuses*** are defined as pluses/minuses consisting of three or fewer words. Of the 603 total variation-units, 166 (or possibly 167) entail small pluses/minuses, comprising approximately 27.5% of the differences. 132 of these are straightforward pluses/minuses. 32 reflect pluses/minuses within complex variation-units including alternative readings. One reflects a complex variation-unit including alternative readings and sequence differences (20:18 α). One reflects a complex variation-unit including a plus which differs in sequence between manuscripts which attest to it (1:5 α). And one final difference may alternatively be interpreted as a small plus/minus or a sequence difference (9:29 α).

4.3.1.3 Large Pluses/Minuses

The third most frequent type of textual difference between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of large pluses and minuses. I define **large pluses/minuses*** as pluses/minuses consisting of four or more words. Because of the size of these differences, they are far more well known and frequently discussed in scholarly literature than the alternative readings and small pluses/minuses. The substantial quantitative differences between some texts also

occasionally allow for reconstructions of manuscripts lacunose at the points in question to determine with a high degree of confidence whether or not the reconstructed manuscripts originally contained or lacked the plus. In all, there are 39 large pluses/minuses. 38 are straightforward pluses/minuses. One additional plus/minus reflects alternative readings in a four-word phrase lacking in one manuscript (15:22 β).

4.3.1.4 Small Sequence Differences

The least frequent type of textual difference between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of sequence differences. I define **sequence differences*** as strings of text occurring in different orders in different manuscripts. Because sequence differences of different sizes often have different causes and influence on the textual tradition, I have chosen to further divide the sequence differences into small and large. **Small sequence differences*** are defined as sequence differences consisting of three or fewer words. There are only 16 (or possibly 17) small sequence differences attested in our corpus. 14 of them are straightforward. One reflects a complex variation-unit including alternative readings and small pluses/minuses (20:18 α). One reflects a complex variation-unit in which the sequence occurs in a phrase lacking in some manuscripts (1:5 α). And one final difference may alternatively be interpreted as a small plus/minus or a sequence difference (9:29 α).

4.3.1.5 Large Sequence Differences

By far the rarest type of difference between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of large sequence differences. **Large sequence differences*** are defined as sequence differences consisting of four or more words. There are only four large sequence differences attested in our corpus. 4Q158 differs from M S in sequence for four words in its arrangement of the commandment against jealousy (20:17 α). 4Q158 also appears to place 20:7-17 before 20:22 against 4Q22 M S, which place it before 20:18 (20:7-17 α). 4Q22 S place 30:1-10 after

26:35, against 4Q11 4Q365 M, which place it at the beginning of chapter 30 (26:35ε). And finally, 4Q22 S place 29:21 after 29:28, 4Q365 places it in the middle of 29:20, and M places it after 29:20 (29:21α).

4.3.2 Scribal Errors

A fruitful avenue for further investigating the scribal approaches reflected in our tradition is to analyze clear scribal errors. For our purposes, I will define a **clear scribal error*** either as text corrected by the first hand or an obviously nonsensical reading. As such, there is a strong presumption that these readings were newly created by the copyists of the FMs and were recognized as mistakes by the copyists themselves, or at least would have been if they had noticed them.

The scribes who corrected the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus utilized a variety of methods for indicating corrections such as physical erasures, cancellation dots, strokes through words to be deleted, overwriting letters, and supralinear insertions, often within the same manuscripts (for an exhaustive description of the correction procedures utilized in texts from the Judean Desert, see Tov 2004b, 187-203, 222-230). It is not entirely clear by what standard the scrolls were corrected, however. The overwhelming majority of corrected errors appear to have been corrected either in the process of the initial copying of the scroll or else in a later proofreading by the first hand for obvious errors. There is little reason to suspect from the corrections preserved that any of the DSS containing Exodus were systematically corrected according to other manuscripts after their initial inscriptions, whether it be the exemplars from which they were copied or alternative copies. Most errors were obvious enough to have been caught by readers without reference to another manuscript, though a handful may, in my opinion, suggest the use of other manuscripts for the correction of the scrolls (e.g., 4Q22 17:13 - ואת עמו; 4Q365 30:37 - אֶת־הַנֶּחֱסֵי).

The respective percentages of clear scribal errors in these manuscripts are illustrated in table 4.4. These percentages reflect the relative care with which the various manuscripts were copied. Manuscripts with lower percentages of scribal errors were more carefully copied, while manuscripts with higher percentages of scribal errors were more carelessly copied. Nevertheless, the percentages of

	Scribal Errors	Overlapping Words with M	Percentage Error
4Q365	24	621	3.87%
4Q364	3	95	3.16%
2Q2	3	135	2.22%
4Q14	18	851	2.12%
4Q158	9	437	2.06%
4Q17	4	246	1.63%
4Q13	3	378	0.8%
4Q1	3	543	0.55%
4Q11	4	830	0.48%
4Q22	5	2145	0.23%
2Q4	0	3	0%
4Q21	0	8	0%
4Q19	0	9	0%
4Q20	0	13	0%
4Q18	0	15	0%
4Q366	0	27	0%
2Q3	0	55	0%
1Q2	0	57	0%
Mur1	0	115	0%

error do not display any obvious clustering, but rather occur along a continuous spectrum from 0%-4% with no statistically significant gaps. This suggests that the care with which the manuscripts were copied is better understood as a spectrum of relative carefulness and carelessness than as two distinct scribal approaches (i.e., careful vs. careless).

Beyond these general observations, we can gain further understanding of scribal tendencies by an analysis of the types of clear scribal errors made by each scribe. Alternative readings (Alt) are defined as above in our descriptive list, as are small and large sequence differences (Sseq and Lseq respectively). I have further divided the categories of pluses/minuses to clarify whether the scribal errors create pluses or minuses, thus yielding four new categories of quantitative differences: small pluses (S+), large pluses (L+), small minuses (S-), and large minuses (L-). I have also included a separate category of merely orthographic errors (Orth). The types of scribal errors made by the copyist of each manuscript can be

summarized as in table 4.5 below, and the following sections will draw out some of the implications of this information.

Table 4.5 Clear Scribal Errors per Manuscript by Type of Variation-Unit										
	1Q2	2Q2	2Q3	2Q4	4Q1	4Q11	4Q13	4Q14	4Q17	4Q18
Orth	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	4?	1	0
Alt	0	1?	0	0	0	2?	0	4	1?	0
S+	0	0	0	0	0	1?	0	0	0	0
L+	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1?	0	0
S-	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5?	1?	0
L-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4?	1	0
Sseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	3	0	0	3	4	3	18	4	0
	4Q19	4Q20	4Q21	4Q22	4Q158	4Q364	4Q365	4Q366	Mur1	Total
Orth	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	16
Alt	0	0	0	1	1	2	13	0	0	27
S+	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3
L+	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
S-	0	0	0	2	5	0	4	0	0	20
L-	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	10
Sseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	5	9	3	24	0	0	76

4.3.2.1 Orthographic Errors

For our corpus, 16 out of a total of 76 attested scribal errors merely reflect problems in orthography, 11 of which were subsequently corrected by the first hand (see table 4.6). In most cases the corrections were presumably made to conform the spelling to the orthography of the exemplar, but it is also possible that in some cases the orthography was made to conform to an ideal that differed from the exemplar. Two supralinearly inserted vowel letters in 2Q2 could be taken either way without similar examples to compare, so the evidence for the scribe's approach to the orthography of his exemplar is inconclusive. 4Q1 commits only two orthographic errors, one of which is an erroneous form that never occurs in any known scriptural texts (5:13), and the other is likely a correction to the exceptional fuller orthography

of the exemplar (1:17), since the defective spelling appears from 3:13 to have been normal for the preposition in this scroll. 4Q13 appears to correct a simple erroneous omission of a vowel letter likely present in the exemplar (2:5) and inserts another vowel letter which may or may not have been in his exemplar (3:17). 4Q14 attests to two or three erroneous phonological spellings (7:20, 21; 12:41?) and a correction of a probably erroneous defective spelling to the normal full spelling (17:13; cf. the full spelling in 17:14). 4Q17 corrects a probably erroneous defective spelling (39:11). 4Q158 corrects one erroneous spelling (Gen 32:30) and adds an unusual supralinear vowel letter, likely from its exemplar (22:4). Thus, 4Q1, 4Q13, 4Q14, 4Q17, and 4Q158 seem to show evidence of a concern for replication of the orthography of their exemplars, but the examples are too few to come to definitive conclusions about their scribal approaches. In no case do any scribes delete an erroneously inserted vowel letter, suggesting either that scribes were more prone to accidentally omit vowel letters than add them or that they were less likely to observe and/or correct their additions of vowel letters. Only **בפליליים** in 4Q158 21:22 and **העדוות** in 4Q364 26:34 reflect erroneous dittographs of vowel letters.

Table 4.6 Scribal Errors of Orthography		
2Q2 1:12 - א'תם	4Q14 7:20 - ביור	4Q158 21:22 - בפליליים
2Q2 26:12 - הא'הל	4Q14 7:21 - היור	4Q158 22:4 - מיט'ב
4Q1 1:17 - אלה'ן	4Q14 12:41 - צ'ב'ת	4Q364 26:34 - העדוות
4Q1 5:13 - בימו	4Q14 17:13 - יה'שע	4Q365 36:33 - הקצ'א
4Q13 2:5 - הס'ף	4Q17 39:11 - ס'פ'ר	
4Q13 3:17 - ויא'מרה	4Q158 Gen 32:30 - ויש'אל	

There is an interesting correlation between the presence of orthographic errors and overall percentage of scribal error in the manuscripts. Though the data set is limited, it is precisely the texts which are copied relatively carelessly that tend to betray numerous

orthographic errors and corrections. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. First, the scribes of these manuscripts may have felt free to revise the orthography of their exemplars, and so implemented more corrections. Second, they may have been more likely to commit spelling errors, since they were more carelessly copied. The inconsistent orthography of most of these manuscripts suggests that the latter explanation is more likely to be true in most cases, which then implies that even the most carelessly copied manuscripts still reflect some concern for replicating the orthography of the scribes' exemplars.

Nevertheless, in one case, a strong argument can be made that the scribe added (intentionally or accidentally) a vowel letter not in his exemplar. In 39:8, 4Q365 reads ויעשו את החשן {את ה^ישן ויעשו} את החשן. The scribe accidentally wrote the phrase ויעשו את החשן twice, omitting the ח in the first writing of the phrase. He then correct this by adding the supralinear ^י including the vowel letter, before correcting the dittography by erasure. Because this fuller spelling was not present in the dittograph, it is quite likely that it was not in the scribe's exemplar and he introduced it anew during his correction.

4.3.2.2 Substitutions

26 of 76 clear scribal errors reflect erroneous substitutions of letters and words (see table 4.7), 19 of which were subsequently corrected. Seven are incorrect spellings (i.e., the substitution of incorrect letters), 13 are from the accidental omission of one or two letters, three reflect the accidental addition of a single letter, one reflects the transposition of two letters (4Q365 39:8), and two readings are of uncertain cause (4Q11 25:20; 4Q17 38:20). These results suggest a tendency of scribes accidentally to omit material, rather than accidentally add, even on the level of individual letters.

2Q2 has one apparent incorrect spelling, but the precise reading is difficult to determine. 4Q11 has one incorrect spelling (12:9) and one added letter that is difficult to explain (25:20). 4Q14 incorrectly copied two short morphological forms and then corrected them to the longer, older forms (15:12, 15) and incorrectly spelled two words that were never corrected (17:7, 8). 4Q17 apparently wrote a word over a different but unknown erased word. 4Q22 accidentally omitted a single letter and ran two words together, an error which was subsequently corrected. 4Q158 has one incorrectly spelled word, presumably due to the accidental omission of a single letter. In close proximity in 26:34, 4Q364 attests to the omission of single letters in two words and the dittographic addition of a single vowel letter in one, probably indicating a period of fatigue or distraction, though the scribe's corrections of two out of these three indicates at least some concern for accuracy. 4Q365 contains an extraordinarily high number of errors and corrections of all types, almost certainly indicating an extended period of fatigue or distraction. This scribe was exceedingly careless, but his frequent corrections still show a concern for accuracy and legibility. Thus, substitutions indicate varying degrees of carefulness in copying, but there is evidence for a concern for accurate replication of the exemplar in 4Q11, 4Q14, 4Q17, 4Q22, 4Q364, and 4Q365.

2Q2 21:20 - יי?	4Q158 22:7 - ילח	4Q365 39:5 - כמעשהו
4Q11 12:9 - נו	4Q364 26:34 - הכפֿרת	4Q365 39:5 - מו(ת)שׁה
4Q11 25:20 - אַחֲדָּו	4Q364 26:34 - בקֿד	4Q365 39:8 - הַחֹשֶׁן
4Q14 15:12 - תבלעסו	4Q365 14:17 - לבֿב	4Q365 39:8 - זהֿ זב
4Q14 15:15 - יאחזסו	4Q365 30:37 - תִּהְיֶה א	4Q365 39:8 - אֲתִגְמֶן
4Q14 17:7 - משה	4Q365 38:1 - ההעִולה	4Q365 39:13 - תרשישׁ(הֿ) –
4Q14 17:8 - עמלֿך	4Q365 39:3 - הארגסן	4Q365 39:17 - טבעִית
4Q17 38:20 - נחושֿת {וֹרֹו}	4Q365 39:3 - הַשִּׁישׁ	
4Q22 31:4 - לעשוֹתִי בִּזְהָב	4Q365 39:4 - לואֿ	

4.3.2.3 Omissions

30 of 76 clear scribal errors reflect the accidental omission of one or more words, 22 of which were subsequently corrected (see table 4.8). 10 of these omissions are large, and the other 20 are small, consisting of fewer than four words. 18 of the omissions were the result of homoeoteleuton or homoeoarcton, but 11 of them have no obvious visual triggers which could have triggered parablepsis (4Q1 5:8; 4Q14 7:10; 8:8; 12:37; 13:19, 4Q22 17:15; 4Q158 Gen 32:30; Exod 6:3-8 paraphrase [2x]; 22:8; 4Q365 39:3). Thus, somewhat surprisingly, 36.67% of accidental omissions—and a full 55% of short ones—do not have any obvious explanation based on visual triggers. 4Q17 38:20 is of uncertain cause, but likely reflects a secondary insertion of omitted material. Similar types of omissions of similar quantities are omitted by all scribes, regardless of how carefully they copied, though not necessarily at the same rate.

The evidence of scribal errors suggests a tendency of the scribes in our tradition across the board to accidentally omit letters, words, and long strings of texts significantly more often than they accidentally added them. In fact, there are six times as many total accidental omissions as total accidental additions (five, see the next section). Furthermore, there are nearly four times as many accidental omissions without obvious visual triggers as accidental additions without obvious visual triggers (three, see next section). These data suggest that a text-critical principle to prefer the shorter reading in non-editorially motivated variation-units unless it can be explained as an omission by processes of homoeoteleuton or homoeoarcton would be fallacious and misleading in the majority of cases. A principle more accurate to our data could be formulated as follows: *Scribes accidentally omitted material six times more often than they accidentally added material. Even when there are two readings with no obvious visual triggers for omission or addition, if there is no indication of intentional intervention, the longer text is still nearly four times as likely to be the prior reading.*

Table 4.8 Scribal Errors of Omission	
4Q1 5:8 - תְּכַבֵּד - לֹא־לֵהִינוּ: {תָּ} וְנִזְבַּחַהּ	4Q22 17:15 - יהיה
4Q11 18:19 - אֲתָ • וְהִבְאִיתֶהָ	4Q22 31:13b-14a – omit ביני • וביניכם כי • אני • יהוה • מקדשכם: • ושמרתם • את • השבת • כִּי ¹⁴ קדש • הוא
4Q13 3:18 - בני	4Q22 34:16 – omit וזנו • בנתיו • אחרי אלהיהן •
4Q14 7:10 - אל ואהרן	4Q158 Gen 32:30 - הגיד נא
4Q14 7:10b-12 – omit 7:10b-12	4Q158 6:3-8 paraphrase - בְּכֹל יְיָ מִצְרִים
4Q14 7:18 – omit תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשתות מים מן היאר	4Q158 6:3-8 paraphrase - לִבֵּב יָם
4Q14 8:8 - פְּרָעָה	4Q158 22:8 - כי הוא זה
4Q14 9:22 - omit על האדם ועל הבהמה ועל כל עשב השדה בארץ מצרים	4Q158 24:7+ - ואל {יְעֻקֹּב} יצחק
4Q14 10:2b-3a – ואת אתני אשר שמתי במ וידעתם כי אני יהוה: ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה	4Q365 9:9b-10a – omit בכל ארץ מצרים: ויקחו את פיה הכבשן ויעמדו לפני פרעה ויזרק אֹתוֹ משה השמימה והי שחץ פורח אבעבועות
4Q14 10:9 - בְּנִעְרֵינוּ וְבוֹקְנֵינוּ נֶלְךְ	4Q365 18:14 - אתה מדוע לעם יושב
4Q14 12:37 - כֶּשֶׁשׁ {אֵ} מֵאוֹת אֵלֶיךָ	4Q365 38:3 - ואת
4Q14 13:19 - עֲצֻמוֹת יוֹסֵף	4Q365 39:1 - צוה {אֵ} יהוה את
4Q17 38:20 – הָ?	4Q365 39:3 - בתוך ההכִּלִּית ובתוך
4Q17 40:18 - omit ויקם משה את המשכן	4Q365 39:6-7 – omit 39:6-7
4Q22 17:13 - ואת עמו	4Q365 39:8 - מעשׂי חושב

4.3.2.4 Additions

Much less frequent than omissions, only five clear scribal errors are likely to reflect accidental additions, and some of these are questionable (see table 4.9). One addition to 4Q11 was probably by a second hand and is quite obscure, since the initially inscribed text of 4Q11 is unproblematic and the unknown supralinear word seems inappropriate and was later deleted. Two cases are clear instances of dittography of fewer than four words (4Q365 38:4; 39:8). Two cases likely reflect parablepsis, as the scribe's eye skipped backwards and he began to repeat

text he had already copied (4Q14 12:40; 4Q365 8:14), though other explanations are possible. It is interesting that, whereas homoeoteleuton and homoeoarcton induced 18 omissions, they induced only two additions, and both of them were noticed by the scribes. Thus, scribes' eyes were considerably more likely to skip forwards than backwards. Furthermore, accidental omissions were also far less frequently (proportionally) discovered and corrected than accidental additions. Since accidental omissions were not recognized as often, they would tend to have more of an influence on the subsequent transmission of the text, so some of the accidental omissions listed as scribal errors in the previous section may potentially have been inherited from exemplars which already lacked the omitted text. Even so, the statistics in favor of the relative prominence of accidental omissions over accidental additions are so strong that a few such cases would not change the overall picture substantially.

Table 4.9 Scribal Errors of Addition
4Q11 14:16 - ל
4Q14 12:40 – שלשים written over ו
4Q365 8:14 - ויעשו בן ויט {ויעשו בן ויט}
4Q365 38:4 – {מַעֲשֵׂה} מעשה
4Q365 39:8 – ויעשו {את ה'ישן ויעשו} את החשן

4.3.2.5 Transpositions

Corresponding to the relative infrequency of sequence differences in our tradition, there are no examples of transpositions that can be described as clear scribal errors.

4.3.3 Singular Readings

We can also gain further insight into the nature of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus by examining their readings which are not shared by other witnesses.

4.3.3.1 Methodology

In recent years, singular readings (i.e., readings uniquely—or on some definitions almost uniquely—attested in a corpus) have served as an important entry point for the study of ancient scribal practices, based on the assumption that singular readings are typically secondary readings (e.g., Parry 2002; Royse 2008; Cross and Saley 2013). Without explicit indicators that a singular reading is the original creation of the scribe who copied a given manuscript, however, it is a dubious method for studying the scribal habits of particular scribes. Nevertheless, singular readings can still be very informative about the development of the tradition generally. Readings attested in only one manuscript against the rest of the tradition are typically far less likely to preserve the earliest attainable reading than to reflect a change within a small subset of the tradition. Thus, singular readings are likely to provide valuable information about the particular development of the subset of the tradition of which the text of the FM is a part. They can typically be expected to reflect changes made either by the copyist of the FM or his nearest predecessor(s), and as such later than changes shared in common with other preserved manuscripts.

Of course, the validity of these assertions depends on both the definition of singular readings and the nature of the received manuscript tradition. Ideally, singular readings would be unique in the entire received tradition, or at least there must be sufficient reason to believe that any other manuscripts in the tradition which might have the same reading arrived at the reading independently of the route by which it came to be in the FM. In many cases, however, it is practically impossible to consult the entire preserved tradition, so so-called “singular”

readings may in fact have to be so only in relation to a limited selection of witnesses to a tradition. In this case, it is always possible (and indeed often likely) that an apparently singular reading is in fact attested elsewhere outside of the selected data pool, which could affect the significance attributed to these readings. Thus, when considering only a limited selection of manuscripts, we must always bear in mind the possibility that even the apparently “singular” readings may in fact be attested elsewhere in the tradition and be important for understanding the relationships between manuscripts. This is especially the case when dealing with very fragmentary manuscripts, as the evidence preserved is accidental and not necessarily representative.

The significance of singular readings can also vary depending on the nature of the preserved textual evidence for a tradition. If a singular reading occurs in a manuscript reflecting a state of the text generally earlier than the rest of a tradition, it may in fact be of great significance. In large textual traditions like that of the book of Exodus, however, that is normally unlikely to be the case. Rather, in most cases, we would expect to find the earliest attested reading in multiple manuscripts.

Table 4.10 Singular Readings Excluding M S			
Variation-Unit	Singular Reading	Variation-Unit	Singular Reading
3:15 α	4Q13 Sseq	12:35 α	4Q22 Alt
4:27 γ	4Q158 L+	12:35 α	2Q2 Alt
6:3-8 α	4Q158 L+	12:36 α	4Q22 Alt
7:18 γ	4Q22 L+	17:1 α	4Q22 Sseq
7:29 α	4Q14 L-	17:5 α	4Q14 S-
10:2 α	4Q22 L+	17:13 α	4Q22 S-
12:35 α	4Q14 S-	26:35 ϵ	4Q22 Lseq

As a first step in considering singular readings within a contextualized approach, we should consider whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant consideration of singular readings within our corpus of

Hebrew DSS containing Exodus alone. If we isolate all unique readings in places where three or more Hebrew DSS containing Exodus attest to a certain variation-unit, we can isolate only 14 singular readings (see table 4.10 above). The data can be summarized as follows: 2Q2 has

one singular alternative reading; 4Q13 has one small sequence difference; 4Q14 has two small minuses and one large minus; 4Q22 has two alternative readings, one small minus, two large pluses, and one small and one large sequence difference; 4Q158 has two large pluses. Of these, three (21%) are unlikely to be secondary readings (7:29^a 4Q14; 12:35^a 2Q2; 17:1^a 4Q22) when considered in light of the larger tradition, but excluding these readings does not significantly alter the picture. More problematic, however, is the extremely small data set that emerges from defining singular readings only in relation to the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. This minimalistic data set is suggestive, but not statistically significant enough to form a quantitative basis for studying the scribal practices evident in these manuscripts. To provide a sufficiently large data set, we require the incorporation of additional reference texts.

For purposes of our project, therefore, I will define a **singular reading*** as a reading of one of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus that is not attested in any other Hebrew DSS containing Exodus or the two reference texts M and S. Because we have defined singular readings relative to a limited data set, the aforementioned caveats must constantly be borne in mind. Many variant readings defined here as singular may in fact have counterparts elsewhere in the textual tradition, most prominently in Greek texts. Subsequent expansion of the incorporated data set would undoubtedly necessitate excluding these readings from the category of singular readings, while at the same time including numerous additional examples. So long as the category of singular readings is understood in *relative* terms rather than *absolute*, however, this limitation does not present an insurmountable problem. This is especially the case, since we make no claim that singular readings are necessarily the creations of the copyists of the manuscripts in which they are found, but rather could also be the creations of their nearest predecessors, which may still be true even if these readings are later found to be in other witnesses once the data set is expanded. Furthermore, because some of these scrolls

theoretically could reflect states of the text earlier than the other considered witnesses or else preserve parallel “pristine” readings, we cannot on principle preclude the possibility that some of the singular readings may not in fact be secondary readings. Because of these limitations, it would be hazardous to rely too heavily on the category of singular readings in our research. Nevertheless, experience with our corpus confirms that readings that are unique against the rest of the examined tradition should typically be treated with greater suspicion of being secondary alterations than well-attested readings, particularly when there is good reason to believe they are truly unique in the entire tradition. The common assumption that singular readings are secondary may not (and in our limited corpus probably will not) be true in every case, but it is true sufficiently frequently to yield valuable statistical results. I have occasionally spot-checked additional textual evidence when it becomes necessary to give a more careful analysis of particularly important singular readings.

4.3.3.2 Data Set

Of the 603 variation-units collated for our project, I have isolated 321 as singular readings. I have then categorized these singular readings into seven categories reflecting different types of variant readings as in our discussion of scribal errors in section 4.3.2. The resulting classification of all the singular readings of each respective manuscript organized by type of difference can be illustrated by table 4.11 below.

Several important observations should be made from this table. Overall, 63.55% of singular readings are alternative readings, nearly two thirds of the examples. Pluses make up 21.49% of the examples, minuses 12.15%, and sequence differences 2.80%. If singular readings are a generally reliable indicator of secondary status, these statistics (at least at first glance) would seem to suggest that, for our tradition, scribes were nearly twice as likely to add

as to omit material, and only infrequently transposed material. Furthermore, for each category of singular readings, small differences are significantly more common than large differences.

	1Q2	2Q2	2Q3	2Q4	4Q1	4Q11	4Q13	4Q14	4Q17	4Q18
Alt	1	4	1	0	4	9	18	18	18	0
S+	0	5	3	0	2	2	18	3	5	0
L+	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
S-	0	1?	0	0	0	4	1	4	2	0
L-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
Sseq	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0
Lseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	1	11	5	0	7	15	38	30	28	0
	4Q19	4Q20	4Q21	4Q22	4Q158	4Q364	4Q365	4Q366	Mur1	Total
Alt	0	0	0	32	29	6	63	1	0	204
S+	0	1	0	5	5	0	8	0	0	57
L+	0	0	0	0	5	1?	3	0	0	12
S-	0	0	0	11	1	1	6	0	0	31
L-	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	8
Sseq	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	6
Lseq	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
Total	0	1	0	50	42	8	84	1	0	321

4.3.3.3 Percentage Singular Readings

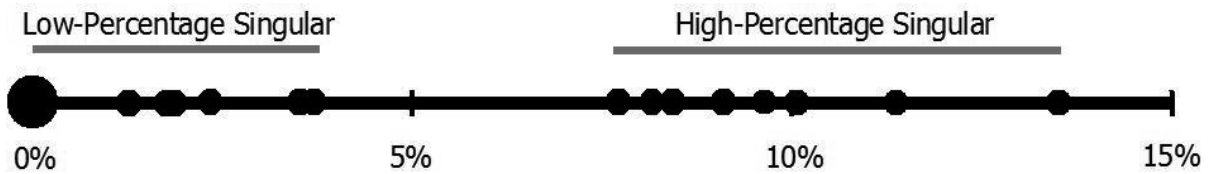
The unweighted numbers of singular readings is potentially misleading however, due to the fragmentary state of the preservation of our evidence. Instead, we can relate the number of singular readings for each manuscript to the total number of verifiable words overlapping with M (the choice of the shorter reference text ensures that the numbers will not be inflated) to determine the proportion of singular readings to total preserved words. Table 4.12 below illustrates these calculated percentages ranked from high to low.

When we arrange the material in this way, we find a wide range of percentages of singular readings ranging from 0% all the way up to 13.53% for 4Q365. Interestingly, while the range of percentages is fairly evenly distributed between percentages from 0% to 3.70% and from 7.69% to 13.53%, there is a noteworthy lack of entries between 4% and 7%. Given

the nature of our evidence, it is possible that this gap is coincidental, but it may alternatively suggest a statistically significant split in our data. In other words, the percentages fall into a non-continuous spectrum of percentages, which cluster into two distinct categories with relatively low and high percentages of singular readings respectively (see figure 4.3).

