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Rewriting Scripture Inside and Out:
A Typology of Rewriting in Variant Editions and Rewritten Scripture

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An abstract of
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Abstract
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This dissertation explores the relationship between rewriting and redaction by comparing common models and assumptions in diachronic studies with documented cases of scribal activity. I make the case that the latter can be subdivided into examples of “Continuing Composition” or growth within the confines of a given book, and “Authorial Composition” when an earlier work is used to create a new work while maintaining significant textual overlap with its source. The former case is attested by what are frequently called “Variant Literary Editions” or divergent copies of a specific book. The examples explored included Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel. The specific types of changes evident in Continuing Composition include addition and rearrangement. In the later case of Authorial Composition where a new composition is created, I examine Chronicles, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll* showing that the distinctive features that mark the creation of a new work are the selective use of a base-text, a change in literary setting, or a change in narrative voice. After exploring these two groups of texts, I apply the insights of these data sets to evaluating approaches to Esther and Deuteronomy, showing specifically that demarcating layers by identifying beginnings and endings as well as separating stages by relating them to identifiable ideologies are unreliable criteria for diachronic reconstruction. In addition to these negative cautions, this dissertation provides some clarity for further understanding the relationship between copies of a single book (Variant Literary Editions) and the texts often referred to as “Rewritten Scripture,” as well as how the data from these texts might function for calibrating expectations in diachronic reconstruction.

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Chapter 1
SOURCES, STRATA, AND EMPIRICAL MODELS:
RECONSTRUCTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BIBLICAL TEXT

1.1 The Composition of the Hebrew Bible and the Question of Redaction

Do texts grow? As there is no shortage of discussions of textual growth, it may be more fitting to assume a positive answer and instead pose the question of how it is that texts grow or develop.¹ Do they grow when an author uses a pre-existing text as the basis or as an element of a new composition and then adds to it? Is there an on going process of *Fortschreibung* or progressive expansion? Are there redactional stages or a series of “editions” of a text, each marking a completed stage of growth? Are scribal glosses and insertions to be understood as a continuance of composition, as if it were an on going process and not a fixed moment or part of the process of transmission? The origins of the Hebrew Bible can and have been investigated along the lines of who, when, why, and how. This study will focus on the “how” by examining the extant evidence of textual development and reuse of earlier material, which I loosely term rewriting, and seek to apply it to the evaluation of many standard models and assumptions about how the biblical text came to be.² Geza Vermes first coined the now widely used term “Rewritten

¹ e.g., Klaus Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (trans. S. M. Cupitt; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1969); Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (SBLTCS 4; Leiden: Brill, 2003); David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); the list could easily be multiplied and one should note the recent formation of a program unit within the Society of Biblical Literature for papers specifically focused on “Textual Growth: What Variant Editions Tell Us About Scribal Activity.”

² I use the term “rewriting” to denote the wide range of activities of textual reuse including incorporating an earlier text into a later one, altering an earlier text, or using an earlier text as a source for a new composition. Richard Elliot Friedman attempts to answer the question of “Who?” in his *Who Wrote the Bible?* (2d. ed.; San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997), with the answer that J, E, P, and (Jeremiah) the Deuteronomist were responsible for much of it. Alexander Rofé, *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (JBS 9; Jerusalem: Simor Ltd., 2009), 608, answers the same question differently, “Who wrote the Hebrew Bible? we would have to answer: An entire people wrote it”; William M. Schniedewind, *How the Bible Became a Book: The Textualization of Ancient Israel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 4, “The real import of this question is not *who* is the author, but rather *when* was the text

Bible” that he used to describe the “introduction of a contemporary interpretation into the...text.”³ The use of “rewriting” in the present work is broader and denotes any significant reuse of an earlier text.⁴ Such reuse is often interpretive, but not necessarily so, and it does not require recognition of a fixed canon or “bible.”⁵

A central assertion of biblical studies over the last two centuries has been that the books of the Hebrew Bible were composed through a long process in which older materials were used in the construction of new texts and these texts were further expanded over time ultimately stabilizing in the early centuries of the Common Era.⁶

written”; Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 5, states that “the quest for the individual author is pointless. The making of the Hebrew Bible is owed to the scribal class rather than a limited number of individuals. We should not be looking for authors but seeking to penetrate the mindset of the scribal elite.” The present study examines “rewriting” as it occurs in documentable examples as a means of shedding light on the means by which many of the books we know of from the Bible have been composed.

³ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 179. See also idem., “Bible Interpretation at Qumran,” *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 184-91. Vermes’ discussion of “Rewritten Bible” and “Rewriting the Bible” will be returned to in chapter 3.

⁴ By the term “significant” I mean that enough words are reused verbatim or near-verbatim so that, on the one hand, the source can be easily and unambiguously identified, and on the other hand, that if only a fragment of the “rewritten” text survived, it may not be immediately clear whether the fragment was a copy of a *Vorlage* or a new composition based upon an earlier source. Much more will be said on this distinction in chapters 2 and 3. For a broader discussion of “rewriting” see Natalio Fernández Marcos, “Rewritten Bible or *Imitatio*? The Vestments of the High Priest” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (eds., P. W. Flint, et. al.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 321-36; and also George J. Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” *EDSS* 1:777-81.

⁵ The focus here is on the extension or alteration of texts as well as the use of earlier texts to compose new ones. Neither of these require that the source in question have any particular sacred status or fixed wording; the source need only have prior existence. On the question of textual standardization see Julio Trebolle-Barrera, “Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-Standard and Parabiblical Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (ed., T. Lim, et. al.; London: T & T Clark, 2000), 89-106; Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Biblical Scrolls – The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, 67-87; and Armin Lange, “‘Nobody Dared to Add to Them, to Take from Them, or to Make Changes’ (Jesophus, Ag. Ap. 1.42) The Textual Standardization of Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (eds., A. Hilhorst, et. al.; SJSJ 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 105-26. See also, Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert – An Overview and Analysis of the Published Texts,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. Herbert & E. Tov; London: British Library, 2002), 139-66.

⁶ Most introductions delve right into the literary separation of the text into its presumed component parts with little felt need to argue for the composite nature of the text, e.g., Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction including the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and also the works of similar type from Qumran: The History of the Formation of the Old Testament* (trans. Peter Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1965); Samuel R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*

Much research down to the present has focused upon “sources,” or the earliest core of materials reused or reshaped during this composition process. As John Barton puts it, “In discovering ‘sources’ in such works as the Pentateuch, literary critics simultaneously discovered ‘redactors’, the Israelite scribes, archivists or collectors who must have been responsible for combining the sources into the finished works we now encounter in the Old Testament.”⁷ These “redactors” are the scribes ultimately considered responsible for the “final shape” of the Pentateuch, Primary History, Prophets, Psalms, and indeed the Biblical canon as a whole.⁸ In talking about the mechanics of rewriting in the formation of the Hebrew Bible, it is necessary then to discuss redaction, especially as it relates to composition.

(New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920); on the eventual stabilization of the text see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 174.

⁷ John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (rev. and enl. ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 45; Michael V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts* (SBLMS 40; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 5, “Redaction criticism proceeds from source criticism by reversing its thrust. Source criticism moves backward from the finished work, segregating its stages of development with a view to retrieving the work of the participants in the creative process. Redaction criticism moves forward from the results of source criticism, reconstructing the process from the parts. Redaction criticism and source criticism are thus two phases of a single operation. Both are oriented to intention – of author and redactor – and both regard literature as a medium and reading as communication.”

⁸E.g., Richard Coggins, “What does ‘Deuteronomistic’ Mean?” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (JSOT 268; ed. Linda S. Schearing & Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 22-35, who points out how nearly every portion of Hebrew Bible has been accused at one point or another of having undergone a Deuteronomistic redaction; Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Text*, 57-9; Rolf Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features, Form, Tradition, and Redaction,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Douglas A. Knight & Gene M. Tucker; SBLCP; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 152. While the present study deals primarily with narrative material, the book of Jeremiah is also frequently examined. Just as the method of redaction criticism has been broadly applied to all corpora of the Bible, and as all the available evidence points in the direction that various genres of texts were transmitted, read, and copied by the same scribes, I can see no reason that methods of rewriting should be genre specific, unless the data dictates otherwise; I find the terminology “final shape” problematic. Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 20, cites Erhard Blum’s comment that there are “as many final forms as textual witnesses.” The term “final form” or “final shape” is only useful in contrast to theoretical stages, thus “final” equals extant.

1.2 What is Redaction?

According to most handbooks on biblical criticism, Redaction Criticism is the sequel to Source or Form criticism. Once some type of earlier material has been identified by either of these methods, redaction criticism asks questions about how it has been altered, arranged, or augmented with the ultimate aim of identifying the perspective, message, or theological outlook of the author or redactor.⁹ This approach, by name, began with Marxsen's study of Mark, and was first used primarily with the synoptic Gospels, especially where adoption of the two source theory allowed material distinct from Mark or Q within Luke or Matthew to be isolated and studied in terms of its general tendencies and theological perspective.¹⁰ From the beginning the approach could be applied to either gospels like Mark, whose sources must be inferred, reconstructed, or theoretically identified, or to works like Matthew, Luke, or even Chronicles whose sources are more or less extant.¹¹ The results of such studies are, obviously, more

⁹ Norman Perrin, *What is Redaction Criticism?* (GBSNTS; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969); John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook* (rev. ed.; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1987), 101-108; Joseph Kudasiewicz, *The Synoptic Gospels Today* (trans. Sergius Wroblewski; New York: Alba House, 1996), 10, "The most important achievement of redaction criticism wherein it goes beyond the limits of form criticism is the view that the redaction of the Gospels and their composition along with their arrangement within a geographical and chronological framework that has a clear and precise point of view is the work of the evangelists-redactors. With the help of redaction criticism the evangelists were shown to be both authors and theologians." There is no consensus on the question of whether redactor's should be construed as "authors" or as something else. The arguments are largely semantic, and as such the terms are less important than the concepts they represent. I will suggest terms for the concepts I advocate further in this study.

¹⁰ Willi Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956); see also Robert H. Stein, "What is *Redaktionsgeschichte*?" *JBL* 88 (1969): 45-56, "We are not primarily concerned with all that the evangelists believed. Rather we are concerned with ascertaining the unique contribution to and understanding of the sources by the evangelists. This will be found in their seams, interpretative comments, summaries, modification of material, selection of material, omission of material, arrangement, introductions, conclusions, vocabulary, christological titles, etc." (53).

¹¹ Hayes and Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis*, 106-7; Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 53-4.

objectively assessed in the latter cases where the source in question is extant.¹² In the study of the Hebrew Bible, often a series of strata or layers of redaction are detected and separated out in a relative chronological sequence.¹³ It is generally stated that in Europe the tendency is to think in terms of horizontal divisions of the text (i.e., redactional strata), while in North America composition is more often conceptualized as vertical divisions of the text into blocks or chunks of material that have been combined, compiled, or otherwise arranged.¹⁴ However one conceptualizes textual growth, any diachronic study necessarily will have to deal with both horizontal and vertical divisions.

Another point of dispute is the motivation of redaction. Redaction Criticism as a specific method or approach has focused from the beginning on the Redactor's particular ideology. In the earliest work on the synoptic gospels this was put in terms of the evangelists' theology, which was thought determinative for the texts' meaning. In much recent work on the Hebrew Bible, the specific outlook, ideology, or theological viewpoint remains the central means of relative chronological differentiation.¹⁵ This focus on

¹² e.g., Fox, *Redaction*, 5, "The uncertainty is reduced, though never eliminated, when we have an external witness to the process, such as a prior version of the text, or at least a collateral version that developed from a common ancestor."

¹³ This is an outgrowth of Gunkel's form-critical method, especially as applied to redaction by Rolf Rendtorff and his students. See Rolf Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (trans. John J. Scullion; JSOTSuppl 89; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990); idem., *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991).

¹⁴ e.g., see the discussion in Konrad Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (trans. James D. Nogalski; Siphut 3; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 336-347; see also Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (trans. John Bowden; London: T&T Clark, 2005) trans. of *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (UTB 2157; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 88-89, 157; Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (ATBRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 54-67; for earlier distinctions of the terms *Blockmodelle* and *Schichtenmodelle* see H. Weippert, "Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Sein Ziel und Ende in der neueren Forschung," *Tru* 50 (1985): 213-49; Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor" in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSupp 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 70-90.

¹⁵ Odil Hannes Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology* (trans. J. D. Nogalski; 2d ed.; SBLRBS; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 48-9; Carr, *Formation*, 149, "I suggest that it is possible, using different strategies and building on excellent work done in past and present scholarship, to identify certain biblical texts that can be dated to broad periods in the history of Judah and Israel (e.g.,

ideology or theology is distinct from earlier source critical work that was based upon literary distinctions of style, doublets, contradictions, or vocabulary, although many redactional studies also use the criterion of literary flow to demarcate strata.¹⁶

The older view of compilation, especially related to the now classical “new Documentary Hypothesis” of Graf and Wellhausen attributed to the redactor only minimal intervention making him much more of a compiler and the very reconstructability of the texts is due to the redactor’s ineptitude.¹⁷ A new element in the

Persian, neo-Babylonian, neo-Assyrian). Furthermore, one can build a noncomprehensive profile using such texts of at least some type(s) of texts that were written in each such period. Thus, the analysis of texts more obviously dating to the Persian period can lead to the Persian dating of less obviously Persian-period texts.”

¹⁶Schmid, *The Old Testament*, 25, “Traditionally, Old Testament literary criticism discusses different stages of growth of the biblical books primarily on the basis of the observation of doublets, breaks, tensions, and contradictions in the text. But the solely formal, text-immanent procedures have proved inadequate... Therefore linguistic observations must be supplemented by theological-conceptual considerations in reconstructing prior literary stages, that is, literary criticism must be coupled with theological-historical reflection... identifying theological positions in the Old Testament that have proved themselves historically to be shaping factors for the inner-biblical discussion”; on the problem of methodological starting assumptions see Knierim, “Criticism of Literary Features,” 133; on the criterion of narrative flow see the following discussion of Friedman and Kratz.

¹⁷Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 56-60; John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the “Editor” in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 7; Koch, *Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, 57-67; On one school continuing to defend this approach, the “Neo-Documentarians,” see Jeffery Stackert, “Distinguishing Innerbiblical Exegesis from Pentateuchal Redaction: Leviticus 26 as a Test Case,” in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (eds., Thomas B. Dozemann, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz; FAT 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 369-386; and Carr, *Formation*, 111-5, 121; for a recent defense of this general position see Baden, *Composition*, 215, “the activity attributed to the redactor cannot outstrip the simple function required of him by the theory: the combination of the four source documents into a single text. The redactor owes his existence only to the fact that the documents have been combined and is defined by this role; we cannot assign to him anything beyond his single necessary function... For this reason I have referred throughout to the redactor as ‘compiler,’ for this term emphasizes the authentic role required of this figure.” For a similar conception of the redactor applied to the *Temple Scroll* see Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1990), 33, “the TS is manifestly a redacted work. Furthermore, its redactor was no skilled surgeon, moving surely to join sources with precise and invisible sutures. He was a more careless sort, stitching unevenly and even leaving a sponge or two in the patient; and we may be thankful that he was such.” Wise’s method of identifying the redactor involves first identifying passages at redactional seams (i.e., TS 29:3-10 and 51:5-10) and using the redactor’s “favorite phrases and typical vocabulary” from those passages to identify his hand elsewhere in the TS.

discussion is the view that each redactional layer is thought to have its own ideology or at least coherent and consistent tendencies.¹⁸

Depending on how one conceptualizes composition and redaction, it is possible for strikingly different results to be achieved by different reconstructions, even when the scholars share many similar assumptions and work from the same text. To illustrate, I want to examine briefly the reconstructions of two scholars, Richard E. Friedman and Reinhard G. Kratz. I have selected these two because their general assumptions are largely representative of various approaches across North America, Europe, and Israel. Furthermore, both address the entire narrative of the Primary History (Genesis to 2 Kings), making it possible to discuss the metaphorical “trees” as well as the larger “forest.” I will begin with Friedman.

1.2.1 RICHARD ELLIOT FRIEDMAN

Richard E. Friedman in a number of scholarly and popular works has sought to defend a form of the traditional documentary hypothesis in which four separate literary works (J, E, P, and D) have been combined in two redactional stages.

In his best-selling *Who Wrote the Bible?* and the related *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, Friedman argues for why the biblical texts should be understood as composite, and how he identifies the sources within them. Friedman’s book, *The Hidden Book in the*

¹⁸Baden, *Composition*, 54. Baden terms this view, with which he disagrees, “the European approach,” and gives numerous examples from the works of both European and North American scholars who work from this set of assumptions. See also Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, 7, who contrasts redaction based on traditional Source Criticism, which envisions a semi-mechanical compilation of documents, while more recent Form Critical based redaction becomes a kind of Tradition History and replaces “authors” with “editors.”

Bible, argues in the other direction.¹⁹ There he makes the claim that the source he calls J is in fact not complete in the Pentateuch—it is the beginning of a larger ancient work, the rest of which still survives because of its use as a source in the Deuteronomistic History.²⁰ This larger ancient work—the earliest work of prose, according to Friedman—is a unity composed of what readers of the Bible have, for millennia, understood to be separate texts or books. In contrast to his other books mentioned above, where the arguments point toward the division of the work in the question, in *The Hidden Book* Friedman must argue for why a number of apparently separate texts should be properly reconstructed into a unity. The arguments are the same in both cases, and depend on Friedman’s identification of a source, meaning a literary work. How is such a distinct work identified?

The criteria by which Friedman identifies a source are as follows. The first is language.²¹ According to Friedman, J and E consistently represent the earliest attested period of Biblical Hebrew, followed by P, D and Dtr, Ezekiel, and finally various representations of Late Biblical Hebrew such as Chronicles or many of the texts from Qumran.²² The second criterion is terminology, especially the name of God used but also distinctive terms which occur consistently only within that source division with no or

¹⁹Richard Elliot Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (2d. ed.; San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1997); idem., *The Bible with Sources Revealed: A New View into the Five Books of Moses* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2003).

²⁰Richard Elliot Friedman, *The Hidden Book in the Bible: Restored, Translated, and Introduced by Richard Elliot Friedman* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1998); Friedman follows the reconstruction of his teacher Frank M. Cross on the Deuteronomistic History. See Frank M. Cross, “The Two Editions of the Deuteronomistic History” and related articles in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

²¹The order here follows that of Friedman’s introduction in *The Bible with Sources Revealed*.

²²Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward An Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976); Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (CahRB 20; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1982); idem, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical Hebrew: The Case of ‘Semantic Change’ in Post-Exilic Writing” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 4; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 1-10.

very few exceptions. Third, consistency of content regarding the revelation of the tetragrammaton, or by what means or mediums one can access the divine.²³ Fourth, is the criterion of narrative flow—each of these four source divisions “reads as a complete, continuous story...with only an occasional gap.”²⁴ Fifth, the sources display consistent connections with other biblical works, D with Jeremiah, P with Ezekiel, and J with the Court History.²⁵ Sixth, the sources relate to geography and history. The source J is from the south and filled with Judean concerns, while E is from the north. The Priestly source is connected with the period of King Hezekiah’s rule, and D hails from the time of Josiah.²⁶ The final and most important criterion or piece of evidence in Friedman’s view is convergence, the fact that the other six “lines of evidence” function simultaneously to demarcate the same source divisions.²⁷

A number of assumptions are in play within Friedman’s work. In regard to the linguistic development of the Hebrew language, Friedman relies on work that assumes that Hebrew developed linearly from a Classical Biblical Hebrew to a Late Biblical Hebrew, drawing mainly on the work of Avi Hurvitz and Robert Polzin.²⁸ Since the time of Polzin’s and Hurvitz’s work, however, other scholars have questioned the proposed linear development of Hebrew—e.g., many features of later Hebrew existed earlier in specific regional dialects and only later became common in the language at large, thus

²³ Baden, *Composition*, 16, refers to this as a text’s distinct historical claims, i.e., its story. “The hallmark of a unified composition, one created by a single author, is internal consistency: consistency of language and style, consistency of theme and thought, and, above all, consistency of story. Every narrative makes certain claims about the way events transpired—who, what, when, where, how, and why.”

²⁴ Friedman, *Bible*, 13.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14-17.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 18-24.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, *Bible*, 27-28.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

their appearance does not automatically render a text late.²⁹ Others account for linguistic difference without reference to chronology at all.³⁰

Concomitant with this assumption of stable linguistic development is a high degree of trust in the Masoretic Text. In particular Friedman assumes a trustworthy MT to the extent that he does not, to my knowledge, address the variation in divine names in the LXX and Qumran manuscripts vis-à-vis MT.³¹ This confidence also overlooks several known examples where the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek presents an earlier text of a Pentateuchal verse than MT, and the difference is significant for source divisions.³²

Friedman does consult the versions, and on a three occasions chooses a variant over the MT for his delimitation of the sources of the Pentateuch:

²⁹ Ian M. Young, Robert Rezetko, & Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems* (2 vols.; London-Oakville: Equinox, 2009); Note the highly critical review by Jan Joosten, “Review of Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, with the assistance of Martin Ehrensverd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts. An Introduction to Approaches and Problems*, 2 vols., Equinox, London–Oakville, 2009” in *Babel und Bibel 6: Annual of Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament, and Semitic Studies* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 535-542; see also Carr, *Formation*, 125-32, 442-55; Avi Hurvitz, “The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts’ Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments,” *HS* 47(2006): 191–210; Dong-Hyuk Kim, *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability* (VTS 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012). Kim provides the most recent synthesis and critique from the perspective of sociolinguistics. While Kim defends Hurvitz’s traditional position that Early Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew can rightly be understood as chronologically distinct and are not a stylistic choice (as Rezetko and others maintain), he concludes that it is not methodology sound to date difficult texts by appeal to dating methods. Kim’s study does not take into account the strong possibility of linguistic updating by scribes during the course of recopying the text, though doing so would only give further grounds for distrust of linguistic dating methods.

³⁰ See especially Young, et. al., *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*.

³¹ The Old Greek witnesses show variation in the use of $\kappa\rho\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, which are translation equivalents for the tetragrammaton and אלהים, respectively. For a list of several examples see Carr, *Formation*, 106. Often times these have been (rightly) attributed to variation on the part of the translator, but with the evidence from Qumran this can no longer be assumed in every case. The existence of any true variants is potentially problematic for the criterion of divine names. Here true variants are opposed to non-variants or pseudo-variants, see Emmanuel Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint* (2d. rev. and enl.; JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 162-3, for the distinction. Although the MT is an exceptionally good text (esp. in the Pentateuch) and our overall best witness to the earliest textual form of the Hebrew Bible, alternative evidence requires that each case be evaluated on its own merits. See also Russell Hobsen, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012).

³² See Carr, *Formation*, 102-3, for examples of source divisions by Nöldeke and Baden that are undermined by evidence from the Old Greek showing where the MT and SP have harmonizing or coordinating insertions.