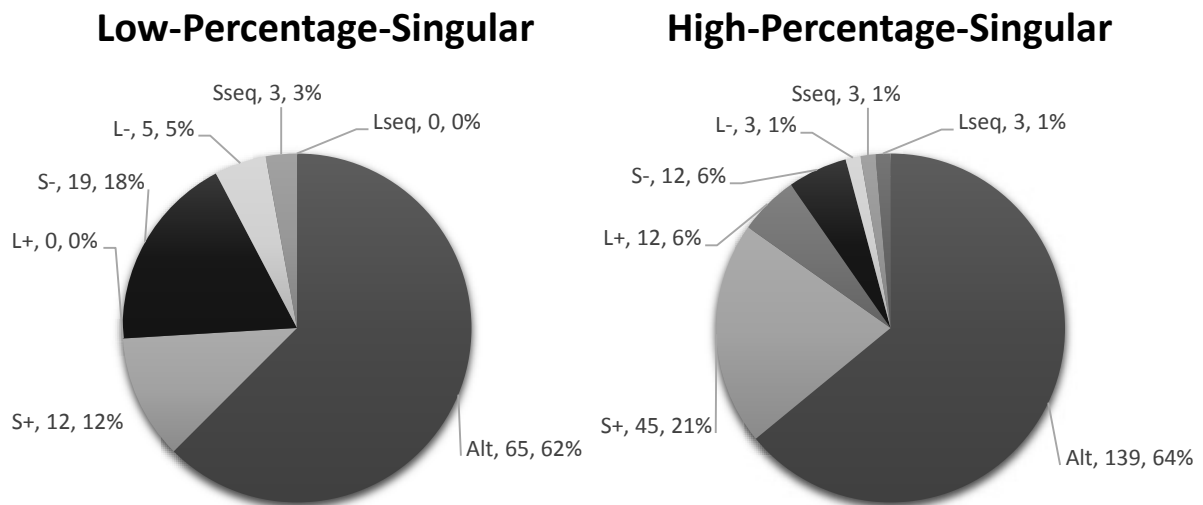
Table 4.12 Percentage Singular Readings per Manuscript				
		Singular Readings	Overlapping Words with M	Percentage Singular
High Percentage	4Q365	84	621	13.53%
	4Q17	28	246	11.38%
	4Q13	38	378	10.05%
	4Q158	42	437	9.61%
	2Q3	5	55	9.09%
	4Q364	8	95	8.42%
	2Q2	11	135	8.15%
	4Q20	1	13	7.69%
Low Percentage	4Q366	1	27	3.70%
	4Q14	30	851	3.53%
	4Q22	50	2145	2.33%
	4Q11	15	830	1.81%
	1Q2	1	57	1.75%
	4Q1	7	543	1.29%
	2Q4	0	3	0%
	4Q21	0	8	0%
	4Q19	0	9	0%
	4Q18	0	15	0%
	Mur1	0	115	0%

Figure 4.3
Clustered Spectrum of Percentage Singular Readings per Manuscript



Reexamining the evidence of singular readings with this statistical distinction in mind, the picture changes dramatically. For the entire data set, alternative readings comprised 63.55% of singular readings, pluses 21.49%, minuses 12.15%, and sequence differences 2.80%. Based on the proposed distinction between manuscripts with low and high percentage singular readings, alternative readings and sequence differences remain in approximately the same proportions. But when we move to pluses and minuses, the results are drastically different (see figure 4.4 below). For the high-percentage manuscripts, 27% of singular readings were pluses,

Figure 4.4
Types of Singular Readings for High- and Low-Percentage-Singular Manuscripts



and only 7% minuses. The reverse is the case with low-percentage manuscripts, with 12% pluses and 23% minuses. Thus, pluses predominate in high-percentage-singular manuscripts, and minuses predominate in low-percentage-singular manuscripts. If we suppose that singular readings are typically secondary, this would mean that the high-percentage-singular manuscripts are nearly four times as likely to add than to omit, and the low-percentage-singular manuscripts are over twice as likely to omit than to add. Even if a few singular readings are at a later time judged to be the earliest attainable readings, the statistical difference is so marked that these new judgments would not significantly alter the picture. This observation serves to reinforce the perception of distinct categories of low- and high-percentage-singular manuscripts, but would still be illuminating for different relative tendencies in different manuscripts, even if the distinct clustering turns out to be merely coincidental due to the minimal preservation of the evidence.

4.3.3.4 Conservative vs. Interventionist Approaches

The strong statistical correlation between the percentages of singular readings of manuscripts and their propensities for certain types of singular readings demands explanation. The most obvious starting point for evaluating the distinction between the low- and high-

percentage-singular manuscripts is in the numerous singular pluses evident in the high-percentage manuscripts, since these are their most distinctive features. Many of these pluses clearly reflect intentional editorial interventions (see the following section 4.3.4 for details), and the vast majority of the total number of singular pluses are undoubtedly secondary readings. The same may also be said for the less frequent large-scale sequence differences, which are only found in manuscripts with high percentages of singular readings. Furthermore, the distinctive characteristic of the low-percentage singular manuscripts is their relative lack of obvious editorial interventions. These observations are most easily explicable on the supposition that the low- and high-percentage-singular clusters reflect respectively relatively conservative and interventionist scribal approaches applied to the latest stages in the developments of the texts of these manuscripts. In other words, manuscripts with high percentages of singular readings reflect relatively interventionist scribal approaches in which scribes tended intentionally to (among other things) add material to their received texts. On the other hand, manuscripts with low percentages of singular readings reflect relatively conservative scribal approaches in which scribes tended accidentally to omit material from their received texts. The distinctions between these scribal approaches are not absolute, but they are statistically warranted.

If this theory is correct, then it suggests that 1Q2, 2Q4, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q14, 4Q18, 4Q19, 4Q21, 4Q22, 4Q366, and Mur1 (and their immediate ancestors) were copied with relatively conservative scribal approaches that typically refrained from making editorial interventions into their received texts. 2Q2, 2Q3, 4Q13, 4Q17, 4Q20, 4Q158, 4Q364, and 4Q365 (and/or their immediate ancestors) were instead copied with relatively interventionist scribal approaches that embraced a degree of freedom to intervene editorially into their received texts.

In one sense, this theory would fit well with Crawford's concept of classifying manuscripts according to the scribal approach that was applied to them—conservative or revisionistic (see section 1.3.4)—but it also differs significantly, since it only concerns the latest stages of development of the text of a manuscript and is applied independently of whatever processes may have led to the received text prior to those latest stages. For instance, 4Q22 (and its immediate ancestors) appears to have been copied relatively conservatively, despite the fact that its text contains numerous large expansions known from S and other Qumran manuscripts.

If we try to map the singular reading types by century, we do not see the same statistical correlation, but rather have manuscripts with differing tendencies attested across the periods. The implication of this is that the different tendencies we see reflected in these scrolls are not based on diachronic developments in scribal approaches, but rather synchronic diversity. Sometimes scribes treated the text more conservatively, and other times they intervened more extensively, but there is no indication in the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus that the latter approach was temporally prior to the former. Either different scribes had different tendencies within the same time periods (e.g., various scribal schools) or the same scribes approached different copying acts in different ways (e.g., scrolls for various purposes).

Interestingly, there are also clear similarities in our data between the singular readings and clear scribal errors (see section 4.3.2). Six of the first seven manuscripts rated highest for percentage of scribal error are firmly within the category of relatively interventionist traditions based on singular readings (2Q2, 4Q13, 4Q17, 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365). The lowest ranked 12 manuscripts for percentage of scribal error are all in the more conservative class when calculated based on singular readings, or else the number of preserved words are so minimal as to make their statistical significance questionable. There are only two possible exceptions to

this close correspondence between the two data sets. 4Q14 ranks at the upper end of the range of more conservative manuscripts based on singular readings at 3.53%, but is firmly among the manuscripts with higher percentages of scribal errors at 2.12%. This probably indicates that 4Q14 reflects relatively careless copying within a relatively conservative tradition. 2Q3, on the other hand, has a high percentage of singular readings at 9.09%, but no attested scribal errors. While it is possible that 2Q3 reflects a careful copying of a more interventionist received tradition, the amount of text preserved may not be sufficient to make the difference significant. The statistical correspondence between tendencies with regards to scribal errors and singular readings tends to confirm the hypothesis that singular readings are typically secondary and suggests that singular readings are indeed a generally reliable source for understanding scribal practices in our corpus.

The similarity between the two data sets also suggests that scribes tended to create clear scribal errors and singular readings at similar rates. The general conclusion to draw from this is that there is a strong correlation between relatively conservative and careful approaches to copying texts, as well as between more interventionist approaches and careless copying. Scribes who copied their received texts conservatively tended also to copy the texts carefully, but scribes who copied their received texts with a greater degree of freedom to intervene tended to do so relatively carelessly. Once again, it should be noted that this correlation is not absolute, but it is significant.

4.3.4 Editorial Interventions

Editorial changes mark particularly important stages in the development of textual traditions, but a treatment of the editorial interventions exhibited in our collated variation-units is particularly complicated. For one, while singular readings and scribal errors can be isolated relatively easily based on set criteria, isolating editorial interventions is much more difficult.

Since, for the purposes of this thesis, I am not systematically evaluating every collated variation-unit, we do not have an easily sortable list of variation-units reflecting editorial intervention that reflects my final considered opinions on each variation-unit. Thus we will have to be very selective here in what we analyze as editorial interventions. I will only discuss the variation-units that stand out to me in an initial screening as obviously intentional in nature, without any pretension of systematically treating the phenomenon in its entirety.

Furthermore, we must also decide whether to organize our data around formal, descriptive categories (e.g., alternatives, pluses/minuses, sequence differences) or explanatory categories, which seek to analyze the motives and purposes for the editorial changes. Ideally we could separately organize the data in both ways, but formal categories are particularly difficult in this case for a number of reasons. First, even when variant readings obviously differ editorially, it is sometimes difficult to know which reading is earlier. Second, many of the editorial interventions are complex, reflecting multiple types of changes within the same variation unit or passage. Since there are a number of difficulties in describing the data formally and there is little to be gained in doing so beyond noting the relative infrequency of omissions, we will here pursue another route. In this section we will attempt to organize the more obvious editorial interventions evident in our collations around the motivations which presumably prompted the scribes to make the changes. In doing so, we will shed much light on questions that interested the scribes and the forces which influenced our tradition. Readers should consult the tables in each section for lists of identified interventions.

4.3.4.1 Harmonization

One of the most common and noteworthy types of editorial interventions evidenced in the texts of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is that of harmonizations. Some scribes tended to bring into greater conformity parallel passages such as repeated lists, stock phrases, and

corresponding speech acts and their narrative reflections, which had previously been expressed differently.¹ These intended improvements to the text, in my opinion, depend on and in turn support the conception of the literary (if not also theological) unity of scripture.

An important example of harmonization of **repeated lists** can be seen in the different formulations of the lists of Canaanite nations, which Israel was to dispossess. Three Hebrew DSS containing Exodus preserve variant readings related to these lists.² Of the seven nations mentioned in Deuteronomy 7:1, M in Exodus never has more than six, in every case lacking mention of the Girgashites. O’Connell explained the lack of the Girgashites in M as accidental omissions (1984, 226-228), but their consistent absence in the Exodus lists makes this most unlikely, and the dependence of O’Connell’s conclusions on the dubious hypothesis of a single original list of seven nations from which all the biblical lists are derived—one might even say an *Urliste*—does not engender confidence in his results. S, on the other hand, always has all seven, usually in the same order, betraying clear harmonistic editorial intervention and making the lists in Exodus conform in content with the lists in Deuteronomy. Where 4Q22 is extant, it always agrees with S in its harmonistic readings, showing that the changes were made early within their shared tradition. 4Q22, therefore, most likely also agreed with S in the lists where it is no longer extant. 4Q1 also exhibits harmonistic editorial intervention in the list of nations in 3:8, but independently of the 4Q22 S tradition. It adds the Girgashites to conform the contents of the list to those of Deuteronomy, but in a different location than 4Q22 S. It also inverts the order of the Amorites and Perizzites known from other witnesses, which may or may not have been intentional. Likewise, spacing concerns suggest that 4Q13 contained an

¹ Contra Segal (2007, 11-17), who objects that the term “harmonization” is inaccurate, because some types of changes often described as harmonization—such as the juxtaposition of conflicting passages without explicit reconciliation—actually serve to accentuate disharmony. While Segal raises some good points in this regard, I remain convinced that a truly harmonistic impulse is the key to understanding a great many editorial interventions in our texts.

² In addition to examples attested in Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, see 23:23, 28; 33:2.

additional reference to the Gergashites not in M, but the preserved text shows that this addition was not located in the same position as in S. Thus, it too represents a harmonistic editorial intervention independent of the 4Q22 S tradition. We have then at least two, and possibly three, different points in the tradition where scribes have independently harmonized these lists. No Hebrew DSS containing Exodus lack any elements of the list of seven nations when preserved, which shows how pervasive these harmonizations were, even within relatively conservative traditions (see table 4.13). In general, harmony in content was deemed more important than sequence, since all of the manuscripts other than M contain the full lists, but differ wildly in order (though the 4Q22 S tradition does tend to be relatively consistent in its order of nations in Exodus, if not rigorously so).

Table 4.13 Harmonizations in the Lists of Nations	
3:8	M והאמרי והפרזי והחוי והגרשי 4Q1 והפרזי והאמרי החוי והגרשי S והאמרי והפרזי והגרשי והחוי
3:17	M והפרזי והחוי והיבوسی והגרשי 4Q13 הפרזי החוי והיבوسی והגרשי S והפרזי והגרשי והחוי והיבوسی
13:5	M והאמרי והחוי והיבوسی 4Q22 S והאמרי והפרזי והגרשי והחוי והיבوسی
34:11	M האמרי והכנעני והחתי 4Q22 S הכנעני והאמרי והחתי והגרשי

At other times, **stock phrases** are repeated in close proximity. For instance, 2Q2 repeats most of 1:12 as the expansion 1:14+ to emphasize the fruitfulness of Israel while in bondage in Egypt. Similarly, 4Q17 adds the phrase **כאשר צוה יהוה את משה** twice to 39:21, once in agreement with S as part of the plus 39:21+, and once alone in the middle of 39:21. The phrase is very frequent in chapter 39 (verses 1, 5, 7, 21, 26, 29, 31), including one additional example in 39:21, which is shared by M S. Cross reconstructs 4Q17 as having had all three occurrences of the phrase in its expanded 39:21, but the middle occurrence is reconstructed, so it is not impossible that 4Q17 simply dislocated the phrase. Nevertheless, the fact that this phrase is so

frequently repeated makes it quite likely that 4Q17 reflects an addition based on similar expressions elsewhere in the chapter.

The harmonization of **inconsistent lexical choices** may also be seen independently in 4Q158 and 4Q366 in 22:4. M has a minus of eight words in the middle of this verse relative to 4Q22 4Q158 4Q366 S G and twice reads forms of the root בער with the rare meaning “graze,” a root which more commonly occurs with the meaning “burn.” S shares the two uses of the root בער with M, but in the plus reads instead a form of the root בעה with the meaning “graze.” In 4Q158 and 4Q366, the lexical discrepancy arising from the plus is absent. Where preserved, 4Q158 and 4Q366 consistently use either בער (4Q366) or בעה (4Q158) in both the text shared with M and the plus. Whether one prefers the shorter reading of M (e.g., Aejmelaeus 2007b, 99-100; Zahn 2011b, 68-69) or the longer reading of the other witnesses (e.g., Sanderson 1986, 76-77), the consistent usage of alternatively בער (4Q366) or בעה (4Q158) raises suspicions of harmonistic leveling of the lexical diversity preserved in S.

A number of these scrolls also attest to a particular harmonistic impulse, which was apparently quite common in the tradition (see tables 4.14 and 4.15 below). Attentive readers sensed narrative gaps and sought to remedy them by altering the text of Exodus to explicitly harmonize with itself and other works. Operating on the assumption of the essential unity of scripture, these scribes attempted to strengthen the coherence of the text by removing potential discrepancies and making explicit what was deemed to have been implicit in the base text. Most notably, there are a large number of **harmonistic expansions** consistently shared by a number of witnesses against 2Q2 4Q1 4Q11 4Q14 Mur1 M G, which are typically considered characteristic of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition. These harmonistic readings (7:18b,

29b; 8:1b, 19b; 9:5b, 19b; 10:2b; 11:3b; 18:25+; 20:19a, 21b) are found in 4Q20 (probably) 4Q22 4Q158 S wherever they are extant.

One additional possible example is somewhat more complicated. 4Q17 reports the construction of the Urim and Thummim with S in 39:21, which is not reported in M G. 4Q22 M S G all presuppose the construction of the Urim and Thummim in 28:30, but S explicitly commands the construction of the Urim and Thummim in 28:29, which is not found in M G (it is unfortunately difficult to tell based on reconstruction whether or not 4Q22 contained the command in 28:29). Cross argues that the report of the construction in 4Q17 S in 39:21 may be the earliest reading lost by parablepsis in M and G (1994b, 139, DJD 12), but it is most unlikely that M and G would have lost both the command in 28:29 and its execution in 39:21 accidentally (Zahn 2011b, 139 n. 111). Neither is it likely that M G would have omitted mention of the Urim and Thummim for ideological reasons in these two passages and yet retained the reference to them in 38:30. Thus, 4Q17 S appear to share a significant harmonistic expansion, but it is not entirely clear whether 4Q17 also shared the large number of harmonistic expansions found elsewhere in 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 S. If all of these harmonistic expansions occurred in one editorial stage, then 4Q17 could have shared all of the expansions with 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 S, but if the expansion about the Urim and Thummim was made at a different stage than the other harmonistic expansions, then 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 S could reflect editorial development prior to or subsequent to the tradition in 4Q17.

One of the most prominent characteristics of the harmonizations of 4Q17? 4Q20? 4Q22 4Q158 S is the way they harmonize speech acts and their narrative reflections (cf. Crawford 2008, 23-30). For instance, many examples create or modify a report of the execution of a command to correspond perfectly to the command present in the base text (7:18b, 29b; 8:1b, 19b; 9:5b, 19b; 11:3b; 39:21+). In one case, a command is created to explain the reported

speech in the base text, which is presented as a fulfillment of that command (10:2b). In most of these cases, the harmonized command and execution are present in close proximity in the text, but in two cases the harmonized command and execution are far removed in the text of Exodus, reflecting a big picture view of the unity of the entire book (11:3b; 39:21+). The rest of the examples create or modify a speech to correspond perfectly to a later report of the speech present in the base text (6:9b; 18:25+; 20:19a; 20:21b) or else create an event in Exodus mentioned in Deuteronomy (32:10+). In each case, the harmonized speech/event and report are far removed from each other in the text. One example draws on a distant text in Exodus as a source text (6:9b), and four draw on reports in Deuteronomy as source texts (18:25+; 20:19a; 20:21b; 32:10+), implying the perceived literary unity not only of the book of Exodus, but also of the entire Pentateuch.

Some scribes also continued the harmonistic work of their predecessor(s) beyond the readings common to 4Q17? 4Q20? 4Q22 4Q158 S. A scribe behind the text of 4Q158 noticed a command without execution within the harmonistic expansion 20:21b, which he remedied by inserting Moses' execution of the divine command to send the people back to their tents, as well as a report of the people's obedience to Moses' command, yielding a triple-harmonized final text in 4Q158. Similarly, a scribe in the S tradition inserted an additional Samaritan commandment to conduct sacrifices on Mount Gerizim in 20:17b, taken either directly from the parallel commandment in Deuteronomy 5:18b or created anew from Deuteronomy 11:29; 27:2-7; 11:30 (see also section 4.3.4.8). This reading appears to be related to the repeated backreferences in S in Exodus 20:24 and throughout Deuteronomy ("has chosen") to a prior commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim.¹

¹ Tigay (1985, 81) and Rofé (cited in Segal 2007, 11) significantly point out the interconnectedness of this variant with the differences between M and S in Exodus 20:24 (not attested in any DSS) and throughout Deuteronomy, where M consistently uses *yiqtol*-form verbs to indicate that the Lord had *not yet* chosen the place for his altar(s) and S consistently uses *qatal*-form verbs to indicate that the Lord had *already* chosen the place for his altar (i.e.,

Others manuscripts reflect harmonization with **details in Genesis** (see table 4.15 below). 4Q1 and 4Q13 both change the number of Jacob's descendants in 1:5 from 70 to 75, in accord with a calculation attested in some witnesses in Genesis 46:27 (e.g., G, Acts 7:14), presupposing a literary unity between Genesis and Exodus. Nevertheless, these manuscripts apparently make the change independently, inserting the additional 5 (חמש) in different locations, after 70 (שבעים) or before, respectively, both of which sequences are acceptable Hebrew. Thus, in 4Q1 and 4Q13 we have evidence of two independent, but almost identical harmonizations to data in Genesis.

4Q13 also exhibits other (related?) significant differences from known versions at the beginning of the book of Exodus related to the Joseph story in Genesis. In 4Q13, Joseph is included in the list of Jacob's descendants who entered Egypt with him, rather than excluded as having already been in Egypt as in the rest of the versions. Cross argues that the readings in 4Q13 are the earliest attested, but this is far from certain. If Cross is correct, then the other witnesses removed Joseph from the list and added an explanation that he was in Egypt in order to avoid the possible misleading implication that Joseph came to Egypt at the same time as Jacob. Alternatively, 4Q13 could have added Joseph to the list of Jacob's descendants to fill out the list (possibly removing the seemingly redundant note that Joseph was already in Egypt *if* it was in the earlier text). Whichever solution is preferred, it is clear that the changes were made intentionally based on information culled from Genesis.

Mount Gerizim). If the perfective verb was the earliest reading in Exodus 20:24 or Deuteronomy, this could have prompted a Samaritan scribe to insert this additional commandment to create a speech act to correspond to the later narrative report. Thus, the additional Samaritan commandment may potentially reflect a harmonistic impulse, at least as much as a partisan ideological impulse. Nevertheless, the non-classical hybrid form אִזְכַּרְתִּי of S in Exodus 20:24 does not commend its antiquity.

Table 4.14 Harmonizations with Exodus Material			
Variation -Unit	Readings	Source Text	Harmonization Type
6:9β	> 6:9b 4Q1 Mur1 M + 6:9b S	14:12	Speech > Reported Speech
7:18γ	> 7:18b 4Q1 4Q14? M + 7:18b 4Q22 S	7:15-18	Execution > Command
7:29α	> 7:29b 4Q14 M + 7:29b 4Q20? 4Q22 S	7:26-29	Execution > Command
8:1α	> 8:1b M + 8:1b 4Q20? 4Q22 S	8:1	Execution > Command
8:19α	> 8:19b 4Q11 M + 8:19b 4Q22 S	8:16-19	Execution > Command
9:5α	> 9:5b M + 9:5b 4Q22 S	9:1-5	Execution > Command
9:19δ	> 9:19b 4Q14 M + 9:19b 4Q22 S	9:13-19	Execution > Command
10:2α	> 10:2b 4Q11 4Q14 M + 10:2b 4Q22 S	10:3-6	Command > Execution
11:3α	> 11:3b 2Q2 M + 11:3b 4Q22? S	4:22-23	Execution > Command
20:21ζ	> 20:21b+ 4Q22? M S + 20:21b+ 4Q158	20:21b	Execution > Command
39:21δ	> 39:21+ M + 39:21+ 4Q17 S	28:29+	Execution > Command

Table 4.15 Harmonizations with Non-Exodus Material			
Variation -Unit	Readings	Source Text	Harmonization Type
1:3γ	> יוסף M S + יוסף 4Q13	Gen 35:24 OR Gen 46:26-27	List > List
1:5α	שבעים M S וחמש [שבעים 4Q1 חמש ושבעים 4Q13	Gen 46:27	Calculation > Calculation
1:5β	+ ויוסף היה במצרים after נפש 2° 4Q1 M S > ויוסף היה במצרים 4Q13	Gen 35:24 OR Gen 46:26-27	Changed in line with 1:3γ
18:25α	> 18:25+ M + 18:25+ 4Q22 S	Deut 1:9-15	Speech > Reported Speech
20:17β	> 20:17b 4Q22? 4Q158? M + 20:17b S	Deut 5:18b OR 11:29; 27:2-7; 11:30	Command > Parallel Command(s)
20:19α	דבר אתה עמנו ונשמעה M 20:19a 4Q22? 4Q158 S	Deut 5:24-27	Speech > Reported Speech
20:21α	> 20:21b M + 20:21b 4Q22? 4Q158 S	Deut 5:28-29; 18:18-22; 5:30-31	Speech > Reported Speech
32:10α	ובאהרן התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ובאהרן M + ויתפלל משה בעד אהרן התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ויתפלל משה בעד אהרן 4Q22 S	Deut 9:20	Event > Reported Event

4.3.4.2 Exegetical Expansion

Other frequent interventions evident in these texts are exegetical expansions, where scribes sought to disambiguate unclear texts or specify additional information important for the interpretation of a passage. The precise reasons for the changes vary from case to case and are frequently discussed in the literature, but an overarching desire to explain texts through the addition of new material ties them all together. Clear, small exegetical expansions are evident in 4Q17 4Q22 4Q158 4Q365 S and probably also 4Q1 and 4Q13, some of which are shared with G. Large exegetical expansions are only found in 2Q3 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365. As has been repeatedly pointed out, this latter group is clearly distinguished from the former both in terms of the quantity of additional text and the degree of innovation exercised by the scribes (Crawford 2008, 39-40, 46-47). Full discussion of the significance of all of the expansions is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in tables 4.16 and 4.17 below I provide brief analyses of each expansion. This category of interventions yields a rich pool of interesting data for further research.

Table 4.16 Small Exegetical Expansions				
2:3β	> ותואמר לשפחתה לכי M S G		+ ותואמר לשפחתה לכי 4Q13	Distances Jochebed from the act of leaving Moses in the reeds?
5:13α	> בעם M	+ בעם S	+ א]תם? 4Q13? 4Q14 G?	Grammatical explications
5:13β	> נתן לכם M		+ נתן לכם 4Q1? 4Q13? 4Q14 S G	Grammatical explication? OR omission in M?
6:20α	> ואת מרים אחותם 4Q1 M		+ ואת מרים אחותם S G	Expands list of Amram and Jochebed's descendants.
10:5α	> עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי M G		+ עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי 4Q22 S	More comprehensively explains the extent of the plague?
12:40β	M במצרים	M[צרי]ם 4Q14	S בארץ כנען ובארץ מצרים cf. G	Includes the sojourn in Canaan in the 430 years.
14:17α	M S לב מצרים		4Q365 G לבב פרעוה ואת לב [מצר]ים	Clarifies that Pharaoh's heart was also hardened.
14:18α	> ובכל חילו 4Q11 M G		+ ובכל חילו S	Clarifies that God was glorified in the defeat of Pharaoh's entire army, not just his horsemen and chariots.
24:1α	> אלעזר ואיתמר M G		+ אלעזר ואיתמר 4Q22 S	Includes Eleazar and Ithamar among those who ascended the mountain. Cf. 24:9α.
24:5γ	> על המזבח M S G		+ על המזבח 4Q158	Explicates where the sacrifices were made.
24:9α	> אלעזר ואיתמר M G		+ אלעזר ואיתמר 4Q22 S	Includes Eleazar and Ithamar among those who ascended the mountain. Cf. 24:1α.
40:17α	> לצאתם ממצרים M		+ לצאתם ממצרים 4Q17 S G	Clarifies the starting point for reckoning calculations.
40:27α	> לפניו M G	+ לפניו 4Q17	+ לפני יהוה S	Explicate the recipient of the sacrifices.

Table 4.17 Large Exegetical Expansions				
4:27 α	> Gen 32:24-33+ before Exod 4:27 4Q1 M S G	+ Gen 32:24-33+ before Exod 4:27 4Q158	Explicates similarities between passages in Genesis and Exodus?	
4:27 γ	> 4:27+ 4Q1 M S G	+ 4:27+ 4Q158	Refers to the covenant relationship with the patriarchs.	
14:10 δ	> 14:10+ M S G	+ 14:10+ 4Q365	Adds information about the strength of Pharaoh's army.	
14:19 α	מפניהם M S G	14:19+ 4Q365	Adds information about the movement of the cloud pillar.	
20:21 δ	> 20:21b M G	ועתה לוא ישמעו [עוד] את קול דברי S אמור להמה	+ ועתה לוא ישמעו [עוד] את קול דברי 4Q158 אמור להמה	Explains the rearrangement of the Decalogue, since the people do not hear the final eight commandments.
21:13 β	> 21:13+ 4Q22? M S G	+ 21:13+ 4Q364	Expansion of unknown nature regarding legal cases	
24:4 α	> 24:4+ 4Q22? M S G	+ 24:4+ 4Q158	Recalls command to worship on Sinai in 3:12.	
31:1 α	> 31:1+ M S G	+ 31:1+ 4Q365	Expansion of unknown nature.	
34:10 α	> 34:10+ M S G	+ 34:10+ 2Q3	Specifies a literary connection with chapter 19.	

4.3.4.3 Grammatical Agreement

There are many places in Exodus where the witnesses differ in morphological details (see table 4. 18). In most cases, these are certainly accidental in nature. But there are also places where these differences likely reflect intentional editorial interventions into received texts. These types of interventions are most likely in long strings of syntactically related text that consistently differ in different witnesses. In these cases, even if the initial motivation was sparked by an accidental change in number, at least the remaining cases were presumably intentionally changed for consistency. It is often very difficult to decide which group of readings came first, but sometimes there is sufficient reason to suggest a prior reading. For example, in 17:3, 4Q365 consistently simplifies the difficult singular pronouns of 4Q11 M S by making each one plural to reflect their plural collective antecedent. Similarly, the first hand

corrections in 4Q158 of the singular pronouns in 20:24 of 4Q158* M S to plurals almost certainly reflects an intentional deviation from the scribe's received text.

Table 4.18 Changes in Grammatical Number	
17:3β	אתי 4Q11 M S אותנו 4Q365 G
17:3γ	בני M S בנינו 4Q365 G
17:3δ	מקני M S מקנינו 4Q365
20:24α	עולותיכמה 4Q158* M S עלתיד(ה)
20:24β	שלמיכמה 4Q158* M S שלמיד(ה)
20:24γ	את צואניכמה 4Q158* את צואניכה S מצאנד M את צאנד

4.3.4.4 Morphological Disambiguation

Similarly, 4Q22 consistently makes a conscious morphological distinction between the word מצרים “land of Egypt” spelled normally and מצריים “people of Egypt”/“Egyptians” (7:18; 9:5, 6; 12:35, 36; 18:10) spelled with an additional *yod* (Skehan et al. 1992b, 64, DJD 9). Given the precision and care with which the scribe of 4Q22 copied his exemplar, this distinction may have been inherited from a predecessor, or it may reflect the exceptional exegetical input of the scribe of 4Q22 himself.

4.3.4.5 Literalization of Language

Elsewhere, some scribes felt obliged to make the language of their received texts more literally accurate, reflecting a great concern for the accuracy and precision of their texts, but little literary sensibility. For instance, in variation-unit 25:20α, 4Q11? 4Q22 S all alter the earlier idiomatic Hebrew reading איש אל אחיו (lit., “each man to his brother”) to אחד אל אחד (lit., “each one to the other one”) to avoid the implication that the Cherubim to which the phrase was referring were “men.” S also makes the same change in the parallel passage in 37:9, as well as similar changes in 26:3, 5, 6, 17, which are not preserved in any DSS. 4Q22 and S almost certainly inherited the reading from a common source, but it is uncertain whether the

reading in 4Q11 reflects a source in common with the 4Q22 S tradition or an independent change.

A similar situation obtains in variation-unit 15:3 α , where 4Q11 S change the description of the Lord as an איש מלחמה “man of war” in M to גיבור מלחמה “mighty one of war” (cf. G and Ps 24:8) to circumvent any literalistic anthropomorphic misreadings of the idiomatic title. One could argue that this anti-anthropomorphic intervention was theologically motivated, but the fact that similar changes were made with respect to animals (e.g., Gen 7:2) and angels (see the previous paragraph) as well as God makes the rather more mundane solution of literalization of the language considerably more likely.

Such a tendency can be seen in other places as well. In variation-unit 20:18 α , S changes the reading וכל העם ראים את הקולות ואת הלפידים ואת קול השפר ואת ההר עשן וירא “And when all the people saw the thunder and the lightning and the sound of the trumpet and the mountain smoking, it was afraid” of M to the more literally accurate וכל העם שמע את הקולות ואת קול השופר וראים את הלפידים ואת ההר עשן ויראו “And when all the people heard the thunder and the sound of the trumpet and saw the lightning and the mountain smoking, they were afraid.” The scribe who made this change was intent on clearing up any potential confusion arising from the idiomatic use of “see” to refer to non-visible, audible things like thunder and trumpet blasts. The same type of change is evident in S in variation-unit 19:12 α , where S rearranges the sentence והגבלת את העם סביב לאמר “and you shall set boundaries around the people saying...” of 4Q22 M to והגבלת את ההר סביב ואל העם תאמר “and you shall set boundaries around the mountain and say to the people...” Here the earlier text is preserved in 4Q22, which implies that the literalizing tendency reflected in S at this point can be located relatively late in the

tradition. Examples such as these suggest that scribes at least occasionally felt uncomfortable with non-literal language and intervened to make it more literally accurate.

4.3.4.6 Generalization of Legal Material

The collations also show a clear tendency in S to generalize legal material (see table 4.19). When laws in the Pentateuch were deemed to have legal implications beyond the specific cases which the language of the base texts explicitly addressed, a scribe altered the laws to express more general significance. For instance, in some cases, he removed references to specific weapons used to commit murder so as to be inclusive of all lethal weapons (21:18 α , 20 β). In other cases, references specific to goring oxen are systematically replaced with more general terms to cover any cases where any animal injured someone (21:28 α , 29 α , 31 α , 32 α , 35 α , 35 β , 36 β). Similarly, other laws relating to oxen and other specific animals are expanded to apply to all animals (21:33 α ; 22:3 α). It is noteworthy, however, that in every case where any of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is preserved, they always preserve the unaltered reading, and S is always alone. Thus, generalization of laws does not appear to be a concern of our corpus, only influencing the later Samaritan tradition.

Table 4.19 Generalizations of Legal Material	
21:18 α	+ באבן או באגרף 4Q158 M > באבן או באגרף S
21:20 β	+ בשבט 4Q364 M > בשבט S
21:28 α	וכי יכה שור וכל בהמה 4Q22? M וכי יגח שור S
21:29 α	הבהמה תסקל 4Q22 M והשור יסקל S
21:31 α	2° יגח 4Q22 M > 2° יגח S
21:32 α	והבהמה תסקל 4Q22 M והשור יסקל S
21:33 α	> או כל בהמה 4Q158? M + או כל בהמה S
21:35 α	> או כל בהמתו 4Q158? M + או כל בהמתו S
21:35 β	> או את כל בהמתו 4Q158? M + או את כל בהמתו S
21:36 β	בהמה מכה היא 4Q158? M שור נגח הוא S
22:3 α	> עד כל בהמה 4Q158 M + עד כל בהמה S

4.3.4.7 Emendations of Corrupted Text

While all interventions into the text might be considered emendations, at least one probable example can be cited where a scribe emended an obviously corrupted text. If my analysis of fragment 37 of 4Q14 is correct, a large quantity of text had been omitted by parablepsis by one of the scribe's predecessors, creating a logical problem in his exemplar where Moses is said to command himself in the second person to perform certain wonders. The scribe recognized the obviously corrupt reading and emended the text such that the Lord now commands Moses to perform the wonders. The scribe did not consult an alternate exemplar, and his emendation was incorrect.

4.3.4.8 Ideological Change

Of all of the collated variation-units in Exodus, only one clearly reflects a partisan ideological change. S adds an additional commandment to the Decalogue to conduct sacrifices on Mount Gerizim in 20:17b based on passages from Deuteronomy, but even this may be consistent with the harmonistic impulses already evident in the predecessors of S (see section 4.3.4.1). There is further no reason to suppose that the specific theological distinctives of the Qumran community or any other Jewish party motivated any editorial interventions into the text of Exodus, with one possible exception. Nam (2007, 155-156) notes that the reading העדה of 4Q365 for ישראל of M S in variation-unit 17:5 β reflects so-called "proto-sectarian" terminology, a change which could have been intentional, but is relatively inconsequential. With very few possible exceptions, the types of changes made to the text of Exodus would not have been particularly partisan or ideologically controversial. Thus, in the late Second Temple period, the integrity and authority of the book of Exodus appear to have been broadly respected, and scribes were not free to alter the tradition to further their partisan interests (Ulrich 2002a, 191-192; conceded also by Rofé 1997, 396). Furthermore, we have been unable to document

any likely examples of so-called “orthodox revision” of theologically problematic elements of the book of Exodus in our corpus (cf. Treballe Barrera 2000, 99, who suggests this was “a decisive factor” in the standardization of the Pentateuch).

4.3.4.9 Rearrangement

A few instances of intentional rearrangements of material can be demonstrated from our corpus. Most clearly, 4Q22 S displace 30:1-10 from their location in 4Q11 4Q365 M G, placing the instructions about the incense altar after 26:35 immediately following the instructions about the other implements of the holy place in the tabernacle. Somewhat more uncertainly, 4Q158 seems to place 20:7-17 before 20:22, presumably to make explicit the interpretation that only the first two commandments were spoken by God directly to the Israelites, while the rest were mediated through Moses (Segal 1998, 55-58; Zahn 2011b, 66).

The various placements of 29:21 in the witnesses are also very complicated. M and G place it after 29:20, probably reflecting the earliest position. 4Q365 places it in the middle of 29:20, which renders the passage nonsense, since Moses is told to use the blood sprinkled on the altar before he is even told to sprinkle the blood on the altar. Thus, in 4Q365 29:21 was almost certainly accidentally displaced when it was omitted by parablepsis, secondarily added in the margin of a manuscript, and then inserted into the incorrect location in the text in a subsequent copying act. Greatly complicating the question, however, is the placement of the verse in 4Q22 S after 29:28. There are two main possible explanations for this placement. First, a scribe may have intentionally repositioned the verse for thematic consistency, since Aaron’s clothing is the focus of both verses 29:21 and 29:29. Second, if 29:21 was written in the margin of an ancestor of 4Q22 S, just as it was in 4Q365, the displacement may not reflect an intentional rearrangement, but rather an incorrectly positioned insertion of the marginal text

influenced by the thematic connection with 29:29. In this latter case, this would almost certainly indicate a common ancestor between 4Q22 S and 4Q365.

In variation-unit 4:27 α , 4Q158 places a heavily modified form of Genesis 32:24-33+ before Exodus 4:27, which could also be understood as a rearrangement of material. Nevertheless, a continuous text running from Genesis 32 to Exodus 4 would make little sense, so this arrangement probably rather reflects an exegetical expansion into the text of Exodus to stress parallels with Genesis 32 (see section 4.3.4.2).

4.3.4.10 Paraphrase?

Rarely, and usually only in relatively free traditions, scribes may have taken it upon themselves to paraphrase material received from their exemplars. Examples in our tradition are difficult to find, and even the best candidates are quite uncertain. For instance, in variation-unit 29:21 γ , 4Q365 changes the more explicit phrase בגדי בניו אתו into the simpler, more efficient בגדיהמה. While such a change could have been made accidentally, given the free nature of the tradition preserved in 4Q365, it is quite possible that a scribe intentionally simplified the expression. Intentionally different word choices may also underlie the 4Q365 readings העדה “the congregation” for ישראל of M S in variation-unit 17:5 β and לשנים העשר בני ישראל “for the twelve sons of Israel” for לשנים עשר שבט “for the twelve tribes” of M S in variation-unit 39:14 α .

A more drastic possible example can be found in 4Q158 for variation-unit 6:3-8 α . At this point, 4Q158 frg. 14 has a substantial amount of text which does not closely follow any known scriptural base text. It appears to blend elements of chapters 6 and 15 (specifically the work of God in crossing the Red Sea), but with very little verbatim agreement with either.

Strugnell suggested that the fragment should be placed near frg. 4 after the crossing of the Red Sea, since frg. 14 seems to end on a similar note as frg. 4 with God recounting sacred history (1970, 175). Segal (1998, 54-55) and Zahn (2011b, 59-62), however, argue probably rightly for a context in chapter 6. In particular, the *yiqtol* and *weqatal* verb forms are almost certainly used prospectively for miraculous events that are yet to come, which would not be the case in chapter 15. Since the additional text of 4Q158 frg. 14 does not closely follow any known pentateuchal base text in terms of general content or precise wording, I am very hesitant to classify it as an example of paraphrase. Probably more likely, this material was inserted somewhere near chapter 6 in addition to known pentateuchal texts. Thus, the evidence for paraphrase as an editorial technique is very minimal in our corpus, if there is any good evidence at all.

4.3.5 “Synonymous” Readings?

As noted in chapter 1, many scholars isolate a category of variation-units for which the various readings are described as “synonymous.” These synonymous readings are alternately defined as readings which say the same thing in different ways and those between which the scholar has no way of adjudicating which is prior and which is posterior. As I noted in the previous discussion, these definitions are frequently incompatible, yielding a very confused category. Furthermore, in some cases (e.g., Talmon; see section 1.3.6), the use of the term is integrally linked with a theory of multiple independent origins, supposing that each of the “synonymous” readings is equally original or “pristine.” For these reasons, I have not found this category of readings helpful for our purposes.

Instead, if it becomes necessary to speak of two readings as essentially semantically equivalent, I will use the terms “synonym” and “synonymous” in their classic grammatical sense, devoid of the technical connotations found in many modern textual studies. Variation-

units for which I have not been able to determine with confidence at this point which readings are prior and which posterior will simply be labelled unevaluated or described with similar terminology.

4.4 Towards a Textual History of the Book of Exodus

Having surveyed the various textual differences attested in the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus and discussed their significance for understanding our textual tradition, we are now in a good position to begin to explore the implications of these manuscripts for the textual history of the Book of Exodus.

4.4.1 *Literary Identity and Nature of the Book of Exodus*

One of the most important questions in studying the textual history of a literary work is to define its identity, nature, and limits, if indeed there are any. In other words, in order to study the textual history of the book of Exodus, we must first understand what “Exodus” is in light of the documentary evidence.

4.4.1.1 Distinct Supercluster of Texts

As discussed in chapter 1, when dealing with continuously developing literary traditions, it is often very difficult to pin down exactly what defines a literary work and where the boundaries lie beyond which new texts become so different as to be new compositions. Scholars continue to debate whether qualitative or quantitative measures should be the determining factors, or indeed whether such distinctions are even meaningful at all in the context of ancient text production. We have already rehearsed in chapter 1 the history of research on the borderline (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, and 4Q366. To summarize again, some scholars have proposed that qualitative distinctions such as the types of changes made to the base texts and different narrative settings may differentiate between new copies of a work and new compositions based on the prior work. Others prefer to

suppose instead that the difference between new copies of a work and new compositions is quantitative, with the latter being further removed from their base text than the former along a spectrum of textual deviation. Of course, it is not impossible that both measures point in the same direction. The more prominent qualitative differences have already been addressed in the section on editorial interventions (section 4.3.4). One weakness with quantitative approaches, however, is that no one has as yet actually quantified the similarities and differences between the manuscripts, so there is no actual data set on which to test these theories statistically. Scholars of this persuasion have, to date, relied merely on their intuitive grasp of the amount of deviation. To rectify this, I have systematically collated each of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus against each other one, noting the total number of overlapping words sufficiently well-preserved for comparison and the number of words in essential agreement (see section 4.4.2.2 for further details). When we consider the ranges of agreement each manuscript has with all of the others, we can illustrate the data as in the table 4.20 below. For complete details see the pre-genealogical coherence appendix A.3.

Most of the extremes of the ranges are simply due to minimally preserved overlap that skews the results such that they certainly would not be representative if we had the complete manuscripts for comparison. If we narrow down the ranges by excluding manuscripts with minimal overlap (fewer than 50 words), most of these extremes are eliminated (with a few exceptions due to chance overlap at points of large quantitative differences) and the ranges tend to cluster between 60% and 95%. For manuscripts which overlap for more than 200 words, the minimum end of the ranges never drops below 70% except in three cases (4Q14 – 64%; 4Q158 – 38%; 4Q365 – 59%), with most of them comfortably above 80% agreement. The greater the amount of overlap between manuscripts, the higher the ranges tend to be, suggesting that some

	Absolute Range	Range Excluding Overlap of < 50 Words
1Q2	50%-100%	93%-97%
2Q2	50%-100%	72%-87%
2Q3	84%-100%	84%-85%
2Q4	100%-100%	n/a
4Q1	4%-100%	4%-96%
4Q11	57%-100%	61%-96%
4Q13	57%-100%	84%-90%
4Q14	11%-100%	64%-87%
4Q17	67%-83%	82%-83%
4Q18	87%-100%	n/a
4Q19	0%-100%	n/a
4Q20	33%-85%	n/a
4Q21	100%-100%	n/a
4Q22	33%-100%	64%-94%
4Q158	0%-100%	4%-42%
4Q364	50%-100%	75%-78%
4Q365	59%-100%	59%-71%
4Q366	88%-100%	n/a
Mur1	9%-100%	9%-100%
M	38%-100%	38%-100%
S	42%-100%	42%-94%

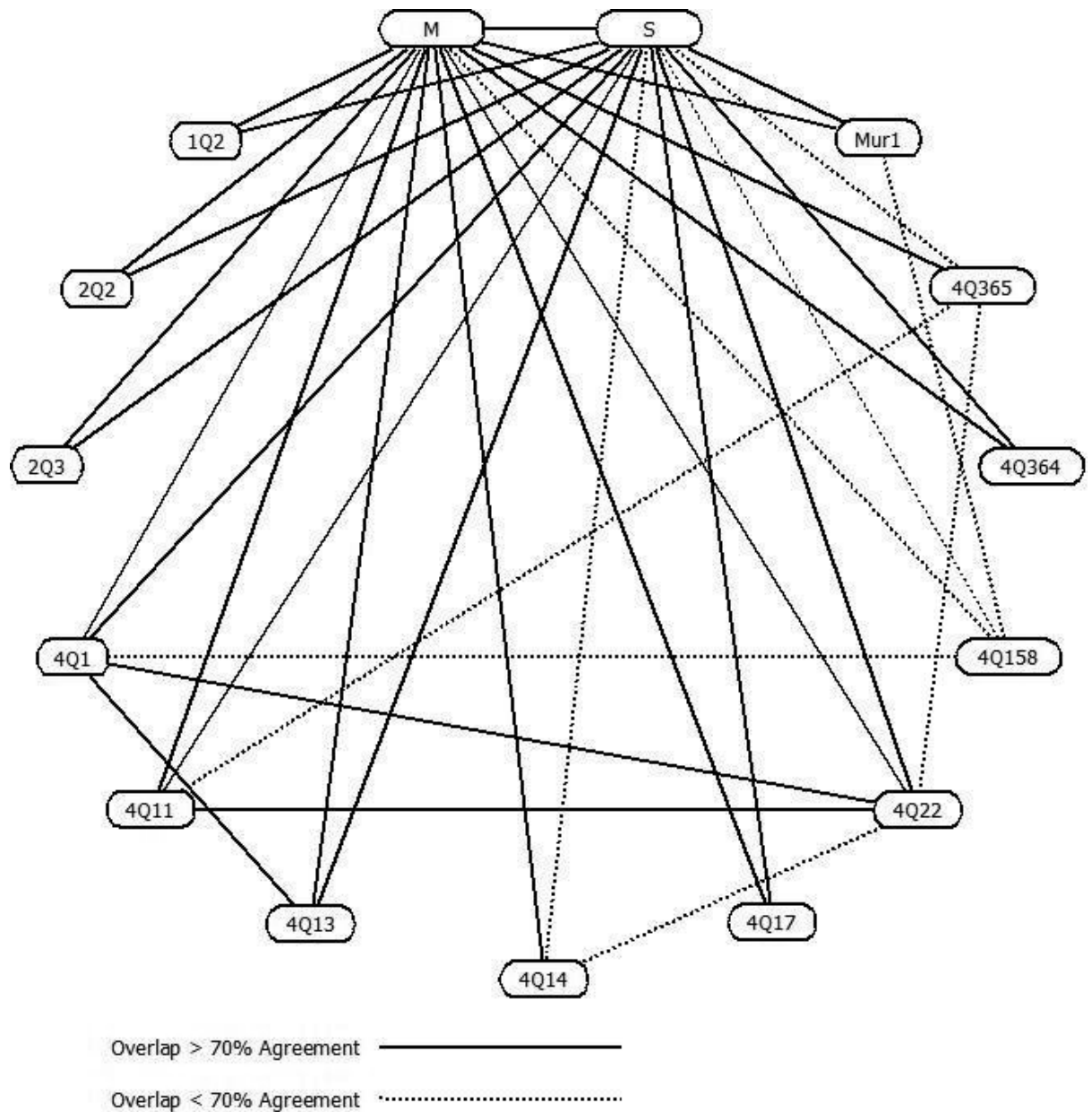
of our percentages are artificially lower than they would be if the entire scrolls had been preserved for comparison.

Nevertheless, in relation to the vast amount of known ancient literature, a clear statistical cluster of texts emerges on any account between manuscripts with more than 70% verbal agreement. I will label this cluster a **supercluster***, a statistical category consisting of a large number of texts sharing extensive verbal agreement with each other to a degree that distinguishes them from all other ancient literature.¹ With the aforementioned 70% mark as a

¹ This concept is similar to the usage of terms such as “cluster” (e.g., Florentino García Martínez, cited in Hempel 2013, 141, 149) and “constellation” (e.g., Najman 2012b, 315-320) in the study of the diverse literature from the Second Temple period, but also differs in significant ways. These terms are usually used more broadly in an attempt to note similarities between a wide variety of parallel texts, rather than to determine the limits of textual traditions relatively narrowly defined. Furthermore, these terms tend to refer to similar features or themes and only occasionally specific textual overlap, rather than extensive verbal agreement, which is our primary factor.

guideline, the overlap between manuscripts can be graphed as follows, including only instances where 50 or more preserved words overlap.

Figure 4.5
Connectivity Web of Manuscripts Overlapping for > 49 Words

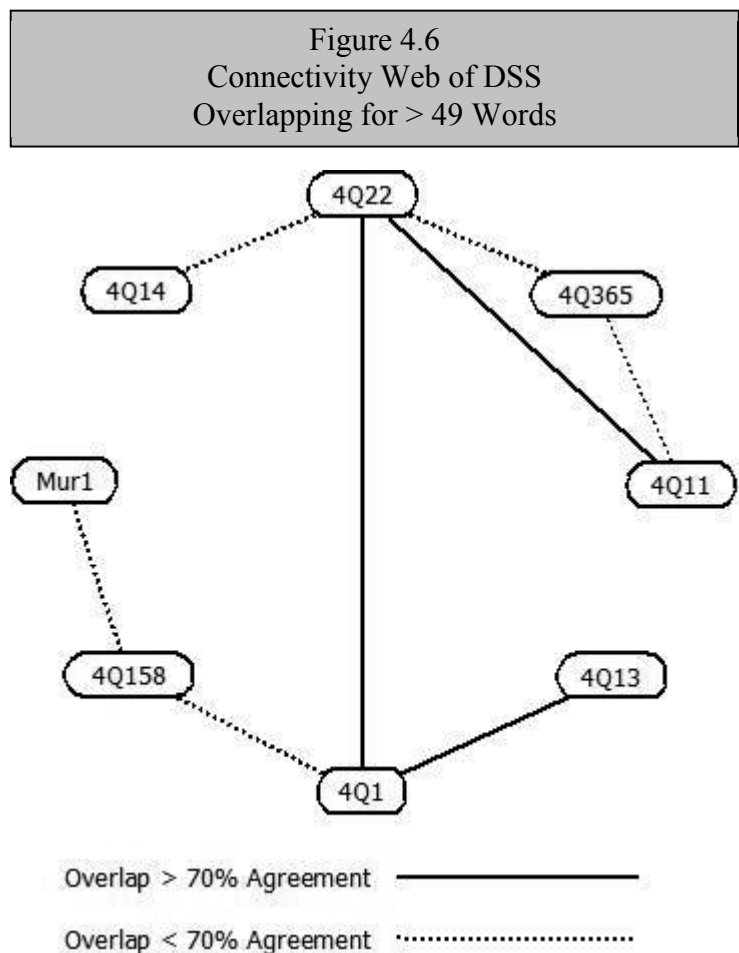


In the web of connections created by graphing these overlaps (see figure 4.5), the supercluster becomes clear. Every sufficiently-well preserved manuscript except 4Q158 is connected to at least one other manuscript with greater than 70% verbal agreement. Only 4Q14 and 4Q365 are connected to a single manuscript with greater than 70% agreement. It is

interesting that these three manuscripts are the same exceptional manuscripts mentioned two paragraphs ago. Every other manuscript is connected to at least two manuscripts with greater than 70% agreement, creating a very tight supercluster of texts in relation to other ancient literature. Even if we were to incorporate the obvious Exodus hypertexts that most closely follow Exodus base texts in this graph (e.g., Jubilees), they would still be outside of this supercluster by far.¹ Thus, the preserved ancient manuscript evidence strongly suggests that Exodus was typically treated as a distinct literary tradition.

The above analysis is largely dependent upon triangulation with the medieval texts M and S. While the inclusion of these reference texts certainly provides a fuller picture of the overall tradition, the question remains whether the same picture would have emerged from a consideration of only the DSS containing the Hebrew text of Exodus. If we exclude M and S from the previous graph, the following picture emerges (see figure 4.6).

Due to the minimal overlap between the DSS containing



¹ My initial explorations of quantifying the verbal agreement between Jubilees and pentateuchal texts suggests a rough estimate of 5-15%. Even if subsequent research reveals high levels of agreement towards the upper end of my initial estimates, Jubilees would still be statistically positioned far from the supercluster of Exodus texts, which generally rate at over 70% agreement with each other. If the texts which are closest to the Exodus texts do not undermine the Exodus supercluster, it is undoubtedly distinct in relation to the entirety of known ancient literature.

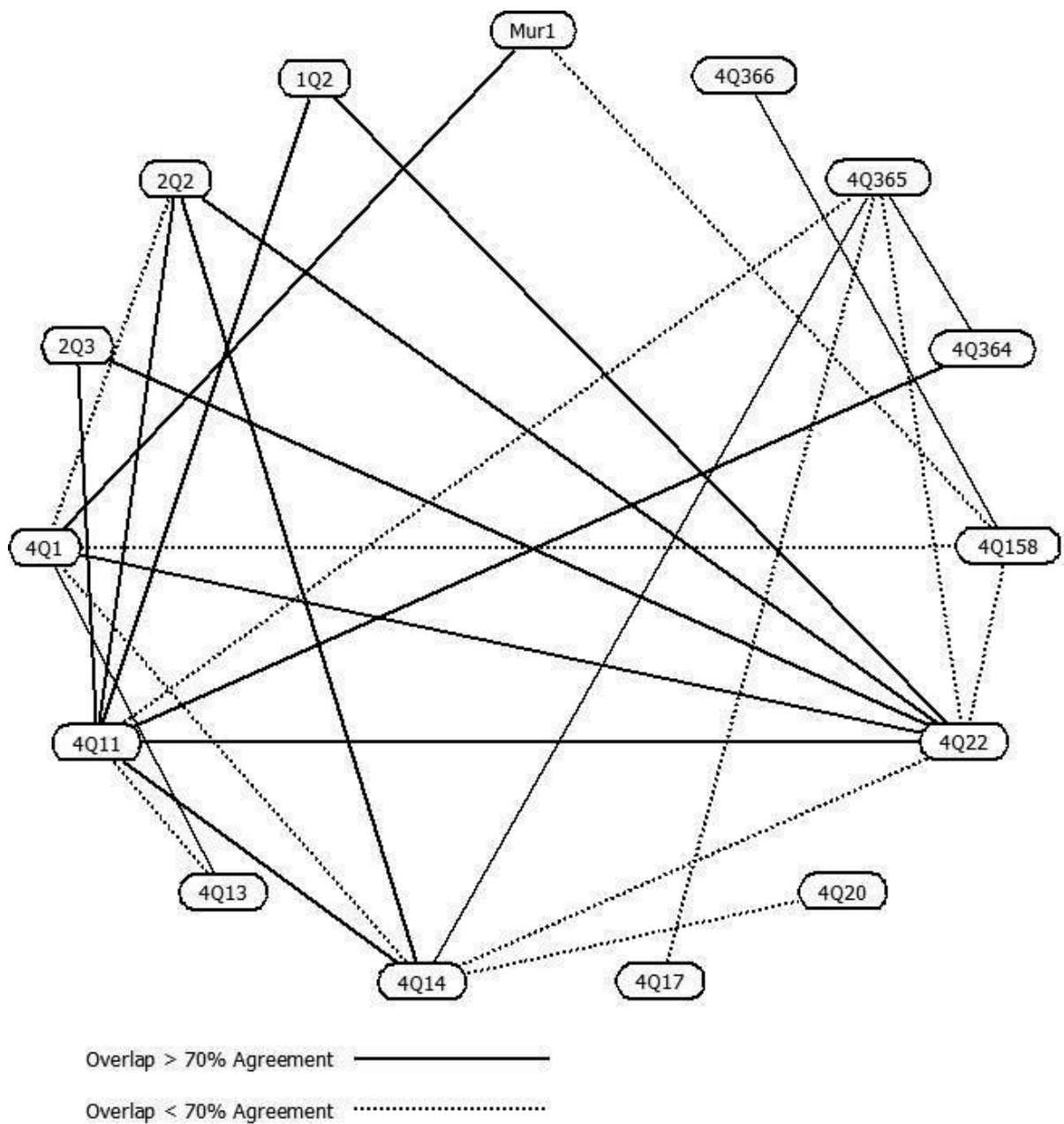
Exodus, the resulting picture is much more minimalistic, but still informative. 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q13, and 4Q22 are all connected via significant links of over 70% agreement. 4Q14 is 64% in agreement with 4Q22, close enough easily to be considered on the outer perimeter of the supercluster. The same is true of 4Q365, which is 60% in agreement with 4Q11 and 65% in agreement with 4Q22. Verbal overlap between 4Q158 and 4Q1 and between 4Q158 and Mur1 is so minimal as to leave them essentially orphaned outside of the recognizable supercluster. Thus, even without using M and S as reference texts, there is still a clear supercluster of texts, which shows that even several Hebrew DSS containing Exodus strongly suggest that Exodus was typically treated as a distinct literary tradition.

To augment this minimalistic picture, it is also possible to explore a maximalistic approach. If we include all Hebrew DSS containing Exodus with overlaps with other DSS of five or more words, the picture is much fuller, even though the statistical basis is less secure. While, all things considered, texts with extremely small amounts of overlap could potentially reflect different compositions with the same text (either by chance or by dependence of one on the other or both on a common source), this is unlikely to be the case here, since the medieval traditions M and S provide sufficient controls and most of the manuscripts included are sufficiently well preserved to make this unlikely. The maximalistic data can be graphed as below (see figure 4.7 below).

When we graph the connections between manuscripts in this way, the connections are substantially fuller and the supercluster is still recognizable. The following manuscripts can be connected via at least one continuous series of links of over 70% agreement: 1Q2, 2Q2, 2Q3, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q13, 4Q14, 4Q22, 4Q364, 4Q365, and Mur1. Five manuscripts can be connected by three or more such pathways (2Q2, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q14, and 4Q22), four by two pathways (1Q2, 2Q3, 4Q364, and 4Q365), and two by a single pathway (4Q13 and Mur1). Only 4Q17,

4Q20, 4Q158, and 4Q366 are orphaned without connection to the main supercluster. Of these 4Q17 is in 67% agreement with 4Q365, which is close enough to tie it to the supercluster on the periphery. 4Q20 is in 50% agreement with 4Q14, which is lower than expected for our supercluster, but probably not representative, since they overlap for only six words. 4Q366 is in 100% agreement with 2Q3 and 4Q22 in the two and four words of overlap respectively,

Figure 4.7
Connectivity Web of DSS Overlapping for > 4 Words



which suggests that it too is likely closer to the supercluster than the graph might indicate. Importantly, 4Q17, 4Q20, and 4Q366 are each in over 80% agreement with one or both of the reference texts M and S, an external control which confirms our suspicions that these manuscripts too should be included in the supercluster. Only 4Q158 remains particularly problematic, since its paltry performance does not appear to be related to a small, non-representative sample size. Its wildly divergent text means that even in relatively substantial overlaps it remains well below 50% in agreement with the other manuscripts in the supercluster, including M and S. Its best claim to connection to the main supercluster is through 4Q366, where it agrees in 88% of the eight preserved words, since we have suggested above that 4Q366 should be considered part of the supercluster.

Based on these indications, I would argue that an inductive comparison of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus in their own right indicates a tight supercluster of texts including 1Q2, 2Q2, 2Q3, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q13, 4Q14, 4Q17, 4Q20, 4Q22, 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, and Mur1. 4Q158 occupies a position on the distant periphery of the supercluster, but not part of the main supercluster itself. When the reference texts M and S are included as controls and the minimum overlap of fifty words is removed, 2Q4, 4Q18, 4Q19, and 4Q21 should likely also be included in the supercluster, since each is in 100% agreement with at least one of the reference texts for their minimally preserved texts. In a few cases of extremely minimally preserved manuscripts, if fuller contents of the scrolls had been preserved, it is possible that they would have moved away from the supercluster (e.g., if they turned out to be merely excerpts or quotations of Exodus in another bibliographical context). In the large majority of cases, however, observed patterns suggest that fuller contents of the scrolls would have served to reinforce and tighten the main supercluster.