(1) in Exod 9:30 where the anomalous combination of the tetragrammaton with אלהים is judged suspect because of the LXX's minus of the word אלהים,³³

(2) Num 16:24 and 27 where the names Dathan and Abiram are omitted by the LXX and judged by Friedman to be redactional in the MT,³⁴ and

(3) in Deut 1:39 where the quotation of Num 14:31 is witnessed by MT and a Qumran text but not the LXX.³⁵

Friedman emends the MT more often in reconstruction of the source he calls ביום "In the Day."³⁶ He does so with Gen 4:8, 24:33, 27:5, 43:28; Judges 16:13-14, 18:30; 1 Sam 11:1,³⁷ 15:27; and 2 Sam 2:8, 6:5, 9:6, 11:21, 12:14,³⁸ 15:12, 18:3.³⁹

Most of these are relatively minor cases of the MT losing one or more words due to common scribal errors (e.g., "bread" omitted in Gen 24:33). Perhaps the most interesting are the apparently non-erroneous variants, such as the בשת-names in 2 Sam 2:8, 9:6, 11:21, the "redactional" addition of the names Dathan and Abiram, and the proposed addition in 2 Sam 12:14.

In the former case of the בשת-names, the manuscript evidence shows that the change from בעל to בשת occurred late in process of textual transmission (i.e., Hellenistic), and Friedman notes that this is the work of "a later editor,"⁴⁰ acknowledging implicitly

³³ Friedman, *Bible*, 135.

³⁴ Friedman, *Bible*, 270. Friedman refers to both this case and the preceding one as "redaction" but he does not differentiate or contrast it with his two primary redactions.

³⁵ Friedman, *Bible*, 311. Concerning Deut 1:39, the Qumran mss in question, not cited explicitly by Friedman, appears to be 4Q35 Deuteronomy^H, which preserves the word וטפכם. Friedman calls for caution at this point, either D quotes P (consistent with Friedman's position that D precedes P) or it may be a late addition.

³⁶ Friedman refers to the work that begins in Gen 2:4b by its first word(s).

³⁷ The Nahash passage from 4QSam^A is noted as original, but is not actually printed in Friedman's main text.

³⁸ This is done with no manuscript evidence, following only the תקוני ספרים.

³⁹ Friedman, *Hidden Book*, 308, 310-313, 318, 320-322, 324.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 322.

some amount of redactional activity (however minimal) that continued long after the work of his R^{JE} and R. The same holds true for Dathan and Abiram in the MT of Num 16. The possibility of this happening elsewhere is not entertained, and Friedman does not discuss this phenomenon in any detail. This is important because scribal alterations of particular words or orthographic variation render linguistic dating as well as many criteria of source divisions problematic.

It is readily apparent that Friedman's interests are chiefly in the earlier sources to be found within the extant shape of the Hebrew Bible. The pentateuchal redactors are not credited with introducing much material in their own voices. The first has been content to combine the sources J and E, and the second has only added a bit more. These redactors are not the theologians that early NT redaction critics made of the evangelists (although for Friedman, the activities of J and E may be comparable). Friedman's redactors only have a discernable ideology in the sense that one source may receive pride of place over another at any given point, but (at least in Friedman's analysis) this seems largely dictated by the larger concern of harmonizing or otherwise bringing the multiple sources into a (more or less) coherent, or at least continuous, narrative.

1.2.1 REINHARD G. KRATZ

Reinhard Kratz presents another thorough analysis of Genesis-Kings in addition to the Chronicler's history (1 and 2 Chronicles + Ezra-Nehemiah), working from a supplementary model of literary strata.⁴¹ Kratz calls his method Redaction Criticism

⁴¹See Kratz, *Composition*. This is despite the opening statements of the book's preface and the summary on the back of the English edition, both of which claim that—as far as possible—no hypotheses are assumed. Kratz's analysis does include the positing of documents, just not the typical four of the Graf-Wellhausen New Documentary theory. On the broadness of what may be called “documentary hypothesis” see Konrad Schmid, “Has European Scholarship Abandoned the Documentary Hypothesis? Some Reminders on Its History and Remarks on Its Current Status” in *The Pentateuch: International*

(*Redaktionskritik* or *Literarkritik*), but he says the term is not important and the method speaks for itself.⁴² As in Friedman's works, the focus is on demonstration by results.

Instead of following the canonical order, or some reconstructed historical sequence, Kratz begins at the end with Chronicles. By dealing with a book whose primary (if not sole) sources are known, Kratz claims he is able to demonstrate his procedure from the onset with the least amount of speculation. According to Kratz, the general composition of Chronicles is that of excerpts from the base text of Samuel-Kings supplemented by layers of expansion or exegesis.⁴³ This is similar to Fishbane's model of *traditum* and *tradio* (borrowing the terms from their use in Tradition-Historical Criticism).⁴⁴

Kratz does not typically dwell on the historical origins of the earliest source, but is content to isolate it and describe the development of the tradition in layers around it.⁴⁵ He states at several points in the book that theories which try to attribute material to some hypothesized lost source are merely moving the problem from one unknown to another; instead he finds the supplementary model of a basic source, accompanied by successive levels of literary strata to be much more compelling. Thus for any given work, there is a

Perspectives on Current Research, 20-21; on the three documents Kratz identifies see his *Composition*, 314.

⁴²Kratz, *Composition*, 5 n8, "I use the term 'redaction' for all the literary procedures which in any way relate to pre-existing material, the 'tradition,' regardless of whether these go to make up a literary complex, presuppose it and develop it in writing, supplement or gloss it. The term is not important; what is meant will be clear from the context."

⁴³Ibid., 42, makes the caveat that the version of Sam-Kgs used as a source was not identical to that known from the MT; in a later publication Kratz states that his reason in beginning with Chronicles was that it is the earliest example of the literary reception that sees the Torah and Former Prophets as literarily independent and yet also comprising a consecutive narrative. See Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz; FAT 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 33.

⁴⁴Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). *Traditum* refers to tradition as content that has passed on, while *tradio* refers to tradition as the process or means of transmitting a given *traditum*. On the terms see Douglas A. Knight, *Rediscovering the Traditions of Israel* (SBLDS 9; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars, 1975), 5-20.

⁴⁵He defines the supplementary hypothesis on page 117 as "the assumption of a gradual literary extension of the core from the inside outwards."

very limited amount of core material (e.g., Gen + Sam-Kgs in the case of Chronicles) and everything else must be attributed to one or more layers of tradition which now surround and intertwine with it. The governing assumptions are as follows:

1) There is a limited amount of basic material surrounded by (often many) layers of later strata. The basic material is made up of original fragments of tradition (or “sources”) that have been combined in a larger framework.

2) The framework varies from work to work but is assumed to be consistent such that things which do not fit into the structure can be identified as secondary to the basic material.⁴⁶ Examples include the genealogies, the Toledoth formulae in Genesis, the itinerary in Exodus-Joshua, regnal formulae in kings, etc.

3) The basic material is a “smooth” (*reibungslos*) text, which is “seamless” (*nahtlos*)—free of repetitions, interruptions, contradictions, or other irregularities which break the narrative flow and mark later expansions and exegesis of the text.⁴⁷ At times this seems to include consistency of genre, e.g., the assumption that the basic priestly stratum P^G was only narrative.⁴⁸

4) Inherent in the above assumption is that there is no significant loss of text (esp. of the basic material). Although Kratz reckons with the omissions of the Chronicler⁴⁹ and P (understood as independent source which rewrites non-P),⁵⁰ elsewhere he refers to “the inconvenient assumption of loss of text” as a reason to avoid classical source analysis or

⁴⁶E.g., Kratz, *Composition*, 31-33, 163-164, 179, 229, etc.

⁴⁷ See *Ibid.*, 20, 26, 41, 117, 147, etc.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 103, 105, 109. In the case of Chronicles, Kratz argues that the care in reformulating the source text, observable in Chronicles, rules improbable the idea that apparent contradictions could be original. “Scholars tend to content themselves with the view that the Chronicler wrote out the material before him quite mechanically, and in so doing did not notice that he was contradicting his own intentions. Given the many careful reformulations of the original, that is quite improbable” (41). The proposed alternative is to assume a series of secondary expansions.

⁴⁹ See *Ibid.*, 35-36, on omission, selection, and transposition in Chronicles.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 238.

otherwise follow his redaction distribution of the literary strata.⁵¹ This shift of expectation is perhaps puzzling given the initial use of Chronicles as a model, but this tension in method is perhaps best explained by the fact that Kratz understands Chronicles as an interpretation, and not a replacement for its source.⁵²

5) Layers or strata are identified and removed through subtraction, which requires an establishing of distinctive features for each book or section of text.⁵³ Some of the features isolated by Kratz include (for Deuteronomy) the switch from singular to plural in the second person, literary dependence on the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22-23:33), and the ideology of cultic centralization (Deut 12).⁵⁴ Others include assumption of cultic centralization or the first commandment as evaluative criteria within Josh-Kgs, the notion of “all Israel,” a United Monarchy, or Twelve Tribes; and the presumption of features peculiar to earlier layers (thus allowing construction of a relative chronology of strata). Stated differently, there is an assumption of consistency of style, composition, theme, or ideology at each redactional or compositional stage.⁵⁵

6) An unstated assumption basic to the entire project is the priority and sufficiency of the Masoretic Text. Kratz never explicitly states what text he follows, but it is clearly the MT. All of his references to the Septuagint versions are negative

⁵¹Ibid., 239, 244, 290. This may be related to his resistance to any search for lost sources (e.g., 42, 172, etc.). In Kratz’s analysis everything needed is present in the Masoretic Text and everything is explained; the original reads, “der mißlichen Annahme von Textverlusten” (*Komposition*, 241).

⁵²Kratz, *Composition*, 36. I will return to the issue of supplementation versus replacement in chapter 6.

⁵³Ibid., 100, 249

⁵⁴Ibid., 117.

⁵⁵Ibid., 119.

examples—they show a secondary or smoothed over text.⁵⁶ The reader gathers that “resorting to the Septuagint” is a bad thing.⁵⁷

Like Friedman, Kratz is able to present a coherent explanation for the origins of the primary history, and he does so working from many of the same starting assumptions of consistency. Both demarcate their relative divisions (whether sources or layers) by the criteria of uninterrupted narrative flow, specific themes, or ideological points. The two differ in the activities that they ascribe to the redactors. Friedman works from what might be called a block model, where the vertical divisions between sources predominate and the redactors provide only small bits of linkages aimed at harmonizing the whole. Kratz, on the other hand, assumes a single core text and emphasizes major horizontal divisions between redactional layers. For Kratz the work of the redactors is exegetical, and it follows therefore that layers can be separated into relative sequence by tracing literary dependence of one layer upon another.

1.2.3 SHARED AND DIVERGENT ASSUMPTIONS AND CONCEPTIONS

This brief overview shows how different conceptualizations can lead to greatly varying (and even contradictory) results, even when working from the same text with many similar assumptions. The divergences between these and other scholarly reconstructions stems from several issues. The first is that one’s conceptualization of the mechanics of composition and redaction determines one’s results. A second factor, related to the first, is that this sort of diachronic reconstruction is a highly speculative enterprise and currently lacks an objective basis by which to calibrate both its methods

⁵⁶Ibid., 15, 92, 178, 193, 232-233.

⁵⁷Ibid., 193. The original reads, “das Losverfahren läßt sich nur auf dem Umweg über die Septuaginta aus dem Grundbestand heraushalten,” *Komposition*, 200.

and conceptual models. It is impossible to verify these assumptions on internal evidence alone, as that too can be used against them.

A shared assumption that is nearly universal is that unified compositions are consistent and remain consistent unless acted upon by an outside force. Redaction, rewriting, expansion, or other alterations may play the role of that outside force. The fact that consistency ranks so highly among assured assumptions gives good reason for why it should be tested. If it can be shown that the assumption is well founded, well and good, but if not, then there should be cause for caution and further reflection. John Barton makes the sobering argument that ancient readers and writers were not necessarily fixated upon notions of unity or closure. Barton provides the valuable insight that both canonical or “holistic” literary readings as well as what he calls “traditional source criticism” agree on their expectation that ancient books should show a concern with theme, plot, and closure akin to modern notions of what constitutes a literary work. This expectation, Barton argues, is false. For ancients, there were expectations that a book may have some degree of consistency, but composite works were acceptable, if not the norm, and books were conceived of as collections of material, often grouped thematically, not as large literary “works” with a unity of theme and a need for closure.⁵⁸ Barton’s insight is challenging because it undermines both approaches which he discusses.

⁵⁸ John Barton, “What is a Book?” in *The Old Testament: Canon, Literature, and Theology Collected Essays of John Barton* (SOTSM; Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 139, “By saying that there is a book called ‘Isaiah’ rabbinic commentators are not implying that it possesses unity of theme or closure in its literary form, only that there is a collection of verses and paragraphs written by Isaiah and gathered together in one place,” and 140, “If early Jewish interpreters (and this would include, say, St Paul as well as the early rabbis) read biblical books with so little attention to their themes, their overall shape and their closure, is it possible that the books were actually *written* without attention to those features?” (140. Italics original); cf., Benjamin Sommer, “The Scroll of Isaiah as Jewish Scripture, or, Why Jews Don’t Read Books” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1996 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996): 225-242.

Barton questions, if the ancient notion of what made “a book” included “collections of fragmentary verses and paragraphs without order or closure, then why should similar works not have been equally acceptable as original compositions?”⁵⁹ In Barton’s view this issue problematizes both traditional source criticism and more recent literary criticism as both of these depend upon the belief that authorial activity is characterized by consistency, unity, and closure, and “such considerations probably did not play a very important part in the composition of Old Testament books.”⁶⁰ Barton points to Chronicles for support of the fact that, on the one hand, the book (an assumed unity) mixes genres freely without any apparent concern, while on the other hand it smoothes out inconsistencies from its sources.⁶¹ From this Barton concludes that

old-fashioned source critics were probably right to see inconsistency as evidence for sources, since it occurs in works such as the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History and prophets but very little in works such as Chronicles which are modeled on these. Evidently it mattered to later writers to iron out inconsistency, and not to introduce any into their own work.⁶²

An unavoidable problem is that we have no ideal examples. According to Barton, “We argue about whether Genesis was put together from earlier sources or written by a single hand, but no one adopts the second of these options in the case of Chronicles or 1 Esdras.”⁶³ This is not the case. People have and do argue that Chronicles is composite, in

⁵⁹ Barton, “What is a Book?” 142; this can be further complicated by the recognition that the divisions into books are themselves likely secondary, see Kratz, *Composition*; Thomas B. Dozeman, Thomas Römer, and Konrad Schmid (eds.), *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (AIL8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), especially the articles by Schmid, Römer, and Blum; Hendrik Jacob Koorevaar, “The Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and the Macro-Structural Problem of the Pentateuch,” in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (ed. Thomas Römer; BETL 215; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 423-54.

⁶⁰ Barton, “What is a Book?” 146.

⁶¹ But many have argued that contradictions remain, between the source and *Sondergut*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 146.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

the sense of being written by multiple hands.⁶⁴ The same has recently been argued for *Jubilees*.⁶⁵ The texts that we would like to appeal to as a control offer no guarantee of their own purity as samples. Internal inconsistencies in these works can be used to argue either way: they show that unified compositions may contain inconsistencies or they show that they are themselves composite.⁶⁶

If all our ancient examples are composite, then the ideal state is not something that exists in nature.

I welcome Barton's cautions, but his very approach feels helplessly circular. Without some control is it even possible for one to gain traction in furthering the investigation? In Barton's judgment, the Pentateuch (whose sources we must speculate about) is more clearly "composite" (i.e., the product of multiple writers) than Chronicles!

Against Barton, I suggest that Chronicles, even if it stems from a single hand, clearly reuses older material, and thus such known cases of textual development should be used as the control for theorizing about the unknown, and not *vice versa*. As a means of compensating for the inability to calibrate assumptions and conceptions solely from an inductive approach, appeal to "empirical models" of documented examples of textual development have been sought in order to provide some, more objective controls for diachronic reconstruction.

⁶⁴ e.g., Kurt Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia: Übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954); Kratz, *Composition*.

⁶⁵ Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (SJSJ 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007); James L. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (SJSJ 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

⁶⁶ Barton, "What is a Book?" 146.

1.3 Empirical Models

An important trend that has emerged in the last half century is the use of “empirical models” or examples of documented cases of textual growth and development as a check on the assumptions and conceptualizes of diachronic reconstruction.⁶⁷ These models have been derived from ancient analogues (esp. Akkadian literature), textual variation within manuscripts (the so-called Variant Literary Editions), and the texts labeled Rewritten Scripture.

Popularized by Tigay’s work on the development of the Gilgamesh Epic and the collection of studies in the volume *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, the use of examples or models of textual development has become increasingly common. The earliest of such studies aimed at defending the plausibility of the Documentary Hypothesis in particular by arguing from ancient analogies. George Foot Moore’s 1890 study of Tatian’s Diatessaron could provide a nearly perfect parallel example for the four-source Documentary Hypothesis: four separate sacred documents (the four Gospels) were combined into a single whole, presumably in a quest for unity.⁶⁸ Law codes and

⁶⁷ The term “empirical models” is taken from Jeffrey M. Tigay (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005). Tigay’s earlier study “An Empirical Basis for the Documentary Hypothesis,” *JBL* 94 (1975): 329-42 is the earliest use of which I am aware. Tigay’s term has been followed by others, e.g., Hans Jürgen Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (BZAW 221; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994); Molly M. Zahn “Reexamining Empirical Models: The Case of Exodus 13,” in *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (ed. E. Otto & R. Achenbach 2004; FRLANT 206; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 36-55; and David M. Carr, “‘Empirical’ Comparison and the Analysis of the Relationship of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets,” in *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch: Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (eds. Thomas B. Dozeman, Thomas Römer, and Konrad Schmid; AIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011). Carr has recently proposed “study of documented cases of ancient textual revision” as an equivalent term to “empirical study,” see Carr, *Formation*, 37; see also Fleming, D. E., and S. J. Milestein, *The Buried Foundation of the Gilgamesh Epic* (CM 39; Leiden: Brill, 2010); and Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

⁶⁸ George F. Moore, “Tatian’s Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch,” *JBL* 9 (1890): 201-15; repr. in Tigay, *Empirical Models*, 243-256.

royal annals have also become other important loci for comparative studies.⁶⁹ Others have made use of “inner-biblical parallels” (e.g., Sam-Kgs vis-à-vis Psalms, Chronicles, or Isaiah), or textual parallels with the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Old Greek versions, or the manuscripts from the Judean Desert.⁷⁰ A final locus for this type of comparative textual study is the group of texts from the Second Temple period (esp. the discoveries from the Judean Desert). The so-called “Rewritten Bible” texts such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, or even the *Temple Scroll* reuse large amounts of earlier material.⁷¹ Synoptic study of such texts provides a window through which to see explicit textual reworking, expansion, and reuse.⁷²

The assumption often driving much of the earliest of such studies was that if a model were found demonstrating that such theorized methods of composition could have happened, then the theory was thereby proven. Tertel points out this problem in his own study of textual growth in the Assyrian royal annals, emphasizing that probability does not equal proof.⁷³ The arguments of Tigay and others do not “prove” any specific hypothesis, but they do support theories that recognize that many ancient texts are composite.

⁶⁹ For example, Bernard M. Levinson, ed., *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law: Revisions, Interpolation and Development* (JSOTSup 181; Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1994).

⁷⁰ e.g., Jeffery Tigay, “Conflation as a Redactional Technique,” in *Empirical Models*.

⁷¹ On the terms “Rewritten Bible” and “Rewritten Scripture” see footnote 97 and the discussion in chapter 3.

⁷² Carr, *Formation*, 57-88 for numerous examples, especially Chronicles; see also work on the sectarian texts, e.g., Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

⁷³ Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 10.

Instead of functioning as mere justification for an approach, David Carr has argued that such data of observable textual development can be utilized in two ways.⁷⁴ First, documented examples of alterations can be used to trace the history of a specific text. Thus diachronic work on texts like Gilgamesh or Jeremiah can be investigated using the extant copies of those works. Second, following an examination of several such examples, one can use observed “trends” as guidelines to reinforce, restrain, or otherwise direct diachronic studies. Several scholars have previously proposed models, rules, or guidelines in an attempt to give some concrete guidance for directing or controlling diachronic exegesis, especially based on Ancient Near Eastern parallels.

Jean Louis Ska’s *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* presents “several axioms for a critical reading of ancient literature.”⁷⁵ These axioms are “The Law of Antiquity or Precedence,”⁷⁶ “The Law of Conservation: Nothing is Eliminated,”⁷⁷ “The Law of Continuity and Updating,”⁷⁸ “The Law of Economy: Only What is Necessary

⁷⁴Carr, “Empirical Comparison,” 74; cf., Tertel’s idea of sketching a “general picture” of how narratives were altered, based on empirical models, which can be used to “tip the balance” in uncertain cases, Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 5-6.

⁷⁵Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (trans. Sr. Pascale Dominique; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 165. These axioms or “laws” are demonstrated inductively by examples from the biblical text, except for “The Law of Economy” which draws on Socio-Economic studies as well.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 165-169. Ska here means the ancient belief or basis that older was better and thus authority and importance were granted to the text or tradition that could make the best claim (whether actual or contrived) for antiquity.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 169-170. Ska argues this on the basis of the conservative nature of ancient society and on the apparent existence of various (often contradictory) traditions side-by-side. He states “the desire to collect everything that tradition had handed down became particularly strong during the time of the Second Temple. In the first stages of composition, however, the redactors and editors felt freer to rewrite an ancient text in accord with their own style and criteria. The following section [The Law of Continuity and Updating] explains this fact.” I will revisit this dynamic between earlier stages of composition (and redaction) and later stabilization while dealing with some of the extant evidence in chapters 4 and 5; see further Juha Pakkala’s forthcoming book on omissions.

⁷⁸Ska, *Introduction*, 171-173. Not everything was preserved, instead, Ska states, “only the things that had value for the present time...[the Pentateuch and Bible as a whole] attempted both to reconnect with the past and to prove the permanent value of the ancient traditions for the present time.”

Should Be Written.”⁷⁹ Ska follows up these “laws” with a section on “Extrabiblical Parallels,” that, in Ska’s view, confirms the diachronic view of the Pentateuch’s origin.⁸⁰

The parallels cited relate to developments within Hittite, Sumerian, and Akkadian legal codes and Tigay’s analysis of the growth of the Gilgamesh Epic.⁸¹ Ska echoes the point that diachronically a work develops in periods, at the earliest of which the scribe has the most freedom to alter or shape the text whereas in later periods he has less and less freedom to do so. At the later stages scribes “act like editors and no longer like original authors.”⁸² Likewise, Ska highlights Tigay’s point that the “substantial differences between the Sumerian Gilgamesh episodes and their Akkadian counterparts [differ] to such an extent that it would be impossible to reconstruct a Sumerian episode on the basis of the form it was given in the Akkadian text.”⁸³

Outside of these examples, drawn mostly from Tigay’s work, Ska makes a few additional points based on the physical realities of text production.⁸⁴ First, the cost of materials and scribal labor render scroll production a highly costly affair.⁸⁵ Therefore scrolls were scarce and highly valued. Furthermore, typically small margins left little room for additions or insertions so any major alteration required the rewriting of the entire document.⁸⁶ Recopying was probably done when the scroll was sufficiently worn

⁷⁹Ibid., 173-177. Ska notes that the briefness of texts may be related to both the expense in production and their function as aids to memory. For a more recent discussion of the relationship between text and memory see the work of David M. Carr discussed below.

⁸⁰Ibid., 177.

⁸¹ See especially Levinson, *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*; see further the collected essays in Bernard M. Levinson, *The Right Chord: Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (FAT 54; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

⁸²Ska, *Introduction*, 179.

⁸³Ibid., 179.

⁸⁴Ibid., 176.

⁸⁵ see also, Schmid, *Old Testament*, 34-5.