4.4.1.2 Definite Contents, Structure, and Text with Limited Internal Variation

While this quantitative analysis addresses merely one aspect of a very complicated debate about the nature of literary works in antiquity, it does suggest a few tentative conclusions. For one, the isolation by the editors of the DJD editions of a group of manuscripts containing the work “Exodus” cannot be deemed anachronistic to the late Second Temple period. The DSS suggest that indeed Exodus circulated as a distinct literary tradition, such that it is legitimate to speak of “Exodus” as a distinct literary work in the late Second Temple period. Recognition of the clear supercluster of Exodus texts further suggests that the Exodus tradition was characterized by recognizable text, definite boundaries, and limited internal variation in the late Second Temple period. The book of Exodus in the Second Temple period consisted of set general contents and structure, including at the minimum the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, the early life of Moses, the plagues against Egypt, the Passover, the Exodus, the wilderness wandering, the covenant at Mount Sinai, the ten commandments, collections of legal material, and the construction of the tabernacle. On the minute level, the precise text of the book was also largely determinate and widely recognized, if not entirely uniform. Within this general framework there was a limited amount of variation between the manuscript copies of the book of Exodus, including both a natural accretion of scribal errors and occasional intentional editorial interventions of relatively limited scope (similarly Crawford 2012b, 66; VanderKam 2012, 9).

Quantitative analysis of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts 4Q364, 4Q365, and 4Q366 suggests that, at least for their preserved treatment of Exodus material, these manuscripts fit comfortably within the limited amount of variation tolerated in the textual tradition of the book of Exodus. They sit securely on the periphery of the supercluster that is the Exodus tradition. Obvious Exodus hypertexts (such as the category of so-called “Rewritten

Scripture”) on the other hand, are clearly excluded as new compositions. 4Q158 occupies a unique middle ground position with far more verbal agreement with Exodus than recognized Exodus hypertexts, but falling far below the amounts of verbal agreement normally expected from copies of the book of Exodus. Quantitative measurements alone, therefore, cannot as yet definitively locate 4Q158 as either a copy of the book of Exodus or an Exodus hypertext, and this complicating factor remains a challenge for defining the nature of the book of Exodus. Full statistical inclusion of clear Exodus hypertexts may in the future clarify the picture, but this is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the tight supercluster of Exodus texts and sharp distinction from known hypertexts is not consistent with a “sliding scale” hypothesis for explaining the nature of the book. Despite sometimes significant editorial interventions and the uncertain nature of 4Q158, the boundaries of the Exodus tradition were not completely fluid. Scribes were not free to write whatever they wanted and present it as Exodus, but rather were guided and controlled by the recognized text.

4.4.1.3 Pentateuchal Context

The perception of Exodus as a recognizably distinct literary work with generally set contents and structure in the Second Temple period is bolstered by its position within the context of the Pentateuch. Bibliographic, textual, and literary evidence strongly suggests that the book of Exodus was understood as one part of a larger literary whole. As discussed in section 4.2.4.2, fully half of all copies of the book of Exodus are demonstrably located within the bibliographic context of larger pentateuchal collections. The book of Exodus is attested with every other book of the Pentateuch and always (where verifiable) as the second book of the Pentateuch after Genesis. Exodus is not attested alongside any non-pentateuchal works, nor is it replaced in pentateuchal collections by any non-pentateuchal works. Thus, the bibliographic evidence strongly suggests that the Pentateuch was widely recognized as a

definite literary unit in the late Second Temple period. I would suggest that this perception of the Pentateuch as literary unity originally prompted the construction of complete Torah scrolls as bibliographic unities, rather than the reverse, as suggested by De Troyer (2008, 285), though she is probably right that the bibliographic unity of Torah scrolls probably did in turn reinforce the perception of a literary unity.

The textual evidence from the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus also points in the same direction, as mentioned in section 4.3.4.1. 4Q1, 4Q13, 4Q22, 4Q158, and S, for instance, show clear evidence of tendencies to harmonize details of Exodus to details of other books of the Pentateuch, particularly Genesis and Deuteronomy. These tendencies across the tradition presuppose the perceived unity and coherence of the Pentateuch in the late Second Temple period. This perception can also be firmly documented from literary evidence in the diverse array of Second Temple literature (e.g., Jassen 2014, 51-54).

4.4.2 Grouping Manuscripts

In the previous section we demonstrated that the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus fall naturally into a tight supercluster of texts, which includes other known Exodus texts but excludes all other texts. Having established this, the question remains whether we can delineate smaller clustering patterns within this larger supercluster of texts. The process of grouping manuscripts of a literary work has a long and complicated history, and I will not rehearse it in detail here. Nor will we be able to reconstruct the entire history of the text of Exodus or even group all of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus sufficiently well in the course of this short thesis. Such a goal would require the rigorous evaluation of every collated variation-unit, which would easily be a thesis in itself (e.g., Sanderson 1986, which is a dissertation based solely on evaluating the variation-units attested in a single Qumran scroll). My goal here is much more modest: to demonstrate the potential of a contextualized approach to the scrolls with carefully

selected examples. With this caveat in mind, we will examine several potential avenues for exploring the relationships between these manuscripts.

4.4.2.1 Connective Readings

We have already stressed the primary importance of shared, distinctive secondary readings for grouping manuscripts in section 2.4.2.1, where we labeled these connective readings. This methodological point is especially important for the fragmentary evidence of our corpus, since minimal overlap often makes large-scale statistical arguments difficult. Several Hebrew DSS containing Exodus seem to preserve noteworthy connective readings in common with each other or other witnesses.

4Q11 most importantly appears to share a highly distinctive transposition with 4Q14 against 4Q22 M S G (17:1 α), almost certainly indicating a close relationship between 4Q11 and 4Q14. The same two manuscripts may also share a distinctive addition, but the evidence is far from clear on this reading (17:7 α). 4Q11 shares a literalizing emendation (25:20 α) and a clarifying addition (18:20 β) in common with 4Q22 and S, as well as another literalization (15:3 α) and harmonizing addition (27:12 α) with S, suggesting a connection between 4Q11 and 4Q22 S.

4Q13 does not share many clear connective readings with other witnesses, but there are some good possibilities. It agrees with S in reading the simpler תפרידו against the more contextually nuanced תפריעו of M G. It also reads וישעו in 5:9 α with S G against ויעשו of M, which could be a harmonization with the following identical verb, though the decision here is difficult. Thus, there is a possible connection with S, but only minimally supported.

4Q14 most importantly appears to share a highly distinctive transposition with 4Q11 against 4Q22 M S G (17:1 α), almost certainly indicating a close relationship between 4Q11 and 4Q14. The same two manuscripts may also share a distinctive addition, but the evidence is

far from clear on this reading (17:7 α). It shares a probable change in morphological number with 4Q365 S (14:10 β) and a harmonistic addition (8:12 α), clarifying addition (18:7 α), two possible phonologically induced replacements of divine names (9:30 β ; 15:17 γ), and one possible substitution of a synonym (5:10 α) with S, suggesting a connection between 4Q14 and S.

4Q17 shares a particularly distinctive harmonistic plus with S (39:21 δ), as well as a noteworthy explanatory addition (39:22 α). It also evidences a likely minor omission with S against M G (40:17 α), though either reading could potentially have a claim to be earlier. Thus, there is very strong evidence for a close connection between 4Q17 and S, though unfortunately 4Q17 is not preserved in the early chapters of Exodus to tell whether it preserved the harmonistic readings characteristic of the 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 S group.

4Q20, if reconstructed correctly, shares two characteristic harmonistic additions with 4Q22 S (7:29b; 8:1b), establishing a close relationship between these manuscripts.

4Q22 shares a literalizing emendation (25:20 α) and a clarifying addition (18:20 β) in common with 4Q11 and S, which may suggest a connection between these three manuscripts. Even more importantly, however, 4Q22 shares two characteristic harmonistic additions with 4Q20 S (7:29b; 8:1b), two with 4Q158 S (20:19a, 21b), and an additional seven with S alone (7:18b; 8:19b; 9:5b, 19b; 10:2b; 11:3b; 18:25+), in addition to two major sequence differences with S against 4Q11 4Q365 M G (26:35 ϵ ; 29:21 α) and numerous agreements in minor secondary readings (cf. Sanderson 1986 for the same conclusion). Thus there can be no doubt that 4Q22 is very closely related to S, as well as 4Q20 and 4Q158.

4Q158 shares two characteristic harmonistic additions with 4Q22 S (20:19 α ; 20:21 β), firmly establishing its place in this group of texts. It also shares numerous minor agreements with S in what are probably secondary readings, though it is difficult to be certain. Just as

importantly, however, 4Q158 appears to share a major expansion in common with 4Q364 after Genesis 32:30 (4Q158 1-2 7; 4Q364 5b ii 13; cf. Tov and White 1994a, 213, DJD 13). Though the Genesis material has not been systematically collated for purposes of this thesis, in 4Q158 a heavily edited form of Genesis 32:24-33 is placed before Exodus 4:27, justifying consideration of this important variation-unit here. While it may be true that this one variation-unit alone is insufficient to declare 4Q158 and 4Q364 a separate literary unity (cf. Zahn 2011b, 4), it certainly indicates a close relationship between these two manuscripts.

4Q364 shares the aforementioned agreement with 4Q158 in its preserved portions of Genesis, which suggest a close relationship between these two manuscripts. 4Q364 also seems to share a grammatical error with 4Q365 in reading הארון העדות (26:34 α), where the construct noun הארון should not have the article according to Classical Hebrew syntax. 4Q365 only preserves the first word on the parchment, however, so the significance of this agreement for the relationship of 4Q364 and 4Q365 is somewhat uncertain. Presumably when Tov suggests that the 4Q365 reading הארון] may be the earliest attested reading (1994a, 192, DJD 13), he is not presupposing the reconstruction of the erroneous העדות in 4Q365. In this case, the reading הארון could be seen as a viable shorter reading, which was supplemented with the grammatically incorrect interpolation העדות in 4Q364 and supplemented with the smoothed out, grammatically correct form ארון העדות in the rest of the tradition. This seems highly unlikely to me, however, and the fact that the distinctive reading הארון is shared with 4Q364 as well as spacing concerns suggest that 4Q365 did indeed share this distinctive grammatical error with 4Q364. Thus, there appears to be a close relationship between 4Q364 and 4Q365.

4Q365 probably shares the aforementioned syntactical error with 4Q364 (26:34 α), though the significance of this reading for their relationship is difficult to determine. It shares a probable change in morphological number with 4Q14 S (14:10 β), a probable explanatory addition with S (15:25 β), and numerous other agreements with S that are difficult to evaluate. This evidence is probably too insignificant in its own right to establish much of a relationship between 4Q365 and any other manuscripts.

The results for S can be summarized as indicating a close relationship between 4Q17, 4Q20, 4Q22, and 4Q158, and probable—but more distant—relationships with 4Q11, 4Q13, 4Q14, 4Q365. Unfortunately, because M reflects an extremely conservative and careful tradition of Exodus, it is extremely difficult to isolate connective readings shared with other manuscripts. M of Exodus typically does not reflect obvious editorial interventions (with the possible exception of the tabernacle account relative to G, according to some scholars), and most of its errors are such that it is very difficult to prove that the M reading is secondary. This leads to the oft-noted phenomenon that it is very difficult to group M with other manuscripts based on connective readings (cf. Segal 2007).

4.4.2.2 Statistical Patterns of Agreement and Disagreement

The use of connective readings for determining manuscript relationships relies on very qualitative criteria. As discussed in section 2.4.2.2, however, quantitative evidence can often also provide useful information for the grouping of manuscripts. Where quantitative measures point in the same direction as qualitative measures, we have a doubly strong case for manuscript relationships. Where they differ, we must revisit the question to carefully reconcile the differences.

For the collection of a data set for statistical analysis, I have systematically compared each of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus to each other and the two reference texts M and S,

noting both agreements (both including and excluding orthographic differences) and disagreements. The full data can be found in appendices A.3 and A.4 of this thesis. This process of data collection allows us to consider the possible relationships of the manuscripts from two perspectives: 1) the overall percentage agreement of manuscripts and 2) the number of agreements and disagreements between manuscripts at collated points of variation.

The first measure of the statistical similarity of texts is their overall percentage agreement. At every point of overlap, I have counted the number of words in agreement and the number of words in disagreement to arrive at a total percentage agreement for each manuscript with each other manuscript. I have only included words that are sufficiently well preserved in both witnesses to demonstrate disagreement or to suggest with a high degree of confidence that the two manuscripts agreed exactly, so numerous likely agreements have not been counted. I have also distinguished between two different types of agreement, to allow for more precise analysis. **Post-regularization agreement*** indicates percentage agreement between the FM and another incorporated manuscript, counting as disagreements only significant differences such as meaningful variant readings and important morphological differences. **Pre-regularization agreement*** indicates percentage agreement, counting as disagreements all differences including purely orthographic differences. From this we can chart the percentage agreement of the FM with each other incorporated manuscript in descending order, which we label their **pre-genealogical coherence*** (Mink 2011, 157-158).¹ These percentages are pre-genealogical in the sense that these data are raw percentages agreement without any specific genealogical claims and the data is not sorted or weighted for significance,

¹ The basic principle utilized here is the same as in Mink's Coherence-Based Genealogical Method, though the measure of calculating the pre-genealogical coherence of manuscripts is different. Most importantly, I have chosen to calculate the pre-genealogical coherence based on percentage agreement out of the total number of overlapping words, rather than passages with attested variants, which allows a greater appreciation of the overall homogeneity of the tradition.

with the exception of regularization of the orthography when measuring post-regularization agreement.¹ The pre-genealogical coherence (post-regularization) of these manuscripts serves as the data set for the isolation of an Exodus supercluster in section 4.4.1.1 and will feature prominently in section 4.4.3 on the establishment of textual groups and clusters. Readers should consult appendix A.3 for the full data for each manuscript.

A brief word on the interpretation of the pre-genealogical coherence data is in order before moving on. Since the amount of overlap between manuscripts varies greatly, so does the statistical value of the percentages. Thus, it is always important to bear in mind the amount of overlap when interpreting the data, rather than simply working off of the hierarchical ranking of manuscripts based on percentage agreement. Many manuscripts with minimal overlap yield unrepresentatively high or low percentages based on chance overlap at points of high or low variation. As a general guideline, statistically meaningful results are usually attainable for manuscripts with 50 or more words overlapping, and a reasonable amount of precision is attainable at around 100 or more words.² Obviously, the more overlap, the more precise the percentages will become.

The second measure of the statistical similarity of texts is their agreement and disagreement at points of variation. Wherever variation can be shown to exist from our corpus, we can catalogue the readings of each extant manuscript and combine the data to show how

¹ See Epp (2013b, 546-547) for the importance of counting variants *before* sorting them, since there is often a correlation between the total agreement between two manuscripts and their agreement in significant readings. Only afterwards should the variants be weighed to isolate the most significant readings for a more precise picture. Still, the formulation of Colwell and Tune remains of value,

Sound method requires (a) that in any area of text which is sampled the total amount of variation be taken into account—not just the variants from some text used as a ‘norm’; (b) that the gross amount of agreement and difference in the relationships of manuscripts must be large enough to be significant; (c) that all variants must be classified as either genetically significant or not (Colwell 1969, 56).

² My general impression from our corpus is consistent with Lange’s “rule of thumb” of only classifying manuscripts with 100 or more words preserved, with the exception of those that attest to some particularly important variant readings (Lange 2010, 54).

many times in total each manuscript agrees or disagrees with each other. While this data too is heavily dependent on the chance preservation of textual overlap between manuscripts of varying characteristics, it does provide one additional measure by which manuscript relationships can be judged and indeed has frequently been the primary one utilized by editors in the DJD series and other DSS scholars (e.g., Lange 2009a). Unfortunately, however, these studies have all too often only included details with reference to M S G, but not the other Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. The full data enumerating all agreements and disagreements at points of variation for all of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus with reference to each other and the reference texts M and S can be summarized as in table 4.21 below.

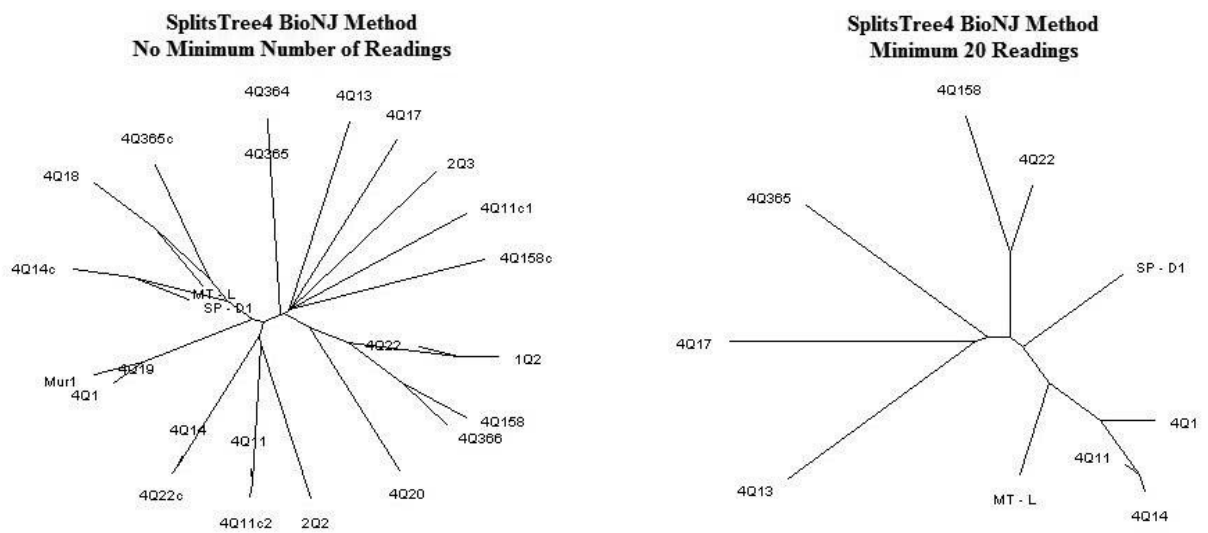
The complexity of the data when all of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus are included raises the question of whether more sophisticated computerized statistical tools might be of help in sorting out the evidence. With the help of Andrew Edmondson I input the unweighted data into the phylogenetics software program SplitsTree4 (<<http://www.splitstree.org/>>, accessed 23 Oct 2014), utilizing a variety of statistical algorithms to explore the possible interpretations of the evidence with somewhat mixed results (see figure 4.8). Inclusion of all of the data radically skewed the results in completely implausible ways, largely invalidating the results. For instance, if two manuscripts overlapped for only one variation-unit and happened to agree at that point (even if numerous other manuscripts also agreed with the same reading at that point), the algorithms treated these two manuscripts as 100% identical and grouped them together, even in cases where a human editor would immediately recognize that the two manuscripts are from completely different branches of the tradition based on other variation-units where they do not overlap. When the more fragmentary manuscripts are excluded by requiring a minimum of 20 preserved variant readings, the picture becomes much more reliable (though still with problematic elements) and helpful as a diagnostic tool,

Table 4.21
Agreements/Disagreements in Collated Variant Readings between Manuscripts

	1Q2	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q13	4Q14	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q158	4Q364	4Q365	4Q366	MurI	M	S
1Q2	X											1/0	0/1					2/2	1/3
2Q2		X		0/4	1/1		2/3					0/3	0/1					7/12	5/14
2Q3			X															1/5	0/6
4Q1		0/4		X	1/0	3/8	3/2			1/0		1/2	0/4				3/2	27/17	21/23
4Q11		1/1		1/0	X		4/0					5/8		1/3	1/3			40/33	20/53
4Q13				3/8		X	3/2											7/52	12/47
4Q14		2/3		3/2	4/0	3/2	X			0/1	5/19				4/5			38/56	32/62
4Q17								X							0/1			4/30	4/30
4Q18									X									2/0	0/2
4Q19				1/0						X		0/1					1/0	1/0	1/0
4Q20							0/1				X	2/1						0/3	2/1
4Q22	1/0	0/3		1/2	5/8		5/19			2/1	2/1	X	5/4	0/1	3/11	1/0	1/0	72/116	81/107
4Q158	0/1	0/1		0/4						0/1		5/4	X	0/1	2/1	2/1	0/2	12/53	14/51
4Q364					1/3							0/1	0/1	X	1/0			3/12	4/11
4Q365					1/3		4/5	0/1				3/11		1/0	X			12/100	17/95
4Q366												1/0	2/1			X		1/3	2/2
MurI				3/2						1/0		1/0	0/2				X	9/0	4/5
M	2/2	7/12	1/5	27/17	40/33	7/52	38/56	4/30	2/0	1/0	0/3	72/116	12/53	3/12	12/100	1/3	9/0	X	275/325
S	1/3	5/14	0/6	21/23	20/53	12/47	32/62	4/30	0/2	1/0	2/1	81/107	14/51	4/11	17/95	2/2	4/5	275/325	X

suggesting that such algorithms would be more helpful for larger data sets than ours, which can mostly be handled manually. The results could have been further refined by carefully weighting each variation-unit, but because of the limited potential benefits for our corpus compared to the large workload of manually weighting all of the variant readings, I did not pursue this avenue of investigation any further. As the number of variation-units grows, more substantial texts are included, and the ways of sorting the data become more refined, such sophisticated mathematical algorithms will certainly become more helpful.

Figure 4.8
SplitsTree4 Diagrams with and without a Minimum Number of Preserved Readings



4.4.2.3 Reconciling Approaches

Qualitative and quantitative approaches to grouping manuscripts both have a certain validity, as well as limitations. Since they approach the evidence from fundamentally different angles, their results can often be mutually illuminating, controlling the potential pitfalls of either approach applied independently. When they point in the same direction, we have multiple lines of evidence suggesting a conclusion. When they point in different directions, we need carefully to seek to understand why they conflict and reconcile the differences on a case by case basis.

An example of the complementary results of qualitative and quantitative approaches from our corpus can be seen in an apparent close relationship between 4Q11 and 4Q14 (see section 4.4.3.5). Qualitatively, these two share at least one major connective reading, which strongly suggests a close relationship between the two. Quantitatively, they are in perfect agreement for all 49 overlapping words, agree with each other at four points of variation and disagree at none, and are consistently flagged as closely related by the SplitsTree4 phylogenetics program using a variety of different algorithms. Thus the qualitative and quantitative data consistently point in the same direction of a close relationship between these two manuscripts, making for a very strong case.

On the other hand, an example of the conflicting results of qualitative and quantitative measurements can be seen in the relationships between 4Q11 4Q14 and the manuscripts containing the harmonistic expansions characteristic of S. Several agreements in secondary readings with these manuscripts suggest that 4Q11 and 4Q14 are somehow related to an earlier stage in the development of their shared S-like text (see section 4.4.3.6). Nevertheless, both 4Q11 and 4Q14 are closer to M than the S-like texts, they agree in proportionally far more readings with M than the S-like texts, and the SplitsTree4 algorithms place them closer to M than the S-like texts. Thus, qualitative and quantitative measures seem to point in different directions and require reconciliation.

4.4.3 Textual Groups and Clusters

The appropriate names for different types and sizes of textual categories have frequently been discussed (e.g., Gooding 1976; Davila 1993), and such taxonomic discussions are important for understanding our traditions. Frequently, however, they only make sense in light of prior conclusions based on evaluation of entire traditions, and the labels often merely reflect the personal preferences and idiosyncrasies of the scholars who suggest them. In my

opinion, the most fundamental question is not the types of variant readings which characterize the category or how many members belong to it. Instead, I suggest that the crucial question is the methods by which the categories are constructed. We have already discussed in sections 2.4.2 and 4.4.2 how some manuscripts can be demonstrated to be genealogically related by specific connective readings, while others can merely be shown to be statistically close without any specific indicators of genealogical relationship. For this thesis, I label textual categories that indicate genealogical relationships evident from connective readings as **groups***, without generally distinguishing between different levels of groups and subgroups.¹ On the other hand, I label textual categories built on statistical patterns of agreement and disagreement without specific genealogical indicators as **clusters***.² Groups are stemmatic categories, whereas clusters are statistical categories. Members of a group descend from a single manuscript, whereas members of a cluster may or may not, but cannot be conclusively demonstrated to do so. The Exodus supercluster identified in section 4.4.1.1 is the largest cluster of texts that constitute our documented Hebrew-language Exodus tradition. Only once the recognizable groups and clusters within this tradition have been identified can we suggest a big-picture view of the textual history of the book of Exodus.

4.4.3.1 ρ -Group (4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366?)

Since the DJD editors published 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366, and 4Q367 and attributed 4Q158 as copies of a single pentateuchal hypertext, the question of whether or not these

¹ Consistently differentiating between various levels of groups and subgroups is essential to any final description of a tradition, but these relationships are constantly changing as more manuscript relationships are identified. Thus, it is more convenient to simply call them all groups until the work of grouping the manuscripts is as complete as possible.

² Epp defines a cluster in a similar way, “Simplistically, a cluster is a group of NT MSS whose texts are more closely related to one another than the cluster—as a group, or as individual members—is related to other groups or to other MSS (Epp 2013b, 571).” Tov (2008, 54) seems implicitly to utilize a similar functional definition when he suggests a cluster of 1QIsa^{a,b} and 4QIsa^{c,d} against M, though he does not define his terms. Nevertheless, as far as I know, the precise taxonomic distinction between statistical clusters and stemmatic groups as formulated here is unique. Tov’s (2012c, 109) designation of a “cluster” of non-aligned texts that do *not* share common features (see section 1.3.2) is unfortunate.

manuscripts are in fact closely related has remained controversial (see section 1.3.5 for detailed discussion of the history of research). The Exodus material has some important contributions to make to this discussion, though perhaps not enough to provide a definitive answer. Whether these manuscripts are considered copies of one or more new compositions or simply heavily edited copies of known pentateuchal texts, our evidence suggests a close textual relationship between them (so also Tov 1994a, DJD 13; Brooke 2001).

As noted above (see section 4.4.2.1), 4Q158 appears to share a large, highly distinctive expansion with 4Q364 after Genesis 32:30, where it places Genesis 32:24-33 before Exodus 4:27 (so also Tov and White 1994a, 213, DJD 13). This common expansion indicates a very close relationship between 4Q158 and 4Q364, even if their texts are not identical in all details (so also Tov 1994a, 190, DJD 13; Brooke 2001, 237). Further corroborative evidence may come from a consideration of the harmonistic pluses characteristic of these manuscripts. 4Q158 preserves with 4Q22 S two harmonistic expansions characteristic of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition of Exodus (20:19 α ; 20:21 β). 4Q364 is closely related to the “pre-Samaritan” tradition of Genesis and Deuteronomy with its characteristic harmonistic expansions in Genesis 30:36 and Deuteronomy 2:8 and other details (Tov 1994a, 193-194, DJD 13), but there is no direct evidence either way to say whether or not it was part of the same tradition in Exodus. Nevertheless, the likelihood that both 4Q158 and 4Q364 can be placed broadly within the same general tradition and their distinctive shared expansion makes a close relationship between them almost certain.

A similarly close relationship between 4Q364 and 4Q365 is suggested by a grammatical error apparently shared by both manuscripts in the reading הארון העדות “lit. the ark the testimony” in variation-unit 26:34 α . 4Q365 preserves the first word, but is lacunose where we would expect the second word, apparently leading Tov to suggest that 4Q365 read only הארון,

a shorter reading with a plausible claim to being the earliest preserved text (1994a, 192, DJD 13). In contrast, I argued in section 4.4.2.1 that 4Q365 should be reconstructed in agreement with 4Q364 based on the distinctive agreement of the two on the articular reading *הארון*, the consistency of line lengths in 4Q365, and the relative implausibility of 4Q365 preserving the earlier reading than the rest of the tradition. If indeed the readings of 4Q364 and 4Q365 reflect a shared secondary error, it is highly distinctive and should not be lightly dismissed. In overall variation-unit count and total percentage agreement, 4Q364 and 4Q365 are first and foremost closest to each other (though with admittedly minimal overlap), further strengthening the case. Thus, there appears to be a close relationship between 4Q364 and 4Q365.

There are no specific textual overlaps between 4Q158 and 4Q365, but their equally close relationships to 4Q364 suggest a close relationship between them as well. This likely three-member group is further corroborated by the fact that these three manuscripts all reflect the distinctive “Qumran Scribal Practice,” which is otherwise exceedingly rare in our corpus of Hebrew DSS containing Exodus (Tov 2010, 83; Brooke 2001, 234-236).

It is also possible, but far from certain, that 4Q366 should be considered a part of this group as well. Like the other members of this group, it is overall somewhat closer in small details to manuscripts with the characteristic harmonizations of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition than to M, even though it is not preserved for any such harmonizations. Furthermore, there is a possible major interpolation of newly composed material in common with 4Q365 in their non-Exodus portions. 4Q366 4 i preserves a collection of Sukkot laws from Numbers 29 and Deuteronomy 16, and frg. 4 ii preserves text unidentifiable with any known pentateuchal text. 4Q365 frg. 23 preserves a Sukkot law from Leviticus 23-24, followed by a large quantity of text unidentifiable with any known pentateuchal text. Tov and White suggest that the Sukkot law from Leviticus 23-24 may have followed the Sukkot laws from Numbers and Deuteronomy

in 4Q366 and that the unidentifiable text following these laws may have been shared by 4Q365 and 4Q366 (1994c, 341-342, DJD 13). This suggestion cannot be conclusively verified, but does provide interesting circumstantial evidence for including 4Q366 in this group. In terms of variation-unit count it is closest to 4Q158, though the systematic difference between these two manuscripts in 22:4 with regard to the roots בער (4Q366) and בעה (4Q158) mitigates against a particularly close relationship (see section 4.3.4.1); one certainly could not have been copied from the other. Thus, it is possible that 4Q366 belonged to the same group as 4Q158, 4Q364, and 4Q365, but this cannot be conclusively demonstrated from the preserved Exodus materials.

In light of our research, then, we can propose a relatively tight textual group consisting of 4Q158, 4Q364, 4Q365, and possibly also 4Q366, which we will label the **ρ-group**. The ρ-group apparently descended from a manuscript ρ, which contained the harmonistic expansions considered characteristic of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” tradition, but did not share the placement of 30:1-10 after 26:35 and 29:21 after 29:28 with 4Q22 S. In both orthographic differences between 4Q364 and 4Q365 in 26:35, 4Q365 preserves the fuller form of the two (4Q364 גבַח השלחַן; 4Q365 גּוּבַח השּׁוֹלַחַן), suggesting that 4Q364 is likely to be the earlier of the two manuscripts within this group. The systematic differences in the roots בער (4Q366) and בעה (4Q158) in 22:4 probably also mean that neither of these can be identified with the manuscript ρ. Thus, either 4Q364 is itself ρ—the common ancestor of each of the members of the ρ-group—or else all of the members of the ρ-group are descended from a hypothetical ancestor ρ. If 4Q366 is included in the group, its generally defective orthography would suggest that a hypothetical ancestor ρ for the ρ-group is more likely. It is also likely that the ρ-group underwent internal development, which is unfortunately difficult to trace, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence (Brooke 2001, 241).

4.4.3.2 δ -Group (4Q22 S)

As noted in section 3.2.14, there is already a widespread consensus that 4Q22 and S form a closely related group of texts. 4Q22 preserves eleven characteristic harmonistic additions shared with S (7:18b, 29b; 8:1b; 8:19b; 9:5b, 19b; 10:2b; 11:3b; 18:25+; 20:19a, 21b). It also shares two major sequence differences with S against 4Q11 4Q365 M G that are probably secondary (26:35 ϵ ; 29:21 α) and numerous agreements in minor secondary readings. Nevertheless, the patterns of secondary readings demonstrate that neither 4Q22 nor S could be directly descended from the other. Thus, we are clearly justified in grouping 4Q22 and S into a **δ -group** descended from a common hypothetical ancestor δ . The δ -group underwent internal development, such as the morphological distinction between מצרים and מצריים in 4Q22 (see section 4.3.4.4), the additional Samaritan commandment to build an altar on Mount Gerizim in S (see sections 4.3.4.1 and 4.3.4.8), the generalization of laws in chapters 21 and 22 in S (see section 4.3.4.6), and a large number of scribal errors accumulated in both 4Q22 and S.

4.4.3.3 π -Group (4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366? S)

The ρ -group and δ -group can also be shown to be closely related from a number of angles. First, the preserved text of 4Q158 shares two characteristic harmonistic additions with 4Q22 S (20:19 α ; 20:21 β), which shows that the ρ -group and δ -group both contained at least some of these expansions. Second, consideration of two important sequence differences also suggests a close relationship between these two books.

Most importantly, as discussed in section 4.3.4.9, 4Q365 and 4Q22 S each appear to displace 29:21 in different locations. Its current location in 4Q365 in the middle of 29:20 renders the passage nonsense and undoubtedly reflects the incorrect reinsertion of a paratextual correction. The placement of 29:21 after 29:28 in 4Q22 S could be understood as an intentional

rearrangement for thematic consistency, but the unusual displacement was more likely prompted by the same paratextual phenomenon that prompted the displacement in 4Q365. If this is true, then 4Q365 and 4Q22 S must descend from a hypothetical common ancestor π . From this observation, we can deduce a composite π -group, which consists of all members of the ρ -group and δ -group.

The question of the placement of 30:1-10 is more uncertain, however. As noted in section 4.3.4.9, 4Q22 S place these verses after 26:35 against 4Q365 M G. 4Q365 clearly does not have verses 30:1-10 after 26:35, but it is unclear whether these verses were included in the same location as in M G. Given the difficulties of the reconstruction of 4Q365, it is impossible to know for sure, but reconstruction of the text between frg. 9b ii and frg. 10 according to M G as a single column including 30:1-10 yields a column of approximately 57 lines, whereas excluding 30:1-10 the column would be approximately 48 lines, which fits better our suggested column height of 40-50 lines for the scroll (see section 3.2.17). In the end, it is impossible to know for sure if and where 4Q365 (and presumably the entire ρ -group) originally had 30:1-10, but it certainly did not agree with the placement of the δ -group.

4.4.3.4 σ -Group (4Q17 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366? S)

Another important group of texts emerges from this analysis based on several clearly connective readings. Though not all of the members overlap with each other for verification, their connections with S make this identification very likely in each case. The members of this group all appear to be characterized by numerous shared harmonistic expansions (6:9b; 7:18b, 29b; 8:1b, 19b; 9:5b, 19b; 10:2b; 11:3b; 18:25+; 20:19a, 21b; 32:10+; 39:21+) and many other smaller secondary readings. If these harmonistic changes were made in stages, rather than all at the same stage in the development of the text, it is possible that 4Q17 (which only attests the harmonistic expansion in 39:21+) could reflect a stage of harmonization prior to or later than

the systematic harmonizations in the plagues narrative (6:9b; 7:18b, 29b; 8:1b, 19b; 9:5b, 19b; 10:2b; 11:3b). If this is the case, we would have to construct another subgroup for all of the witnesses preserving the harmonizations in the plagues narrative. Nevertheless, the similarity of the characteristic expansions from across the book of Exodus make it probable that 4Q17 also originally had the harmonizations in the plagues narrative as well. Either solution is possible, but given the ambiguities of the evidence, I have refrained from suggesting an additional subgroup within this group.

In light of the shared harmonistic expansions, we can conclude that all of these manuscripts descended from a hypothetical manuscript σ . We shall label this group the **σ -group**, which is a composite group including the π -group (and its subgroups the ρ -group and δ -group) and a number of other manuscripts, which cannot be included in smaller groups (4Q17 4Q20). Due to the fragmentary nature of the preserved evidence, it is impossible to know whether or not 4Q17 and 4Q20 shared any distinguishing characteristics of the π -group, the ρ -group, or the δ -group, so it is possible that either or both of these manuscripts could have belonged to one or more of these groups as well. Thus, it is entirely possible that $\sigma = \pi$ and the σ -group is coterminous with the π -group, but the evidence is simply insufficient to tell. Therefore, I have chosen to distinguish the σ -group from the π -group to allow for a more cautious presentation of the data, since 4Q17 and/or 4Q20 may possibly stem from σ independently of π . This, then, is an example of a place where the ambiguous fragmentary evidence does not allow for complete precision in grouping the manuscripts.

The σ -group also underwent significant internal development, as the various members went their separate ways. We have already noted the distinguishing characteristics of the π -group, the ρ -group, and the δ -group, which document this phenomenon. 4Q17 developed numerous unique erroneous readings, but shows little evidence of further editorial intervention

other than slight morphological changes (e.g., the consistent non-classical spelling of ויתן as וינתן) and a possible harmonistic addition (39:21 α). Too little is preserved of 4Q20 to document subsequent changes other than one probable minor addition (7:29 β). Thus, while the common origin of all the members of the σ -group are clear, it must be remembered that each of the members of this group underwent individual development, and it is not always entirely certain how the manuscripts of this group related to each other within the group.

4.4.3.5 τ -Group (4Q11 4Q14)

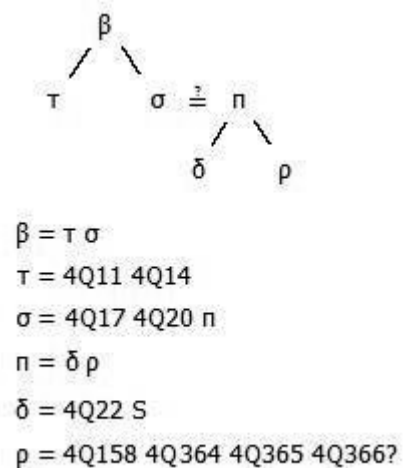
One further discovery arising from the application of a contextualized approach to the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is a heretofore unrecognized tight textual group consisting of 4Q11 and 4Q14. These two manuscripts illustrate how a combined use of connective readings and statistical patterns of agreement and disagreement can yield strong arguments for textual groups (cf. section 4.4.2.3). 4Q11 and 4Q14 share a highly distinctive transposition against 4Q22 M S G (17:1 α), agree at all four collated variation-units which they mutually attest, and are identical for their 49 overlapping words, with the possible exception of a single uncertain orthographic difference. Either one of these manuscripts was descended from the other, or both are descended from a close common ancestor. The paleo-Hebrew script of 4Q11 versus the square script of 4Q14, the slightly earlier date range given for 4Q11, and the general carelessness of 4Q14 make it most unlikely that 4Q11 is descended from 4Q14. It is possible that 4Q14 is descended from 4Q11, but unfortunately there is insufficient unambiguous evidence to demonstrate such a direct connection. Alternatively, 4Q11 and 4Q14 may descend from a common reconstructed manuscript τ . We will label this group the **τ -group**, which remains appropriate whether we consider τ a reconstructed common ancestor or 4Q11 itself. The identification of a close relationship between two of the best-preserved Qumran manuscripts is an important vindication of the contextualized approach.

4.4.3.6 β -Group (4Q11 4Q14 4Q17 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366? S)

The τ -group lacks the harmonistic expansions characteristic of the σ -group, but preserves numerous probable connective readings with the σ -group (5:10 α ; 8:12 α ; 9:30 β ; 14:10 β ; 15:3 α , 17 γ ; 18:7 α , 20 β ; 25:20 α ; 27:12 α). Thus, the τ -group seems to reflect an earlier state of the text from which the σ -group developed, a “pre-pre-Samaritan” tradition of sorts. The relationship could best be visualized by conjecturing a reconstructed manuscript β from which the τ -group and σ -group independently descended. Thus, a **β -group** can be identified and defined as a composite group including members of both the τ -group and the σ -group.

However, as mentioned in section 4.4.2.3, there is a slight discrepancy between qualitative and quantitative approaches to the relationship between the τ -group and the σ -group, which requires reconciliation. The members of the τ -group are statistically closer on nearly every measure to M and other more conservative traditions than to the members of the σ -group with which they appear to be aligned based on qualitative evidence. Furthermore, the σ -group members are frequently statistically closer to M and other conservative texts than to the members of the τ -group. These statistical patterns are unexpected if the τ -group does indeed reflect an intermediate state of the text between the other more conservative traditions and the σ -group, which is problematic for our theory of a β -group consisting of the τ -group and the σ -group and needs to be explained.

Figure 4.9
Illustration of β -Group

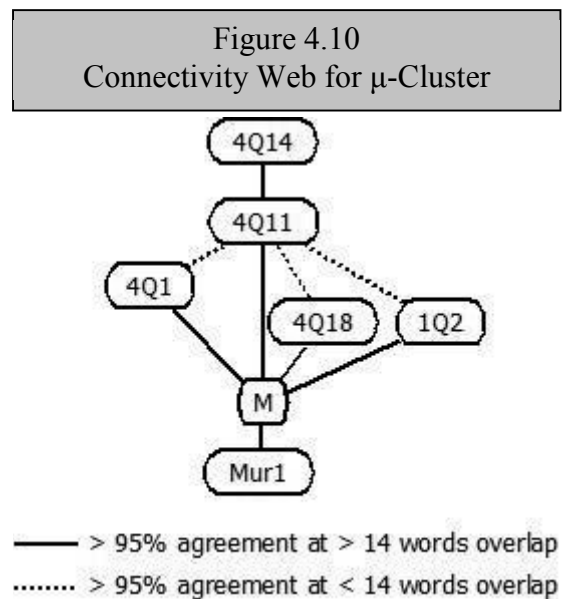


If the connective readings shared with the σ -group suggested above are indeed indicative of a special genetic relationship, the statistical closeness to non- β -group witnesses probably indicates a relatively high degree of intervention and carelessness reflected in the

hypothetical manuscript σ . In order to test this hypothesis, we can strip S of its distinctive σ -group, π -group, and δ -group editorial interventions to approximate more closely the received text of σ . When we do this, the statistical picture changes dramatically. For instance, the post-regularization agreement of 4Q11 and S is a paltry 70%, whereas 4Q11 agrees with M in 96% of its words. When we repeat the calculations between 4Q11 and the stripped form of S, they now agree at 93%. While this still falls short of the 96% agreement between 4Q11 and M, this is among the statistically closest manuscripts to S. Even the fellow δ -group manuscript 4Q22 only agrees with S slightly under 94% of the time. When we compare S to M, they agree only 87% of the time, and even our stripped form of S only agrees with M just under 93% of the time—i.e., slightly less than the 93% agreement with 4Q11. This revised data, then, actually supports the theory suggested here that 4Q11 (and to a lesser degree 4Q14) may reflect an intermediate state of the text between M and S. Thus, the use of more nuanced argumentation corrects possibly misleading statistics and corroborates the theory of a β -group consisting of the τ -group and the σ -group. The β -group and its constituents can be illustrated as in figure 4.9.

4.4.3.7 μ -Cluster (1Q2 4Q1 4Q11 4Q18 Mur1 M)

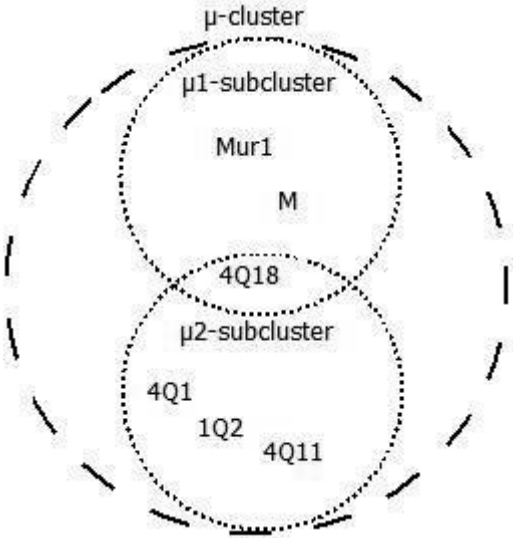
A number of Hebrew DSS containing Exodus clearly lacked the characteristic readings of the σ -group (at least 2Q2, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q14, 4Q365). But, as has been repeatedly pointed out (Segal 2007, 8-10), the lack of σ -group readings does not in itself warrant the identification of a textual group. In the absence of clear connective readings, it is extremely difficult to establish specific relationships between these manuscripts. Conservative and careful



traditions are particularly resistant to the grouping of manuscripts, especially when (as is true in our case) the fragmentary evidence often leaves it unclear which readings are secondary and makes clear patterns difficult to identify. A more thorough analysis of all of the variation-units might suggest additional cases of connective readings for help in grouping the more conservative texts, but in lieu of such a comprehensive project, it is possible that statistical patterns might suggest additional ways of conceptualizing the data. If we construct a connectivity web graphing manuscripts in over 95% agreement for 15 words or more of overlap (see figure 4.10), seven manuscripts can be connected in a relatively tight cluster (1Q2, 4Q1, 4Q11, 4Q14, 4Q18, Mur1, M). 4Q14 is part of the τ -group with 4Q11 and is 100% in agreement with 4Q11, but because of its relatively careless copying, it differs widely from other members of the cluster (4Q1 M), and so should probably be excluded from the statistical cluster. Unfortunately, there is insufficient overlap between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus to demonstrate this cluster without reference to M, but when M is included, it emerges as a relatively tight cluster of texts. Thus, here we have an example where the ancient evidence appears to be insufficient without reference to the broader medieval tradition. That said, the minimal overlaps between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus are not inconsistent with the recognition of this cluster. In fact, when the 15 word minimum overlap is removed, the manuscripts consistently agree with each other 100% for their minimal overlap. This would not in and of itself be sufficient to demonstrate the cluster without reference to M, but it does serve to reinforce the impression of a relatively tight cluster of texts. Let us label this cluster the **μ -cluster**.

Within this μ -cluster, a number of possible smaller subclusters also seem to emerge (see figure 4.11). 4Q18, Mur1, and M are 100% identical where overlapping (in the case of 4Q18, only 15 words), but 1Q2, 4Q1, and 4Q11 are each 96% in agreement with M and 100% in agreement with each other in their minimal overlaps. 4Q18 is also 100% in agreement with 4Q11 for the four preserved overlapping words, and so could be considered part of either subcluster, but the slightly larger amount of overlap with M (i.e., 15 words) in addition to the 100% agreement suggests that it is somewhat more likely to be closer to M. Thus, though with an admittedly small statistical data set, we may possibly see two different subclusters, which we can tentatively label the **μ_1 -subcluster** (4Q18 Mur1 M) and the **μ_2 -subcluster** (1Q2 4Q1 4Q11 [and therefore presumably also τ and β]). It is entirely possible that, if the manuscripts had been more fully preserved, the picture would have differed somewhat and the distinction between the μ_1 -subcluster and the μ_2 -subcluster would not hold, but it is an interesting possibility suggested by the evidence that is preserved.

Figure 4.11
Illustration of μ -Cluster



Of course, it must be borne in mind that this μ -cluster (and its possible subclusters) is merely a collection of manuscripts with relatively high percentages of agreement, rather than a specific group of textually related manuscripts demonstrably sharing a common ancestor against the rest of the tradition. The primary feature these manuscripts have in common is their relatively conservative and careful transmission of a certain shared text, rather than any specific secondary readings. Thus, the μ -cluster is a statistical category, rather than a stemmatic one, which nevertheless offers us one way of conceptualizing and visualizing our tradition.

The results of the μ -cluster are in many respects similar to the M-group of texts according to the typology of Emanuel Tov. A similar range of members are included, two subdivisions are isolated, and the categories are primarily statistical in nature. On the other hand, the results also differ significantly in certain aspects. Most importantly, M has been decentralized as much as possible, given the fragmentary state of our evidence. The cluster is not defined with M as the central or definitive member, even though M necessarily remains crucial for filling in the statistical picture, especially for the μ_1 -subcluster. The subclusters are not defined by different ranges of percentages agreement with M in a two-tiered concentric fashion, but rather arise independently. The μ_2 -subcluster in particular is not defined solely by a lesser degree of agreement with M, but rather also by the proximity of the members to each other. Thus, the hypothesis of a μ -cluster and possible subclusters μ_1 and μ_2 decentralizes M to the maximum extent possible in accord with the contextualized approach advocated in this thesis.

4.4.3.8 Septuagint-Like Texts?

For a number of reasons discussed in section 3.4.1, we have not yet systematically incorporated the Septuagint (G) into our application of the contextualized approach to the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus at this point in the research. Nevertheless, we would be remiss if we did not discuss this important witness to some extent in our study. G as reconstructed by Wevers (1991) differs significantly from known Hebrew witnesses in its account of the construction of the tabernacle (chapters 35-40). Bogaert (1996), on the other hand, suggests that the Old Greek form of the tabernacle account is more accurately reconstructed from the Old Latin *Codex Monacensis*, which differs significantly from Wevers' reconstruction of G. Many textual scholars consider at least one of these two text forms to reflect a text form of Exodus earlier than those reflected in the extant Hebrew witnesses (e.g., Aejmelaeus 2007a;

Ulrich 2011, 55; Salvesen 2014). As far as I have been able to discern from my reconstructions, however, neither of these text forms are attested in any of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus preserved for these passages (so also Salvesen 2014, 559). Even the one Greek papyrus containing Exodus from Qumran (7Q1) agrees with the Hebrew witnesses against G in small details in chapter 28. While some editors have suggested affinities between G and 2Q2 (Baillet 1962b, 49, DJD 3) and 4Q13 (Cross 1994a, 84, DJD 12)—affinities to which our investigation by definition cannot speak—these manuscripts are unfortunately not preserved towards the end of the book to verify which form of the tabernacle account they contained. Thus, while there are some manuscripts with patterns of shared readings with G and a more thorough incorporation of the Greek witnesses into our analysis would undoubtedly reveal more, this preliminary analysis has not yet yielded any strong evidence of a distinctive Hebrew tradition behind the Septuagint. Further investigations should be expanded to incorporate the full Greek tradition in order to address this limitation of our current project.

4.4.4 Stemmatology in Exodus

The reconstruction of a complete, unified stemma of manuscript relations has traditionally been an important goal of textual scholars for many traditions, but there are many complicating factors that potentially impact the attempt to reconstruct such a stemma for the Exodus tradition, such as the contested origins of the tradition, mixing of texts, processes of standardization, multiple emergence of like variant readings, scribal emendations, fragmentary evidence, and conservative evidence. These factors rightly raise the question of whether or not the construction of a stemma for the Exodus tradition is even possible or helpful.

4.4.4.1 Common Descent from a Single, Written, Predominant Ancestor?

A fundamental question for the construction of a stemma of manuscripts is that of the singular or multiple origins of the preserved manuscripts, as decisions on this question will

yield drastically different pictures of textual history. As discussed in sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2, a clear supercluster of like texts indicates a distinct Exodus tradition in the late Second Temple period with definite contents, structure, and text with limited internal variation. We must now address the issue of whether this limited plurality within a relative homogeneity ultimately developed from a prior plurality or singularity. Did the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus all descend from a single written ancestor? Did they develop independently from a process of assimilation or standardization of multiple independent Pentateuch-like traditions into the uniform content, sequence, and text of the known book of Exodus? Or, alternatively, do they reflect multiple independent textualizations of a shared oral tradition?

Because the origins of these texts of Exodus have been so controversial in the history of research (see section 1.3.6 for details), we must tread carefully and clearly define our terminology at this point. Most importantly, I propose that it will be helpful to make a distinction between the *literary natures* of these texts and their *genealogical relationships*. The literary natures of texts concerns their intended purposes and received significances in relation to prior texts, normally evident primarily in the types and extents of changes introduced into the scribes' received texts. The genealogical relationships of texts concern their interconnections via series of ancestor-descendent relationships as simply texts without regard for the significances of the differences. Literary classifications are value-laden categories, while the genealogical relationships are value-neutral. The latter describe how the tradition developed, and the former describe why it did so. The relationships between texts and their literary natures are two interrelated aspects of textual history, much like two sides of the same proverbial coin.

In a periodically (re-)edited textual tradition like the book of Exodus, this distinction is especially important, and I am convinced that the conflation of these two questions has been a

major cause of confusion in discussions about the origins of our tradition. Discussions of “original texts,” “final forms,” “determinative texts,” “editions,” etc.—terms which have dominated the discussion about the textual history of the book of Exodus—tend to focus on the literary natures of the texts and classify them according to literary criteria. In complex textual traditions with a wide variety of diverse text forms and derivative works, such value-laden terms can be of great value for understanding textual history. But contested value judgments for various states of the text have frequently obscured the description and analysis of the genealogical relationships of texts.¹ By distinguishing value-laden literary classifications from value-neutral genealogical connections, we will be in a better position to discern points of unacknowledged agreement among scholars and isolate points of true disagreement (as opposed to mere miscommunication).

To facilitate the underappreciated value-neutral investigation of genealogical relationships, I propose to draw on the classical philological concepts of archetype and hyparchetype (for detailed discussions from a classical perspective, see Maas 1958, 2-3, 6; for application to the Hebrew Bible, see Hendel 2013, 63-69, 79-85, on whom much of the following discussion draws heavily). These terms are often variously defined and/or misunderstood, so we must precisely delineate the manner in which we will use them. An **archetype*** is the latest, common, predominant ancestor of all witnesses to a common textual tradition. It is the latest common ancestor, because it constitutes the point of historical, genealogical convergence of the documented texts, which may nevertheless have been preceded by numerous now-undocumented texts (cf. especially Hendel 2013, 63-69, who

¹ Similarly, Hendel writes, “Any edition may differ considerably from previous editions... Yet there is a textual continuity and a genealogical relationship among a book’s editions. The same kind of genealogical relationship arguably exists for the multiple editions of the biblical books (2013, 84).” He also refers new editions as “hyparchetypes” (see definition below) (67), which further shows that he is assuming a similar parallel usage of terms as I am. On the other hand, when Tov states that “now more than ever it seems to me that there never was an ‘archetype’ or ‘original text’ of most scripture books (2013, 380),” he is clearly *not* making this distinction.

draws on Michael Reeve for the adjectives "latest" and "common"). It is only the predominant ancestor, because minority source texts not descended from the archetype may have worked their way into the documented tradition, for instance, through free composition of new material, conflation of sources, supplementation of lacunae, incorporation of marginal corrections from other manuscript sources, and/or influence from prior content knowledge. Nevertheless, in most cases the influence of source material not descended from the archetype is not so substantial as to undermine the texts' primary dependence on the archetype, so we are justified to speak of a predominant ancestor which served as the primary (if not exclusive) source for the documented tradition. In cases of radical literary discontinuity, derivative works may still attest to the text of the archetype, even if the portion of text descended from the archetype that is utilized as source material no longer predominates in the new text. In such cases, it no longer makes sense to speak of the archetype of the base tradition as *the* archetype of the new hypertext. Manuscript traditions do not necessarily have an archetype, but many do, and textual scholars' answers to this theoretical question necessarily affect the reconstructions of textual histories. The theory of an archetype for a given tradition is rightly considered a presupposition for various models of textual history, but it is not necessarily an arbitrary or inevitable assumption and should itself be derived from the nature of the preserved evidence (similarly Najman 2012a, 6; Hendel 2013, 80; Brooke 2014, 615).¹

Furthermore, most textual traditions clearly exhibit numerous smaller points of genealogical convergence, which should also be identified. For this purpose, I will define a **hyparchetype*** as the latest, common, predominant ancestor of a subset of a complete textual

¹ Thus, I would not go as far as Hendel did in an earlier work to claim that the theory of an archetype is *a priori* "logically and historically necessary (2010, 299)." Interestingly, Timpanaro suggests rather an inductive cause for the development of the general preference for theories of archetypes, "I suppose it was the large number of texts in which all the manuscripts agree in errors and lacunas that gradually convinced Classical philologists that there had been an archetype in all cases (2005, 113)."

tradition. On this definition, the identification of a hyparchetype does not necessarily imply the existence of an archetype for the complete textual tradition, but it does imply a genealogical relationship between the texts descended from the hyparchetype. With the terms archetype and hyparchetype strictly defined in value-neutral terms as above, we are now in a better position to frame the question of the origins of our tradition and to address its transmission.

As a fundamental starting point in the discussion, Sanderson (1986, 43) noted that in her comparison of 4Q22 M S G there was no unambiguous evidence to support a theory of plural origins.¹ The data collected in this thesis significantly expanded the data set to include the entirety of the Hebrew-language, continuous-text manuscript evidence from the DSS, but the situation has not changed. The Hebrew DSS containing Exodus yield no evidence incompatible with a continuous tradition of transmission based on written exemplars diffusing from a single, written, common, predominant ancestor. Even the rare variation-units which could properly be described as “synonymous” (in the sense of saying the same thing with different words) are easily understood as responses to written exemplars when we factor in the influence of the scribes’ prior content knowledge and their internal memory and repetition of the texts as they copied from their exemplars. Furthermore, even in cases where non-Exodus materials are interpolated into our tradition such as the σ -group harmonizations to

¹ Sanderson notes,

“[H]aving evaluated the variants involved in this study it does seem to me that none of them requires [her underlining, DGL] us to reject the possibility of an *Urtext*. Of the variants which have been judged secondary, it is usually easy to understand how they could have arisen from the reading judged preferable. Of the synonymous variants, it is usually easy to imagine that one of them was original and the other arose from that original. The problem is in knowing which is which. In other words, the variants that I have worked with do not seem to raise insuperable problems to the notion of an *Urtext* on a theoretical level. Whether or not it is historically accurate to say that there was an *Urtext*, it at least seems theoretically possible, on the basis of the readings encountered in this study, to imagine that there was one (1986, 43).”

Similarly, “Whether or not there was ever an *Urtext* of Exodus, there does at least seem to have been a time when these four texts were very close to each other (311).”

Deuteronomy and major additions in some of the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts (particularly 4Q158 and 4Q365), the editorial interventions build on and respond to an already well-established, controlling, written base text of Exodus as the primary source texts for the texts as wholes. Even if these interventions occasionally used non-Exodus source material, there is little doubt that the manuscripts still stem from and attest to a single predominant Exodus ancestor. Thus, while we may never be able to prove the singular origin of our documented tradition conclusively, the utter lack of compelling examples of surviving readings reflecting multiple independent origins leaves any theories which reject a written archetype of the tradition without substantial support from our corpus.

On the other hand, a more positive case can be made from the preserved manuscripts and readings that they all descend from a single, common, written, predominant ancestor. The first line of evidence comes from a consideration of manuscript relations. Based on clear, verbatim agreements in significant secondary readings, we have been able to demonstrate six interrelated groups of texts (see section 4.4.3). The precise agreement in characteristic textual changes that distinguish these groups and minor agreements in secondary readings shared between them can only be explained on the basis of a written hyparchetype β . As such, at least nine (possibly eight?) of the nineteen Hebrew DSS containing Exodus (4Q11 4Q14 4Q17 4Q20 4Q22 4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366?) as well as S necessarily share a common origin. Furthermore, the close similarities between the τ -group, β -hyparchetype, and other manuscripts within the μ -cluster strongly suggests a common written origin—even if it is difficult to work out their precise relationships—so a further four manuscripts (1Q2 4Q1 4Q18 Mur1) as well as M should probably be associated with an ancestor in common with the β -hyparchetype, to include a total of thirteen out of nineteen manuscripts.

Of the remaining six Hebrew DSS containing Exodus (2Q2 2Q3 2Q4 4Q13 4Q19 4Q21), three are 100% in agreement with both M and S in their minimally preserved text (2Q4 4Q19 4Q21) and certainly do not support any notions of an original plurality. The final three are comfortably over 80% in agreement with members of this collection of manuscripts with a clear common origin (2Q2 2Q3 4Q13), which is even greater than the agreements between some manuscripts that are demonstrably genealogically related. Even though these six manuscripts cannot be specifically grouped in relation to other manuscripts at this stage of the research, the extensive verbal equivalence across the entire tradition is remarkable and difficult to reconcile with a theory of multiple origins. Thus, analysis of manuscript relations suggests that all nineteen of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus descended from a single, common, written, predominant ancestor—strictly speaking, the hyparchetype of our corpus.