⁸⁶Ska, *Introduction*, 176; Tov, *TCHB*, 284, “This suggestion is based on the realia of the Qumran scrolls: after the scroll was inscribed, it was not technically possible to insert any substantial addition into

so as to require a replacement. Ska presumes the Torah in particular would have received above average care because of its sacred status. Based on these points, Ska dismisses studies which posit “the existence of seven or eight (or even more) redactional levels in a single text” to be implausible, and he adds that the Qumran manuscripts do not show signs of multiple redactions. Unfortunately, while stating that seven or more layers are implausible, Ska, himself a strong defender of the redactional critical approach, does not provide an estimate of how many layers one could realistically imagine.⁸⁷

Karel van der Toorn has contributed heavily to the view that a text’s history must be understood in the light of ancient parallels. In this light, one discovers that there were no “authors” in the ancient world.⁸⁸ Instead, one should look to ancient scribal culture to determine who was responsible for the production of the text and how their development should be conceptualized. The Hebrew Bible, he argues, is the work of scribes, for scribes. The collection, presentation, and transmission of biblical texts were the work of scribes which should be understood by comparison with the parallel scribal culture in Mesopotamia as part of a growing scribal curriculum. Few in the ancient world could read, and there was little need or demand that required any form of literacy in the larger populace. Van der Toorn’s study agrees with Ska’s point cited above about the cost of

the text or to delete or rewrite segments larger than a few words or a line”; Emanuel Tov, “The Writing of Early Scrolls: Implications for the Literary Analysis of Hebrew Scripture” in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 208-213. Tov elaborates on the difficulties of erasures or altering of both papyrus and leather scrolls, and the typically small size of margins and insists that scribes (however we term their activities) “*did not insert their content changes into existing copies.*” Italics original. “Content changes” here refers to alterations beyond a few words or a sentence. One does however find short supralinear corrections in a number of manuscripts including 1QIsa^a. See Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 234.

⁸⁷ On Ska’s defense of the redactional approach, see Jean-Louis Ska, “A Plea on Behalf of the Biblical Redactors,” in *The Exegesis of the Pentateuch: Exegetical Studies and Basic Questions* (FAT 66; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 232-45.

⁸⁸Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

scrolls, and the possibility of their alteration only during the somewhat rare event of transcribing a new copy—which likely lived on as the sole master copy.⁸⁹ Both van der Toorn and Ska’s descriptions and guidelines have been heavily influenced by Tigay’s analysis of the compositional stages of the Gilgamesh epic. A different picture emerges if the model is formulated based on the Assyrian Royal Annals.

Hans Jürgen Tertel’s study of the Assyrian Royal Annals suggests that as the annals are updated during a king’s reign, much of the earlier material is omitted, and new material is added to an abridged version of the previous records. From this Tertel argues against the widely held view (e.g., Ska’s “Law of Conservation”) that scribes typically add but rarely (if ever) omit.⁹⁰ Instead, Tertel argues that based on his model, scholars need to reckon with omission as the rule, and thus reject much of previous Source and Redaction Criticism.⁹¹ Carr has critiqued this position claiming that “this case of abbreviation has to do with the particular foci of this genre form and is thus genre-specific.”⁹² While nearly all axioms or models have been based on Ancient Near Eastern literature, variation within extant manuscripts has also contributed to textual development, but this data has not been utilized as much to identify specific trends.

⁸⁹ Van der Toorn, 146-147; See also the discussion in Norbert Lohfink, “Was there a Deuteronomistic movement?” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists*, 47-54; Tov, “Writing of Early Scrolls.”

⁹⁰Tertel, *Text and Transmission*, 234.

⁹¹Ibid., 234-5.

⁹² Carr, *Formation*, 72-3.

1.3.1 VARIANT LITERARY EDITIONS

The work of textual critics, especially Emanuel Tov and Eugene Ulrich, has highlighted the existence of multiple literary stages among the textual witnesses.⁹³ The problem this has created for Text Criticism is that one can no longer assume that a given manuscript can be used as a witness to MT, as it may, in fact, bear witness to a different stage of the same composition.⁹⁴ Ulrich, in particular, has claimed repeatedly that the biblical text grew, from the time of the writing down of the earliest oral traditions, through a series of “Variant Literary Editions” (VLEs), and that what we see in the manuscript evidence are several of those stages (both pre- and post-MT). Beyond orthographic differences or merely preserving a variant reading, a VLE is “an intentional reworking of an older form of the book for a specific purpose or according to identifiable editorial principles.”⁹⁵ This definition is very close to that given to redaction in the handbooks cited above. Following Ulrich, it is increasingly coming into fashion to cite the examples of the variant editions of Jeremiah and other books as justification for diachronic analysis just has been done with Tigay’s study of Gilgamesh or Moore’s study of the Diatessaron. Several scholars have utilized the versional and manuscript evidence in the reconstruction of specific books, falling into Carr’s first category of use.⁹⁶ What

⁹³ Eugene Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated” in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. J. L. Crenshaw; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 101-16; Eugene Ulrich, “Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and the Questions of Canon” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls – Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:23-41. Repr. pages 79-98 in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999); Tov, *TCHB*, 283-5.

⁹⁴ See the discussion in Tov, *TCHB*, 283-5.

⁹⁵ Ulrich, “Pluriformity in the Biblical Text,” 89.

⁹⁶ Carr, “‘Empirical’ Comparisons,” 74; e.g., Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiahbuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (OBO 136; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994). Stipp argues that both MT and OG texts of Jeremiah

has not been done is demonstrating whether there is any correspondence between the stages witnessed by VLEs and those posited in theoretical diachronic reconstructions. Do the stages found in VLEs support the common assumptions about consistency and ideology? What can they tell us about composition or redaction?

Ulrich's pioneering effort has brought the concept of VLEs into the mainstream, but his descriptions basically assume continuity between the developments postulated by redaction and source criticism and the types of textual growth he describes in his work on VLEs. He does not identify specific trends or try to create a model whereby the unknown might be better understood by the known. The correspondence is simply assumed. Tigay, Zahn, Carr, and others have discussed several of the scribal techniques seen within this body of textual evidence, but there has not been a study that has compared the textual development observed in the manuscript tradition with other observable and hypothesized examples and created categories to evaluate the different phenomena.⁹⁷ Ulrich has often sketched the textual differences in outlining the various "editions" of books, but he has not examined or laid out the "identifiable editorial principles" that he claims are to be found in each.⁹⁸ Ulrich has also been vague about differentiating between "editions" of books and earlier works that have been utilized as sources in the composition of the work

contain their own secondary material, and thus the two texts are simply two extant survivors of a long process of growth and not two specific "editions." Adrian Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). Schenker argues for the OG as the superior witness to the earliest form of the text and MT as a later redaction; one of the earliest combinations of "higher" and "lower" criticism is Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), who saw the utility of the textual witnesses for historical criticism (e.g., the absence of "the Tent of Meeting" in the OG of 1 Sam 2:22 as evidence for the lateness of the wilderness sanctuary).

⁹⁷ Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique"; Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011); Carr, *Formation*.

⁹⁸ Ulrich, "Pluriformity in the Biblical Text," 89.

in question. It will be the goal of much of the following chapters of this study to create evaluative categories and amass some of the evidence for such an analysis, including defining how to distinguish between earlier stages of a work and earlier materials used in its composition. Many of these works that reuse much of an earlier source fall under the category of Rewritten Scripture, the final body of extant examples of textual development.

1.3.2 REWRITTEN SCRIPTURE

Rewritten Scripture is the current term widely used for referring to works such as *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, Josephus' *Antiquities*, *Pseudo-Philo*, and *Chronicles*.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ The idea of "Rewritten Bible" originated with Geza Vermes, see idem., *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, 1-10; The term "Rewritten Scripture" was first proposed by James C. VanderKam, "The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works" in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries*; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 2-6; Molly M. Zahn, "Rewritten Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of The Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. Lim & J. Collins; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 323-324; Jonathan G. Campbell, "'Rewritten Bible' and 'Parabiblical Texts': A Terminological and Ideological Critique," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (ed. J. Campbell, et. al.; LSTS 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 43-68. Campbell highlights the extent to which scholarly ideologies are imbedded in the terms used for classification. Much of his argument is aimed at exposing the scope of scripture in the Second Temple period and adopting terms like "Scripture" and "Para-scripture" over "Bible," "Parabiblical," and other terms like "Apocrypha" and "Pseudepigrapha" which fail to delineate the extent to which many of these works may have been authoritative scripture. I follow Crawford, Zahn, and others in differentiating "Rewritten Scripture" from "Parabiblical texts." In the former group, which is relevant here, I place texts that maintain significant textual overlap with their sources, e.g., *Jubilees*, *Chronicles*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, and under the later heading I place texts like *I Enoch* that expand upon a figure or narrative known from an earlier source but do not maintain significant textual overlap with it; Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 1-17, gives a good summary, but focuses on the overlap of scripture and "Rewritten Scripture" instead of the literary relationship of a later text reworking an earlier one, which is relevant here. On the difference between literary relationship and authoritative status, see Molly M. Zahn, "Talking about Rewritten Texts: Some Reflections on Terminology," in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 93-163; see also Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?" *Textus* 22 (2005), 169-196; and Daniel J. Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R. A. Kraft, et. al.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986). On the inclusion of *Chronicles* see George J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James VanderKam; Oxford University Press 2000, 2008. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*: (e-reference edition). Oxford University Press. Emory University. 28 March 2012 <http://www.oxford-deadseascrolls.com/entry?entry=t264.e446>; Molly M. Zahn, "Rewritten Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University

The fact that the sources of these works (or copies quite close to them) are extant makes these texts well suited for the study of textual reworking. I will argue in the following chapters how and why this group of texts is distinct from Ulrich's VLEs. Most of these works rewrite some portion of the pentateuchal narratives or law codes, the primary exception—Chronicles—has been the focus of most theoretical reflection.

Chronicles has frequently been variously described as demonstrating composition, redaction, or inner-biblical exegesis.¹⁰⁰ While the rubric under which to place it is clearly disputed, what is clear is that Chronicles provides as solid of evidence as one can find for how an ancient writer handled and used earlier sources. This is due to the large amount of synoptic overlap between Chronicles and the books of Samuel and Kings.

It is widely acknowledged that the Chronicler (hereafter, Chr) made use of some version of Sam-Kgs that was quite close to that known to us from the MT, but not identical to it.¹⁰¹ Synoptic comparison therefore allows one to create a general picture of

Press, 2010), 323-36. Note also Kratz's reference to Chr's activities as rewriting (*Fortschreibung*) and in the German original the description of Chronicles as "eine Nachschrift (rewritten bible)" using the English term in parentheses, see *Komposition*, 28 (ET: 22-23).

¹⁰⁰ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, lists many of these interactions between Chronicles and other texts as "inner-biblical exegesis." Noth stated in his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1967), 11, that "Dtr war nicht nur 'Redaktor,' sondern der Autor eines Geschichtswerkes." See also Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (ed. M. Patrick Graham & Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSupp 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 90, follows Noth in stating that "the term 'redactor' thus describes the entire creative process in which he was engaged. The Chronicler as redactor is actually Chr. as author"; See also Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Gestaltung der historischen Überlieferung Israels* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 54-66. Willi characterizes Chronicles chiefly as "interpretation" (*Auslegung*), but includes within Chr's role "redaction" (especially updating the style, vocabulary, and chronological dates of his sources) as well as interpretation and the writing of a historiographical narrative.

¹⁰¹ The main objector to this consensus is A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994); for critiques of Auld's approach, which identifies a "Book of Two Houses" source used by both DtrH and Chr, see McKenzie, "Chronicler as Redactor," 80-7; Carr, *Formation*, 73-78; building on Auld's theory of a single common source but emphasizing orality and fluidity of that earlier tradition see Raymond F. Person, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World* (AIL 6; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature,

how Chr used the earlier material, with the caution that a number of differences may derive from the textual base.¹⁰² This approach allows for the examination of the pluses (and minuses) particular to Chr (i.e., its *Sondergut*) and evaluation of how that kind of reworking may contrast or exemplify practices of composition or redaction that have been theorized about other books.

The case of Chronicles also highlights the particular problem of selectivity. Redaction critical studies typically assume an on-going process of *Fortschreibung*, that is continuing expansion, such that each layer rests upon the previous one.¹⁰³ These strata are separable because of the fact that not only are they believed to be consistent in outlook but also in terms of textual integrity: nothing is omitted. If Chronicles is taken as a model of redaction, we can at once see the model of a source surrounded by what may be called a redactional frame, but at the same time we see that that source has been used selectively and large and small portions have been omitted in the process. If Chronicles is to be used as a model, one must either make an apology for its particular selectivity or else make allowance for similar scribal practice in the redaction of other works.¹⁰⁴

Similar comparisons with other works (e. g., *Jubilees*) that share significant overlap with a known source can provide similar examples of how an ancient writer used one text to make another. Once one has identified what portions derive from sources,

2010). On the textual differences between MT and Chr's source, especially in Samuel, see Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

¹⁰² Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (trans. Anna Barber; 2d. rev. ed.; BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1997), 8; Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 26-28; Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 2005), 11-16.

¹⁰³ e.g., Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis*, 48.

¹⁰⁴ See note 48 above.

both the added material and the source material not included provide possible data for understanding and conceptualizing the phenomenon of composition by rewriting.

To summarize up to this point, starting with Tigay's oft-cited work on Gilgamesh, the so-called "empirical models" have drawn upon examples of works preserved in two or more extant versions. These examples have come from Ancient Near Eastern texts—chiefly Gilgamesh, but also legal corpora, Assyrian Royal Annals, and others—as well as Variant Literary Editions (VLEs) of books known from the later biblical canon, and the works commonly listed under the heading *Rewritten Scripture*.¹⁰⁵ David Carr has recently attempted a synthesis of examples from all of these data sets.

1.3.3 DAVID CARR'S SYNTHESIS

David M. Carr's volume *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* tries to bring together the issues of textuality and orality by focusing on the function of analogous texts in the educational systems of ancient cultures contiguous with Israel and Judah, and his more recent work has tried to anchor diachronic approaches in "documented cases of transmission." Carr argues that the Hebrew Bible grew out of a scribal curriculum whose chief aim had been to mold the hearts and minds of elite men for political and cultural roles.¹⁰⁶ He argues that the written text was merely an aid to the memorization and internalization that was the goal of ancient education.¹⁰⁷ The role of this material changed when it was used by the Hasmoneans as a counter-

¹⁰⁵ There are numerous other ways that one might differentiate the categories, and there is overlap to some degree. In what follows I will primarily focus on the VLE and RS groups, and argue for their distinction from one another. Another possible category one could speak of is parallel-preservation, such as the parallels between 2 Sam 22 and Psa 18 or Isa 36-39 and 2 Kgs 18-20.

¹⁰⁶ See David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁷ Carr, *Formation*, 5-6.

curricular alternative to the traditional Greek education.¹⁰⁸ This new curriculum centered on the Torah, in Hebrew, complemented by other books (“the prophets”) comprising a 22-work curriculum (its structure based on the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet).¹⁰⁹ The non-Torah works were reshaped to focus on the centrality of Torah, e.g., equating the older language of wisdom now with Torah.

In his most recent work, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, Carr attempts to date books and layers or stages of books by a method of “textual profiling.” Carr’s method of profiling examines all the works that can be attributed to a given period (as defined politically, e.g., “Hasmonean” or “Neo-Babylonian”), and establish a “profile” based on their shared concerns, interests, or other common denominators. Carr then searches for texts which share a given profile, and attempts to date them on that basis. For each period and for various genres and specific texts, Carr works out a series of criteria. For example, he argues that in view of the highly polemical uses of foreign motifs in later periods, texts that show direct dependence on or influence by Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or non-Israelite Levantine sources without any polemic or any inversion of motifs are likely fairly early.¹¹⁰ Carr bases his approach to dating by profile on Wellhausen’s use of Chronicles.¹¹¹ Wellhausen isolated what was distinctive to Chronicles and other similarly dated texts (esp. with the help of parallels in Samuel and Kings) and was then able to argue that material that shared those same

¹⁰⁸ Carr, *Tablet*, 258.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 249-50.

¹¹⁰ The earliest period to which Carr attributes any portion of biblical text or tradition is the early Davidic and Solomonic monarchy in the 10th and 11th centuries.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 148, referring to Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885; repr. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 171-72, 294; On Wellhausen’s use of Chroniclers see Kai Peltonen, “Function, Explanation and Literary Phenomena: Aspects of Source Criticism as Theory and Method in the History of Chronicles Research” in *The Chronicler as Author*, 42-48.

concerns (esp. the Priestly material in the Pentateuch) should be dated much later than previously thought.

Carr uses a variety of “empirical” examples drawing on Ancient Near Eastern materials which exist in multiple copies (esp. Gilgamesh), inner-biblical parallels, and later texts which rewrite or otherwise reuse earlier material. Through these examples he tries to lay out the kinds or types of alterations that can and did happen, and to identify, if possible, the circumstances under which they occurred. In this way, Carr is able to argue that complete sources were on occasion spliced together in a way which can be reconstructed, but only if the source previously existed independently. Similarly the insertion of preexisting material often leaves the kind of seams detectable by source critics.¹¹² Often, Carr states, we are able to know *that* something happened to the text without being able to confidently reconstruct exactly what.¹¹³ This focus on the oral teaching and use of memory complicates attempts to establish an *Urtext* or “original text” as well as Source- and Redaction-Critical attempts to get back to earlier stages and layers of the text. The various cases of revision that Carr discusses show, as Tigay argued previously regarding Gilgamesh, that many texts were reworked in complicated and unpredictable ways which can only be reconstructed by appeal to variant stages of the text preserved in the textual witnesses. One assumption that Carr explicitly acknowledges

¹¹² Carr, *Formation*, 105, “the main cases where scholars might be able to reconstruct an earlier stage are places where tradents have combined originally independent, written traditions rather than cases where tradents have expanded older traditions with new material... The presence of such indicators [e.g., shifts in the name of the Gilgamesh flood hero] in combined texts is probably best explained by the orientation of scribes toward the preservation of written traditions... This phenomenon would suggest that if scholars have a hope of finding sufficient indicators to reconstruct any stages in the formation of biblical texts, that hope would be greatest for finding indicators of whatever separate documents were incorporated in some form into present biblical books.”

¹¹³ Carr, *Formation*, 40, “the gap between what actually happened in ancient textual revision and what one actually could reconstruct of such textual revision if we lacked documentation of earlier stages.”

is that trends observable in the extant examples of parallel traditions are applicable for understanding textual changes prior to the observable evidence.¹¹⁴

The documented cases of diachronic textual growth also set some limits or parameters on the number of stages or layers detectable or expected in a text. Carr argues that most “long duration” texts seem to have gone through no more than 2-3 major stages (but in some cases as many as 4), with perhaps a few minor stages of limited alteration. On this basis Carr judges theories which detect or separate out more than four distinct layers in a text to be completely unrealistic. Furthermore, even if a text did go through four major stages of growth, the earliest stage or two may no longer be detectable at all and almost certainly are not fully reconstructible.

Carr believes that major stages of textual development frequently used sources selectively—often omitting or altering the beginnings or endings as part of reshaping or redirecting the text. Much of the time, omissions and insertions can only be detected with recourse to parallel versions. Carr makes the sobering point that without extant parallels, any method sensitive enough to detect many of the alterations which have left seams in the text will likewise generate false results in other cases.¹¹⁵ As a result of this limitation one must make due with “modest” claims about the text and live with the hard reality that it is simply not possible to access or assess much of the history of the biblical text.

Carr identifies three main trends of scribal activity in the various cases that he explores. First is the trend toward expansion. Carr states that scribes generally “either

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 134, “as discussed in virtually every case of parallel text available to us: Samuel-Kings/Chronicles, parallel psalms and prophecies, documented revisions from Mesopotamia to the late Second Temple period, etc. Given the breadth and depth of this evidence, the burden of proof lies not on one who would posit something radically different for earlier stages of development (likely even more fluid!) that are not documented.”

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 134, n.73.

preserved [a tradition] unchanged...or expanded it.”¹¹⁶ Like van der Toorn, Carr argues that the expansions occurred typically at the “boundaries” of a composition, near its beginning or ending.¹¹⁷ Carr also mentions “examples where later authors transformed earlier compositions, sometimes into completely new wholes, through a mix of expansions across their various parts (but especially beginnings and endings).”¹¹⁸ A second trend is that “ancient scribes rarely appropriated earlier compositions in their entirety. In particular, they often eliminated their beginning and/or end in the process of strategically redirecting them.”¹¹⁹ This elimination, Carr admits, runs against the general trend towards expansion, and points towards a general disregard “for compositions as discrete literary wholes with their own integrity” as many biblical scholars generally assume.¹²⁰ The third, and final, trend that Carr identifies is the tendency to harmonize or “coordinate” various texts and traditions.¹²¹

The book can be divided between Carr’s case studies of documented textual growth and his attempts to establish a method or approach, on the one hand, and his survey and dating of much of the Hebrew Bible on the other. In regards to the latter part, Carr operates from an assumption that similar concerns in a text point towards similar time of composition. It seems to be the case that texts from a certain era contain a common *Zeitgeist*, but to try to work back from this as a means of dating is somewhat novel.¹²² A second assumption that governs the whole book is that there are severe limits

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 99.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 99; van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 151.

¹¹⁸ Carr, *Formation*, 99.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 100; cf. Barton, “What is a Book?”

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Alexander Rofé attempts something like this, only on the basis of Form-Critical criteria in *The Prophetic Stories: The Narratives about the Prophets in the Hebrew Bible Their Literary Types and History* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), e.g., “These similarities [in formal structure between The Man

to how far back one can reconstruct because of the nature of the evidence—the text has not preserved all of its stages nor in many cases has preserved enough for one to reconstruct the rest.

It seems striking that since the first quarter or more of the book examines extant evidence and seeks to determine methodological guidance from it, that the following portions of the book depend chiefly on an assumption that profile proves date—an assumption Carr does not derive from his case studies. More relevant to diachronic method is that Carr gives no criteria by which to differentiate “major” and “minor” stages of the development of a work, how to identify a given stage as one or the other, or how that identification might calibrate expectations of scribal activity in cases without extant parallels. Further, despite the wide range of evidence that Carr examines, he does not identify controls for conceptualizing about stages of growth, the probability of growth by horizontal or vertical divisions, or the role of ideology in diachronic reconstruction.¹²³ A final deficit in all of the aforementioned work is the lack of means to distinguish when a manuscript should be considered “the same text” as its *Vorlage* (even with variation), or when it should be handled as a new composition in its own right and how this distinction

of God at Bethel and Jonah], which show no trace of imitation on either side, suggest that these two tales are closely related in date and provenance, or even that they originated in the same circle” (171); Schmid, *Old Testament*, attempts a large scale explanation of the relative dating of the major sections and layers of the Hebrew Bible into the periods of the various imperial powers similar to Carr’s, but bases his reconstruction on inner-canonical reception and development of major theological positions; see the criticism of Reinhard G. Kratz, “The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate,” 60, who accuses Schmid of bringing “together what cannot be brought together and as a result has to operate with two unknowns: on the one hand the correlation of all literary strata of the Hebrew Bible (which he determines – not without reason – mostly vague) among one another and on the other hand correlation of the literary history with the political history of ancient Palestine and the ancient Near Eastern empires. Both remain rather guesswork and only help to lose one’s footing.”