Another fruitful line of investigation for answering the question of the common descent of these witnesses is analysis of the types of variation that are exhibited. First of all, it should be noted that there is essentially no evidence of entirely different characters and/or narratives,¹ vastly different formulations of extensive passages, competing chronological frameworks, alternative collections of legal material,² major macrostructural differences,³ or other types of differences that might suggest independent origins for the documented tradition. The large-scale differences between these manuscripts all appear to reflect editorial interventions responding to an already well-established base text of Exodus, rather than preserving remnants

¹ The placement of a heavily edited form of Genesis 32:24-33+ before Exodus 4:27 in 4Q158 is the closest possible example, but even here the Genesis text is certainly a secondary exegetical interpolation based on the common pentateuchal source text designed to stress parallels between the two narratives, rather than a viable alternative storyline preserved from parallel Pentateuch-like material (see sections 4.3.4.2 and 4.3.4.9).

² The additions of legal material in the (Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts are interpolations into the common base text of Exodus, not independent collections of legal material.

³ The various arrangements of the tabernacle account, while significant in their own right, still reflect a relatively limited degree of restructuring isolated within a single section of Exodus that remains controlled by the overarching Exodus macrostructure as defined in 4.4.1.2.

of older (pre-)pentateuchal traditions. There is also no clear evidence for discontinuity in the written tradition—such as omissions or paraphrases of extensive passages—which could indicate the re-transcription of texts from memory in lieu of available written exemplars. Truly synonymous variant readings are rare and easily explicable within the context of written transmission, and in many cases it is relatively easy to identify which readings are prior and which are posterior based on known manuscript relationships and/or other criteria of intrinsic and transcriptional probability. It is possible that isolated cases of prior readings from sources not descended from the hypothetical hyparchetype of our corpus may be reflected in some of these scrolls, but there is no compelling evidence for this at this point in the research, which weighs against a theory of multiple origins. Furthermore, as will be discussed in section 4.4.4.3, there is no conclusive evidence of processes of standardization of the text among the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, which would be required to warrant a theory of multiple origins on the basis of the relatively homogenous surviving textual evidence. Thus, the patterns of readings are strongly suggestive of a single, common, written, predominant ancestor for all the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. Given the current state of the evidence, the common descent of all of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus (as well as M and S) from a single hyparchetype is by far the best working hypothesis. Incorporation of additional (mainly versional) witnesses will be necessary to determine whether an archetype should be hypothesized for the entire documented Exodus tradition, but the proposed single hyparchetype of the most important Hebrew witnesses is highly suggestive in this direction.

4.4.4.2 Textual Mixture?

One of the greatest difficulties in constructing stemmata for complex textual traditions is the phenomenon of textual mixture. Frequently texts were altered inconsistently to conform to alternative texts, yielding new mixed texts with features of two or more source texts. So-

called “open” textual traditions, which exhibit such “contamination” between texts, are notoriously resistant to reliable description by stemmata (Colwell 1969, 67-69; West 1973, 35-47; Holmes 2011). Gerd Mink, for instances, bluntly states, “It is impossible to trace the real filiation of surviving manuscripts in a contaminated tradition whose witnesses have largely been lost (2011, 202).” This raises the important question of whether or not the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus reflect an open textual tradition, and if so, to what extent.

The most obvious place to start looking for evidence of mixture is to consider the corrections to these manuscripts. The corrections recorded in section 4.3.2, however, yield no compelling evidence for such mixture. They are almost universally corrections of errors made by the first hand, which could have been implemented either by consulting the copyist’s exemplar or simply by proofreading the new copy in its own right. In no case is there any compelling reason to suspect that the corrections were made intentionally to conform one text to an alternative text form.¹

Even if these manuscripts yield no physical evidence for mixture, it may still be possible to detect it by combinations of readings incompatible with known manuscript relationships or by combinations of readings which suggest incompatible manuscript relations. Our collated variation-units reveal only two splits in the tradition incompatible with known relations within the β -group. In variation-unit 8:17 δ , 4Q14 4Q22 share a morphologically long-form pronoun המה against the short-form הם of M S. In variation-unit 27:9 α , 4Q22 M lack a locative ה on the reading נגב with implicit directional sense, while 4Q11 S read נגבה , including the explicitly directional locative ה . Neither of these variation-units entail readings that are particularly

¹ Possible examples in 4Q22 17:13 and 4Q365 30:37 are unlikely and relatively insignificant.

suggestive of influence from alternative texts, but are rather significantly more likely to reflect multiple independent emergence of the same secondary readings (see section 4.4.4.4).

If we expand the search for incompatibilities to include not only established manuscript relations, but also all possible combinations of readings attested in our collated variation-units, we can discern a total of six incompatibilities in five sets of readings (see table 4.22 below). Variation-unit 8:17δ is alone in being incompatible with sets 2, 4, and 5, and as just discussed, it more likely reflects an example of multiple emergence of a long-form pronoun than any sort of textual mixing. Variation-unit 27:9α is alone in being incompatible with set 3, and again is more likely to reflect multiple emergence of an explicating variant reading. Set 1 is more complicated and the only one to provide new information beyond what has already been discussed. Of the four variation-units involving 4Q1 4Q13 M S, there are three attested patterns of agreement, yielding two (or possibly three) incompatibilities. Three of the four readings, however, differ only in the presence or absence of a conjunction ו and hardly reflect textual mixture. Only variation-unit 3:14α is remotely textually significant,¹ but without any other patterns in significant readings to compare there is nothing truly problematic with this variation-unit. Thus, a full search for incompatibilities within our collated corpus yields no good additional examples.

The complete absence of evidence for any kind of textual mixture in the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus may seem surprising, given the frequency with which such mixture is assumed or argued in the literature. The limitations of our data may play a large role in this discussion, and should be well noted. In principle, in order to identify an incompatible split, we require at least two variation-units which are attested by the same four or more manuscripts

¹ Though even this is a relatively minor reading, which could have arisen independently in different traditions.

with each reading reflected in at least two manuscripts. This is a tall order only rarely satisfied with our fragmentary collated data (8 sets encompassing a total of 23 variation-units). Furthermore, mixing may have occurred at numerous points for which there are no demonstrably incompatible splits. Incorporation of additional materials into the analysis may

Table 4.22 Incompatible Sets of Readings		
Set 1 $1:3\beta = 3:15\beta \neq 3:14\alpha \neq 5:8\delta$		
1:3 β	זבולן 4Q13 M	זבולן 4Q1? S
3:15 β	3° אלהי 4Q13 M	ואלהי 4Q1 S
3:14 α	אל בני 4Q13 S	לבני 4Q1 M
5:8 δ	מזבחה M S	מזבחה 4Q1 4Q13
Set 2 $7:10\alpha = 7:18\gamma = 7:29\alpha = 9:19\delta = 10:2\alpha = 10:24\beta = 17:13\beta \neq 8:17\delta$		
7:10 α	אל 4Q14? M	לפני 4Q22 S ¹
7:18 γ	> 7:18b 4Q14? M	+ 7:18b 4Q22 S
7:29 α	> 7:29b 4Q14? M	+ 7:29b 4Q22 S
9:19 δ	> 9:19b 4Q14 M	+ 9:19b 4Q22 S
10:2 α	> 10:2b 4Q14 M	+ 10:2b 4Q22 S
10:24 β	> ולאהרן 4Q14 M	+ ולאהרן 4Q22 S
17:13 β	> ויכם 4Q14 M	+ ויכם 4Q22 S
8:17 δ	הם M S	המה 4Q14 4Q22
Set 3 $8:19\alpha = 10:2\alpha = 18:21\delta = 18:23\alpha = 26:35\epsilon \neq 27:9\alpha$		
8:19 α	> 8:19b 4Q11 M	+ 8:19b 4Q22 S
10:2 α	> 10:2b 4Q11 M	+ 10:2b 4Q22 S
18:21 δ	°2 שרי 4Q11? M	ושרי 4Q22 S
18:23 α	על 4Q11? M	אל 4Q22 S
26:35 ϵ	> 30:1-10 4Q11 M	+ 30:1-10 4Q22 S
27:9 α	נגבה 4Q11 S	נגב 4Q22 M
Set 4 $14:10\alpha \neq 8:17\delta$		
14:10 α	> ויראו 4Q14? M	+ ויראו before והנה 4Q365 S
8:17 δ	המה 4Q14 4Q365	הם M S
Set 5 $26:35\epsilon \neq 8:17\delta$		
26:35 ϵ	> 30:1-10 4Q365 M	+ 30:1-10 4Q22 S
8:17 δ	הם M S	המה 4Q22 4Q365

yield more examples. For instance, in variation-unit 13:6 α , 4Q22 M read שבעת, while S reads ששה. In our analysis, this would not be flagged as an incompatible split, since S could simply have deviated (and indeed probably did) from the δ -hyparchetype. However, when we realize that G reads with S, the situation becomes much more complex, since G is clearly not descended from the δ -hyparchetype or otherwise closely related to S. This incompatible split only becomes evident when G is factored into the equation. Thus, a full analysis must await the full data.

Nevertheless, the complete absence of demonstrable mixing in the collations of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is noteworthy. There is no positive evidence of mixture between traditions whatsoever arising from collation of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus with each other and the reference texts M and S. Furthermore, specific suggestions like those of Sanderson (see section 1.4.1) that some of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus may preserve readings earlier than those of their shared hyparchetypes with other manuscripts fail to convince. It would be naïve to suggest that Exodus was a completely closed tradition, but the documentary evidence considered here seems to suggest that the influence of mixture on the Hebrew tradition in the late Second Temple period was relatively minimal, so as not to fundamentally undermine the viability of attempts to group manuscripts as in section 4.4.3. Undoubtedly some mixture did occur in the Exodus tradition (most obviously in the Greek texts), but I suspect that much of the apparent mixture often cited in the literature is actually a consequence of inaccurate evaluation of variant readings and the flawed way in which the textual categories which are supposed to have been mixed were in fact incorrectly constructed in the first place.

4.4.4.3 Standardization?

The above results directly relate to the controversial question of the supposed standardization of the text of Exodus, with mostly negative results. We cannot hope to answer this complex question completely here, but the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus have much to contribute to this discussion. In order to help draw out important implications from our examined corpus, I suggest dividing this question into four distinct but interrelated topics: 1) systematic homogenization of texts; 2) conscious preference for texts; 3) intentional suppression of texts; and 4) text-critical revision of texts.

With regard to the first topic, the evidence from the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is entirely negative. I define **homogenization*** of a tradition as when mixing occurs systematically, unidirectionally altering multiple text forms to correspond to a single text form or a number of similar texts. Needless to say, since comparison of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus yields no concrete evidence whatsoever of mixture, the question of homogenization is simply a moot point for the purposes of this thesis. Consideration of further evidence might suggest such a process (particularly with reference to the early Greek materials), but there is no process of homogenization evident from the Hebrew DSS materials in their own right. This suggests that the relatively homogenous state of the text of Exodus in the late Second Temple period did not emerge from an original plurality through processes of intentional homogenization of diverse texts into a single standard text form (see also 4.4.4.1). Instead, exactly the opposite is the case. The further we work backwards towards earlier forms of the text, the more these texts appear remarkably similar in terms of general content, structure, and wording, whereas subsequent developments created a wide variety of secondary readings. The evidence of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus indicates that the text progressively fragmented in the course of its history, rather than being funneled into a single form. In other

words, the history of the text of Exodus in the late Second Temple period is primarily one of textual entropy, which was not reversed or even stopped by any conscious attempts at textual homogenization.

The second topic relating to the question of standardization is the possibility that one or more text forms may have been consciously preferred within one or more socio-religious contexts. Conscious **preference*** implies an awareness of multiple text forms and a higher degree of regard for one or more text forms than for one or more others. The wide variety of text forms attested and cited at Qumran suggests no such conscious preference. The Samaritans and Jews of later periods did preserve specific forms of the text almost exclusively, but their awareness of other text forms appears to have been limited. The close agreement between 4Q22 and S places the basic text form preserved (and subsequently altered) by the Samaritans in the first century BCE at the latest. The close agreement between Mur1 and M suggests that by the second century CE at the latest the text form inherited by the medieval Jewish manuscripts was already well-established as a prominent part of the tradition. But in lieu of clear evidence from our corpus for a conscious preference for any of these text forms against others, there is little we can say for sure in this regard.

Our third topic is the possibility that alternative text forms were suppressed. **Suppression*** occurs when scribes or other authorities intentionally stop the transmission of non-preferred text forms either by destroying copies of them, otherwise removing these copies from circulation, or simply refusing to copy them anew. There is no clear evidence from the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus for the idea that anyone ever suppressed any non-preferred text forms (contra Hendel 2010, 286, who suggests such suppression, even while admitting a lack of clear evidence). It is equally possible that the loss of many of the alternative text forms

was simply due to historical accident (Tov 2012c, 174-180; Ulrich 2012a, 55; VanderKam 2012, 15).

The possibility of text-critical revision in the Hebrew-language tradition of Exodus is our fourth and final topic relating to standardization. By **text-critical revision***, I mean the ancient construction of eclectic, critical texts reflecting the considered judgments of their editors. In particular, a number of scholars have suggested such an editorial process for the origins of the so-called “proto-Masoretic” text in the late Second Temple period or soon thereafter, mainly in light of documented Greek revisions towards this text, rabbinic traditions, and parallels to the Alexandrian grammarians (e.g., Greenberg 1956; Lange 2009b). While this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, it seems to me to have little explanatory power for our corpus. Having systematically collated the variation-units documented in the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, the patterns of clearly earlier readings in M are unlikely to have arisen from processes of text-critical revision. As others have pointed out, such a theory would require an incredibly competent eclectic recension by the priests, scribes, or rabbis, which seems implausible in our case (Albrektson 1978; Cross 1975a, 278). Rather, M (and Mur1) simply reflects a relatively conservative stream of the tradition (Trebolle Barrera 2000, 90), proving the maxim that the date of a manuscript does not necessarily determine the antiquity of its inherited text. In other words, the evidence of our corpus suggests that the rabbis inherited (rather than *created*) an early text form of Exodus and preserved it conservatively and carefully (Tov 2012c, 174-180; Ulrich 2013, 93-94). The prominent presence of similarly conservative traditions among the Qumran manuscripts (see, e.g., section 4.3.3.4) further supports the suggestion of the antiquity of this text, rather than its artificiality. It is more accurate, then, to speak of one or more conservative streams of a tradition *within* the textual pluriformity evident in the late Second Temple period (e.g. van der Woude 1992; Crawford 2012b). Thus, the nature

of the readings of M (and the other conservative texts) do not support the idea of a critically constructed eclectic recension, and we concur with Eugene Ulrich,

[T]here does not seem to be any evidence that the texts which constitute the MT were carefully compared with others and selected and standardized; they rather appear to be those copies that the rabbis happened to have available and thus passed on to future generations (2012a, 55).

4.4.4.4 Multiple Emergence of Variant Readings

A major complicating factor in constructing stemmata of manuscript relations is the fact that some readings were created multiple times independently within the tradition, so not every reading can be assumed to be genetically distinctive. As demonstrated in section 4.4.4.2 on textual mixture, several variant readings can be proven to have arisen multiple times independently in the tradition based on an analysis of incompatible splits in the tradition (8:17δ; 27:9α; and two or three of 1:3β; 3:14α, 15β; 5:8δ). These all involve small, innocuous details, such as the conjunction ׀, different morphological forms of the same pronoun (ה)מ(ה), the explicating addition of a locative ה, and the substitution of minor, synonymous pronouns א/ל. Undoubtedly additional such readings emerged multiple times independently throughout the tradition, but the verifiable cases are relatively few, given the nature of the evidence.

Sometimes, however, even more distinctive readings appear to have emerged multiple times independently. This class of variant readings reflects widespread exegetical traditions, which sometimes did and other times did not enter the main stream of the textual tradition. A couple of examples from our corpus are worth mentioning. The repeated lists of Canaanite nations to be dispossessed (see section 4.3.4.1 on harmonizations), for one, differ greatly from each other in different manuscripts and certainly reflect multiple independent interventions in the manuscript tradition. Most texts consistently read all seven nations in various sequences, but M *never* includes the Girgashites. It is most implausible to suppose that M systematically

omitted every reference to the Girgashites (contra O'Connell 1984), and the frequent sequence differences in the lists suggest instead that the lists were supplemented multiple times independently in the tradition. For instance, 4Q1 (3:8) and 4Q13 (3:17) both insert the Girgashites in locations in the respective lists different from 4Q22 S. The same is repeatedly true of the insertions of the Girgashites in G. A similar case can be seen in the revised count of the number of Jacob's descendants who went down to Egypt with him in variation-unit 1:5a. 4Q1 and 4Q13 both change the number from 70 to 75 to harmonize with calculations based on data from Genesis, but the Hebrew numerals betray the independence of their changes. 4Q1 reads וחמש [שבעים], but 4Q13 reads חמש ושבעים. Both sequences are acceptable Hebrew, but suggest that the חמש was secondarily inserted independently in these two traditions. G also reflects the same change from 70 to 75, but the Greek translation probably cannot answer the question of the sequence of its Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹ In these cases, we have strong evidence that different scribes independently altered their received texts in very similar ways at the same points to reflect widespread exegetical tendencies. Thus, major exegetical changes, no matter how distinctive they may at first appear, may in fact not be genetically significant. When we attempt to construct a stemma for these manuscripts, we must always bear in mind the possibility of the multiple emergence of variant readings, both in minor scribal errors and in major exegetical changes.

4.4.4.5 Scribal Emendations?

Another possible complicating factor for constructing a stemma for the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is the potential for scribal emendations of their texts (cf. West 1973, 19,

¹ G places πέντε after ἐβδομήκοντα in 39:2, 5 [Heb. 38:25, 28], but there the Hebrew witnesses have חמש before שבעים. Thus, the reading πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα here hardly requires that חמש was before שבעים in the *Vorlage*. This may be the case, but the translation style of G precludes any confidence on this question.

who states that emendations were more frequent in the Medieval and Renaissance periods than in antiquity). Scribes occasionally encountered apparent errors in their exemplars and sought to remedy them without reference to other exemplars, either intending to restore the lost original reading or else to create a readable alternative text. Many emendations would have created new variant readings, but others would have caused multiple independent emergence of the same variant readings (see previous section) or even reintroduced (hyp)archetypal readings. The many editorial interventions documented in our corpus in section 4.3.4 could all potentially be understood as emendations, but ancient emendations in the strictest sense are very difficult to find (see section 4.3.4.7). In no case can a successful emendation be proven to have accurately restored a lost reading.

4.4.4.6 Fragmentary Evidence

A further limiting factor in our attempt to construct a stemma for the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is the fragmentary nature of the evidence. For many of our manuscripts, too little information has been preserved to place them reliably into stemmatic relationships with each other. For example, 2Q4, 4Q19, and 4Q21 are 100% in agreement with both M and S, but surely a manuscript cannot be equally and simultaneously descended from two widely different segments of the tradition. These manuscripts cannot reliably be associated with either tradition, because the evidence is quite simply ambiguous and insufficient to demonstrate their relationships. In this case, it is more faithful to the evidence simply to leave the precise affiliation of these fragmentary manuscripts unknown and unknowable (e.g., Hendel 2010, 293), while recognizing that they tend to confirm the general homogeneity of the tradition.

Even when manuscripts do contain variant readings, the evidence is often still very minimal or of uncertain value. The accidental character of the preservation of variant readings sometimes makes it difficult to determine their significance for relating them to other readings.

In the absence of large quantities of overlapping text, for instance, it is hard to know whether the relationships evident in particular patterns of readings are representative for entire scrolls or are even the most significant patterns. Thus, while Segal rightly emphasizes the need for examining the DSS in their own right, he is not entirely optimistic about the prospects for results from such a study,

When examined on their own, one notices immediately the textual variety and complexity of the various manuscripts. There are often agreements between manuscripts on specific readings, and then disagreements on others. In their current fragmentary state, it is often impossible to discern a linear development between the manuscripts. We are left with the results of a process whose steps cannot be traced (2007, 19).

This is certainly the case, for instance, when there is little or no overlap between fragmentary manuscripts or little or no meaningful difference between overlapping texts. On the other hand, Segal's pessimism seems somewhat premature. Complex patterns of agreements *and* disagreements are characteristic of almost *all* textual traditions, and indeed, stated more positively, these patterns are the requisite evidence on which theories of textual history should be based; the greater the complexity of the evidence, the more raw material textual scholars have for reconstructing the textual history. Furthermore, we cannot judge in advance the results of studies that have yet to be conducted, since the biblical DSS have never before been systematically studied from a rigorous contextualized perspective as we have begun to implement here. The success or unfeasibility of this approach can only be determined once it has been applied and its results are available for detailed critique. The probable specific textual relationships identified in section 4.4.3 demonstrate that we can still sometimes learn important information about textual relationships from fragmentary manuscripts. Nevertheless, we cannot stress too much that a stemma of manuscripts must necessarily remain as fragmentary as the manuscripts it purports to relate.

4.4.4.7 Conservative Evidence

A further complication in constructing a stemma for these manuscripts is the extremely conservative nature of some of their texts. When texts are repeatedly copied conservatively and carefully, there are normally far fewer variation-units, and it is often far from obvious which readings are prior and which are posterior. In some cases, like 4Q18 and Mur1, it is quite possible that no secondary readings (at least relative to other documented texts) have been preserved among the variation-units to which they attest, in which case there is insufficient evidence to locate the manuscripts on a stemma. The hyparchetype of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus itself would appear to be the source of their readings, but it is unlikely that they were actually descended from this hyparchetype independently of all the other collated manuscripts. The conservative and minimal evidence makes it impossible to place them reliably in relation to other witnesses, but there is still a strong likelihood that they shared a branch of the stemma with one or more of them.

Even in more well-preserved texts copied conservatively and carefully, it is still often difficult to find compelling evidence for grouping the manuscripts. All of the well-preserved manuscripts indubitably contain secondary readings, but in the conservative and careful traditions it is often difficult to tell which readings are secondary. Almost all readings in such traditions appear at first glance to have a possible claim to being (hyp)archetypal readings, and so it is very difficult to group these manuscripts based on connective readings. Further progress beyond this preliminary investigation may still be attainable, but it will require a more comprehensive and thorough evaluation of all of the preserved variation-units on the basis of intrinsic and transcriptional probabilities with concern for genealogical coherence based on patterns of agreement and disagreement. In the meantime, several conservative traditions must

simply be clustered statistically without proposing any hypotheses about their actual historical relationships with other manuscripts.

4.4.4.8 The Viability and Value of Stemmata for the Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus

Given the complicating factors mentioned in the preceding sections it is impossible at this stage of the research (and indeed in principle) to suggest specific stemmatic relationships between all of these manuscripts. The evidence for many of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus is too minimal or too uncertain to yield reliable results. In many cases, multiple possible stemmata could potentially explain the preserved evidence. Further evaluation of all the variation-units may yet yield vital clues as to the relationships between some of these manuscripts, but the relationships between other manuscripts are lost and unrecoverable. The limitations imposed on us by the preserved documentary evidence severely restrict the application of stemmatological principles to our tradition and leave much uncertain about the relationships between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus.

At the same time, numerous stemmatic relationships have been reliably demonstrated, as discussed in section 4.4.3. We have isolated several specific groups (ρ δ π σ τ), which in turn comprise a large β -group. All of the manuscripts demonstrably within these groups can be related by a single general stemma, even though the internal relationships within the groups are not always entirely clear. This stemma is certainly not a completely unified description of all of the relationships between the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, but it does successfully explain the history of important parts of the tradition. Thus, despite the severe restrictions imposed by the evidence, stemmatology does seem to have a limited viability and value for explaining at least parts of the documented Hebrew-language tradition of Exodus.

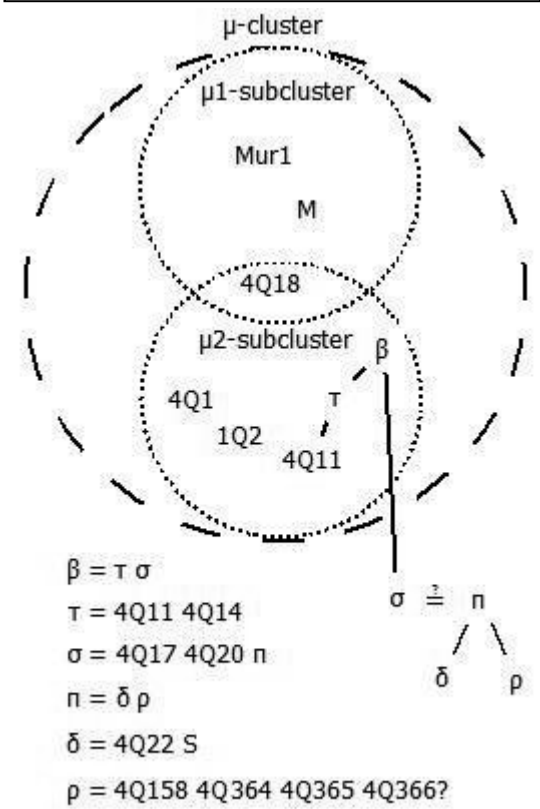
4.4.5 Reconstruction of the Documented Hebrew-Language Textual History of Exodus

In light of the discussions in this chapter, we can now suggest a partial summary reconstruction of the documented Hebrew-language textual history of the book of Exodus (see figure 4.12). In previous sections we worked backwards from the extant manuscripts to earlier stages in the tradition, but now we are in position to describe the history of the text as it moved forwards in time.

First of all, we have isolated a statistical μ -cluster of conservative manuscripts closely in agreement with each other, which in turn possibly subdivide into two subclusters μ_1 and μ_2 . These are merely statistical clusters of close texts without clear stemmatic arrangements, which nevertheless collectively attest to the earliest states of the text yet identified in our research.

No later than the third century BCE, a β -group emerged from within this μ -cluster, characterized by the accumulation of specific scribal errors and occasional minor editorial changes. The β -group subsequently split into the τ -group and σ -group. The τ -group (4Q11 4Q14) was characterized by an accidental transposition in 17:1, and the σ -group was characterized by a large number of harmonistic expansions. The σ -group is composed of a π -group and a number of fragmentary manuscripts (4Q17 4Q20) that may or may not have also belonged to the π -group or one of its subgroups. The π -hyparchetype was characterized by the accidental omission and paratextual insertion of 29:21. The π -group split into the δ -group and

Figure 4.12
Reconstruction of Textual History



ρ -group. The δ -group (4Q22 S) was characterized by the displacement of 29:21 after 29:28 and 30:1-10 after 26:35. The δ -group underwent significant further differentiation, primarily by the insertion of an additional Samaritan commandment in 20:17b and the generalization of legal material in chapters 21-22 in S. The ρ -group (4Q158 4Q364 4Q365 4Q366?) was characterized by the displacement of 29:21 in the middle of 29:20 and numerous major editorial interventions. It is possible that the ρ -group also underwent significant internal differentiation, but the precise relationships between the preserved texts are unclear.

This reconstruction of the history of the text of Exodus is only partial, and does not even incorporate all of the manuscripts studied in this thesis. Furthermore, in many respects it lacks a desirable amount of specificity, which is impossible to achieve given the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Nevertheless, the developments traced above give a clearer picture of the textual history of Exodus than has been possible to date. Undoubtedly, further investigations into the history of the text will refine and supplement (and perhaps even correct) these conclusions, but we are now in a better empirical position to describe the relationships between the texts and to begin inquiries into the literary significance of each documented text form, such as identifying “original texts,” “final forms,” “determinative texts,” “editions,” or whatever preferred terminology modern scholars may employ (cf. section 4.4.4.1 for the distinction between value-neutral and value-laden descriptions of the history of a text). Such literary distinctions between texts hold great promise for putting flesh on the bones of the historical skeleton sketched in this thesis.

4.4.6 Iterative Relationship between Textual History and Evaluation of Variation-Units

The reconstruction of the textual history documented in the Hebrew manuscripts in the previous section should not be seen as the end of a process, but rather as a temporary waypoint in the reconstruction of the textual history of Exodus. We argued in section 2.5.2 that text-

historical inquiry is best served when conducted in conjunction with the ongoing evaluation of textual variation-units in an iterative fashion. Scholars' decisions on individual variation-units have text-historical implications, and reconstructions of textual histories rightly influence judgments on particular readings. Therefore, I would suggest that variation-units which are difficult to adjudicate should now be (re-)evaluated in light of the suggestions made in this chapter. Moreover, the reconstructed textual history should itself be constantly re-evaluated in light of new or revised textual decisions. If conducted carefully and skillfully, such an iterative approach promises to yield bountiful results.

Of course, this textual history must always be used appropriately as merely one of many factors (if sometimes determinative) in making textual decisions, being fully aware of the process by which it was reconstructed and its limitations. This history is far too partial, non-specific, and contingent on unverifiable probabilities to ever allow for the simplistic mechanical reconstruction of the text of the proposed hyparchetype of our documented Hebrew-language tradition, let alone any hypothetical archetype of the entire tradition. Nevertheless, as part of an overall probabilistic argument for the priority and posteriority of variant readings, it potentially has great value. Known elements of a textual history are helpful for understanding the unknown elements, and we have demonstrated several important elements sufficiently to serve in this capacity. Each variation-unit must be evaluated on a case by case basis in light of the totality of the evidence—be it preserved or reconstructed with a useful degree of probability—and reconstructed textual history is one important part of this evidence.