¹²³ He does argue against the assumptions of the traditional documentary hypothesis, especially as revived among the “Neo-Documentarians,” as well as certain assumptions current in many European redactional approaches (e.g., Ska’s identification of Post-P additions, and the widespread assumption against any kind of omission). Some of the concerns related to ideology figure into his profiling and dating, but not to his method and starting principles which he lays out in the preceding case studies.

should gauge our expectations. It is these various *lacunae* that I will attempt to fill in this present work.

1.4 The Present Study – Research Questions and Approach

The present study seeks to investigate extant data regarding textual development and apply it toward assessing models of textual development posited in theoretical scholarly reconstructions. The goal is to gain additional leverage from the extant data in order to refine a little more what is unavoidably a highly speculative enterprise. I will focus on two corpora of texts, the so-called “Variant Literary Editions,” (VLEs)¹²⁴ and texts commonly labeled “Rewritten Scripture” (RS),¹²⁵ and contrast them with one another and with models of redaction and composition. I will argue that the types of textual development seen within these two groups are distinct phenomena each with its own accompanying traits. What separates these two groups is the fundamental distinction between copies of what would have been recognized as the same text versus a new text that draws heavily upon the language of its source.

In Biblical studies when one speaks of method, one speaks less of a specific procedure as a set of questions and governing assumptions. My primary procedure is

¹²⁴ This term derives from the work of Eugene Ulrich. See especially, Eugene Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections Toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry & S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105; idem., “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich & J. VanderKam; CJA 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77-93; idem., “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible” in *Sha’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. M. Fishbane & E. Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267-91; see also idem., “Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls” *CBQ* 2004: 14-18.

¹²⁵ The older term, “Rewritten Bible” was coined by Geza Vermes, and has been replaced by VanderKam’s suggested term “Rewritten Scripture” see note 97 above. VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works.”

comparative; readings between two textual witnesses are compared and evaluated as are parallel texts. The aim is to examine extant material in order to move from the observable and known toward better controls for hypothesizing about the unknown. By looking at situations where observable stages of growth do exist, I hope to contribute to the discussion of how to responsibly reconstruct where such extant material evidence is lacking.

My initial research question regarding these two extant data sets is, “Is the phenomenon of scribal alteration observable within the VLE group the same as that seen in the RS group?” A fundamental question that I will also address along the way is “How is one to differentiate copies of the same work from copies of a new work that share significant textual overlap (verbatim or near-verbatim) with its source?” After describing and contrasting the findings from these two data sets, my final question is, “Can the data from either of these corpora be used to assess redactional (or similar) diachronic reconstructions of parts of the Hebrew Bible?” Specifically does the extant evidence favor models of redactional layers or connected blocks, what is the nature of “secondary additions” added to older material, do we see evidence for the widespread assumptions of consistency, and to what degree can ideology be used as a criterion for delimiting stages of a text?

1.5 Terms and Definitions

For precision, as well as clarity, it is necessary to pay close attention to terminology. Words like text, work, book, copy, manuscript, etc., require differentiation and close definition if they are to be instructive.

The distinction in Dane's recent work on the history of the modern printed book is a good place from which to begin. Dane writes,

A *book*, as understood here, is always something that exists in immediate and direct relation to a material *book-copy*, and the distinction between the book and the book-copy is defined here as basic to any study of material books. A *book-copy* is always a material object that exists in time and space and carries with it its own unique history... The word or term book, in this context, is a technical term; the word *book* refers to some abstract concept that allows us to speak of a number of book-copies as a unit, as essentially identical.¹²⁶

In Dane's terminology, then, a book-copy is a tangible object, whereas a book is only accessible through a medium such as a book-copy. In this study I will use the terms "book," "work," or "opus" synonymously with Dane's description of the abstract idea "book." I will use the terms "copy," or "manuscript" to refer the physical objects (or the wording of the book contained in them) equivalent to Dane's term "book-copy."¹²⁷

Another important term discussed by Dane is "edition." He states that

For early printed books, the term *edition* refers to those book-copies produced by a single setting of type at a printing house that were considered by their printers textually and economically interchangeable. Other terms used for this are *print-run* and *impression*.¹²⁸

While Dane's latter two terms are anachronistic when dealing with texts before the era of printing, the term "edition" is important due to its frequent use in biblical studies. Equally important is the idea of interchangeable copies. In the following chapters I will discuss at

¹²⁶ Joseph A. Dane, *What is a Book? The Study of Early Printed Books* (Notre Dame, In.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 7-8.

¹²⁷ D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994), 47, takes the opposite approach of using the term "book" to refer to the physical object (scroll or codex) that may contain a text. For the sake of clarity and consistency I have chosen to use the terms "book," "work," "composition" and (in some cases) "text" to refer to the larger abstract entity, and "manuscript" or "copy" to refer to the physical object upon which the former is inked or inscribed. I use the term "copy" as in each case discussed in this study there at least two manifestations or parallels compared, in many of cases of the same work, and in no case can any part of the extant evidence be said to be the autograph of a given composition.

¹²⁸ Dane, *What is a Book*, 9; on the meaning of editing before the printing press see Van Seters, *The Edited Bible*, 13-8.

length what Eugene Ulrich has called “Variant Literary Edition(s)” (VLEs) of biblical books. As best as I can understand, this term refers to copies of the same book (“essentially identical”) that nevertheless differ, often significantly in their textual content. In contrast to Dane’s definition, Ulrich and other textual critics, when using the terminology of VLEs do not refer to identical copies created at the same time. Rather, the term VLEs refers to copies of the same book produced at different times. In this sense the term “edition” is a misnomer and has rightly been critiqued on this count by John Van Seters.¹²⁹ These copies are non-identical in their wording, and interchangeable only in the sense that they were apparently viewed by their contemporary readers as “essentially identical” copies of the same book. Dane uses the term “interchangeable” to refer to that which is distinct to printing technology “repeatable, identical, representative, or, the term used above, interchangeable.”¹³⁰ No two manuscripts are interchangeable in the way that printed books are, so I hope to make clear that when I use the term “interchangeable” I refer not to being identical, but to being recognized, on the emic level, as “essentially identical” copies of the same book.¹³¹ The interchangeable aspect of VLEs can be seen in the fact that later collections often contain a single “variant edition” (e.g., Exodus in SP and MT; or Jeremiah in LXX and MT) and most later codices likewise contain only a single copy of each book.¹³²

¹²⁹ Van Seters, *The Edited Bible*. I agree with Van Seters on this point that it is misleading to characterize these groups of manuscripts as “editions.” His criticisms of Redaction Criticism will be addressed in following chapters.

¹³⁰ Dane, *What is a Book*, 10.

¹³¹ I will discuss the reasons and arguments for understanding this emic distinction as an ancient reality in chapter 3.

¹³² Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (2d. rev. ed.; trans. Erroll F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 71-5; Tov, *TCHB*, 4. Three known codices preserve two alternative versions of a single book—ms 88 contains Theodotion and Old Greek Daniel and ms 93 and 108 contain both LXX Esther and the Alpha Text of Esther. On these particular cases see the discussions in chapters 4 and 6.

The terms “text” and “work” are similar to “book.” All three refer to the abstract entity contained in a manuscript. I want to further add that there is not a one-to-one correlation between a work and a manuscript, meaning that a physical manuscript may contain multiple works (e.g., 4QGen-Exod^a) or conversely a single work may span across multiple manuscripts (e.g., Josephus’ *Antiquities*).¹³³ The term “text” is probably the most ambiguous as it can be used to refer to the work or book on the one hand, or to the orthography or wording found in a specific copy of a work on the other. I hope that context will make clear which of these two possible meanings is intended.

1.6 Plan of the Present Study

The plan of the present study has been to first attend to the question of the history of the development of the Hebrew Bible and the assumptions inherent in source and redaction criticism. In the second chapter I will look at text critical data and the so-called Variant Literary Editions (VLEs) as an empirical data set for understanding textual development, and address the question of a divide between composition and transmission as distinct phases and the question of whether redaction occurs at a specific point in either of them. In the third chapter I will examine the creation of new compositions and corpora commonly denoted as “Rewritten Scripture” (RS) as a second empirical data set for textual development and argue for a means of identifying the formal grounds by which one can identify a new composition. In the fourth and fifth chapters I will provide examples of textual development from the VLE and RS groups respectively, and in the

¹³³ Although the join between Genesis and Exodus has not been preserved it seems likely that the scroll contained both works. On this and other examples, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 75.

final chapter I will apply the data gleaned from both groups back to an assessment of diachronic reconstruction and the research questions I have posed above.

Chapter 2
THE LINE BETWEEN COMPOSITION AND TRANSMISSION
VARIANT LITERARY EDITIONS AS A WITNESS OF REWRITING

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I showed that diachronic approaches frequently depend on a series of assumptions of consistency, completeness, and identifiable ideology. In many redaction critical approaches the posited layers have distinctive ideological traits that give them their *Raison d'être* and simultaneously allow for their identification by scholars. Opponents of this view have raised the charge that redaction should be limited to a mechanical compilation, a strictly literary endeavor, and all other activities should be rightly the domain of authors. As a way of adjudicating between competing conceptions I pointed to the various attempts at developing “empirical models” from the synoptic study of Ancient Near Eastern analogues, manuscript evidence, and the texts frequently labeled Rewritten Scripture. I will use data, particularly from these last two corpora to address fundamental points of dispute regarding the relationship between composition and transmission, the relationship of ideology to textual development, and the place and relationship of authors, copyists, and redactors. This present chapter will examine the phenomenon of Variant Literary Editions and what information those texts can give concerning conceptualizations of rewriting, whether termed redaction, composition, or otherwise.

2.2 Composition, Transmission, and their Respective Methodologies

The traditional position is that an author composes a work, and upon its completion, transmission begins as the work is repeatedly copied and recopied by scribes.¹ Thus, *Literarkritik* (esp. Source and Redaction Criticism) was thought to deal with the compositional period, and Textual Criticism handled the period of transmission.² Perceived in this way, composition could be described as an action taking place at a given moment or a process (i.e., a series of actions at different moments). Transmission is a little clearer: once a work has been created, its continued preservation depends upon its being recopied. We can speak about transmission then as the process in which a work is handed down and preserved by the repeated act of recopying. Textual growth requires a notion of a series of compositional moments or of growth within the transmission process. Traditionally, growth on the transmissional level is separated from composition and thus

¹Odil Hannes Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology* (trans. J. D. Nogalski; 2d ed.; SBLRBS; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1998), 39-41, “The ‘original text’ means, in essence, that wording which existed in the Old Testament at the end of the process of productive, written formation...*Prior* to the endpoint of productive text formation, *intentional* changes within the arena of the written transmission of a text block mentioned in section A (such as additions, and corrections of formulation), fall within the arena of literary criticism. *All* changes in the text occurring *after* the above mentioned break constitute text critical problems” (italics original); Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 265, continues to differentiate “readings created during the textual tradition” from others derived “from an earlier stage, that of the literary growth,” but shows less confidence than the second edition on distinguishing these two: “Textual Criticism deals with all matters pertaining to the biblical text, the nature, copying, and transmission of the biblical text, whereas literary criticism deals with various matters relating to the literary composition as a whole,” *TCHB* (2d ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 315. Even in the second edition Tov points to some overlap due to continued existence of earlier forms of a text even after a revised form had entered circulation, and thus the difficulty in maintaining a strict differentiating as was typical in the past.

²The term “Literary Criticism” is frequently found in the secondary literature but this is more than slightly problematic because it can refer to two different groups of approaches in Biblical studies. The term generally refers to methods developed in literature departments, esp. English and Comparative Literature, but it is also commonly used as a translation of the German *Literarkritik* for which there is not a good English translation. In this work I will try to avoid the term Literary Criticism in order to avoid confusion with its other referent, and use the German term *Literarkritik* or a more specific approach such as Source Criticism or Redaction Criticism.

normally viewed as a corruption of the text.³ Thus redactional analysis has typically treated “additions” positively as stages of growth of the tradition at the compositional level, but in practice both redactional and text-critical analysis has viewed “additions” negatively—secondary material which must be removed in efforts to reconstruct a desired earlier text.

Ideally, then a work is composed by its author, and following the compositional moment the work becomes transmitted by copyists. This picture quickly becomes complicated by the fact that scribes did not perfectly copy the text before them but often altered them—intentionally or unintentionally. Furthermore composition is viewed by many scholars not as a single act, but a series of acts resulting in a series of compositional stages. Redaction, in the sense of *Fortschreibung*, must be either be viewed as consecutive stages of composition (with intermittent transmission of each individual stage), an intermediary stage between composition and transmission, or part of the copying and transmission process.

2.3 Variant Literary Editions – Literary or Textual Stage?

Bénédicte Lemmelijn summarizes the new changes in text-critical approaches as follows,

Until recently, and still even today, the common view on this matter has held that textual criticism as the study of the transmission of the finished literary work started where literary criticism [i.e., *Literarkritik*] as the study of the literary origin, formation and development ended. Linking up with recent research, I think that both processes are not so clearly distinguishable, for it is very probable that the textual transmission of some biblical texts already had begun before the composition had been finished literarily.⁴

³ Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis*, 80.

⁴Bénédicte Lemmelijn, “What are We Looking for in Doing Old Testament Text-Critical Research?” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 23/2 (1997), 69-80; Tov, *TCHB*, 165-7.

The identification of “Variant Literary Editions” (VLEs) within the textual tradition, i.e., different textual forms of a given composition that occasionally bear witness to a different stage than MT is the cause of this shift.⁵ Awareness of this phenomenon has led to changes in the perceived goals of textual criticism, specifically a shift away from seeking an *Urtext*, archetype, or “original text.”⁶

Accompanying this shift is a frequently attributed correspondence between the so-called VLEs and redactional stages of growth, as if the former were fossilized evidence of the latter.⁷ This identification blurs the methodological line between *Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism as literary stages are found within textual witnesses. The once conventionally clear-cut stage of composition has now bled over into the realm of transmission. As composition continues, the work exists simultaneously in several different forms among the different manuscripts. Some argue that this means that one

⁵Eugene Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 63, Ulrich defines a VLE as “a literary unit – a story, pericope, narrative, poem, book, etc. – appearing in two or more parallel forms (whether by chance extant or no longer extant in the textual witnesses), which one author, major redactor, or major editor completed and which a subsequent redactor or editor intentionally changed to a sufficient extent that the resultant form should be called a revised edition of that text”; see also Tov, *TCHB*, 283-326; against such a view see John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of ‘the Editor’ in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 318-332, and the discussion below.

⁶On these terms see Tov, *TCHB*, 171; Eugene Ulrich, “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1999), 12-13. Ulrich lists 8 possible meanings of the term “original text,” to which more could likely be added (e.g., esp. between numbers 2 and 3); Ronald S. Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition” *VT* 58 (2008): 329, “The practical goal for the OHB is to approximate in its critical text the textual ‘archetype,’ by which I mean the ‘earliest inferable textual state.’”; see also Ronald S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (Oxford/New York, 1998); See the review, H.G.M. Williamson, “Do We Need A New Bible? Reflections on the Proposed Oxford Hebrew Bible,” *Biblica* 90 (2009): 153-175.

⁷Tov, *TCHB*, 285, “The recognition of literary (editorial) variants should be considered ‘modern’ because it has developed since the find of the Judean Desert scrolls, which contain a number of such variants.”

cannot distinguish between the methods historically demarcated as “Higher” and “Lower” Criticism, *Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism.⁸

Hermann-Josef Stipp treats the relationship of Textual Criticism (TC) to *Literarkritik* in a pair of articles.⁹ In the first, he examines the distinctions between the two methods in previous publications, pointing out that while many scholars admit overlap between the two, there is a continued trend to keep them separate as distinct disciplines. The problem arises, however, that upon closer analysis there is no clear criterion by which to differentiate a text-critical case from one falling within the jurisdiction of *Literarkritik*. Steck’s handbook offers the suggestion that Textual Criticism should address unintentionally or accidentally created variation, whereas *Literarkritik* should address deliberate alterations.¹⁰ Stipp argues that this criterion is

⁸Julio Treballe Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (trans. Wildred G. E. Watson; Grand Rapids: Brill and Eerdmans, 1998), 370, “Even though in theory the domains and methods of these two disciplines are quite separate, in practice they often overlap. The meeting point causing friction between them is in the editorial process where the previous process of collecting material and of composition and of editing the text ends and the next process, textual transmission, begins.”; George J. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in *New Direction in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, et. al.; LSTS 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 26-42.; Arie van der Kooij, “The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible before and after the Qumran Discoveries,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Library & Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 167-177, esp. 172-175, “One might object to the idea of co-operation on the grounds that, methodologically speaking, textual criticism should come first, and literary criticism next. In theory this makes good sense, but in practice it does not work,” 172; Bernard M. Levinson, “Textual Criticism, Assyriology, and the History of Interpretation: Deuteronomy 13:7a as a Test Case in Method,” in Bernard M. Levinson, in “*The Right Chorale*” *Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (FAT 54; Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen: 2008; repr. Winona Lake, In.: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 112-144, esp. 113, “The separation of textual criticism from exegesis—as if the former were an ancillary ‘lower criticism’ in relation to a purportedly ‘higher criticism’—is untenable.”; See also Tov’s preference for viewing both as aspects of “one holistic account,” *TCHB*, 285 n5.

⁹H.-J. Stipp, “Das Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik in neueren alttestamentlichen Veröffentlichungen,” *BZ* 34 (1990), 16-37; H.-J. Stipp, “Textkritik – Literarkritik – Textentwicklung: Überlegungen zur exegetischen aspekt systematik,” *ETL* 56 (1990): 143-159.

¹⁰Stipp, “Das Verhältnis von Textkritik und Literarkritik,” 34-35; Steck, *Old Testament Exegesis*, 39, “Two processes come under the primary consideration as the *sources of mistakes*: unintentional oversight during transcription (e.g., confusion of similar letters, haplography, dittography, omission through homoioteuton), and intentional changes (e.g., improving a supposed mistake in the *Vorlage*, replacing or expanding unusual expressions, and removing objectionable formulations).” Italics original.

questionable as there is no clear way to separate intentional versus unintentional variation in all cases. What happens in practice is that a reading is judged to be intentional or unintentional by a scholar, and it is then relegated to “Higher” or “Lower” Criticism in hindsight, depending on the working hypothesis of the scholar. Thus the judgment is made on the basis of the given hypothesis and not the data itself.¹¹ Stipp attributes the continual division of labor between the textual and literary realms to the academic system: because there are two disciplines, it follows that there must be a clear differentiation of the types of data so as to justify the disciplinary distinctions.¹² Stipp goes on to deny the ability to adequately distinguish between *Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism other than to make them responsible for different classes of data. Concluding his survey, Stipp proposes a tentative criterion by which to distinguish between the two, namely that “Textkritik analysiert Daten der Textüberlieferung, *Literarkritik* solche der Textbeschaffenheit.”¹³ This distinction defines the methods not in terms of their goals but in terms of the nature of data with which they work, textual transmission deals with the transmission of the text while *Literarkritik* investigates the composition of the text. It seems clear that for Stipp both methods are thus equal and simultaneous elements of *Vorstufenrekonstruktion*, as he demonstrates in an article of case studies published the same year.¹⁴ Tov has moved towards a similar position as seen in the changes from the second edition to the third of his influential handbook on Textual Criticism.¹⁵

Steck relegates the intentional changes to the realm of *Literarkritik* while the unintentional changes are the proper concern of textual criticism.

¹¹Stipp, “Das Verhältnis von Textkritik und *Literarkritik*,” 35. Stipp notes how the readings of Ez 2:3 בית ישראל (LXX Vorlage) and בני ישראל (MT) have been variously handled by Zimmerli and Greenberg.

¹²Ibid., 36, “Da es beide Disziplinen gibt, muß es auch eine klare Trennung der Kompetenzen geben; folglich muß sie gefunden werden.”

¹³Ibid., 37.

¹⁴Stipp, “Textkritik – *Literarkritik* – Textentwicklung,” 143-159, esp. 156.

¹⁵e.g., Tov, *TCHB*, 285 n5.

Tov, in the second edition of his handbook, states,

At the end of the composition process of a biblical book stood a text which was considered authoritative (and hence also finished at the literary level), even if only by a limited group of people, and which at the same time stood at the beginning of a process of copying and textual transmission.¹⁶

Tov here distinguishes the “compositional process” from the “process of copying and textual transmission,” while going on to point out that there are manuscripts that derive from earlier stages of the text. Here Tov distinguishes two different processes while acknowledging the over lap of earlier stages continuing to exist after later versions of the text had appeared. The written stages he refers to are stages of the text that exhibit “large-scale differences displaying a certain coherence.”¹⁷ These formed part of the compositional process, and are attributed by Tov to “author-scribes,” for lack of a better term. These are qualitatively different than “small-scale differences between textual witnesses...which cannot be combined into a coherent pattern within a biblical book [and] were probably created later, by the first generation of scribes, who allowed themselves the freedom of inserting these elements, and thus became small-scale partners in the creation of biblical books.”¹⁸ Tov here seems to be relegating the small-scale changes into the category of transmission, whereas the larger patterns belong to the sphere of composition, based on the criteria of size and coherence. Tov thus maintains the distinction between Textual Criticism and *Literarkritik* corresponding to transmission and composition while admitting its difficulties. He says, in the revised third edition,

¹⁶Tov, *TCHB 2001*, 177. “Finished at the literary level” must mean something like, “not in need of any further changes or additional writing.” It is not clear what an “unfinished” text would look like or if we have any examples of ancient texts other than “finished” ones. Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, 320-1, makes a similar critique, and the language of “finished” texts no longer appears in the third edition of Tov’s work, which still makes clear that these texts are “not drafts” (*TCHB*, 166).

¹⁷ Tov, *TCHB 2001*, 314.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 314.

A major complication for any theory is the assumption that the textual transmission was operative before the completion of the final literary stage... These earlier stages were not “drafts,” but each literary stage was considered final then released, in modern parlance. Literary activity continued all the time until the 1st century CE; it did not cease with the acceptance of the canonical status of the proto-Masoretic text, since the OG and some Qumran scrolls attest to early compositions that rewrote the proto-MT text or a similar text.¹⁹

As Tov elsewhere in the book refers to the large differences in VLEs as “editorial,” i.e., different redactional stages of the books growth, and the picture portrayed here continues to be one of VLEs demonstrating successive stages of compositional activity.²⁰ Ulrich likewise has been quite explicit that the stages of VLEs are the same phenomenon as hypothetical reconstructed source and redaction critical stages.²¹

Eugene Ulrich argues that the goal of Textual Criticism should not be reconstructing an original text (however construed), but rather “the text as it truly was...not the single...but the organic, developing, pluriform Hebrew text—different for each book.”²² Thus Textual Criticism is the examination of the ancient witnesses in order to understand the history of the biblical text in its various forms. Ulrich formulates this thesis in response to the first edition of Tov’s handbook *The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, which although it takes stock of the existence of variant “editions” of books, continues to relegate them to the task of “Literary Criticism” (meaning *Literarkritik*) and not Textual Criticism proper.

¹⁹ Tov, *TCHB*, 166.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 241, 283-326.

²¹ e.g., Eugene Ulrich, “The Jewish Scriptures: Texts, Versions, Canons,” *Eerdmans’ Dictionary of Early Judaism* (ed. John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 111-112; idem, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books” in *Changes in Scripture* (ed. Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter: 2011), 47-64; idem, “The Text of the Hebrew Scriptures at the Time of Hillel and Jesus” in *Congress Volume Basel 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTS 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 85-108.

²² Ulrich, “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” 15. It is not clear whether Ulrich imagines “text” a singular or a collective noun.

Ulrich rejects the notion of a natural end to the process of composition,

There would normally have been, at any one time, not one but two or possibly more editions of many of the biblical books in circulation. Was there really an ‘end of the process of the composition of a biblical book’ that was anything more than the abrupt interruption of the composition process for external, hostile reasons (the Roman threat or the Rabbinic-Christian debates)? And clearly, for some books two variant editions stood at the beginning of a process of copying and textual transmission.²³

What appears new in Ulrich’s work, and others have since stated similar claims, is that composition is now viewed as a process of numerous textual stages, generally treated equally, and those variant stages found in the manuscripts are perfectly analogous to the earlier undocumented stages. As mentioned in the previous chapter, this means that VLEs show us different redactional stages, and that earlier stages or sources are simply VLEs that have not been preserved. In this view, VLEs are hard, tangible evidence of the blocks or strata of textual development, composition and transmission are essentially blurred, and *Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism are separated methodologically only by the apparent fact that the latter deals with the stages preserved in material witnesses and the former investigates stages unattested by material evidence.

2.4 Eugene Ulrich – Variant Literary Editions as Stages of Compositional Growth

Ulrich has developed this idea of a sequence of VLEs into a grand theory of the origins of the biblical text. In many of Ulrich’s most recent articles and presentations, he identifies the various “editions” of the text found among the textual witnesses as synonymous with the earlier, unattested stages hypothesized by source critics. Thus in speaking of the history of the book of Exodus, Ulrich describes J, E, P, LXX *Vorlage*,

²³Ulrich, “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” 3.

MT, 4QpaleoExod^m, SamP, and others as “editions” in a sequence comprising the textual history and diversity of the book of Exodus.²⁴

Thus I propose that the main lines in the picture of the history of the biblical text were formed by the deliberate activity of a series of creative scribes who produced the new or multiple literary editions of the books of the Bible. These multiple literary editions have been demonstrated for us over the past forty-five years in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran; they have been under our noses for centuries in the new literary editions preserved in \aleph and G or attested in Josephus; and they have been described for us by literary [source-] and historical critics since the Enlightenment as the successive literary editions constituting the history of the very composition of the Scriptures from the beginning.²⁵

Ulrich’s proposal identifies the literary growth of the books of the Bible in periods before our earliest textual evidence as identical to the kind of growth he has pointed out in the manuscripts from Qumran and other early extant witnesses. He emphasizes that these editions are intentional and creative endeavors by scribes. His emphasis on “successive literary editions” sets up a model in which all or at least the most important data are laid down in a linear sequence.²⁶ In a more recent article, Ulrich maps out a possible textual history for the main lines of the development of the book of Exodus.²⁷ He lists twelve possible editions including

- 1) The oral crystallization
- 2) The writing down and pan-Israel adaption of the early traditions
- 3) The J narrative

²⁴Eugene Ulrich, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books”; see the earlier “variant edition” of the article published as, Eugene Ulrich, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of Scriptural Books” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. S. Metso, H. Najman and E. Schuller; STDJ 92.; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 209-225.

²⁵Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions,” 107.

²⁶The proto-Samaritan texts precede both 4QRP and the SamP, but the latter two cannot be laid out in a linear sequence with one another. Some kind of stemma would be required. Why Ulrich opts for 4QRP—whose scriptural status is highly debated—instead of plotting SamP in his outline, is not clear. For a fuller critique of Ulrich’s linear approach see Hans Debel, “Greek ‘Variant Editions’ to the Hebrew Bible?” *JSJ* 41 (2010): 161-190, esp. 172; and the discussion in the following chapter.

²⁷Eugene Ulrich, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 47-64.

- 4) The E narrative
- 5) The joining of those two (R^{JE})
- 6) The addition of the Priestly material
- 7) The addition of the Tabernacle account
- 8) The addition of an alternative Tabernacle account witnessed by MT against LXX²⁸
- 9) The instructions in Exod 25-31 rearranged to correspond with the following account
- 10) The 4QpaleoExod^m scroll showing the Proto-Samaritan harmonizations
- 11) The small variant promoting Mt. Gerizim
- 12) Finally the 4QPentateuch (i.e., 4QRP) with its additional hymn before Exod 15:22.²⁹

The definition of what constitutes a VLE seems here to be pushed to its logical extreme, and the linear model is also stretched with the identification of J and E as the third and fourth “editions.” A bigger meta-question, unaddressed by Ulrich, is at what point does a work become “Exodus”? Ulrich himself mentions the oral stage as “the *first* edition of what will become the Book of Exodus.”³⁰ So apparently what we have, to borrow another phrase from Ulrich, is not the Book of Exodus, but a Book-of-Exodus-in-the-Making. If so, does the growth at the early stages that Ulrich describes correspond to a model of multiple literary editions of *Exodus*, or do we have traditional material handed down and reshaped at some point *becoming* Exodus and then a series of editions of that book (and not another, e.g., a book like *Jubilees*)? If VLEs are understood as copies of the same book, then one must ask if all Ulrich’s “editions” of Exodus are editions of “the same book” at all or something else.³¹

The confusion may lie in the fact that Ulrich has not been completely consistent in his use of the term VLE. His claim that the book (i.e., “the literary opus”) and not its exact wording was what mattered for later canonicity implies a line that distinguishes the

²⁸Exod 35-40

²⁹Ulrich, “The Evolutionary Production,” 54-55.

³⁰Ibid., 54.

³¹ Distinguishing copies of the same book from new compositions that maintain a large amount of textual overlap with their sources will be the focus of the next chapter.

specific book at hand from different books. Michael Segal has put this distinction on even firmer ground, demonstrating that there is every reason to believe that ancient readers and writers could distinguish one similar composition from another while identifying other varying manuscripts as copies of the same composition.³²

In another article, Ulrich uses the terminology of new literary editions more broadly.

Rarely, probably less than once per century for any given book, a creative religious leader or theologian produced a new edition of a work – analogous to the revised edition of the Gospel According to Mark produced by the redactor of Matthew or Luke – that transmitted the traditional content faithfully but creatively reshaped it in light of the contemporary historical, theological, or cultural situation. In form, such could be termed a new literary edition of the work; in content and motive, it was a new theological edition.³³

Ulrich says here that a book like Matthew's gospel is a "new literary edition" of Mark *in form*, but in "content and motive" it is something else. Ulrich terms this something "a new theological edition." There is some kind of slippage here as Ulrich refers to this new composition (e.g., Matthew, not Mark) as "a new edition of a work" but it is not. For the category of VLE to be of continuing usefulness its referent must be restricted to new versions of *the same work* (on emic grounds) and not new compositions. Here we see a problem in Ulrich's terminology. On the one hand, VLEs have been equated with redactional stages, and Matthew or Luke vis-à-vis Mark are the quintessential examples of differences in redactions.³⁴ On the other hand, we have the issue of continuity of composition with which to reckon. Copies of Mark's gospel that exhibit the longer and

³² See Michael Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible" in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10-28; see further the discussion of Segal's work in the following chapter.

³³ Eugene Ulrich, "The Absence of 'Sectarian Variants' in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran," in E. Herbert and E. Tov, eds. *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 191.

³⁴ As pointed out in the discussion of the development of Redaction Criticism as a method, in the first chapter.

shorter endings might be construed as VLEs of Mark, as they are all copies of Mark that differ somewhat significantly.³⁵ The problem might be removed if one considers VLEs not as a series of editions of the same book, but a series of different books. This solution, however, produces more problems than it solves.

If the term VLE is restricted to copies of the same composition, it appears that one cannot say that each biblical book developed as a series of VLEs of that book, because there is a point at which earlier stages were not part of “that book.”³⁶ Instead those earlier stages were earlier sources creatively rewritten, as Ulrich reiterates, but not continuous with the same textual identity as their predecessors (i.e., they would not have been identified by their ancient readers as the same book). Thus one must reckon with different kinds of stages. There may have been twelve or more stages of the development of what became Exodus, as Ulrich illustrates, but it seems that the number of VLEs of *Exodus* is much fewer. The book itself (as Ulrich defines it) did not arise from a sequence of VLEs alone, but also from more transformative compositional processes which still fit very well with Ulrich’s theory of “successive layers of tradition, revised to meet the needs of the historically and religiously changing community.”³⁷ The latest edition of Tov’s handbook shows some awareness of distinguishing copies of a given work from similar or derivative works, but is not consistent in working through its ramifications, a point we will return to further below.³⁸

³⁵ On the four endings of Mark’s gospel, see Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2d. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

³⁶ See Ulrich, “The Canonical Process,” 63, where a Variant Literary Edition is defined as “a literary unit – a story, pericope, narrative, poem, book, etc. – appearing in two or more parallel forms...intentionally changed to a sufficient extent that the resultant form should be called a revised edition of *that text*” (emphasis added).

³⁷ Ulrich, “The Evolutionary Production,” 55.

³⁸ Tov, *TCHB*, 189-90, 284.

2.5 John Van Seters – Denial of Editorial Activity at Any Stage

Some of the strongest resistance to viewing the textual evidence as witnessing stages of growth has come from John Van Seters. In his book *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the “Editor” in Biblical Criticism*, Van Seters surveys the history of editing, and the history of theories of editing, or redaction, in Homer, the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Bible writ large with the ultimate claim that such views are both unfounded and anachronistic. His argument is that notions of redaction—or as he consistently puts it, “editing”—derives from the Renaissance rediscovery of the classics, the invention of the printing press, and the creation of modern editing and publication (esp. by scholars). Scholars from the late medieval time forward saw an analogy between their work and that of the Alexandrian scribes, esp. Aristarchus, who worked on the text of Homer. What the Alexandrian scholars, Origen, Jerome, the Masoretes, and any other ancient analogues did rarely parallels modern editing—thus Van Seters repeatedly calls attention to the use of the term as anachronistic. What all ancient “editors” did have in common was a desire to preserve the text and remove corruptions (either accidental or deliberate), which had infiltrated the text over time. These “editors” were not authors—they did not add to the text or contribute to its composition, and in the rare case that they put forward an “edition” it was of limited impact on the scholarly community and had no effect on the vulgate text (either of Homer or the Bible) used by the larger literate population. Thus, in his view, texts did not grow by editing (i.e., “redaction”) or in a series of “editions,” but only by authors whose work was later transmitted by scribes.

Later scholars of the modern period, by their own frequent conjectural emendations to the text, created the possibility of analogous “bad editors” in the distant past who had inserted their own alterations into the text. Van Seters shows how the notion of a redactor or editor in biblical studies was directly related to the parallel and slightly earlier development of such theories in the related discipline of Homeric studies. Many of the concepts of editing developed in the Renaissance and the wake of the inventing of the printing press. Notions of editors and their roles, as well as editions of books took shape in the minds of scholars who often viewed the ancients as reflections of themselves. The Masoretes, Origen, Jerome, Aristarchus, and others are viewed as editors similar to their late medieval counterparts, and in the modern period both Homer and the Bible are seen to be the result if not the creation of editors.

For Van Seters the crime committed is a destruction of authorship, and “we are left with the ludicrous scenario of editors editing the work of editors, with no original authors at all.”³⁹ This collapse can be seen in work like the redaction-critical studies that Van Seters criticizes so strongly and in Ulrich’s identification of textual witnesses as representing earlier or later stages in the development of the text (*vis-à-vis* MT), that has just been discussed above. Van Seter’s solution is an extreme one: excise the editor and return to authorship. This means that one must draw a line in the sand between composition and transmission. Additions or other modifications to the text, following composition, are in text-critical terms “corruptions,” and all other aspects of textual reuse

³⁹Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, 395.

must be relegated to the author.⁴⁰ This is a line that Van Seters accuses some earlier scholars of failing to delimit. Van Seters writes,

Wellhausen does not seem entirely satisfied with [Kuenen's] whole scheme and expresses some reservations about how to draw the line between a text-critically recognized gloss and a literary-critical revision or redaction. Similarly, he seems uncertain about how to distinguish between an author who supplements a text and a redactor who does the same thing.

As we can see from the above discussion, the application of the notion of *editor* to explain literary and text-critical aspects of the biblical text's composition and transmission was the result of scholars' employing a modern concept anachronistically to the editorial activity of ancient texts, beginning with the Renaissance and on to the present day...the "redactor" had taken on a reality and become a "disease of language" with which scholars were reluctant to part—a dogma as passionately maintained as any article of faith.⁴¹

Like Ulrich, Van Seters points to the example of the synoptic gospels. The gospel of Mark exists in what might be classified as VLEs as most manuscripts have a longer ending, some a shorter, and some none at all.⁴² Mark also serves as a source for Matthew and Luke. In Van Seters' view, Matthew and Luke should be viewed as distinctive compositions, by authors who drew heavily upon Mark, their primary source. Conversely, the manuscripts of Mark which exhibit the shorter and longer additional endings should be understood not as further stages of the composition of Mark's gospel, nor as new compositions (e.g., Matthew) but as texts of Mark containing spurious material, i.e., corruptions which a textual-critic should remove to correctly restore the (original) text.⁴³

According to Van Seters, editing was a highly conservative scholastic activity which had little effect on the *Vulgate* text (i.e., that text of a given work which was read

⁴⁰Ibid., 10.

⁴¹Ibid., 242-243.

⁴²To my knowledge the terminology of VLE has not spread to New Testament Textual Criticism where it might apply best to Mark's endings, the *pericopae adulterae* in John 7:53-8:11, and the so-called D-text or Western text of Acts. On these passages see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*.

⁴³This is perhaps comparable with phenomena like the שׁב -names which are clearly secondary scribal changes, as comparisons with the LXX and Chronicles reveals. See Tov, *TCHB*, 247-9, 267-268.

and generally accepted outside the hands of a few scholars); thus the general transmission of Homer or parts of the Bible was not the product of “editing,” nor did these works circulate in authorized “editions.”⁴⁴ Van Seters describes what he sees as a fundamental contradiction inherent in the use of “editors” or “redactors,” namely, the model of a conservative editor trying to preserve his sources by means of conflation (formulated by the Documentary Hypothesis), on the one hand, and the model of redactor who alters the text and introduces innumerable insertions (growing out of a combined Form Criticism and Tradition History), on the other.⁴⁵

Despite Van Seters’ harsh criticisms he agrees that scribes did do many of the things (interpolation, trans-position, etc.) claimed by redaction- and text-critics—but he claims this should not be construed as “editing,” because those types of activities do not fit with the conception of editors of any period, ancient or modern. He differs from those he criticizes primarily by seeing such changes as the work of authors. For example he points to the example of a historian like Eusebius who, unlike an editor, “takes great liberty with his sources, abbreviating them, expanding them, adding interpretative and ideological content, arranging them to suit his own framework and perspective.”⁴⁶ The critique by Konrad Schmid is helpful,

Closer scrutiny shows that Van Seters is not so far from the position he opposes, but he takes a very different perspective on the biblical texts and their genesis. While the redaction-critical research he attacks distinguishes a basic layer and later redactions, he investigates the supposed works within the Bible that he sees as the work of authors he characterizes as ancient historiographers...and about the traditions they incorporate but that, in his opinion, can no longer be extracted from the text but were “authorially” edited. One should also consider the fact that Van Seters almost exclusively considers the narrative traditions in Genesis-2 Kings and the historical work, as he proposes it, of that Yahwist and the

⁴⁴ Van Seters, *Edited Bible*, 39,

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7, see also 44-45, 115, 394.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

Deuteronomist; he scarcely incorporates any of the literary relationships in prophecy and Psalms into his reflections.⁴⁷

Schmid goes on to give examples such as the passages in Gen 50:25, Exod 13:19, and Josh 24:32 which are all connected by the theme of the transportation of Joseph's bones from Egypt to Canaan, and are "unimaginable except as parts of a single literary layer."⁴⁸ While one can possibly construe them as "authorial," it seems to be a different activity than that of the author-historian that Van Seters imagines.

In some ways, Van Seters' position is a return to the standard opinions of pre-Qumran text-critical research. Van Seters wants major activities to be limited to the arsenal of authors, while scribes who transmitted the text contributed nothing of value. According to him, further late changes of a major sort (e.g., addition of P supplement) are an additional stage of composition by another ancient author. The question which then arises is, has he failed to grapple with the ramifications of the new textual evidence from Qumran or have practitioners of "lower criticism" become so enthralled by the possibilities of their "promotion" that they have failed to precisely identify the phenomenon which they are witnessing?⁴⁹

A few observations are in order. First, the fact that text-critical data provides valuable insights into diachronic development seems undeniable. Leaving aside questions

⁴⁷Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary Introduction* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 36-37; see also the book reviews of Eckart Otto, review of John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism*, *RBL* 5 (2007) [<http://www.bookreviews.org>], and Van Seters' response in J. Van Seters, "Author or Redactor?" *JHS* 7 (2009): 2-22; for a thorough response to Van Seters' approach in his earlier work see Bernard M. Levinson, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters" in *The Right Chorale*, 276-330; and Van Seters' response in J. Van Seters, "Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code and a Response to my Critics," *SJOT* 21 (2007), 5-28.

⁴⁸Schmid, *The Old Testament*, 37.

⁴⁹Arie Van der Kooij, "The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," 172, 175, discusses the recent discussion of the combination of "Higher" and "Lower" Criticism in the wake of the Qumran discoveries and congratulates Textual Critics on their "promotion." See n.8 above.

of earlier “editions” of books or even earlier stages preserved in manuscripts, comparisons of the witnesses can identify later changes—whether pre- or post-dating MT.

Second, although it is now undeniable that in the Second Temple period the textual tradition was pluriform with diverging manuscripts of various books existing simultaneously and in some cases in proximity to one another, as Tov points out, “most of the known textual variation, in major as well as minor details, should be viewed as genetic.”⁵⁰ This means that these are not truly parallel, alternative texts with no previous history, but instead two (or more) related texts whose readings derive from a common source, although subject to different levels of transmission corruption or alteration. In theory, one should be able to work back to a common archetype if the text has not been thoroughly corrupted in transmission. There may be shorter and longer texts closer or farther typologically or chronologically from the archetype, but the genetic relations confirm rather than discredit the search for an earlier common ancestor.

Third, these variant, related texts are not recensional or otherwise edited in the strictest sense. A “recension” generally implies conscious correction in a certain direction. The features which do separate texts typologically, whether the additions found in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the “pre-Samaritan” manuscripts, the David and Goliath pluses in MT vis-à-vis OG, or the shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah are all quite localized. In his article in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, Tov attempts to contrast all of the MT pluses in Jeremiah as “edition 2” over against the shorter “edition 1” witnessed by the Greek, but it is impossible to unite those pluses as an identifiable layer from the same

⁵⁰ Tov, *TCHB* 2001, 172; cf. Tov, *TCHB*, 165-7.

hand.⁵¹ In the case of the pre-Samaritan texts, the changes in the Plagues narrative do, in all likelihood, derive from the same scribal hand as the pluses that harmonize the stories of the appointment of the elders, as Sanderson has argued.⁵² These pluses do go together, so we may perhaps be permitted to speak of a “layer,” and perhaps even a systematic one, but it does not span the whole book of Exodus, and the changes that they make do not seem to be accurately described as an “edition” or a recension. It seems that we have typologically distinct copies of the books, which may vary in significant ways, but not variant *editions* in the strictest sense.

2.6 Variant Literary Editions as Evidence for Development within a Given Work

To summarize to this point, the question of “redaction” is chiefly debated by denying it any place in either the process of composition or transmission, as Van Seters has done.⁵³ In contrast, Steck advocated distinguishing processes of composition and transmission and their corresponding methods (*Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism) based on whether the scribal changes were intentional or unintentional. The former are considered compositional, the latter, transmissional (and secondary). Stipp denied the possibility of accurately detecting intention and instead proposed methodological distinction based on whether one focused on the text’s shape (*Literarkritik*) or the text’s

⁵¹Emanuel Tov, “The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr., Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005), 212-237; see especially Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiahbuches*, and the discussion in chapter 4 of the present study.

⁵²Judith. E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (Atlanta: Scholar’s Press, 1986), 206; Bénédicte Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called ‘Plagues Narrative’ in Exodus 7:14-11:10* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 200; See also Jeffery Tigay, “Conflation as a Redactional Technique,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr., Eugene, Or.: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2005), 53-89.

⁵³See also Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (ATBRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

transmission (Textual Criticism). Ulrich's work collapses any distinction other than that Textual Criticism deals with extant stages, while *Literarkritik* addresses equivalent, but unpreserved stages. Tov leans toward those who advocate both criticisms as elements of a single holistic approach, but he continues to distinguish literary from textual stages.⁵⁴

The distinction of literary stages from growth within transmission appears somewhat awkward in Tov's work as he separates literary from textual growth but elsewhere points to texts that have become "new compositions" as if there were a kind of textual development beyond his literary and textual categories.⁵⁵ As I have stated above in regards to Ulrich's work, if the term Variant Literary Edition is to have continuing utility, it is only if the term is restricted to copies of the same text, not to related but separate works. Applying this observation to Tov's divisions, I propose that all textual development within the confines of copies of the same work be understood as part of transmission. This contradicts Tov's working assumption that "copyists were not involved in large-scale content changes."⁵⁶ Tov follows van der Toorn in recognizing that expansions typically occurred at the time of creating a new copy of a text, but, as van der Toorn argues himself, in the ancient world the activities of the scribal class were by no means limited to strict-copying.⁵⁷ As there is no ancient evidence for a body of scribes who were strictly copyists, in ancient Israel or in the surrounding cultures, I argue that, until proven otherwise, the more probable scenario is that the same people who copied manuscripts also created the expansions that they added to them during later re-copying.

⁵⁴ Tov, *TCHB*, 285 n.5; on distinguishing literary growth from growth within transmission, see Tov, *TCHB*, 240, 283-4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 111, 240, 320-1; but note the overlap in the case of the Chronicler on page 181.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 284.

⁵⁷ Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard, 2007), 77-107.

Viewing the matter this way, all variation typically used to demarcation VLEs should be viewed as growth occurring within the transmission process.

Composition, correspondingly, if the term is to continue to be useful, should be restricted to the creation of a new work. Now, as one may reasonably argue, the expansions or alterations evidence in VLEs testify to some act of “composition” so how can that be fairly relegated to transmission? The distinction I am proposing is that the processes of Composition and Transmission be distinguished by the creation of a new text in the former and the continued recopying (and alteration) in the latter. While Van Seters’ focus on “authors” may be overstated, considering that in Israel and the Ancient Near East works are the anonymous creation of scribes, we could adopt the term in distinguishing Authorial Composition (i.e., creation of a new work; the process of composition proper) from Continuing Composition (i.e., textual development within the transmission of a single work).

With this distinction we now have rubrics under which trends can be catalogued and further distinctions drawn. In the next chapter I will argue for a means of distinguishing between copies of the same text and copies of a new (but genetically related) text and point to differences in the compositional method (especially in terms of the use of sources) of each. Once the grounds for this distinction is established, texts under each heading (i.e., Authorial Composition and Continuing Composition) can be analyzed and compared. Following this analysis we can return to the initial question about redaction, composition, and textual development. Do proposed theories of composition or redaction more closely resemble one group or another? If theoretical reconstructions diverge from the trends of either group of extant examples, it should be

considered whether there is just cause to explain the divergence or whether the particular model or assumption should be disregarded as less probable.