4.5 Conclusion

The survey of the textual evidence in this chapter has necessarily been preliminary, given the limited data set and evaluation of variation-units. Nevertheless, the results have been

significant and serve as an important vindication of the methodology proposed in this thesis. We have clearly seen how the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus are contextually closely connected and should be interpreted in light of each other. We have described, categorized, and analyzed much of the more noteworthy textual evidence and better understood the nature of the transmission of these texts. And finally, we have elucidated several aspects of the history of the text of Exodus from the evidence of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. The contextualized approach has confirmed and refined several conclusions of earlier studies and led to additional new insights. Perhaps most prominently, it has yielded evidence of heretofore unrecognized manuscript relations and decentralized the medieval traditions from our categorizations to the maximal extent possible, given the nature of our preserved evidence. The Hebrew DSS containing Exodus have much to tell us about the history of the text of Exodus, and this methodology takes us one step closer to appreciating that evidence in its fullness. A more thorough implementation of the contextualized approach is warranted, and we should now move to incorporate additional witnesses into our analyses and to evaluate the variation-unit readings more systematically.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, we have surveyed the history of research on the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus, proposed a contextualized approach for studying these scrolls, and attempted to apply this new methodology to appreciate better the significances of these scrolls for the history of the text of Exodus. In my opinion, a contextualized approach provides both methodological rigor and pragmatic functionality for the study of our corpus, and I suggest that the preliminary results in chapter 4 clearly demonstrate its potential value.

At the close of this thesis, I would like to reiterate two main implications of this research. First, the scriptural DSS can no longer be studied only in light of a limited number of contextually distant textual traditions, but rather must also be examined in relation to each other. In particular, I hope that future scholars will give greater prominence than has until now been the case to textual overlap between ancient but fragmentary materials. While in some cases, such overlap may be minimal, in many cases it holds great promise for understanding the relationships between ancient manuscripts.

Second, textual scholars should be intensely interested in the history of our texts and always trying to refine our historical understanding of textual traditions. Detailed examination of manuscripts as contextually situated textual artifacts is one essential part of text-historical inquiry. Scholars should also take advantage of a wide range of possible perspectives from which to compare preserved texts to each other and seek to reconstruct textual history from demonstrable textual relationships wherever possible. Furthermore, when textual history can be reconstructed reliably, it must be both informed by and in turn inform text-critical decisions on the level of individual variation-units.

I offer these suggestions to the end that further methodological refinement might yield more accurate and more precise understanding of our received textual traditions. Other scholars may accept or reject the particular premises and conclusions presented in this thesis, but at very least the explicit methodology laid out here has brought the question of method to the forefront and can provide a discussion point for future dialogues about methodology, which can perhaps be considered the main contribution of this thesis.

APPENDICES

A.1 Glossary of Technical Terminology Defined in This Thesis

The following technical terms are placed in bold font and marked with asterisks in the main text of the thesis at the points at which they are defined:

Alternative readings – Textual differences between manuscripts that reflect the same sequence and (generally) quantity of words, but differ somehow qualitatively (see section 4.3.1).

Archetype – A value-neutral designation for the latest, common, predominant ancestor of all witnesses to a common textual tradition (section 4.4.4.1).

Bibliographical analysis – The study of the material features of a textual artifact (see section 2.2).

Clusters – Textual categories built on statistical patterns of agreement and disagreement without specific genealogical indicators (see section 4.4.3).

Connective readings – Shared distinctive secondary readings indicative of specific genealogical relationships (see section 2.4.2.1).

Co-text – The words, sentences, and paragraphs before and after a given passage of text (see section 2.2.1.3).

Deposition context – The circumstances in which a manuscript was finally deposited and lost to ancient readers (see section 2.3.1).

Extrinsic evidence – Any additional information that can be brought to bear on the study of a FM from manuscripts other than the FM (see section 2.2).

Far context – The mass of manuscripts that share no particular contextual closeness with the FM (see section 2.3.3.3).

Find context – The archaeological context in which a manuscript was (re-)discovered by modern scholars (see section 2.3.1).

Focal manuscript (FM) – Any given textual artifact primarily under consideration at a given point in time (see section 2.2).

Format – The physical structure of a manuscript resulting from the way in which it was made (see section 2.2.2.2).

Groups – Textual categories that indicate specific genealogical relationships evident from connective readings (section 4.4.3).

Hyparchetype – A value-neutral designation for the latest, common, predominant ancestor of a subset of a complete textual tradition (section 4.4.4.1).

Homogenization – When mixing occurs systematically, unidirectionally altering multiple text forms to correspond to a single text form or a number of similar texts (see section 4.4.4.3).

Immediate context – The first hierarchical level of manuscripts most closely contextually connected to the FM, which serve as the first points of reference when interpreting its evidence (see section 2.3.3.1).

Inscription context – The circumstances in which a material medium becomes a manuscript with its initial inscription (see section 2.3.1).

Intrinsic evidence – The bibliographical and textual information that can be drawn from the FM itself without reference to other manuscripts (see section 2.2).

Lived context(s) – All the various contexts in which the FM was actively in use or at least accessible for use in antiquity during its useful “life” (see section 2.3.1).

Material reconstruction – Placing (either really or virtually) the scattered fragments of a FM in their original positions relative to each other according to the physical features of the preserved fragments (see section 2.2.1.2).

Minuses (see **pluses/minuses**).

Near context – The second hierarchical level of manuscripts that are not directly contextually connected to the FM, but can still claim closer contextual ties than the bulk of manuscripts with little or no contextual connection (2.3.3.2).

Paratextual – Pertaining to information (textual or non-textual) present in a manuscript but outside of the main body of the text (see section 2.2.2.6).

Pluses/minuses – Textual differences between manuscripts that reflect quantitative differences in wording, with one text containing one or more words not contained in another text. The contested wording is classified as a **plus** in the text which contains it and a **minus** in the text which lacks it. **Small pluses/minuses** are defined as pluses/minuses consisting of three or fewer words, and **large pluses/minuses** as pluses/minuses consisting of four or more words (see sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.1.3).

Post-regularization agreement – Percentage agreement between the FM and another incorporated manuscript, counting as disagreements only significant differences such as meaningful variant readings and important morphological differences (see section 4.4.2.2).

Preference – Granting a higher degree of regard for one or more text forms than for one or more others of which one is aware (see section 4.4.4.3).

Pre-genealogical coherence – A list of the **pre-** and **post-regularization** percentages agreement of the FM with each other incorporated manuscript in descending order (see section 4.4.2.2).

Pre-regularization agreement – Percentage agreement between the FM and another incorporated manuscript, counting as disagreements all differences including purely orthographic differences (see section 4.4.2.2).

Sequence differences – Textual differences where strings of text occur in different positions in different manuscripts. **Small sequence differences** are defined as sequence differences consisting of three or fewer words, and **large sequence differences** as sequence differences consisting of four or more words (see sections 4.3.1.4 and 4.3.1.5).

Singular reading – A reading of one of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus that is not attested in any other Hebrew DSS containing Exodus or our two reference texts M and S (see section 4.3.3.1).

Suppression – When scribes or other authorities intentionally stop the transmission of text forms held in low regard either by destroying copies of them, otherwise removing these copies from circulation, or simply refusing to copy them anew (see section 4.4.4.3).

Text-critical revision – The ancient construction of eclectic, critical texts reflecting the considered judgments of their editors (see section 4.4.4.3).

Textual analysis – The study of the text of a textual artifact (see section 2.2).

Textual artifact – A material entity which embodies an encoded text (see section 2.2).

Textual history – The historical description of the development of a text in light of preserved textual artifacts, their interrelationships, and reconstructions of lost states of the text directly inferable from a comparison and analysis of known texts (see section 2.5).

Textual reconstruction – The restoration of text lacunose or illegible in the FM (see section 2.2.1.3).

Variants (or **variant readings**) – Attested texts at points of variation (see section 4.3).

Variation-units – Contested locations in the text (see section 4.3).

A.2 Contents of Hebrew DSS Containing Exodus

EXODUS		Chapters					
ID#	Name	1	2	3	4	5	6
1Q2	Exod						
2Q2	Exod ^a	11-14		4-6			
2Q3	Exod ^b				31		
2Q4	Exod ^c					3-5	
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a	3-17, 22	1-5	8-16, 18-21	4-9, 26-31	1, 3-17	4-21, 25
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l	1-5	10, 22-25	1-4, 17-21			
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b	1-6, 10-11, 16-21	2-18	13-21	1-8	3-14	
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c	11, 13		13-15		9-14	
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f						
4Q18	Exod ^g						
4Q19	Exod ^h						3-6
4Q20	Exod ^j						
4Q21	Exod ^k						
4Q22	paleoExod ^m				6, 18-19, 29-31	12-14	15-16, 25-30
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Num				27-31	3	5-11
4Q158	(R)P ^a				Gn 32:24-32+, 27-28+		3-8?
4Q364	(R)P ^b						
4Q365	(R)P ^c						
4Q366	(R)P ^d						

EXODUS		Chapters								
ID#	Name	7	8	9	10	11				
1Q2	Exod									
2Q2	Exod ^a	1-4		27-29						
2Q3	Exod ^b									
2Q4	Exod ^c									
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a	5-13, 15-20	20-22	8?						
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l		13-15, 19-22	25-29, 33-35	1-5	4-10				
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b									
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c	9-14?, 17-19, 20-23, 26-28	1, 5-14, 16-18, 22	10-11, 15-20, 22-25, 27-35	1-5, 7-9, 12-19, 23-24	9-10				
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f									
4Q18	Exod ^g									
4Q19	Exod ^h									
4Q20	Exod ^j	29b?	1a-b?							
4Q21	Exod ^k									
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	1-20, 24, 29b	1a, 12-22	5b-16, 19a-21, 35	1-12, 19-28	8-10 (supl)				
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Num									
4Q158	(R)P ^a									
4Q364	(R)P ^b									
4Q365	(R)P ^c		13-19	9-12						
4Q366	(R)P ^d									

EXODUS		Chapters					
ID#	Name	12	13	14	15	16	
1Q2	Exod					12-16	
2Q2	Exod ^a	32-41					
2Q3	Exod ^b	26-27					
2Q4	Exod ^c						
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a						
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l	1-13, 41-46		15-24	2-4	1-7, 13-14, 18-21, 23-31, 33-35	
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b						
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c	12-16, 31-48	18-22	1-13	9-21		
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f						
4Q18	Exod ^g			21-27			
4Q19	Exod ^h						
4Q20	Exod ^j						
4Q21	Exod ^k						
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	1-2 (supl), 4-8, 13-15, 17-22, 27-28, 31-32, 34-40	3-7, 12-13	3-5, 8-9, 25-26	15, 23-27	1, 4-5, 7-8, 31-36	
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Num						
4Q158	(R)P ^a						
4Q364	(R)P ^b						
4Q365	(R)P ^c			10-10+, 12-21	16-27		
4Q366	(R)P ^d						

EXODUS		Chapters						
ID#	Name	17	18	19	20	21	22	
1Q2	Exod			24-25	1, 3, 5-6, 25-26	1-2, 4-5		
2Q2	Exod ^a					18-20?		
2Q3	Exod ^b		21-22	9 before 34:10?		37	1-2, 15-19	
2Q4	Exod ^c							
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a							
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l	1-3, 5-13	16-25	24-25	1-2		22-24	
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b							
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c	1-16	1-12	12-14				
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f							
4Q18	Exod ^g							
4Q19	Exod ^h							
4Q20	Exod ^j							
4Q21	Exod ^k							
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	1-16	1-27	1, 7-17, 19-20, 23-25	1, 18-21b, 24	5-6, 13-14, 22-34	3-7, 9-13, 15-30	
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Num							
4Q158	(R)P ^a			17-23	19a-21b, 12-17a, 22+-26	1-11, 15-25, 32-37	1-13	
4Q364	(R)P ^b					13+-22		
4Q365	(R)P ^c	3-5	13-15					
4Q366	(R)P ^d					35-37	1-5	

EXODUS		Chapters					
ID#	Name	23	24	25	26	27	
1Q2	Exod						
2Q2	Exod ^a				11-13		
2Q3	Exod ^b					17-19	
2Q4	Exod ^c						
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a						
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l	4-16		7-20	28-37	1, 4-14	
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b						
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c						
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f						
4Q18	Exod ^g						
4Q19	Exod ^h						
4Q20	Exod ^j						
4Q21	Exod ^k						
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	1, 13-16, 29-32	1-4, 6-11	11-12, 20-29, 31-34	4, 8-15, 21-30; 30:9-10; 26:36	1-3, 9-14, 18-19b	
MurI	Gen-Exod, Num						
4Q158	(R)P ^a		4+-7+				
4Q364	(R)P ^b		11-14, 18-18+	1-2	1, 33-35		
4Q365	(R)P ^c				34-36		
4Q366	(R)P ^d						

EXODUS		Chapters		
ID#	Name	28	29	30
1Q2	Exod			
2Q2	Exod ^a			21?, 23-25
2Q3	Exod ^b			
2Q4	Exod ^c			
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a			
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l	32-35, 38-43		
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b			
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c			
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f			
4Q18	Exod ^g			
4Q19	Exod ^h			
4Q20	Exod ^j			
4Q21	Exod ^k			
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	3-4, 8-12, 20-24, 26-43	1-5, 12-13, 20, 22-25, 31-41, 46	9-10 before 26:36; 30:11-18, 25-26, 29-31, 33-38
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Nium			
4Q158	(R)P ^a			31-34
4Q364	(R)P ^b			
4Q365	(R)P ^c	16-20	20-22	37-38
4Q366	(R)P ^d			

EXODUS		Chapters									
ID#	Name	31	32	33	34	35	36	37			
1Q2	Exod										
2Q2	Exod ^a		32-34								
2Q3	Exod ^b	16-17			10+		3-4?, 33-34?				
2Q4	Exod ^c										
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a										
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l						34-37				
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b										
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c										
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f										
4Q18	Exod ^g										
4Q19	Exod ^h										
4Q20	Exod ⁱ										
4Q21	Exod ^k						9-10				
4Q22	paleoExod ^m	1-8, 12-15	2-19, 25-30	9-23	1-3, 10-13, 15-18, 20-24, 27-28, 31	1	21-24	9-16, 18			
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Num										
4Q158	(R)P ^a										
4Q364	(R)P ^b			10-11							
4Q365	(R)P ^c	1+-3							3-5	32-38	
4Q366	(R)P ^d									29	

EXODUS		Chapters		
ID#	Name	38	39	40
1Q2	Exod			
2Q2	Exod ^a			
2Q3	Exod ^b			
2Q4	Exod ^c			
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a			
4Q11	paleoGen-Exod ^l			
4Q13	[Gen]-Exod ^b			
4Q14	[Gen]-Exod ^c			
4Q17	Exod-Lev ^f	18-22	4?-24	8-27
4Q18	Exod ^g			
4Q19	Exod ^h			
4Q20	Exod ^j			
4Q21	Exod ^k			
4Q22	paleoExod ^m			
Mur1	Gen-Exod, Nium			
4Q158	(R)P ^a			
4Q364	(R)P ^b			
4Q365	(R)P ^c	1-7	1-19	
4Q366	(R)P ^d			

A.3 Pre-Genealogical Coherence Charts

As discussed in section 4.4.2.2, I have systematically collated each Hebrew DSS containing Exodus with each other Hebrew DSS containing Exodus and with our two reference texts M and S, and much of the statistical analysis on which the conclusions in chapter 4 were based can be illustrated in the resulting charts of the pre-genealogical coherence of our manuscripts. A separate chart has been constructed for each FM, which is listed in the upper left-hand corner of each chart, and the data for each overlapping manuscript are given in relation to this FM.

The pre-genealogical coherence charts for each FM list the pre- and post-regularization percentages agreement of the FM with each other manuscript in descending order of post-regularization agreement (and secondarily pre-regularization agreement). The post-regularization agreement marks the percentage agreement between the FM and another incorporated manuscript, counting as disagreements only significant differences such as meaningful variant readings and important morphological differences. Pre-regularization agreement marks the percentage agreement between the FM and another incorporated manuscript, counting as disagreements all differences including purely orthographic differences. These percentages are calculated based on the total number of overlapping words sufficiently well-preserved to demonstrate perfect equivalence or difference.

In the far right column, I have also included notes on special factors which might be helpful for understanding the statistical patterns, such as the percentages agreement as calculated when excluding from consideration uncertain fragment identifications, the large pluses or sequence differences of the so-called “pre-Samaritan” and S traditions, or major alterations in the 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch manuscripts. These may be helpful for studying the natures of the base texts to which these major alterations were made.

1Q2	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q11	1	1	5	5	5
4Q22	0.888888889	1	8	9	9
M	0.947368421	0.964912281	54	55	57
S	0.913793103	0.931034483	53	54	58
4Q158	0.5	0.5	1	1	2

2Q2	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q364	1	1	1	1	1
4Q11	0.833333333	0.916666667	10	11	12
4Q22	0.764705882	0.882352941	13	15	17
M	0.77037037	0.866666667	104	117	135
4Q14	0.857142857	0.857142857	18	18	21
S	0.628930818	0.716981132	100	114	159
4Q1	0.5	0.555555556	9	10	18
4Q158	0.5	0.5	1	1	2

2Q3	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q158	1	1	3	3	3
4Q365	1	1	1	1	1
4Q366	1	1	2	2	2
4Q22	0.666666667	1	4	6	6
4Q11	0.6	1	3	5	5
M	0.781818182	0.854545455	43	47	55
S	0.767857143	0.839285714	43	47	56

2Q4	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q13	1	1	1	1	1
Mur1	1	1	1	1	1
M	0.666666667	1	2	3	3
S	0.666666667	1	2	3	3
4Q1	0	1	0	1	1

4Q1	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q19	1	1	1	1	1	
4Q11	1	1	4	4	4	
2Q4	0	1	0	1	1	
M	0.953959484	0.963167587	518	523	543	
Mur1	0.916666667	0.916666667	44	44	48	
4Q13	0.701149425	0.896551724	61	78	87	
S	0.817152104	0.839805825	505	519	618	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.913732 Pre- = 0.889085
4Q22	0.608695652	0.710144928	42	49	69	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.98 Pre- = 0.84
2Q2	0.5	0.555555556	9	10	18	
4Q14	0.365384615	0.365384615	19	19	52	Exc. frg. 37: Post- = 0.882353 Pre- = 0.882353
4Q158	0.034482759	0.04137931	5	6	145	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.857143 Pre- = 0.714286

4Q11	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q18	1	1	4	4	4	
1Q2	1	1	5	5	5	
4Q1	1	1	4	4	4	
4Q14	0.979591837	1	48	49	49	
2Q3	0.6	1	3	5	5	
M	0.921686747	0.960240964	765	797	830	
2Q2	0.833333333	0.916666667	10	11	12	
4Q364	0.733333333	0.733333333	11	11	15	
4Q22	0.678899083	0.706422018	74	77	109	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.895349 Pre- = 0.860465
S	0.68683274	0.704626335	772	792	1124	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.932862 Pre- = 0.909305
4Q365	0.490196078	0.607843137	25	31	51	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.688889 Pre- = 0.555556
4Q13	0.571428571	0.571428571	4	4	7	

4Q13	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q22	1	1	1	1	1
2Q4	1	1	1	1	1
Mur1	0	1	0	1	1
4Q1	0.701149425	0.896551724	61	78	87
S	0.678947368	0.85	258	323	380
M	0.674603175	0.835978836	255	316	378
4Q11	0.571428571	0.571428571	4	4	7

4Q14	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q11	0.979591837	1	48	49	49	
M	0.83666275	0.866039953	712	737	851	Exc. frg. 37: Post- = 0.909204 Pre- = 0.878109
2Q2	0.857142857	0.857142857	18	18	21	
4Q365	0.638297872	0.723404255	30	34	47	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.894737 Pre- = 0.789474
S	0.628472222	0.649305556	724	748	1152	Exc. frg. 37: Post- = 0.671196 Pre- = 0.651268 Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.863741 Pre- = 0.836028 Exc. frg. 37 and pre-S: Post- = 0.905868 Pre- = 0.878973
4Q22	0.593457944	0.644859813	127	138	214	Exc. frg. 37 and pre-S: Post- = 0.90604 Pre- = 0.838926
4Q20	0.5	0.5	3	3	6	4Q20 reconstructed according to S; when reconstructed according to M: Post- = 1 Pre- = 1
4Q1	0.365384615	0.365384615	19	19	52	Exc. frg. 37: Post- = 0.882353 Pre- = 0.882353

4Q17	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
S	0.768292683	0.825203252	189	203	246
M	0.735772358	0.817073171	181	201	246
4Q365	0.555555556	0.666666667	5	6	9

4Q18	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q11	1	1	4	4	4
M	0.933333333	1	14	15	15
S	0.8	0.866666667	12	13	15

4Q19	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
4Q1	1	1	1	1	1
M	0.777777778	1	7	9	9
S	0.777777778	1	7	9	9
Mur1	0.666666667	1	2	3	3
4Q158	0	0	0	0	47

4Q20	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
S	0.615384615	0.846153846	8	11	13	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 0.152778 Pre- = 0.111111
M	0.461538462	0.615384615	6	8	13	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 0.846154 Pre- = 0.615385
4Q14	0.5	0.5	3	3	6	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 1 Pre- = 1
4Q22	0	0.333333333	0	1	3	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 0 Pre- = 0

4Q21	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
M	0.875	1	7	8	8
S	0.875	1	7	8	8

4Q22	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q366	1	1	4	4	4	
Mur1	1	1	3	3	3	
4Q13	1	1	1	1	1	
1Q2	0.888888889	1	8	9	9	
2Q3	0.666666667	1	4	6	6	
S	0.86335985	0.936359382	1845	2001	2137	
2Q2	0.764705882	0.882352941	13	15	17	
M	0.783216783	0.862937063	1680	1851	2145	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.941027 Pre- = 0.854093
4Q1	0.608695652	0.710144928	42	49	69	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.98 Pre- = 0.84
4Q11	0.678899083	0.706422018	74	77	109	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.895349 Pre- = 0.860465
4Q365	0.5	0.653846154	39	51	78	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.662338 Pre- = 0.506494 Exc. (R)P and pre-S: Post- = 0.85 Pre- = 0.65
4Q14	0.593457944	0.644859813	127	138	214	Exc. 4Q14 frg. 37 and pre-S: Post- = 0.90604 Pre- = 0.838926
4Q16	0.4	0.6	2	3	5	
4Q364	0.5	0.5	1	1	2	
4Q158	0.447368421	0.473684211	17	18	38	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.947368 Pre- = 0.894737
4Q20	0	0.333333333	0	1	3	

4Q158	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
2Q3	1	1	3	3	3	
4Q364	1	1	2	2	2	
4Q366	0.75	0.875	6	7	8	
1Q2	0.5	0.5	1	1	2	
2Q2	0.5	0.5	1	1	2	
4Q22	0.447368421	0.473684211	17	18	38	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.947368 Pre- = 0.894737
S	0.371298405	0.423690205	163	186	439	Exc. (R)P: Post- 0.775 Pre- = 0.679167
M	0.329519451	0.377574371	144	165	437	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.693277 Pre- = 0.605042
Mur1	0.073529412	0.088235294	5	6	68	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 1 Pre- = 0.833333
4Q1	0.034482759	0.04137931	5	6	145	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.857143 Pre- = 0.714286
4Q19	0	0	0	0	47	Exc. (R)P: (no overlap)

4Q364	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q158	1	1	2	2	2	
2Q2	1	1	1	1	1	
4Q365	0.714285714	1	5	7	7	
S	0.690721649	0.783505155	67	76	97	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.883721 Pre- = 0.77907
M	0.610526316	0.747368421	58	71	95	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.845238 Pre- = 0.690476
4Q11	0.733333333	0.733333333	11	11	15	
4Q22	0.5	0.5	1	1	2	

4Q365	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
2Q3	1	1	1	1	1	
4Q364	0.714285714	1	5	7	7	
4Q14	0.638297872	0.723404255	30	34	47	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.894737 Pre- = 0.789474
M	0.560386473	0.713365539	348	443	621	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.761168 Pre- = 0.597938
4Q17	0.555555556	0.666666667	5	6	9	
4Q22	0.5	0.653846154	39	51	78	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.662338 Pre- = 0.506494 Exc. (R)P and pre-S: Post- = 0.85 Pre- = 0.65
4Q11	0.490196078	0.607843137	25	31	51	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.688889 Pre- = 0.555556
S	0.472222222	0.58994709	357	446	756	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.622036 Pre- = 0.497908 Exc. (R)P and pre-S: Post- = 0.770294 Pre- = 0.61658)

4Q366	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words
2Q3	1	1	2	2	2
4Q22	1	1	4	4	4
S	0.925925926	0.925925926	25	25	27
M	0.888888889	0.925925926	24	25	27
4Q158	0.75	0.875	6	7	8

Mur1	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
M	1	1	115	115	115	
4Q22	1	1	3	3	3	
2Q4	1	1	1	1	1	
4Q19	0.666666667	1	2	3	3	
4Q13	0	1	0	1	1	
4Q1	0.916666667	0.916666667	44	44	48	
S	0.804511278	0.834586466	107	111	133	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.956897 Pre- = 0.922414
4Q158	0.073529412	0.088235294	5	6	68	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 1 Pre- = 0.833333

M	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
Mur1	1	1	115	115	115	
4Q18	0.933333333	1	14	15	15	
4Q21	0.875	1	7	8	8	
4Q19	0.777777778	1	7	9	9	
2Q4	0.666666667	1	2	3	3	
1Q2	0.947368421	0.964912281	54	55	57	
4Q1	0.953959484	0.963167587	518	523	543	
4Q11	0.921686747	0.960240964	765	797	830	
4Q366	0.888888889	0.925925926	24	25	27	
S	0.822627412	0.870302219	14753	15608	17934	Exc. S: Post- = 0.928716 Pre- = 0.877841
2Q2	0.77037037	0.866666667	104	117	135	
4Q14	0.83666275	0.866039953	712	737	851	Exc. 4Q14 frg. 37: Post- = 0.909204 Pre- = 0.878109
4Q22	0.783216783	0.862937063	1680	1851	2145	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.941027 Pre- = 0.854093
2Q3	0.781818182	0.854545455	43	47	55	
4Q13	0.674603175	0.835978836	255	316	378	
4Q17	0.735772358	0.817073171	181	201	246	
4Q364	0.610526316	0.747368421	58	71	95	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.845238 Pre- = 0.690476
4Q365	0.560386473	0.713365539	348	443	621	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.761168 Pre- = 0.597938
4Q20	0.461538462	0.615384615	6	8	13	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 0.846154 Pre- = 0.615385
4Q158	0.329519451	0.377574371	144	165	437	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.693277 Pre- = 0.605042

S	Pre-Reg. Agreement	Post-Reg. Agreement	Pre-Reg. Equivalence	Post-Reg. Equivalence	Total Words	Comments
4Q21	0.875	1	7	8	8	
4Q19	0.777777778	1	7	9	9	
2Q4	0.666666667	1	2	3	3	
4Q22	0.86335985	0.936359382	1845	2001	2137	
1Q2	0.913793103	0.931034483	53	54	58	
4Q366	0.925925926	0.925925926	25	25	27	
M	0.822627412	0.870302219	14753	15608	17934	Exc. S: Post- = 0.928716 Pre- = 0.877841
4Q18	0.8	0.866666667	12	13	15	
4Q13	0.679045093	0.848806366	256	320	377	
4Q20	0.615384615	0.846153846	8	11	13	Reconstructed according to M: Post- = 0.152778 Pre- = 0.111111
4Q1	0.817152104	0.839805825	505	519	618	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.913732 Pre- = 0.889085
2Q3	0.767857143	0.839285714	43	47	56	
Mur1	0.804511278	0.834586466	107	111	133	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.956897 Pre- = 0.922414
4Q17	0.768292683	0.825203252	189	203	246	
4Q364	0.690721649	0.783505155	67	76	97	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.883721 Pre- = 0.77907
2Q2	0.628930818	0.716981132	100	114	159	
4Q11	0.68683274	0.704626335	772	792	1124	Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.932862 Pre- = 0.909305
4Q14	0.628472222	0.649305556	724	748	1152	Exc. 4Q14 frg. 37: Post- = 0.671196 Pre- = 0.651268 Exc. pre-S: Post- = 0.863741 Pre- = 0.836028 Exc. both frg. 37 and pre-S: Post- = 0.905868 Pre- = 0.878973
4Q365	0.472222222	0.58994709	357	446	756	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.622036 Pre- = 0.497908 Exc. (R)P and pre-S: Post- = 0.770294 Pre- = 0.61658
4Q158	0.371298405	0.423690205	163	186	439	Exc. (R)P: Post- = 0.775 Pre- = 0.679167

A.4 List of Variation-Units and Variant Readings

In the course of this research, I collected all Hebrew-language textual variation-units preserved in Hebrew DSS containing Exodus relative to each other and our two reference texts M and S. I have not included any variation-units between M and S that are not attested in any of the Hebrew DSS containing Exodus. The results yielded many textual differences, which I have organized into 603 variation-units. I identify these variation-units by the verse in which they are found and a Greek letter distinguishing them from other variation-units in the same verse (e.g., variation-unit 15:22β is the second variation-unit collated from chapter 15, verse 22 of Exodus).