2.7 Summary

Textual development has been frequently divided between the processes of Composition and Transmission, corresponding to the methods of *Literarkritik* and Textual Criticism. Redactional theories have posited either a series of stages of compositions or an intermediate stage overlapping the two. The textual evidence of large scale differences between manuscripts, termed by Ulrich “Variant Literary Editions,” has provided evidence for textual development, but its nature is debated. Some like Ulrich, collapse any distinction between earlier “literary” stages and those preserved in VLEs. Tov appears to follow this by continuing to separate “literary” from “textual” stages. Van Seters has denied any kind of “editing” or redaction at any stage, and in the process of his argument has denied that the varying texts of Jeremiah (as the main example) can be characterized as editions or are evidence of redaction.

Van Seters’ critique is largely a game of semantics, but his work contributes some food for thought. Is there a third option for describing textual growth other than the dichotomy of authorship and scribal corruption? I have proposed that there is. The key lies in recognizing a distinction between composition which creates a new text and composition which expands on otherwise adds to an existing text. This distinction is implicit in a few parts of Tov’s updated handbook, but its ramifications are not worked out. Ulrich’s description of the development of biblical books ignores this distinction, yet such a distinction is necessary in the quest for empirical models.

In the next chapter I will demonstrate that delimiting between copies of the same text and copies of different (but related) texts can be made and identify the criteria for doing so. Once this distinction is recognized, the terms Composition and Transmission can remain useful if the former is used to refer to the period of creating a new text (what I will call Authorial Composition) and the latter to describe textual growth that only expands or adds to the text (what I will call Continuing Composition).⁵⁸ The benefit of this conception is that, as I will show, the two types of composition are characterized by different methods of handling their sources. In chapters 4 and 5 I will survey examples of both types of composition and identify their accompanying traits and trends. In chapter 6, I will provide test cases applying the findings of chapters 4 and 5 towards the evaluation of different compositional models to see if there is correspondence between the theoretical models and either data set and show how the data can be utilized as a control and guide for such reconstructions.

⁵⁸ These terms merely serve to mark the different types of textual development. I have no interest or intention of reading back any notion of “authorship,” modern or otherwise. I assume that all ancient writers of the text addressed here were scribes of some sort or other, so if I speak of “authors,” I have in mind scribes in the role of creating a new text rather than copying (or altering while copying) a text. On the problem of modern notions of authorship see Roland Barthes, “The death of the author,” in idem, *Image-Music-Text* (trans. Stephen Heath; New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 142-48; Michel Foucault, “What is an Author?” in *The Foucault Reader* (ed., Paul Rainbow; New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 101-20. On ancient authors and scribes, see Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

Chapter 3 REWRITING AND THE CREATION OF NEW TEXTS

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed variation within the textual tradition which has been classified under the rubric of variant “editions” of biblical books. Inherent in the notion of variant “editions” is the premise that these are versions of the same text.¹ A point in present dispute is whether one can draw a line between when a text is considered a copy of its *Vorlage*, i.e., an updated or expanded copy of the same book, and when it should be considered a new text in its own right. Delimiting this line between “the same text” and “a new composition” builds upon and adds to what has been said about composition and transmission.² Why is the book of Chronicles, for example, not considered a variant edition of Samuel or Kings? On what basis can one distinguish between divergent copies of “the same text” and two different texts that share much textual overlap? These questions will be the focus of the present chapter. We will begin with some of the texts often labeled “Rewritten Bible” and then move towards comparison with “Variant Literary Editions” (VLEs). I will argue that the distinction between copies of the same text and between a new text and its base-text (main source) is both possible and helpful. The distinction will enable us to further distinguish between

¹ The newest edition of Emanuel Tov’s *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 189-90, 284-5, 240, explicitly separates “Rewritten Scripture” from VLEs because the former are “New Compositions” and thus implicitly also different texts than their sources. How texts which vary in their wording or content can be recognized as “the same” is ultimately a socio-religious question, and one that Tov does not take up, but appears to follow Michael Segal. Below I will provide a few observations about what kinds of differences exist in what appear to have been interchangeable copies of the same work, and argue for a means of delimiting points at which texts become new compositions in their own right, no longer interchangeable with their sources. On the notion of an ancient book not being tied directly to its wording or even a physical copy, see Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (LAI; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 41.

² By “the same text” I refer to the abstract understanding of “book” discussed in the first chapter.

textual growth within copies of the same work (Continuing Composition) and textual development that results in the creation of a new work (Authorial Composition).

3.2 The nature of “Rewritten Bible”

Terminology both enlightens and conceals; it focuses attention in highlighting some aspects while distorting others. For this reason, some reflection on the terms used, as in previous chapters, is important. Books such as *Jubilees*, and in more recent discussions, *Chronicles*, have been held up as examples of “Rewritten Bible,” a confused category referring to texts which expand upon, build upon, interpret, or otherwise rewrite earlier texts known from the Hebrew Bible.³ Sidnie White Crawford’s definition fits the general consensus,

A “Rewritten Bible” text may be defined as a text that has a close narrative attachment to some book contained in the present Jewish canon of scripture, and some type of reworking, whether through rearrangement, conflation, omission, or supplementation of the present canonical biblical text. This category is to be differentiated from the “parabiblical” texts, which may be tied to some person, event or pericope in the present canonical text, but do not actually reuse extensively the biblical text.⁴

³ Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (2d. Ed; StPB 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 1-11; Moshe J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169-196; James C. VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. Herbert & E. Tov; London: British Library, 2002), 41-56; Molly M. Zahn, “Rewritten Scripture,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. T. Lim & J. Collins; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 323-324; Jonathan G. Campbell, “‘Rewritten Bible’ and ‘Parabiblical Texts’: A Terminological and Ideological Critique,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (ed. J. Campbell, et. al.; LSTS 52; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 43-68; Hans Debel, “Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s),” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. H. von Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 84.

⁴ Sidnie White Crawford, “The Rewritten Bible at Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran: The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls (Proceedings of the Jubilee Celebration at Princeton Theological Seminary)* Vol 1 (N. Richard Hills, Tx.: BIBAL Press, 2000), 173-174. It should be added that “Rewritten Bible” texts, as opposed to what White Crawford calls “parabiblical” texts, are so textually close to their source, that some scholars have expressed doubt about any possibility of distinguishing these texts from “variant literary editions.” See White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 12-14. See also Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 1-25; Debel, “Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions, and Original Text(s).” I will return to this topic below.

Because the very notion of a “Bible”—a fixed corpus of sacred books, in a certain order, perhaps even bound together as a single volume—is inappropriate for historical discussion of Jewish scripture in the Second Temple period, there has been a move to refer to this category as “Rewritten Scripture.”⁵ By switching from “Bible” to “Scripture” one avoids the anachronism of a fixed canon and one leaves open the possibilities that many texts considered “extra-biblical” or “pseudepigraphic” may in fact have been authoritative literature (i.e., “scripture”) for some groups in antiquity. The problem which arises from the new term is that “rewritten” and “scripture” deal with two separate issues, one of literary relationship and one of authoritative religious status.

George Brooke attempts a definition of what he terms a “Rewritten Scriptural Text.” His elements are (1) *form* (running text) and (2) *continuity of order, content, genre* and possibly (3) *language* of a work’s source.⁶ Additional features Brooke mentions as possible indicators are that (4) the work does not seem intended to replace its source, (5) has an interpretive strategy, (6) is limited in its ability to comment upon scripture (as opposed to later commentary forms), and (7) typically is not cited as scripture.⁷ Brooke’s “rewritten scriptural texts” includes *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll* and possibly the highly debated Reworked Pentateuch.⁸ He additionally identifies Deuteronomy as well as 1 and

⁵ Cf., VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works,” 43: “The word *Bible* is anachronistic for the texts we are studying, that is, works from the Second Temple period. Moreover, as we shall see, it turns out to be a rather slippery term in Early Judaism. . . Perhaps a more appropriate term is *Rewritten Scripture(s)*. It has in its favor the fact that the term scripture(s) is used in our sources. Naturally it would embrace the idea that a book of the Rewritten Scripture(s) could itself be a part of the scriptures for a group” (his italics). See also George J. Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book*, 31-40; White Crawford, “The Rewritten Bible at Qumran,” 174-175.

⁶ Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms,” 32-33 (emphasis added).

⁷ Brooke points out *Jubilees* as an obvious exception to the final criterion, and one wonders how much we can trust the accidents of preservation in regards to other texts.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31. The 4QRP manuscripts will be discussed further below.

2 Chronicles as “rewritten scriptural texts” that became scripture.⁹ Thus his category of rewritten scriptural texts overlaps with that of canonical scripture (i.e., “Bible”) itself.

Brooke states that

there is no neat separation of the two classes of works [i.e., scriptural and rewritten scriptural compositions]. It is certainly not the case that the emerging authoritative collection contained no rewritten works. The categorization into canonical and non-canonical does not serve our purposes suitably. Rather, it seems as if there is a *sliding scale* of affinity or dependence and that function needs to be considered in a qualified way too. This sliding scale approach prevents us from applying the anachronistic labels of scriptural or non-scriptural too quickly to manuscript evidence which is so obviously replete with variety, pluralism, multiple editions of books and range of secondary compositions.¹⁰

Brooke’s explanation is correct when the primary question is of authoritative status. VanderKam similarly discusses a textual “continuum” upon which texts might be plotted between Scripture and Rewritten Scripture.¹¹ The problem is, as Brooke and VanderKam both recognize, that texts labeled “Rewritten Scripture” were often also “Scripture.” This makes the notion of a “continuum” or “sliding scale” in regards to “scripture,” relatively useless, as each model suggests a linear range of plotting while what is needed requires overlap between elements of both poles of the literary spectrum with the authoritative dimension.

Rewritten books certainly could become scripture as *Jubilees* and Chronicles clearly did for some groups. But this is a socially determined issue, and the literary nature of a text’s origins does not necessarily determine a text’s scriptural status.¹² Strategies of

⁹Ibid., 32.

¹⁰Ibid., 36 (emphasis added).

¹¹VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations,” 46.

¹²This is a hotly debated point, and many scholars emphasize the self-presentation of certain texts as divine revelation. The investigation of such presentations are important, but the fact remains that strategies for claiming authority are not, by their mere existence, successful, and numerous texts which have no such obvious self-presentation where nonetheless considered so. Thus, claims within a text for being divine revelation were certainly a factor for a works acceptance as authoritative, but they are by no means decisive. On determining authoritative status see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*

rewriting can claim authority or acquire a similar sound or stamp to known authoritative literature, but no process of rewriting makes or excludes a text from authoritative status; that falls to the decisions of a given group or community.

A glance at figure 3-1 below illustrates the overlap between the categories of “scripture” and “Rewritten Scripture” using a Venn diagram.¹³ Relative degrees of authority have no correlation to smaller or greater quantities of rewriting. On the one hand, “rewriting” (the re-use of a material from a source text) is a method frequently used to compose texts. On the other hand, “scripture” is a religious category of authoritative status.

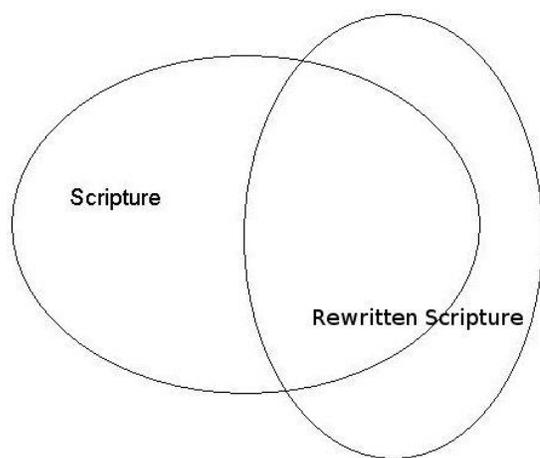


Fig. 3-1 Overlap of Scripture and Rewritten Scripture prevents these categories from being meaningfully contrasted with one another.

(2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 187-95; VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations,” 41-53. On texts becoming scripture see Eugene Ulrich, “From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text’s Authoritativeness,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10 (2003): 3-25. Ulrich highlights the fact that the origin of scripture lies not in scripture itself but in literature which subsequently became scripture. This seems to be implicit in VanderKam’s criteria. See also, White Crawford, “The Rewritten Bible at Qumran,” 176-177; Armin Lange, “The Status of Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in *The Bible as Book*, 21-30; Zahn, “Talking About Rewritten Scripture,” in *Changes in Scripture*.

¹³For the suggestion of Venn diagrams, see Zahn, “Talking about Rewritten Texts,” 115.

After discussing *Jubilees* and other texts as examples of “rewritten biblical compositions,” Brooke uses an exegetical variant reading in 4QGen^g (יִרְמֵם) to demonstrate “how very difficult it is to be clear quite how each manuscript should be classified.” He goes on to state, “In one sense every copy of an authoritative scriptural book made in the late Second Temple period is a rewritten scriptural manuscript.”¹⁷ According to Brooke, there appears to be no distinction between the kind of re-writing evident within “biblical manuscripts” such as 4QGen^g and that found in *Jubilees*. Likewise just as either has a strong claim to be considered authoritative scripture, for Brooke there seems to be no means by which to differentiate between these two: they overlap in methods of rewriting and both might be considered “scripture.” The similarities are enlightening, but the issue remains: there can be no mistaking that 4QGen^g is a copy of the book of Genesis (i.e., a “variant literary edition”) while *Jubilees* is not, despite its frequent verbatim overlap, and continuity of order, content, genre, and language. But how do we know this? How can one distinguish between a copy of Genesis (e.g., 4QGen^g) and a new book based on Genesis (*Jubilees*)?¹⁸ For Brooke and several other scholars it seems that the vague overlap between rewritten compositions and VLEs is to be accepted if not welcomed as a step closer to more accurately portraying the rather blurry reality of texts in the Second Temple period.¹⁹ While our understanding has grown significantly in recent decades, it seems to me that a vague collapsing of this distinction is unhelpful, especially if other alternatives present themselves.

¹⁷Brooke, “The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms,” 34.

¹⁸ 4QGen^g is sufficiently fragmentary that we do not know for certain that it is indeed a fragment of a complete copy of “Genesis,” though that does appear to be the case.

¹⁹ See also, Debel, “Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s).”

3.3 The Creation of a New Composition

Geza Vermes included Josephus' *Antiquities* among his original list of "Rewritten Bible" and several recent lists also include 1 and 2 Chronicles.²⁰ In terms of *genre* these works are historiography, yet in some respect they are also rightly compared with texts such as *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon*. In the case of *Antiquities* and Chronicles they display interpretation of their source material that is fairly obvious when compared synoptically with their sources. Despite extensive textual overlap between *Antiquities* and Jewish scripture, *Antiquities* is not a "variant edition" of any book of the Pentateuch or Former prophets despite its usefulness as a text-critical witness.²¹ This is true also in the cases of Chronicles, *Jubilees*, and *Genesis Apocryphon* vis-à-vis their respective sources. Despite differences in *genre*, for it seems doubtful that *Jubilees* (not to mention the Genesis Apocryphon) is properly construed as historiography, the common process of rewriting shared by these texts is a compositional process that results in the creation of a new work distinguishable from its source.²²

The solution I propose is to separate texts into categories based on the literary distinction of new versions considered to be copies of "the same text" as their *Vorlage* (i.e. Ulrich's "variant literary editions") and new compositions. Here we shift from etic

²⁰Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 1-10; on the inclusion of Chronicles see George J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James VanderKam; Oxford University Press 2000, 2008. Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls: (e-reference edition). Oxford University Press. Emory University. 28 March 2012 <http://www.oxford-deadseascrolls.com/entry?entry=t264.e446>; Molly M. Zahn, "Rewritten Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 323-36.

²¹Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1978); idem, "Josephus' Biblical Text for the Book of Samuel," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. Louis Feldman and Gohei Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 81-96; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Origins of the Bible*, 184-201.

²²Zahn, "Genre and Rewritten Scripture," points out that genres are not exclusive categories and that texts can participate in multiple genres. My purpose is not to dwell on the question of whether "Rewritten Scripture" is a genre, but to investigate what separates texts often grouped under that heading from variant literary editions.

classifications to emic ones. While “Rewritten Scripture” or some such similar category remains useful for classification, as Bernstein has argued, it is not a category that would have held any meaning for ancient readers, and it does not provide any aid to the current question of when a text becomes a new text (or why *Jubilees* is not a VLE of Genesis).²³

While we have no evidence of ancient categories or terms for such distinctions, there is some evidence that ancient readers made a distinction between copies of “the same text” and new texts. If we, for the present, now leave behind the debates about “Rewritten Scripture” at Qumran or elsewhere, we can nevertheless consider many of the texts placed under that rubric as examples of this phenomenon. The fact that *Jubilees* itself refers to Torah as “the first law” (*Jub.* 6:22), shows that its own writer distinguished between it and its source. The fact that *Jubilees* is quoted in the *Damascus Document* by name demonstrates that the writer of the *Damascus Document* distinguished *Jubilees* as a separate book from its sources, esp. Genesis.²⁴ Chronicles similarly refers to its sources, and in later codices (starting with the Greek Uncials of the fourth century) Chronicles always appears as a separate book from Samuel or Kings.²⁵ It neither replaces or is confused with them. These three examples of referencing sources, being cited by title, and codicological placement show that from the point of view of both authors and readers,

²³ On the usefulness of a clearly defined category of “Rewritten Bible” see Moshe J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169-196. I agree with Bernstein’s position in general, with the main reservation being that I feel the distinction should be made on literary criteria distinguishing “new texts” from “new versions” (i.e., variant editions) without the language of canon, authority, or Bible, all of which needlessly confuse the discussion and have led to most of the disputes over the terminology; Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture,” makes the strongest case for a nuanced understanding of Rewritten Scripture as a genre, and she highlights the creation of a new (but related) text as a one of the distinguishing features; On the etic nature of the category see White Crawford, “The Rewritten Bible at Qumran,” 177.

²⁴ For the citation see CD 16.3-4 and its parallel in 4Q270. The Hebrew title of the book is ספר מחלקות העתים ליובלים ובשבועותיהם.

²⁵ Chronicles refers to its source material as the work of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, three prominent prophets mentioned in the narratives of Sam-Kgs (1 Chr 29:29); On the contents of manuscripts and placement of books see Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (2d. ed.; trans. E. F. Rhodes; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 72-73; Tov, *TCHB*, 4, 122.

from our earliest evidence onwards, despite drastic overlap of text and content, *Jubilees* is not an updated version or “edition” of Genesis nor is Chronicles in regards to Samuel and Kings. Since Crawford’s model of a quantitative spectrum failed to be able to delimit the “tipping point” at which a text becomes a new composition, it seems both necessary and possible to look for criteria that might reveal this crucial moment and thus substantiate the division between a new or updated version and a new composition.²⁶

3.4 Criteria for Determining When a Text Becomes “a New Composition.”

Michael Segal’s pioneering article has provided criteria for distinguishing between “Bible” and “Rewritten Bible.”²⁷ Segal points out that “the canonical status of these works, is essentially a socio-historical issue,” but as an alternative “one can ask whether ancient readers distinguished between the rewritten compositions and their sources on a literary level.”²⁸ This gets to the heart of the issue of why *Jubilees* is not Genesis and why Chronicles is not Samuel or Kings, yet the LXX and MT forms of Jeremiah are both recognized as “the book of Jeremiah.” Segal’s rewritten category is one which results in the creation of a new work no longer identifiable with its source.²⁹ Like Brooke’s earlier definition, Segal proposes continuity of language, order, and content (“scope” in his terms) as criteria, but whereas Brooke uses these to show the closeness of

²⁶White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 5.

²⁷Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 2005), 10-28.

²⁸Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” 17.

²⁹I will not follow Segal in using the terms “Bible” and “Rewritten Bible” as these distract from his main point of when and how a text becomes a new composition and not an updated version of “the same text,” and reintroduce the problems addressed in the above discussion of sacred status.

“Rewritten Biblical texts” to their source, Segal emphasizes that these criteria are required for identifying a text as “the same composition.”³⁰

The features, which Segal identifies as criteria for distinguishing “a new composition,” are changes in the aforementioned categories of language, order, and content in addition to (1) a new narrative frame (i.e., new literary setting), (2) a new narrative voice, (3) abridgment in addition to expansion, (4) a tendentious editorial layer, and (5) explicit references to source compositions. Segal argues that copies of “the same text” will not abbreviate the text, while they might expand upon it. This refers to selective use of the work’s base-text (i.e., its *Vorlage*), not textual minuses resulting from parablepsis.³¹ One further *caveat*, is that selective use does not include replacement, i.e., loss of text at the seam of an expansion. Occasionally, when a scribe has combined two texts, pronouns will be changed to fit the new context (e.g., from first to third person in Samaritan Pentateuch Exodus 18), and occasionally a full sentence may be dropped to smooth the transition from the added material back to the base-text.

Jubilees is clearly paradigmatic for Segal’s “new composition” category as it alone meets all of these criteria: it has a new literary setting (Mt. Sinai), new voice (usually the angel of the presence), abridgment as well as expansion, a tendentious editorial layer with specific calendrical and halakhic concerns, and explicit references to the Torah as “the first law” (*Jub.* 6:22). Other texts share many of these, for example the *Temple Scroll* frequently shifts the narrative voice of Deuteronomy (and other parts of the

³⁰Segal himself uses the language of “the same work,” “the same composition” or “another edition of the same composition” in contrast to “a new text.” Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” 20, 24. By “the same work” Segal means that books such as Jeremiah existed in shorter and longer forms, both of which were still recognized as “the book of Jeremiah,” even though MT Jeremiah is expanded and exhibits changes in the order of the oracles concerning the nations.

³¹Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” 34.

Pentateuch) into divine speech, and Chronicles has an identifiable ideology that has been overlaid upon its source, as well as references to its sources.³²

If a text does not need to meet all of these criteria, as clearly most in the category do not, then how much or how little is required? Segal does not make this clear, and he does not provide any hierarchy or relative value for any of the criteria. Jeremiah is his quintessential example of a rewritten text that nonetheless remains the same book, even while containing both changes of content and order.³³ This shows that the criteria of order and scope are not essential. Likewise the criterion of ideology needs to be further nuanced in order to be useful as Segal does not provide clear criteria for defining it and some VLEs do show evidence of a specific *Tendenz* that may be termed ideological.³⁴ Likewise the criterion of language does not hold up.³⁵ Abridgment seems to grow out of the larger category of change in scope and to be related to change in narrative frame. It seems simpler to boil these down to the shared criterion of selective use of the base-text. By altering the literary setting or narrative voice, the source text is no longer the foundational structuring element but has been subjugated to a new framework. The

³² See note 21; On the ideology of Chronicles see Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEAT 9; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1989); Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005); and earlier, Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke des .Alten Testaments* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1957).

³³ These changes include the ideological insertion of Jer 33:14-26 which includes Levites within the Davidic covenant, and the changes in order of the oracles concerning the nations. See the following chapter for a discussion of this passage. See also Emanuel Tov, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History," in 212-237; Molly M. Zahn, "The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?" *DSD* 15 (2008): 324.

³⁴ Contra Segal, variant editions can and frequently do contain ideological additions or recognizable *Tendenz*. For a summary of some examples from the LXX see Kristin De Troyer, "The Seventy-two and their Many Grandchildren: A Review of Septuagint Studies from 1997 Onward" *CBR* 2012: 8-64, esp. 25-29; for a further discussion of ideology see chapter 6.