At each point of variation in the text, I have identified two or more particular readings for the contested text labelled A, B, C, etc. When extant, I have included the readings for each manuscript by using a variable referring to the label assigned to each reading for a given variation-unit. Readings which are reconstructed or difficult to evaluate are marked with question marks to distinguish them from clearly preserved readings. The following symbols and abbreviations are used in the collations:

- > lacking text (indicating a minus)
- + additional text (indicating a plus)
- n° the nth occurrence of a word or phrase in the verse
- transp transposition
- s./p. singular/plural

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
1:1α	A - אהר - אלה?	A	A																							
1:1β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A					B																		
1:2α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A					A?																		
1:3α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				B?	?																		
1:3β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				B?																			
1:3γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
1:5α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				B				C															
1:5β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				A				B															
1:10α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A																			
1:10β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A				B															
1:11α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A																			
1:11β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A																			
1:11γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A					A														
1:12α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				A																			
1:12β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	C				A																			
1:12γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				A																			
1:14α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				B																			
1:14β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				A																			
1:16α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A				C															
1:18α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				B				B															
2:2α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				B																			
2:3α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B								B															
2:3β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:3γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:4α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				B																			
2:6α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	C																							
2:6β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
2:7α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:9α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	C																							
2:10α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
2:11α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:13α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:13β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:14α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:14β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
2:14γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:16α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A																							
2:16β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
2:16γ	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
2:23α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B					B																		
2:24α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
3:3α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
3:4α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B																							
3:8α	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	B				A																			
3:8β	A - איהם + B - איהם >	A	A				B																			

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	Murl	
3:8γ	A - יהוה הגויש B - יהוהי C - הגויש יהוהי	A	C				B																			
3:10α	C - לך B - לכת	A	B				A																			
3:10β	A - והוצאת B - והוצאת C - והוצאת	A	B				A																			
3:13α	A - לבני B - אל בני	A	A									B														
3:13β	A - אלוהים B - ליהם	A	A				A				B															
3:14α	A - אל בני B - לבני	A	B				A				B															
3:15α	A - אלוהים עזר B - עזר אלוהים	A	A				A				B	A														
3:15β	A - ראיתי B - אליו	A	B				B				A															
3:15γ	A - ישחקו B - יצחקו	A	A								B															
3:16α	A - קנני בני B - זקני	A	A								B															
3:16β	A - ויצחקו B - יצחקו	A	B																							
3:16γ	C - ואלוהי ישחקו B - ואלוהי יצחקו A - ואלוהי יצחקו	A	B								C															
3:17α	A - ואמרה B - ואמר	A	B								B															
3:17β	A - הפירי B - והפירי	A	C																							
3:17γ	A - הפירי והגויש B - הפירי והגויש	A	A								B															
3:18α	A - יהוהי B - יהוהי	A	A								B															
3:18β	A - וקניי B - וקניי	A	A								B															
3:19α	A - ועתה > B - ועתה	A	B																							
3:19β	A - ללכת B - ללכת	A	A																							
3:19γ	A - הלוה B - הלוה C - כי אם	A	B																							
3:21α	A - נקני B - נקני	A	A																							
4:3α	A - > נא B - + נא	A	A																							
4:4α	A - והחוק B - והחוק	A	A																							
4:6α	A - איו B - לו	A	A																							
4:6β	A - > מוחיקו B - + מוחיקו	A	B																							
4:8α	A - למען B - והיה	A	A																							
4:8β	A - ממנה B - ממנה	A	B																							
4:26α	A - > Gen 3:24-33+ before Ex 4:27 B - + Gen 3:24-33+ before Ex 4:27	A	A																							
4:27α	A - לאמור > B - + לאמור >	A	A																							
4:27β	A - > 4:27+ B - + 4:27+	A	A																							
4:27γ	A - רלכו B - ורלכו	A	A																							
4:29α	A - ואלוהי B - ואלוהי	A	B																							
4:31α	A - ואלוהי B - ואלוהי	A	B																							
5:3α	A - דרך שלשת ימים B - דרך שלשת ימים	A	B																							
5:3β	A - ב - שקשת ימים B - שקשת ימים	A	B																							
5:4α	A - הפירי B - הפירי	A	B																							
5:5α	A - נעם B - נעם	A	B																							
5:7α	A - לבנים B - הלבנים	A	B																							
5:8α	A - כאחמול B - חמול	A	A																							
5:8β	A - דבר + B - דבר >	A	A																							
5:8γ	A - הוצאת B - הוצאת	A	A																							
5:8δ	A - ונבחה B - ונבחה	A	A																							
5:9α	A - וישעו B - וישעו	A	B																							
5:9β	A - ולא B - ולא	A	B																							
5:10α	A - ודברו B - ודברו	A	B																							
5:11α	A - וקחו B - וקחו	A	A																							
5:12α	A - לקששקש B - לקששקש	A	A																							
5:13α	A - > א B - > א C - > א	A	B																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	TQ2	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
5:13β	A - > B B - > A בקו ללב -> בקו לב ->	A	B				B?				B?	B				A									A	
6:3-8α	A - 6:3-8 B - 6:3-8 paraphrase?	A	A				A														B					
6:5α	A - נקאת B - נקאת ->	A	B				A																			
6:6α	A - רבמשפטים B - רבמשפטים ->	A	B				A																			
6:8α	A - נשבעת(י) B - נשאת את ידי ->	A	A				B																			A
6:8β	A - למורשה -> B - מורשה ->	A	B				B																			A
6:9α	A - לבני אל בני -> B - לבני אל בני ->	A	B				A																			A
6:9β	A - > 6:9b B - > 6:9b	A	B				A																			A
6:15α	A - ואז(י) B - ואז(י)	A	B																							
6:20α	A - ואת מרים אחרים -> B - ואת מרים אחרים ->	A	B																							
6:27α	A - מארץ מצרים -> B - מארץ מצרים ->	A	B				A																			
6:30α	A - ישמעתי B - ישמע אל ->	A	B																							
7:2α	A - מארצו -> B - מארצו ->	A	A																							
7:4α	A - בשפטים -> B - בשפטים ->	A	B																							
7:9α	A - משה -> B - פרעה ->	A	A																							
7:10α	A - אל -> B - אל ->	A	B				B																			
7:10β	A - > 7:10b-12 B - > 7:10b-12	A	A																							
7:14α	A - ידבר B - ואמר ->	A	B																							
7:15α	A - תה -> B - תה ->	A	A																							
7:15β	A - > B - >	A	B																							
7:18α	A - באת B - באר ->	A	A																							
7:18β	A - תמות ובאש הדאר ונלאו מצרים לשמות -> B - תמות ובאש הדאר ונלאו ->	A	A																							
7:18γ	A - > 7:18b B - > 7:18b	A	B				A																			
7:18δ	A - > 7:18b B - > 7:18b	A	B																							
7:18ε	A - > 7:18b B - > 7:18b	A	B																							
7:18ζ	A - > 7:18b B - > 7:18b	A	B																							
7:19α	A - > B - >	A	B																							
7:19β	A - > 2° B - > 2°	A	B				B																			
7:20α	A - ביר B - ביר ->	A	A																							
7:21α	A - הור B - הור ->	A	A																							
7:21β	A - > B - >	A	A																							
7:22α	A - בזהרים B - בזהרים ->	A	C																							
7:28α	A - מש(ת) B - מש(ת) ->	A	B																							
7:28β	A - ובתי B - ובתי ->	A	B																							
7:29α	A - > 7:29b B - > 7:29b	A	B																							
7:29β	A - > 7:29b B - > 7:29b	A	B																							
8:1α	A - > 8:1b B - > 8:1b	A	B																							
8:12α	A - יד במשך B - יד במשך ->	A	B																							
8:13α	A - ובל B - ובל ->	A	A																							
8:14α	A - בזהרים B - בזהרים ->	A	B																							
8:14β	A - ותי B - ותי ->	A	A																							
8:15α	A - איתומת B - איתומת ->	A	A																							
8:16α	A - > after B - > after	A	A																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	TQ2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ^{ex}	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ^{ex}	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ^{ex}	4Q158 ^{ex}	4Q364	4Q365	4Q366	Murl
8:16β	A - המיציבה B - והתיצב -	A	A																	B		
8:16γ	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B?		
8:16δ	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B		
8:16ε	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	A																	B		
8:17α	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	A																	B		
8:17β	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B		
8:17γ	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	A																	B		
8:17δ	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	A																	B		
8:18α	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	A																	B		
8:19α	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B		
8:20α	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B		
8:20β	A - > 8:19b B - + 8:19b	A	B																	B		
9:5α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
9:5β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	C		
9:5γ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	C																	B		
9:6α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:7α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
9:8α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:8β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:8γ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
9:9α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:10α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:16α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
9:19α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B?		
9:19β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
9:19γ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:19δ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
9:19ε	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	C		
9:22α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B?		
9:24α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
9:28α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	A?		
9:28β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A?		
9:29α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:29β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
9:29γ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
9:29δ	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:30α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:30β	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
9:31α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	A																	B		
9:34α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
10:2α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		
10:3α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	A		
10:5α	A - > 9:5b B - + 9:5b	A	B																	B		

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ^{ex}	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ^{ex}	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ^{ex}	4Q158 ^{ex}	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ^{ex}	4Q366	MurI
10:10a	A - ידית B - ידית	A	B															A?						
10:11a	A - לכן B - לא כן	A	B															A						
10:13a	A - ויטת B - ויטת	A	A								B													
10:15a	A - והזוהת B - והזוהת	A	A								B													
10:17a	A - שאר B - שאר	A	B								B													
10:21a	A - וידבר B - ויאמר	A	A															B						
10:21b	A - וימש תהוה B - וימש תהוה	A	B															C						
10:24a	A - למשה B - אל משה	A	B															B						
10:24b	A - ולאחר B - ולאחר	A	B								A							B						
10:24c	A - ויאמר B - ויאמר	A	A								A							B?						
10:26a	A - מקניני B - מקניני	A	B															A						
10:26b	A - בשאר B - תשאר	A	A															B						
10:28a	A - לך B - לך	A	B															A?						
11:3a	A - > 11:3b B - > 11:3b	A	B															B?						
11:3b	A - בארץ B - בארץ	A	B																					
11:4a	A - אל פיתח B - אל פיתח	A	A																					
11:5a	A - ועד B - עד	A	B																					
11:6a	A - במצרים B - בכל ארץ מצרים	A	B																					
11:7a	A - תדע B - תדע	A	B																					
12:2a	A - הוזהרים B - הוזהרים	A	B																					
12:3a	A - בני B - בני	A	A																					
12:3b	A - B -	A	A																					
12:5a	A - המשובים B - המשובים	A	B																					
12:5b	A - וכן B - וכן	A	A																					
12:6a	A - אתם B - אתם	A?	B															A						
12:6b	A - בני B - בני	A	B																					
12:9a	A - נא B - נא	A	A																					
12:9b	A - ומשע B - ומשע	A	A																					
12:14a	A - הוקח B - הוקח	A	A																					
12:18a	A - אחי B - אחי	A	B																					
12:27a	A - ויקוד B - ויקוד	A	B																					
12:31a	A - כדברים B - כדברים	A	B																					
12:35a	A - B -	A	A																					
12:36a	A - מצריים B - מצריים	A	A																					
12:37a	A - סכת B - סכת	A	A																					
12:37b	A - רגלא B - רגלי	A	B																					
12:38a	A - מאה B - מאה	A	A																					
12:39a	A - גישום B - גישום	A	B																					
12:39b	A - מצרים B - מצרים	A	B																					
12:40a	A - B -	A	B																					
12:40b	A - B -	A	C																					
12:44a	A - וכן B - וכן	A	A																					
12:46a	A - תוציא B - תוציא	A	B																					
12:48a	A - אתכם B - אתכם	A	B																					
13:5a	A - הוזהר B - הוזהר	A	B																					
13:5b	A - B -	A	B																					

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
13:6a	A - ששת B - שבעת	A	B																A							
13:18a	A - מדבר B - המדבר	A	B										A													
13:19a	A - עצמות B - > עצמות +	A	A										B?	A												
13:19b	A - יוקה + 2° B - יוקה + 2°	A	B										A?													
13:21a	A - דרך B - מדרך	A	B										A													
13:22a	A - ענו B - והענו	A	A										B													
13:22b	A - אש B - והאש	A	B										B													
14:3a	A - אל בני B - לבני	A	A										B													
14:5a	A - על B - אל	A	B																							
14:10a	A - > B - יורא +	A	B										A?													
14:10b	A - נסע B - נסע	A	B										B													
14:10γ	A - אוריהו B - אוריהו	A	A																							
14:10δ	A - > B - + 14:10+	A	A																							
14:13a	A - לכמה B - לכמה	A	A																							
14:13b	A - כאשר B - אשר + 2°	A	B																							
14:13γ	A - ראיהו B - ראיהו	A	A																							
14:14a	A - לראו B - לראו	A	A																							
14:14b	A - לכמה B - לכמה	A	A																							
14:14γ	A - וא B - וא	A	A																							
14:15a	A - תעק B - תעק	A	A										A													
14:16a	A - > B - + 100%	A	A										A													
14:17a	A - לב מצרים	A	A																							
14:17a	A - לב מצרים B - פרעה ואח לב מצרים	A	A																							
14:18a	A - וכל חילו B - + וכל חילו	A	B										A?													
14:19a	A - מפתח B - 14:19+	A	A										A													
14:19b	A - מאוריהו B - מאוריהו	A	A																							
14:20a	A - חושך C - חושך B - וחושך	A	B																							
14:23a	A - רכבו B - רכבו	A	A																							
14:24a	A - על B - אל	A	B																							
14:25a	A - ויאמר B - ויאמר	A	B																							
14:27a	A - הבק B - בקר	A	B																							
15:2a	A - המרות B - המרות ית	A	B																							
15:3a	A - ג'בור B - איש	A	B																							
15:4a	A - מבחר B - המבחר	A	A																							
15:12a	A - האין B - אין	A	B																							
15:14a	A - ורגו B - רגו	A	B																							
15:16a	A - אמה B - אמה	A	B																							
15:16b	A - בגול B - בגול	A	B																							
15:16γ	A - וה B - וה	A	B																							
15:17a	A - הבא B - הבא	A	A																							
15:17b	A - ותעם B - ותעם	A	A																							
15:17γ	A - יהוה B - יהוה	A	B																							
15:17δ	A - ידך B - ידך	A	B																							
15:18a	A - עלים B - עלים	A	B																							
15:19a	A - עליהו B - עליהו	A	A																							
15:19b	A - מתי B - מי	A	A																							
15:20a	A - והצאנה B - והצאנה	A	A																							
15:22a	A - מים B - מים	A	A																							
15:22b	A - ויצאנה B - ויצאנה	A	B																							
15:22b	A - ויצאנה B - ויצאנה	A	B																							
15:22b	A - ויצאנה B - ויצאנה	A	B																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	Mur1		
15:22γ	שילשת ימים after במדבר - A דרך שלשת ימים after במדבר - B שלשת ימים במדבר before שונו - C		A	B																							
15:24α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:25α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:25β	ורעקו after משה + B - למשה > - A		A	B																							
15:25γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:25δ	שמה - B שם י' - A		A	B																							
15:26α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:26β	ורעקו after את + B - את > - A		A	B																							
15:26γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:26δ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:27α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:27β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:27γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
15:27α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
16:14α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
16:28α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
16:28α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
16:34α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:1 α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:2α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:2β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:2γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:3α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:3β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:3γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:3δ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:4α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:4α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:5α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:5β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:6α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:7α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:7β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:7γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:8α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:8α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:9α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:10α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:12α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:13α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:13β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:15α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:16α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
17:16β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:3α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:6α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:6β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:6γ	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:7α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:7β	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:10α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:12α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							
18:13α	ורעקו B - ורעקו - A		A	B																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	TQ2	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q1 ⁶¹	4Q1 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
18:13β	A - אבקע B - ביקר	A	A														B								
18:14α	A - אחר B - אחר after	A	A														A?					B			
18:14β	A - נבכים B - נבכים	A	A																			B			
18:14γ	A - ער B - ער	A	B																			B			
18:15α	A - כיא B - כיא	A	A																			B			
18:16α	A - בא B - א C - א	A	A																						
18:19α	A - א B - א C - א	A	A																						
18:20α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:20β	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:21α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:21β	A - א B - א	A	A																						
18:21γ	A - א B - א	A	A																						
18:21δ	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:21ε	A - א B - א	A	A																						
18:23α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:25α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:25β	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:25γ	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:25δ	A - א B - א	A	B																						
18:27α	A - א B - א	A	A																						
19:11α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
19:12α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
19:14α	A - א B - א	A	A																						
19:20α	A - א B - א	A	A																						
19:22α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
19:25α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:7-17α	A - א B - א	A	A																						
20:17α	A - א B - א	A	A																						
20:17β	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:18α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:19α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:19β	A - א B - א	A	A																						
20:21α	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:21β	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:21γ	A - א B - א	A	B																						
20:21δ	A - א B - א	A	B																						

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶	4Q158 ⁶	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶	4Q366	MurI		
20:21e	A - > 20:2 B - + אשתי	A	B																								
20:21c	C - + אשר	A	B																								
20:21b+	A - > 20:2 B - + 20:2 B - +	A	A																								
20:22a	A - ראתמה B - ראתים	A	A																								
20:22b	A - נמכתי B - נמכתי	A	A																								
20:24a	A - עולותיכמה B - עולותי (ה)	A	A																								
20:24b	A - שלמכמה B - שלמכמה (ה)	A	A																								
20:24c	A - מצאתך B - את צאתך	A	A																								
20:24d	A - את צואיכמה D - את צואיכמה	A	B																								
20:25a	A - אהתי B - אהתי	A	A																								
20:25b	A - ותחלקתי B - ותחלקתי	A	B																								
21:1a	A - אהי B - אהי	A	B																								
21:3a	A - בגפוי B - ° בגפוי	A	B																								
21:3b	A - בא B - יאח	A	A																								
21:3c	A - בגפוי B - 2° בגפוי	A	B																								
21:4a	A - לאריתי B - לאריתי C - לאריתי	A	B																								
21:6a	A - אהתי B - אהתי	A	A																								
21:13a	A - שם B - שמה	A	A																								
21:13b	A - > 21:13+ B - + 21:13+?	A	A																								
21:16a	A - גרובי B - גרובי	A	A																								
21:18a	A - בארתי B - בארתי	A	B																								
21:20a	A - יבה B - יבה?	A	A																								
21:20b	A - + בשבתי B - > בשבתי	A	B																								
21:21a	A - יומתי B - יומתי (ה)	A	B																								
21:22a	A - וכן B - וכן	A	A																								
21:25a	A - 2° כוהי B - 2° כוהי	A	B																								
21:28a	A - וכי יתה שור וכל בהמה B - וכי יתה שור	A	B																								
21:29a	A - בהמה חסוקי B - השור חסוקי	A	B																								
21:31a	A - 2° יגה B - > 2° יגה	A	B																								
21:32a	A - והבהמה חסוקי B - והשור חסוקי	A	B																								
21:33a	A - כל בהמה + B - כל בהמה +	A	B																								
21:35a	A - כל בהמתו + B - כל בהמתו +	A	B																								
21:35b	A - את כל בהמתו + B - את כל בהמתו +	A	B																								
21:36a	A - או B - או	A	A																								
21:36b	A - בהמה מכה היא - B - שור נגח היא -	A	B																								
21:37a	A - כי - B - כי - C - וכי -	A	B																								
22:1a	A - והכח B - והח(ה)	A	B																								
22:1b	A - דמי - B - דמי -	A	B																								
22:2a	A - דמי - B - דמי -	A	B																								
22:2b	A - לשלם + B - לשלם +	A	B																								
22:3a	A - עז כל בהמה + B - עז כל בהמה +	A	B																								
22:3b	A - אוז B - אוז +	A	B																								
22:4a	A - כי - B - כי -	A	B																								
22:4b	A - יבער B - יבער	A	A																								
22:4c	A - בעירו B - בעירה -	A	B																								

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
22:4δ	שלם ישלם משהו כמבואה ואם כל > A השדה יבעה שלם ישלם משהו + B השדה יבעה כמבואה ואם כל השדה יבעה	A	B																							
22:4ε	שלם ישלם משהו כמבואה ואם כל > A השדה יבעה כתבואה + B השדה יבעה C - כתבואה +	A	B																							
22:4ζ	שלם ישלם משהו כמבואה ואם כל > A השדה יבעה כתבואה + B השדה יבעה	A	B																							
22:4η	שלם ישלם משהו כמבואה ואם כל > A השדה יבעה כתבואה + B השדה יבעה כתבואה + C השדה יבעה	A	B																							
22:6α	רבי - C כפי - B כפי - A	A	C																							
22:6β	ונגב - B ונגב - A	A	B																							
22:7α	לפי - B לפי - A	A	B																							
22:7β	יכה - B יכה - A	A	B																							
22:8α	הוא - B הוא - A	A	B																							
22:8β	יהוה - B יהוה - A	A	B																							
22:8γ	שנהמה - B שנהמה - A	A	B																							
22:9α	או כל - B או כל - A	A	B																							
22:13α	לפי - B לפי - A	A	B																							
22:13β	במהו + B במהו + A	A	A																							
22:19α	אחרים + B אחרים + A	A	B																							
22:24α	עני - B עני - A	A	B																							
22:25α	את שאלו - B את שאלו - A	A	B																							
22:26α	רואי - B רואי - A	A	B																							
22:26β	היא 2° - B היא 2° - A	A	B																							
22:26γ	אנכי - B אנכי - A	A	B																							
22:29α	התנו - B התנו - A	A	B																							
22:30α	השקן - B השקן - A	A	B																							
23:7α	ובקיא - B ובקיא - A	A	B																							
23:7β	הצוק - B הצוק - A	A	B																							
23:8α	עני - B עני - A	A	B																							
23:9α	תלוצו - B תלוצו - A	A	B																							
23:9β	את - B את - A	A	A																							
23:12α	שורך והמור יונקש בן אמתי - B עבוד ואמתי כבוד וכל במתק - A	A	B																							
23:13α	מכור - B מכור - A	A	B																							
23:13β	ולא - B ולא - A	A	B																							
23:31α	ושמו - B ושמו - A	A	A																							
24:1α	אלעזר ואיתמר + B אלעזר ואיתמר + A	A	B																							
24:4α	למעט עני - B למעט עני - A	A	A																							
24:4β	רבע - B רבע - A	A	A																							
24:5α	את המורה - B את המורה - A	A	A																							
24:5γ	על המורה - B על המורה - A	A	A																							
24:7α	בשעת נגשת - B בשעת נגשת - A	A	B																							
24:9α	אלעזר ואיתמר + B אלעזר ואיתמר + A	A	B																							
24:12α	היה - B היה - A	A	A																							
24:12β	התורה - B התורה - A	A	B																							
24:12γ	המצואה - B המצואה - A	A	B																							
24:13α	לעלות - B ויעל מעש - A	A	A																							
25:11α	סביב + B סביב + A	A	A																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
25:18a	A - שני B - ענים	A	B					A																		
25:20a	A - אוד אל אוד B - איש אל אוד	A	B					B?											B							
25:29a	A - את B - את	A	B																A							
25:29b	A - בום B - בון	A	B																B?							
25:31a	A - רקה B - וקנה	A	B																A							
25:33a	A - אוד B - אוד	A	B																A							
26:8a	A - ויריעת B - ויריעת	A	B																A							
26:10a	A - לקאות המשם B - המשם לקאת	A	B																B							
26:10b	A - תעשה B - תעשה	A	B																A?							
26:24a	A - יחזו B - יחזו	A	C																B?							
26:26a	A - בריחו B - בריחו	A	B																B							
26:29a	A - תעשה B - תעשה	A	A																							
26:30a	A - כן B - כן	A	A																							
26:32a	A - ארבע B - ארבע	A	B																							
26:33a	A - שם B - שמה	A	B																							
26:33b	A - לכמה B - לכמה	A	A																							
26:34a	A - הארון B - ארון	A	A																							
26:34b	A - בקד B - בקדש	A	A																							
26:35a	A - יד B - יד	A	B																							
26:35b	A - ואת השלוק B - והשלוק	A	B																							
26:35c	A - צלע B - צלע	A	A																							
26:35d	A - צורה B - צפור	A	B																							
26:35e	A - > 30:1-10 B - > 30:1-10	A	B																	B						
26:36a	A - נסכה B - נסכה	A	A																							
27:7a	A - הובאת B - והובאת	A	B																							
27:9a	A - נגבה B - נגבה	A	B																							
27:11a	A - צפור B - צפור	A	B																							
27:11b	A - באמה B - אוד	A	B																							
27:11c	A - עמודים B - עמודים	A	B																							
27:11d	A - וותם B - ויר העומים	A	B																							
27:12a	A - נחשת B - נחשת	A	B																							
28:4a	A - כיתנת B - וכתנת	A	B																							
28:11a	A - יפחה B - תפחה	A	A																							
28:23a	A - משבנות זוב ושתי > B - משבנות זוב ושתי +	A	B																							
28:23b	A - שתי > 2° B - שתי > 2°	A	B																							
28:30a	A - ועשית את הארים ואת התמים > B - ועשית את הארים ואת התמים +	A	B																							
28:39a	A - את B - את	A	B																							
28:41a	A - הולכשת B - הולכשת	A	A																							
29:2a	A - משועים בשען > B - משועים בשען +	A	B																							
29:21a	A - 29:21 in loc B - 29:21 after 29:28 C - 29:21 between 29:20a and 29:20b	A	B																							
29:21b	A - המוכח after ומשען המשעה B - המוכח after ומן שער המשעה	A	C																							
29:21c	A - וכן והם משוען המשעה B - בגדיהם C - בגדי בני אתר	A	A																							
29:21d	A - יקדיש אודיו B - יקדיש הוא C - יקדשתו	A	C																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	TQ2	2Q2	2Q3	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI		
29:21e	A - גבוי B - גבוי	A	B																							
29:21f	A - גבוי B - גבוי	A	B																							
29:22a	את כול ת[חלק] B - חלק A - חלק	A	A															A								
29:22b	את האליה B - האליה C - האליה	A	C																							
29:25a	A - > 2° אותם B - > 2° אותם	A	B																							
29:33a	A - > 2° במ B - > 2° במ	A	B																							
29:35a	A - > את B - > את	A	B																							
30:13a	ושקל הקשה + B - ושקל הקשה -	A	B																							
30:25a	A - > זה B - זה	A	A																							
30:32a	A - קשה B - קשה	A	B																							
30:32b	A - קשים + B - קשים +	A	A																							
30:34a	A - ראמו B - ראמו	A	B																							
30:36a	A - מננה B - מננה	A	B																							
30:37a	A - תהיה B - תהיה	A	A																							
30:27b	A - לכה B - לכה	A	B																							
30:37g	A - > כא B - > כא before	A	A																							
31:1a	A - > 31:1+ B - > 31:1+	A	A																							
31:2a	A - > תנה B - > תנה after	A	A																							
31:2b	A - בצלאל B - בצלאל	A	A																							
31:2g	A - אורי B - אורי	A	B																							
31:5a	A - מלאכה B - מלאכה	A	A																							
31:6a	A - > 2° את B - > 2° את	A	A																							
31:13a	A - הוא B - הוא	A	B																							
31:13-14a	ביני וביניכם לדברים לדעת כי אני + A - יתה מקדשכם: 14 B - יתה מקדשכם: 14	A	A																							
31:16a	A - > השבת כי קדש הוא B - > השבת כי קדש הוא	A	A																							
32:7a	A - > לאמור B - > לאמור	A	B																							
32:7b	A - > לך B - > לך	A	A																							
32:10a	A - > והאמר יהוה מאד לעשמו B - > והאמר יהוה מאד לעשמו	A	B																							
32:11a	A - יתה B - יתה	A	B																							
32:11b	A - > מארץ מצרים B - > מארץ מצרים	A	B																							
32:11g	A - > ויבד חוקה B - > ויבד חוקה C - > ויבד חוקה	A	C																							
32:13a	A - > תמלה B - > תמלה	A	B																							
32:27a	A - > עברו B - > עברו	A	B																							
32:29a	A - > את B - > את	A	B																							
32:29b	A - > ידכם B - > ידכם	A	B																							
33:16a	A - > תפליטו B - > תפליטו	A	B																							
34:1a	A - > והאשפים B - > והאשפים	A	A																							
34:10a	A - > 34:10+ B - > 34:10+	A	A																							

Var.-Unit	Readings	M	S	T02	202	203	4Q1	4Q11	4Q11 ⁶¹	4Q11 ⁶²	4Q13	4Q14	4Q14 ⁶³	4Q17	4Q18	4Q19	4Q20	4Q22	4Q22 ⁶⁴	4Q158 ⁶⁵	4Q364	4Q365	4Q365 ⁶⁶	4Q366	MurI	
39:1.4α	העשר בני ישראל ל- בעש שבט - A	A	A																							
39:1.7α	עבות B - הנבית - A	A	A											B												
39:1.7β	טבנת B - הטבנת - A	A	A																							
39:1.7γ	קצות B - קצות - A	A	A																							
39:1.9α	שתי B - שתי? - A	A	A											B?												
39:2.1α	כאשר צוה יהוה את משה > B - כאשר צוה יהוה את משה + - A	A	A											B												
39:2.1β	ביהו + B - ביהו + - A	A	A											B												
39:2.1γ	יהו B - יהו - A	A	B											A												
39:2.1δ	39:2.1+ B - 39:2.1+ - A	A	B											B												
39:2.1ε	וינעש + C - וינעש + - A	A	B											C												
39:2.2α	המעיל B - המעיל - A	A	B											B												
39:2.3α	תורה B - תורה - A	A	B											A?												
40:1.0α	וקדש B - וקדשת - A	A	A											B												
40:1.2α	אח אהרן before וקדשת B - אח אהרן before וקדשת - A	A	A											B												
40:1.4α	ואת בניו תקרוב B - ואת בניו תקרוב - A	A	B											B												
40:1.4β	את הכתנות B - את הכתנות - A	A	A											B												
40:1.5α	אביהם B - אביהם - A	A	A											B												
40:1.6α	אותם B - אותם - A	A	A											B												
40:1.6β	אח + B - אח + - A	A	A											B												
40:1.7α	לצאתם מצרים B - לצאתם מצרים - A	A	B											B												
40:1.7β	את + B - את + - A	A	A											B												
40:1.8α	ויקם משה את המשכן + B - ויקם משה את המשכן + - A	A	A											B												
40:1.8β	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	A											B?												
40:1.8γ	קריסין B - קריסין A - קריסין A	A	A											B												
40:1.8δ	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	A											B												
40:1.9α	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	A											B												
40:2.0α	אל B - אל A - אל A	A	A											B												
40:2.0β	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	A											B												
40:2.0γ	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	A											B												
40:2.0δ	מלמעלה > B - מלמעלה > - A	A	A											B												
40:2.1α	האירן B - האירן A - האירן A	A	A											B												
40:2.2α	וינתן B - וינתן A - וינתן A	A	C											B												
40:2.2β	אחא B - אחא A - אחא A	A	A											B												
40:2.2γ	צפון B - צפון A - צפון A	A	A											B												
40:2.7α	לפניו + B - לפניו + - A	A	C											B												
	לפני יהוה + C - לפני יהוה + - A	A	C											B												

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