³⁵ On the problem of the language criterion see Anders Klostergaard Pedersen, "Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon: Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?" in *Flores Florentio*, 288; Hans Debel, "Greek 'Variant Literary Editions' to the Hebrew Bible?" *JSJ* 41 (2010): 161-190; Zahn, "The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts," 328-29.

presence of one of these types of alterations is the common denominator of all the “rewritten” texts that can be distinguished from VLEs on other evidence (reference to its own sources or later citation by name or codicological placement along side but not in place of its source). One would search in vain for an example text that had a new frame or voice yet did not use its base-text selectively.³⁶ Conversely, such selective use can also result in the creation of a new text without any need for an accompanying change of scope or voice.³⁷

Thus, it appears that while a change of frame / voice or an explicit reference to a source clearly marks a text as a new composition distinct from its source, the simplest common denominator is that of selective use of a work’s base-text (i.e., conscious omission, abridgment, or excerption).³⁸ When a source is used selectively, it ceases to be the sole foundation upon which one builds and becomes the materials with which one builds. This compositional distinction of foundation versus materials, I argue, is the most

³⁶One can easily imagine a text that is preserved in its entirety while being completely reframed, yet I have been unable to find a clear example where the source text has not been utilized selectively.

³⁷“Selective Use” does not seem to apply to short omissions that are replaced in the process of inserting new material. In the next chapter I will survey a number of examples of rewriting within the confines of a single book, and will show that, speaking descriptively and not prescriptively, VLEs do not show evidence of conscious omission with the exception of text replaced in the process of adding new material. As this replacement is extent while other omissions are not, and that surviving VLEs were interchangeable copies of their sources, it seems to me best to distinguish replacement from other practices that we might label conscious omission. The short omissions like those observable in some parts of Samuel are a more difficult case. See these see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction? Textual Development in the MT of 1 Sam 1” in *Textual Criticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense* (SJSJ 158; ed. A. P. Otero and P. A. Torijano Morales; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1-18; and Tov, *TCHB*, 254-6. Samuel may be a special case similar to the Alpha Text of Esther, on which see the discussion in chapter 6.

³⁸Excerption is a slightly different phenomenon than the others, but it does not affect our criteria. On the distinction see Emanuel Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 28; Brent A. Strawn, “Excerpted Manuscripts at Qumran: Their Significance for the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible and the Socio-Religious History of the Qumran Community and its Literature,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls Volume Two: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, Tx.: Baylor University Press, 2006), 107-167; Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture,” if one accepts Zahn’s arguments for recognizing “Rewritten Scripture,” as a genre that has a specific function, then I think that abbreviated texts differ in that they serve a different social function than “Rewritten Scripture” texts, but both are marked as new compositions by their selectivity.

solid criterion by which to distinguish the creation of a new text from the expansion or updating in the form of a new “edition.” By contrast, to use the example of Jeremiah again, the MT text shows a rearranged text (in the oracles concerning the nations) and various expansions, but the source material is not used selectively nor is the voice or setting changed (although admittedly in non-narrative texts one cannot accurately speak of a narrative voice).

3.5 Application of Criteria

To summarize up to this point, I have highlighted three criteria, namely (1) change in literary setting, (2) change in narrative voice, and (3) selective use of the work’s base-text (i.e., its *Vorlage*), which, as argued in the previous section, effectively create a new text by subordinating the source text to a new governing structure. If these criteria are applied to different texts we can observe how these function to differentiate between copies of the same text and a new composition based on earlier material. Our three examples will be Greek Daniel, the Epic of Gilgamesh, and the 4QReworkedPentateuch manuscripts.

The book of Daniel in Greek contains three major additions, the story of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Youths in chapter 3.³⁹ These additions can be found both in the Old Greek and Theodotian texts. Although in some cases the story of Susanna is placed before chapter 1 as way of prefacing the court narratives with an earlier

³⁹ John J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 3-7; Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1977); James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1959), 8-9.

introduction of Daniel, this action does not change the narrative voice nor does the literary setting of the later stories change.⁴⁰

Chapters 4-6 of the Old Greek diverge dramatically from the MT. Ulrich argues that neither version is original as both contain secondary variants to a presumed source. Thus we are dealing with the case of two parallel, not serial, related versions stemming from a common *Vorlage*. Synoptic comparison of the two versions show additions on either side, but not omissions from what can be identified as material from a shared *Vorlage*.⁴¹

Working from the three criteria of selective use, new literary setting, and new narrative voice, we can see that no text of Daniel evidences any of these three. Furthermore, although the divergences between the OG and MT texts were largely noted in Antiquity, both books were still considered interchangeable copies of the book of Daniel.⁴² The version of Theodotian replaced the OG version almost completely in transmission due to greater perceived fidelity to the Semitic “original.” It is the interchangeability, i.e., that they are versions of the same text, that allows one to replace the other. A similar phenomenon can be seen with Gilgamesh.

The Epic of Gilgamesh provides another instructive analogue. As Tigay has shown, the Akkadian Epic of Gilgamesh was a new composition created using earlier

⁴⁰ For example, works like *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Arabian Nights*, or *The Aleph-Bet of Ben-Sirah* all contain stories framed within the context of an earlier story. Jubilees similarly open with Moses at Sinai and the follow creation and patriarchal narratives are now reframed as divine or angelic discourse at Sinai.

⁴¹ For examples from Daniel 4, see Amanda M. Davis, “A Reconsideration of the MT and OG Editions of Daniel 4” (M.T.S. thesis, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, 2012). See chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of Dan 4-6.

⁴² E.g., Origen’s Letter to Africanus. For the text, see the edition by M. Harl & N. R. M. de Lange, *Origène, Philocalie, 1-20, sur les Écritures et la Lettre à Africanus sur l’Histoire de Suzanne* (SC 302; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1983).

independent Sumerian stories about Gilgamesh as sources.⁴³ The utilization of these stories—selectively and within a new framework—illustrates what we have described as the creation of a new text.⁴⁴ The growth seen within the work in the different stages of the Old Babylonian (OB), Middle Babylonian (MB), and the late Standard Babylonian (SB) texts illustrates something akin to Ulrich’s “variant literary editions” where a prologue, flood story, and other episodes such as the description of the underworld are added. While the emphases may be altered from version to version, the whole remains “the Epic of Gilgamesh,” at least as understood in emic terms as evidenced by replacement of earlier versions within the scribal curriculum. Insertions such as, say, the Prologue in GE I, I, 1-26 provide new emphases like wisdom, but this additional material to reshapes the story without creating an altogether new composition, a situation similar to the effect of Mordechai’s dream in Addition A of Esther.⁴⁵ Thus the move from the Sumerian Gilgamesh stories or the hypothesized Akkadian Huwawa narrative to the Epic of Gilgamesh resulted in the creation of a new composition, due to the new literary setting and the selective use of the source material. But the development from OB to MB, to SB Gilgamesh is growth within the (same) composition, primarily by expansion, and does not meet the criteria for the creation of a new text. It is instead an example of what I have

⁴³ Jeffrey M. Tigay, “The Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives in the Light of the Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005); idem, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982).

⁴⁴For a more recent discussion utilizing all the extant material and arguing for the Huwawa Narrative as the central source of Akkadian Gilgamesh see Daniel E. Fleming and Sara J. Milstein, *The Buried Foundation of the Gilgamesh Epic: The Akkadian Huwawa Narrative* (CM 39; Leiden: Brill, 2010); see also Ska, *Introduction*, 179, “Of course the editors still added some sentences, even entire sections, or reformulated poetic passages in more modern language. However, it is clear that they did not “create” a new work. They handed on a ‘revised’ version of the work that had been composed at an earlier period. To put it more simply, they acted like editors and no longer like original authors.”

⁴⁵See Jeffery Tigay, “The Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives in the Light of the Evolution of the *Gilgamesh Epic*,” in *Empirical Models*, 41; On Greek Esther see the discussion in chapter 6.

called Continuing Composition. These three versions are all “Gilgamesh” and recognizable as such.

Finally, the much debated 4QReworkedPentateuch scrolls, due to their fragmentary nature, can serve only a heuristic function vis-à-vis our proposed distinction. Most debates center on the question of whether or not the 4QRP scrolls constitute “biblical” texts.⁴⁶ For the present purpose, however, the question is whether any of five 4QRP scrolls is a new text based on its sources, or an expanded text of the Pentateuch? Again the major difficulty is the fragmentary nature of the texts. From what is extant, it appears that the narrative voice of the text remains unchanged. More difficult to determine is the possibility of selectivity. Molly Zahn, in discussing 4Q158, has pointed out that “There are no clear, extant cases of omission in 4Q158; not even minor cases involving single words.”⁴⁷ Thus, at least as far as that manuscript goes, our knowledge is limited by accidents of preservation.⁴⁸ Presumably if we had the complete text, one could categorize it clearly: if there are omissions due to selective use of the base-text (*Vorlage*), then we are dealing with a new composition, but if not, then it is an expanded copy of the Pentateuch. The internal considerations of the manuscripts as we currently have them

⁴⁶See Emanuel Tov, “Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QparaGen-Exod,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111-34; Michael Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, et. al.; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 2000), 391-99; White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 56-57; Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworkedPentateuch Manuscripts.” The growing consensus is that the various 4QRP scrolls were “scriptural” (i.e., authoritative) texts, yet this does not mean that any of the 4QRP scrolls held complete copies of the Pentateuch as we know it from later witnesses.

⁴⁷Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 57-58.

⁴⁸Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts,” 331-32: “the fragmentary nature of the 4QRP manuscripts makes any definitive determination of their scope impossible.”

(once again, fragmentary) point toward the latter, while the reconstructed length of an expanded Pentateuch points towards the former.⁴⁹

Utilizing the above criteria, it has been shown by the expanded and altered textual forms of Daniel and Gilgamesh why these are best understood as copies of “the same text,” while the 4QRP texts remain ambiguous because of their fragmentary state. Placed in the context of the previous chapter’s discussion of distinguishing between composition and transmission, and Ulrich’s proposed outlines of the development of Exodus, we can now see the need to describe composition in the form of a larger stemma including stages of growth within “the same composition” and stages of growth where a new composition is created.

3.6 A Stemma of Exodus – Ulrich’s Theory Revised

The picture presented by many the material witnesses is one in which texts grew as a series of “books,” i.e., new compositions, each of which experienced internal growth in the form of “variant editions,” and—at various points along the way—further smaller textual variants. This means that we can conceptualize the process of development as one in which books grow through (1) a process of initial composition, (2) transmission, often accompanied by growth “within the book” and at times the selective use of that book as a source of an altogether new composition (a return to the first step). Thus we must think of a sequence of stages to a book’s growth, similar to that posited by Ulrich, but not always linear, and with the inclusion of a series of stages of different books. As I have argued

⁴⁹See Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing,” 327, 333. To my mind the present question of whether 4QRP are new compositions or new versions of their source is different from the other two questions of whether any of the 4QRP are “biblical” (i.e., authoritative scriptural) text or whether or not it can be filed under the heading of “Rewritten Scripture.”

above, “Variant Literary Editions” by definition must refer to “copies of the same text.” There is a need to distinguish when the earlier materials actually become the work known as “Exodus.” Ulrich’s work often fails to make this distinction between a work and its sources, referring to the whole composition and transmission process as growth by “Variant Literary Editions.”⁵⁰ Thus to revisit his example of Exodus, we must delimit “pre-Exodus” to that stage where the materials are not actually anything which could be identified as “the Book of Exodus” but rather “Exodus-in-the-Making” (from our later perspective, just as Genesis might be viewed as “*Jubilees-in-the-making*”). In view of our new understanding of a new composition and an updated version, Ulrich’s placement of “4QPenateuch” (i.e. 4QReworkedPentateuch) at the end of his linear sequence seems incorrect, if not idiosyncratic. One would do better to place the Samaritan Pentateuch after 4QpaleoExod^m, as SP is undisputedly “Exodus” while 4QRP is, at least for the present, unclear.⁵¹ Whatever existed prior to “Exodus,” was, by definition not “Exodus,” but something else, and later works that drew heavily upon “Exodus” are, in fact, other works. Thus the primary new distinction introduced here over Ulrich’s original

⁵⁰ E.g., Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls – The Scriptures of Late Second Temple Judaism,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed., T. Lim, et. al.; London: T & T Clark, 2000), 86, “it is a reasonable hypothesis that the succession of developing literary editions of the books which is documentable in the latter half of the Second Temple period is only the visible part of the literary iceberg, and that the phenomenon is simply the continuation of the series of major redactional growth-spurts that constitute the compositional process for the books of the Bible for their very beginnings. If this is correct, that would mean that the growth of the individual biblical books developed through repeated creative new editions over time, that this process was constitutive of the biblical books from start to end.” See further, idem, “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mi.: Eerdmans, 1999), 11-12; idem, “The Canonical Process,” *DSSOB*, 53, 77-78, “the procedures of these scribes were equivalent to the procedures of those tradents we normally think of as the successive composers of the Scriptures” (53); and idem, “The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books,” 47-64.

⁵¹ See Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworkedPentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315-339. If 4QRP were better preserved, it would be much easier to classify. The estimated length of the scroll makes an entire pentateuchal scroll unlikely without some kind of excerption. Following the argument above, excerption would immediately identify 4QRP as “a new composition” and thus not an expanded edition of the Pentateuch.

formulation is the distinction between growth within copies of the same work, and changes arising when one work is used as the source or base-text of a new composition.

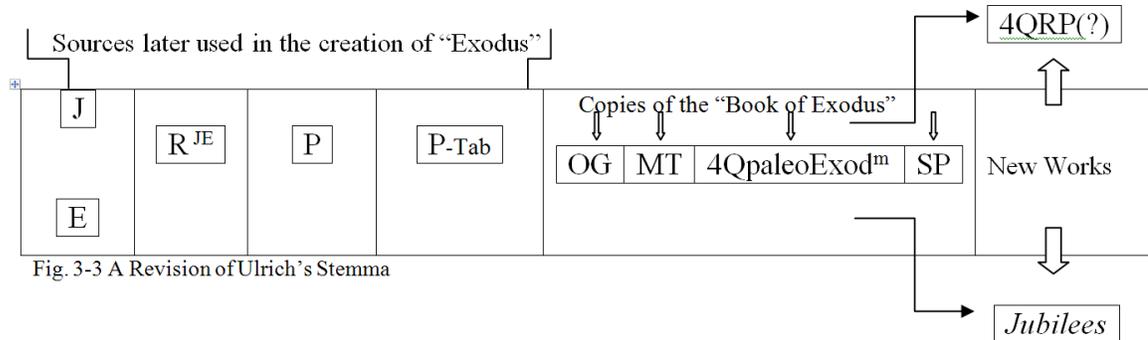


Fig. 3-3 A Revision of Ulrich's Stemma

In fig. 3-3, I have rearranged Ulrich's proposed sequence of variant editions and included a few related texts. I have simply borrowed the elements of J, E, R^{JE}, P, and P-Tabernacle from Ulrich's study. At this point I am solely interested in the conceptualization, and not the specifics of stages preceding the extant evidence. The large vertical lines show the point at which a new text is created (compositional stages). In contrast to Ulrich's series of 12 editions, rearranging Ulrich's stages into my categories results in—even if limited to the extant evidence—4-5 stages of growth within Exodus (Continuing Composition, i.e., growth within copies of a single "book") and 6-7 stages of growth between books (i.e., the selective reuse of Exodus in the composition of *Jubilees*, and the use of earlier material in the composition of Exodus, what I have called Authorial Composition). The stages of growth within the book of Exodus cannot all be arranged linearly as the four main witnesses are merely four survivors of a greater diversity and each of them contains multiple stages of Continuing Composition, as I will demonstrate in the next chapter.

3.7 Summary

According to Ulrich the major stages of textual growth of a biblical book are to be found not in individual variants but in what he terms Variant Literary Editions. I have argued here that VLEs must be understood as copies of the same text. Building upon Segal's earlier work, I have argued that citations of works by title, back-referencing of sources, and later codicological placement point to the fact that ancient readers and writers did distinguish between copies of the same book (which often varying in their wording) and other books that had significant textual-overlap with their sources. In trying to examine descriptively what features separated "New Compositions" from copies of the same text, I have argued that selective use of a base-text, change of narrative voice, or change of literary setting effectively created a new text out of an old one, whereas expansions upon a base-text—even when varying ideologically—were viewed by readers and writers as copies of the same text as its source or *Vorlage*. These features explain why *Jubilees* is not a VLE of Genesis and why Chronicles is not a VLE of Sam-Kgs.

While Ulrich has stated that VLEs represent the greatest point of change, I have argued that he has failed to address the stage of growth where one book is used in the creation of another. Using the example of his stemma of Exodus, I have argued that he has used the label VLE too broadly to include stages that were not "Exodus" but different works used in its composition. As stages where new composition are created make use of a new voice, new literary setting, or use their base-text selectively, while VLEs do not, the type of stage identified should guide our expectations of what types of alterations may have been made. Building on the distinction I proposed in the previous chapter of using the term Composition to refer to the creation of a new text and Transmission to refer to

all changes that occur within copies of the same text, VLEs are a witness to growth within the transmission of a text. Compositional stages that reuse much preexisting material change it much more dramatically. The next chapter will examine in more detail examples of the former case of Continuing Composition where a work grows within the process of transmission, within the confines of a single “book.”

Chapter 4 CONTINUING COMPOSITION: GROWTH WITHIN THE BOOK

4.1 Introduction

One of the greatest shifts brought about by the Qumran discoveries is in the evaluation of the Greek witnesses.¹ Before the texts from the Judean desert had been published, the most common trend was to view the Septuagint (LXX) or Old Greek manuscripts (OG) as witnesses to a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* essentially like the Masoretic Text (MT), thus, when at variance with the MT the Greek text was thought to manifest interpretive or stylistic changes by the translator.² But, as Ulrich has put it, the impact of the Qumran discoveries has sharpened our focus.³ In many cases we do not have much new information, but in all cases the nature of the data at hand is much clearer.

¹ Emmanuel Tov, “The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and MT S T V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources,” in Adrian Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (SCS 52; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 133, “one notes that beyond MT, the LXX is the single most significant source of information pertaining to the editorial development of the biblical books. No such information is included in any other ancient version,” and 135, “*the Qumran corpus*, through much larger than the LXX, *reflects much fewer literary differences of type found in the LXX.*” Italics original.

² See Emanuel Tov, *The Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d. Ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 116; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques – a Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account?” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (2d Ed.; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 107-21; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 70-9; Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 291; Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek with an Appendix containing the Letter of Aristeas edited by H. St J. Thackeray* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 315-20, Strictly speaking there is no “the Septuagint” but a “series of versions” made various translators at various times, the manuscripts have also been subject to recensional changes especially following Origin’s Hexapla and the work associated with the name Lucian. Since this corpus of Greek books contains a variety of works beyond the Torah attributed to the translation of “the Seventy (two)” and the various manuscripts contain different degrees of contamination or influence by the various recensions and translations (e.g., “the three” Aquila-Symmacus, and Theodotian), specialists often use the term “Old Greek” to refer to the earliest Greek translation made while “Septuagint” is used to refer to the larger collection of Greek biblical works. See Tov, *TCHB*, 129; A ‘recension’ implies “self-conscious, systematic, and clearly identifiable revision of an existing text,” Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 46; Tuukka Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic Problem in I Samuel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 1-31.

³ Eugene Ulrich, “Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *CBQ* 66 (2004): 1-24; Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich & J. VanderKam; Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1994), repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 31.

The discoveries of Hebrew texts with many of the same readings as the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX has helped to shift the nature of the assumptions of scholars away from attributing differences to translators and towards the possibility of variant *Vorlagen*.⁴ The necessary check upon this assumption is the study of translation technique whereby one can analyze statistically to what extent a given translator shows consistency in his or her renderings.⁵ A fairly literal translation can be used with relative certainty as a witness to its *Vorlage*, whereas a translation which is less literal, meaning not consistent in its lexical and syntactical translations, must be used with much greater caution, if at all. The notion of “literalness” is problematic. When he uses the term, Tov essentially means consistency of one-to-one lexical equivalents so that a bilingual reader could identify the *Vorlage* based upon consistent equivalents. Aejmelaeus puts more emphasis on the consistency of syntactical renderings—a more nuanced approach, which is less representable statistically than Tov’s. Davila has further complicated the picture of analyzing *Vorlagen*, in his study related to pseudepigraphic texts whose (theoretical) Semitic *Vorlage* has not survived.⁶

A second major shift, discussed in chapter 2, was the recognition of “Variant Literary Editions” (VLE) or major groups of variants thought to correspond to a different

⁴ Yet note the contrary opinion in John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), xv: “there will be passages where the translator either had a different reading or misread his parent text, but it is suggested that one must begin with a prejudice towards the text that we actually have.” Wevers bases this “prejudice” on the importance of the LXX for the community of Alexandria and an assumption that as such, it “could not have been wildly different from MT.” The various Hebrew fragments of books which we do have now show that this estimation cannot be taken for granted; on this point see J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 7-8.

⁵ Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, 205-22.; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d Ed.; JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 18. That some of the translators in question may have been female is in theory possible, but unlikely.

⁶ James R. Davila, “(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?” *JSP* 2005:3-61.

literary stage than that witnessed by the other manuscripts. Recognition of this category is an outgrowth of the realization that the major discrepancies between the LXX and MT can often be attributed to a different textual base, rather than the will of the translator. Jeremiah has been the most prominent example ever since the publication of 4QJer^b which preserves a fragment of a text like the *Vorlage* of LXX Jeremiah.⁷ In the wake of discussions of Jeremiah, manuscripts of other books have also increasingly been identified as VLEs. As discussed in previous chapters, these VLEs are often treated as examples of stages of compositional growth (as distinct from transmissional growth).

The present chapter will survey a number of cases of textual growth observed within the manuscript tradition of several books. In each case, the growth occurs within the confines of a single book, meaning that it does not result in the creation of a new work, but builds upon or otherwise expands its source resulting in a new copy of “the same text.” The goal is to secure and support the thesis advanced in preceding chapters that only in stages of Authorial Composition (where a new work is created) do we see the base-text (*Vorlage*) used selectively or recontextualized by changing either the narrative voice or literary setting. This survey will be broad in its coverage, but limited to three major examples (Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel) that have significant evidence of scribal alteration, especially in the form of expansions or rearrangements. The guiding questions are: Does the evidence support the thesis that in Continuing Composition one may find

⁷ Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 300-301; Eugene Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the form to Be Translated” in James L. Crenshaw, ed., *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988); repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 40; Emanuel Tov, “The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr. Eugene, Oreg.: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 211-37. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*.

expansions or rearrangements, but not the three types of changes identified in chapter 3? If a layer can be identified, how consistent is it and how wide is its scope? Is there an ideology or tendency that can explain the changes?

4.2 Exodus

The book of Exodus serves as our first case example of inner-book textual growth. As an exhaustive catalogue of all variants is outside the scope of this project, we will confine ourselves to several pericopes where conscious change is evident, namely the plague narrative in chapters 7-11, Jethro's advice to Moses in chapter 13, the golden calf incident in chapter 32, and the tabernacle account in chapters 35-40. We will likewise restrict ourselves to four texts: The Masoretic Text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), the 4QpaleoExod^m scroll, and the Septuagint (LXX).⁸ In discussing the tabernacle account it will also be necessary to make reference to the Old Latin Codex Monacensis as a witness to the Old Greek that did not survive in later LXX manuscripts.⁹ All of these examples will further illustrate what I have described in the previous chapters as “continuing composition,” meaning a process of composition that does not create a new text but expands and rearranges material with the result that the composition would have continued to have been recognized as “the same work” (e.g., a copy of the book of

⁸ For the texts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, we confine ourselves to the secondary literature, which generally follows the BHS apparatus or the critical (but much-criticized) edition of August Freiherrn von Gaul, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann Verlag, 1966). For the purposes of this section, the designation Septuagint (LXX) refers to the text of the Göttingen edition, and the term “Old Greek” will be used to refer to the earliest Greek stage, often synonymous with LXX. I adopt here de Lagarde's theory of a single original translation for each book, as is standard among Septuagint specialists. The text of 4QpaleoExod^m follows that of Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, and *DJD IX*.

⁹ The term “Old Latin” refers to Latin translations of Greek biblical manuscripts and is to be contrasted with the later Latin Vulgate just as the “Old Greek” refers to the earliest Greek translation in contrast to the Septuagint, which sometimes, though not always, equals the OG. See notes 2 and 8 above.

Exodus) as its source. The scribal alterations to these passages do not consciously omit from the base-text, change the narrative voice of the base-text, or change its literary setting—the three activities singled out in the previous chapters as marking the creation of a new literary work, which the current study calls “Authorial Composition” (see further chapter 5).

4.2.1 THE PLAGUE NARRATIVE

The Plague Narrative of Exod 7:14-11:10 exhibits nine harmonizing (perhaps better “coordinating”) expansions in the SP, six of which appear in the “proto-Samaritan” 4QpaleoExod^m scroll.¹⁰ These expansions add words from parallel passages in Exodus with the result that all the words which God commands Moses or Aaron to speak to Pharaoh are actually repeated in the narrative. The text is lifted, almost verbatim from immediately preceding verses.¹¹ I will at times refer to variant readings being “earlier” or “later,” these references are relative to the presumed archetype, and refer to the typological stage of the section in question, not the absolute dating of the manuscript in which the reading is found. Although the MT is witnessed by much later manuscripts (e.g., 10th century), its readings often show less expansion than those of LXX or the

¹⁰ For the term “coordination” see David M. Carr *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 90. Carr build’s on Molly Zahn’s identification of problems with the term “harmonization,” and offers “coordination” as a replacement which may be a better heading for the many ways in which scribes bridged or connected texts. Tov calls the changes “editorial rather than harmonizing,” (*TCHB*, 80). For a description of the cases and manuscripts as well as a full synopsis of all witnesses see Bénédicte Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called ‘Plagues Narrative’ in Exodus 7:14-11:10* (OtSt 56; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 197-357; Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 196-207 claims that 4QpaleoExod^m included all nine, though three have not been preserved among the surviving fragments.

¹¹ See the summary in Tov, “Large Scale Differences, 133-5, and idem., “Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 334-54. Lemmelijn, *Plague of Texts*, 197-207.

4QpaleoExod^m scroll that are much earlier chronologically.¹² While the age of a manuscript should always be considered, there is no necessary correlation between the age of a manuscript and the amount of scribal alteration to be found within it.

Major Expansion #1 Exodus 7:18

MT

והדגה אשר ביאר תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשמות מים מן היאר:

SP

והדגה אשר ביאר תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשמות מים מן היאר וילך משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו יהוה אלהי העברים שלחנו אליך לאמר שלח את עמי ויעבדני במדבר והנה לא שמעת עד כה כה אמר יהוה בזאת תדע כי אני יהוה הנה אנכי מכה במטה אשר בידי אל המים אשר ביאר ונהפכו לדם והדגה אשר ביאר תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשמות מים מן היאר

4QpaleoExod^m

4 בת[וך] היאר תמות]
5 מים מן היאר va]cat
6 וי[א]מר אליו יה[וה]
7 שלח את עמי ויעבד]
8 כה אמר יהוה בז[את]
9 מ[כ]ה במטה אשר]
10 ו[הד]גה אשר בת[וך] היאר
11 מ[צ]ריים לש[תו]ת מים מן היאר

OG

καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τελευτήσουσιν, καὶ ἐποζέσει ὁ ποταμός, καὶ οὐ δυνήσονται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πιεῖν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

והדגה אשר במים תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו מצרים לשמות מים מן היאר

The MT and OG seem to share the same text, and the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m likewise appear to agree. The plus material found in SP and 4QpaleoExod^m is taken directly from verses 15-18a with the initial verbs changed so that, whereas in the preceding verses 15-18a, God is commanding Moses to go to Pharaoh, demand the

¹² On the quality of MT Exodus, despite its date, see, Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 309; and Lemmelijn, *Plague of Texts*, 217-18.

change of verb from the imperative to the third person, (re)narrating what was previously commanded.

Major Expansion #3

Exodus 8:1

MT

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אָמַר אֶל־אַהֲרֹן נֹטֵה אֶת־יָדְךָ בְּמִטְּךָ עַל־הַנְּהָרֹת עַל־הַיַּאֲרֹים וְעַל־הָאֲגָמִים וְהָעֵל אֶת־הַצְּפָרְדִּיעִים עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

SP

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה אִמְרָ אֶל אַהֲרֹן נֹטֵה אֶת יָדְךָ בַּמִּטְּךָ עַל הַנְּהָרוֹת וְעַל הַיַּאֲרִים וְעַל הָאֲגָמִים וְהָעֵל הַצְּפָרְדִּיעִים עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל אַהֲרֹן נֹטֵה אֶת יָדְךָ בַּמִּטְּךָ וְתָעַל הַצְּפָרְדִּיעַ עַל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

4QpaleoExod^m

] 5 במטך]

OG (8:5)

εἶπεν δὲ κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Εἶπον Ἀαρὼν τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἐκτεινον τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ῥάβδον σου ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς διώρυγας καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔλη, καὶ ἀνάγαγε τοὺς βατράχους.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה אִמְרָ אֶל אַהֲרֹן אַחֲיָךְ נֹטֵה אֶת יָדְךָ בַּמִּטְּךָ עַל הַנְּהָרוֹת וְעַל הַיַּאֲרִים וְעַל הָאֲגָמִים וְהָעֵל אֶת הַצְּפָרְדִּיעִים

The plus material in the SP appears to have also been in 4QpaleoExod^m although only the phrase “with your staff” is extant.¹⁴ The plus recounts Moses doing exactly as he was told in the first half of the verse, with the middle portion “over the rivers, over the streams, and over the marshes” omitted. The plus ends with “upon the land of Egypt,” the exact phrase after which it began, utilizing the technique of resumptive repetition or

¹⁴ Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 197.

Wiederaufnahme.¹⁵ The Greek adds the phrase “your brother,” most likely coordinating with Exod 4:14, and lacks the phrase “upon the land of Egypt.”¹⁶

Major Expansion #4 Exodus 8:19

MT

וְשִׁמְתִי פְּלֹתַי בֵּין עַמִּי וּבֵין עַמֶּךָ לְמַחֵר יִהְיֶה הָאֵת הַזֶּה:

SP

ושמתי פדות בין עמי ובין עמך למחר יהיה האות הזה ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו כה אמר יהוה שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי אם אינך משלח את עמי הנני משלח בך ובעבדיך ובעמך ובבתיך את הערב ומלאו בתי מצרים את הערב וגם האדמה אשר הם עליה והפליתי ביום ההוא את ארץ גשן אשר עמי עמד עליה לבלתי היות שם ערב למען תדע כי אני יהוה בקרב הארץ ושמתי פדות בין עמי ובין עמך למחר יהיה האות הזה

4QpaleoExod^m

4 [אם]ר
5 [עמי הנני]
6 [ומל]או בתי מצרי[ים]
7 [בין]ם ההוא את ארץ]
8 [למען תדע כי אני יה]וה
9 [למחר יהיה ה]אות

OG (8:23)

²³ καὶ δώσω διαστολήν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἔμοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σοῦ λαοῦ ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐρίον ἔσται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

ונתתי¹⁷ פדות בין עמי ובין עמך למחר יהיה האות הזה על הארץ

¹⁵ On the *Wiederaufnahme*, see C. Kuhl, “Die ‘Wiederaufnahme’: Ein literarkritisches Prinzip?” ZAW 64 (1952):1-11; Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 17-20; Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (trans. Sr. Pascale Dominique; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 2006), 77-82; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 29 n25, 86 n20, etc.

¹⁶ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 107-8, points out the minus and the addition of “your brother” but does not offer an explanation of either.

¹⁷ The first word might just as plausibly be reconstructed as ושמתי identical to MT since both words are often found translated by διδομι in the LXX, see T. Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 30; Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 126, calls it an “unexpected” and non-standard rendering; These words are even found as “synonymous variants” within the MT tradition as documented by Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Textual Study of the Bible – A New Outlook” in Frank Moore Cross & Shemaryahu Talmon eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 340-2; see also Tov, *Text Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 60-7.

The plus in verse 19 of SP and 4QpaleoExod^m draws directly from verses 16-19, changing only the grammatical person, as in the previous cases. What God has commanded, Moses (again with Aaron) is reported to have done—going to Pharaoh, demanding the sending out of the Israelites and announcing the plague of locusts. The plus “Upon the land” is added in the OG for grammatical reasons and was probably not present in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.¹⁸

Major Expansion #5 Exodus 9:5

MT

וישם יהוה מועד לאמר מחר יעשה יהוה הדבר הזה בארץ:

SP

וישם יהוה מועד לאמר מחר יעשה יהוה את הדבר הזה בארץ ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו כה אמר יהוה אלהי העברים שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי אם מאן אתה לשלח ועודך מחזיק במ הנה יד יהוה היה במקניך אשר בשדה בסוסים ובחמורים ובגמלים בבקר ובצאן דבר כבוד מאד והפלא יהוה בין מקנה ישראל ובין מקנה מצרים ולא ימות מכל לבני ישראל דבר מחר יעשה יהוה את הדבר הזה בארץ

4QpaleoExod^m

1] ובגמל[ים בבקר ובצאן דבר כבוד מאד וה[]

2 [] מקנה מצריים ולא ימות מכל[]

3 [] יהוה הדבר הזה בארץ

OG

καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ὄρον λέγων Ἐν τῇ αὐρίον ποιήσει κύριος τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

וישם אלהים מועד לאמר מחר יעשה יהוה הדבר הזה בארץ

As before, the SP and (as far as the fragments show) 4QpaleoExod^m contain an expansion that details Moses (and Aaron) performing the immediately preceding commands from Exod 9:1-5. As in the previous examples, the insertion ends with the

¹⁸ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 118.

same phrase with which it began, resuming the narrative by *Wiederaufnahme*. The OG reconstructed by Wevers has “God” instead of the tetragrammaton as the initial subject; this could be stylistic variation by the translator since the tetragrammaton appears a few words later in the same sentence, or could represent a true variant.¹⁹

Major Expansion #6 Exodus 9:19

MT

וְעַתָּה שְׁלַח הָעֶזְרָא אֶת־מִקְנֶיךָ וְאֵת פְּלִי־אֲשֶׁר לְךָ בַּשָּׂדֵה פְּלִי־הָאָדָם וְהַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר־יִמְצָא בַּשָּׂדֵה וְלֹא יֵאָסֵף הַבְּיָמָה וְיָרַד עֲלֵיכֶם הַבָּרָד וְיָמָתוּ:

SP

ועתה שלח העזר את מקניך ואת כל אשר לך בשדה כל האדם והבהמה אשר ימצא בשדה ולא יאסף הביתה וירד עליהם הברד ומתו ויבא משה ואהרן אל פרעה ויאמרו אליו כה אמר יהוה אלהי העברים שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי בפעם הזאת אני שלח את כל מגפתי על לבך ובעבדיך ובעמך בעבור תדע כי אין כמוני בכל הארץ כי עתה שלחתי את ידי ואכה אתך ואת עמך בדבר ותכחד מן הארץ ואולם בעבור זאת העמדתך בעבור הראתיך את כחי ולמען ספר שמי בכל הארץ עודך מסתולל בעמי לבלתי שלחם הנני ממטיר כעת מחר ברד כבד מאד אשר לא היה כמהו במצרים למיום היסדה ועד עתה ועתה שלח העזר את מקניך ואת כל אשר לך בשדה כל האדם והבהמה אשר ימצא בשדה ולא יאסף הביתה וירד עליהם הברד ומתו

4QpaleoExod^m

[בע]מִי לבלתי שלח[ם] הַנְּנִי
29 [ב]מִצְרַיִם לִמֵּן הַיּוֹם
30 [אש]י לך בשדה כל האדם
31 [עליהם הברד
32 [ומתו]

OG

νῦν οὖν κατάσπυσον συναγαγεῖν τὰ κτήνη σου καὶ ὅσα σοὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ· πάντες γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτήνη, ὅσα ἂν εὗρεθῇ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις καὶ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς οἰκίαν, πέση δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ ἡ χάλαζα, τελευτήσῃ.

Reconstructed *Vorlage*

¹⁹ For a number of examples of alteration between יהוה and אדני in Hebrew and Greek manuscripts see Russel Hobson, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (BW; Sheffield: Equinox, 2012), 119-131; and David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 106-7.

ועתה שלח העז את מקנך ואת כל אשר לך בשדה כל האדם והבהמה אשר ימצא בשדה ולא יאסף
הביתה וירד עליהם הברד ומתו²⁰

As in the previous cases material from the verses just preceding the expanded section have been reused, and appropriately altered so that what was commanded by YHWH in verses 13-19 is narrated as having been done by Moses (and Aaron) with the grammatical tenses changed, and ending with the same phrase as the initial verse thereby creating a *Wiederaufnahme* that resumes at the very point where the expansion began.

Major Expansion #7 Exodus 10:2

MT

וּלְמַעַן תִּסְפָּר בְּאָזְנֵי בְנֶךָ וּבֶן-בְּנֶךָ אֵת אֲשֶׁר הִתְעַלְלִיתִי בְּמִצְרָיִם וְאֵת-אֲתֹתַי אֲשֶׁר-שְׁמַתִּי בָּם וַיִּדְעֻם
פִּי-אֲנִי יְהוָה:

SP

ולמען תספר באזני בנך ובן בנך את אשר התעללתי במצרים ואת אתותי אשר שמתי בם וידעתם כי אני יהוה
אלהיכם ואמרת אל פרעה כה אמר יהוה אלהי העברים עד מתי מאנת לענות מפני שלח את עמי ויעבדני כי אם
מאן אתה לשלח את עמי הנני מביא מחר ארבה בגבולך וכסה את עין הארץ ולא יכל לראות את הארץ ואכל
את יתר הפלטה הנשארת לכם מן הברד ואכל את כל עשב הארץ ואת כל פרי העץ הצמח לכם מן השדה ומלאו
בתוך ובתי כל עבדיך ובתי כל מצרים אשר לא ראו אבתיך ואבת אבתיך מיום היותם על האדמה עד היום הזה

OG

ὅπως διηγήσῃσθε εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν τέκνων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τῶν τέκνων ὑμῶν ὅσα
ἐμπέπαιχα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τὰ σημεῖά μου, ἃ ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνῶσεσθε ὅτι
ἐγὼ κύριος.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

ולמען תספר באזני בניכם ובני בניכם אשר התעללתי במצרים ואת אתותי אשר שמתי בם וידעתם כי אני
יהוה²¹

Here in the SP we see another expansion, this time taking the words spoken by Moses and Aaron in Exod 10:3-6a and inserting them into the preceding divine command

²⁰ For an explanation of the OG see Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 133-4.

²¹ I have retroverted the Hebrew with the plural “your (pl) son and your (pl) sons’ sons” although the Greek could be a translation of a *Vorlage* identical to MT.

which ended in 10:2. There is no repetitive resumption (*Wiederaufnahme*) this time because the narrative is not being altered; the divine speech is simply being expanded.

The text of 4QpaleoExod^m is not fully extant but the size of the lacunae suggests that it also contained the expansion found in SP.²²

Major Expansions #8 and #9 Exodus 11:3

MT 4:22-23

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֶל־פְּרַעֲפָרָה כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בְּנֵי בְכָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

וְאָמַר אֵלֶיךָ שְׁלַח אֶת־בְּנֵי וְיַעֲבֹדֵנִי וְתִמְאַן לְשַׁלְּחֹו הַנְּה אֲנֹכִי הֲלֵג אֶת־בְּנֵךְ בְּכָרְךָ:

MT Exod 11:3

וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת־תְּנוּ הָעַם בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם גַּם הָאִישׁ מִשָּׁה גְדוֹל מְאֹד בְּאַרְצָן מִצְרַיִם בְּעֵינֵי עֲבָדֵי־פְרַעֲפָרָה וּבְעֵינֵי הָעַם:

SP

וַנִּתְּנִי אֶת חַן הָעַם הַזֶּה בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם וְהַשְׁאֲלוּם וְכַחֲצִית הַלֵּילָה אֲנִי יֵצֵא בְּתוֹךְ אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּמֵת כָּל בְּכוֹר בְּאַרְץ מִצְרַיִם מִבְּכוֹר פְּרַעֲפָרָה הַיּוֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסְאוֹ וְעַד בְּכוֹר הַשְּׂפָחָה אֲשֶׁר אַחַר הַרְחִימִים וְעַד בְּכוֹר כָּל בְּהֵמָה וְהִיתָה צַעֲקָה גְדוֹלָה בְּמִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר כְּמוֹהָ לֹא נִהְיָתָה וְכְמוֹהָ לֹא תִסַּף וְלֹכֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִחַרְץ כְּלָב לִשְׁנוֹ לְמֵאִישׁ וְעַד בְּהֵמָה לְמַעַן תִּדְעֶה אֲשֶׁר יִפְלֹא יְהוָה בֵּין מִצְרַיִם וּבֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל וְגַם הָאִישׁ מִשָּׁה גְדוֹל מְאֹד בְּאַרְץ מִצְרַיִם בְּעֵינֵי עֲבָדֵי פְרַעֲפָרָה וּבְעֵינֵי הָעַם וַיֹּאמֶר מִשָּׁה אֶל פְּרַעֲפָרָה כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בְּנֵי בְכָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאָמַר אֵלֶיךָ שְׁלַח אֶת בְּנֵי וְיַעֲבֹדֵנִי וְתִמְאַן לְשַׁלְּחֹו הַנְּה יְהוָה הֲרַג אֶת בְּנֵךְ בְּכָרְךָ

OG

κύριος δὲ ἔδωκεν τὴν χάριν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐναντίον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἔχρησαν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Μωσῆς μέγας ἐγενήθη σφόδρα ἐναντίον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἐναντίον Φαραὼ καὶ ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the OG

וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה אֶת חַן הָעַם הַזֶּה²³ בְּעֵינֵי מִצְרַיִם וְהַשְׁאֲלוּם וְהָאִישׁ מִשָּׁה גְדוֹל מְאֹד בְּאַרְצָן מִצְרַיִם וּבְעֵינֵי עֲבָדֵי־פְרַעֲפָרָה וּבְעֵינֵי הָעַם²⁴ כָּל עֲבָדָיו

²² Patrick W. Skehan, et. al., *Qumran Cave 4: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 55, 81.

²³ The Greek possessive pronoun in the reading “his people” is common way of rendering the Hebrew demonstrative, so the *Vorlage* likely read הַזֶּה rather than עָמוֹ.

²⁴ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 163, states that while the possessive in “his people” comes from the OG translator, the ending of this verse “is only explicable on the basis of a different parent text.” The plus of יִשְׂאֲלוּם in the *Vorlage* of OG parallels part of the plus in the SP, and may be influenced by Exod 12:36.

Sanderson describes two distinct additions in Exod 11:3. First, the SP has been expanded with the contents of 11:4b-7. The opening verb has been changed to the first person so that it matches the first person verbs in the expansion. The OG and SP have an additional demonstrative in “this people,” and the verb phrase וְהַשְׂאֵלֹם not found in MT. The former may be a true variant, perhaps accidentally omitted from the MT, but the latter is more likely a later coordination with 12:36.²⁵ The text of 4QpaleoExod^m is not extant at this point, but the lacuna shows enough space for the expansion from 11:4b-7.²⁶

The second expansion in the SP comes at the end of 11:3 where coordinating text from 4:22-23 is included. Whereas all the previous examples of expansions came from the immediate context, usually the preceding or follow verses, in this case the source text is several chapters earlier.²⁷ This shows that in some cases a coordination has a broader scope than simply the immediate context.

Summary

In the plague narrative in the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m scroll, a number of expansions are evidenced. Every word is copied exactly from its source: no new text is added.²⁸ The only “new” thing here is the changing of the grammatical person of the verbs as needed to fit the context (e.g., God’s commands are narrated as Moses’ actions). In these cases the (micro) changes fit the pieces into their new literary context. The source is altered to be sure, but the narrative voice and setting of the base-text remain

²⁵ Neither Sanderson nor Lemmelijn comments on the additional demonstrative. It is listed in Lemmelijn’s variant list, but not in Sanderson’s list. Although the LXX and SP seem to offer independent testimony for the reading וְהַשְׂאֵלֹם , this is most likely a case of independent coordination with 12:36 so that the despoiling motif is used to gloss the nature of YHWH giving the Israelites favor in the eyes of the Egyptians. See Lemmelijn, *Plague of Texts*, 192.

²⁶ *DJD IX*, 84, has lines 6-26 missing, 11:3b would have been in lines 11-16.

²⁷ Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 206-7.

²⁸ E.g., Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 274.

unaltered. A similar situation obtains for the next example (4.2.2): the type of distinctive expansion in the plague narrative, as much as far as this can be determined from the surviving texts, is preserved in both 4QpaleoExod^m scroll and the SP. The similarity of the expansions to one another in terms of style and location in the narrative as well as the fact they are found together in both witnesses suggests that these expansions were created by the same person or group since we do not have any manuscripts that contain some of the expansions but not for others. Furthermore, the narrative is not leveled equally: some sections are not expanded (e.g., 8:12-15, 9:8-12, 10:21-27). Sanderson and Lemmelijn both explain this by pointing to divine speech as a common denominator for the expanded passages.²⁹ God does not directly address Pharaoh in the unexpanded sections. Thus a particular consistent concern is evident to show that God's commands are carried out, either a concern of scribes to protect the portrayal of God in the text or perhaps for dramatic effect on the listeners, as Sanderson suggests.³⁰ In all of these cases we see different degrees of expansion and coordination, but no examples of deliberate omission from the base-text of Exodus.³¹ Some of these changes likely stem from the same scribal hand, but others are clearly independent. As defined in earlier chapters of the present study, this type of growth is growth *within* copies of the same book, not the creation of a new book. It is resolutely Continuing Composition.

4.2.2 EXODUS 18: DEUTERONOMY MEETS *EXODUS

In Exodus 18, Jethro advises Moses to select a number of judicial assistants from among the people. Deuteronomy 1 contains a parallel story, rewriting Exodus 18 with the

²⁹ Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts*, 199; Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 203-205.

³⁰ Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 206-207, 223.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 313.

result that the selection of the judges is Moses' idea and not that of a foreign priest, and so that the judicial system's origin follows the divine revelation at the mountain.³²

Several texts of Exodus, including the Samaritan Pentateuch and the proto-Samaritan texts from Qumran, contain a text which coordinates the Deuteronomy version into the Exodus text.³³ Tigay calls this coordination "conflation," referring to "the combination of different texts—often variants of one and the same text or tradition—into a single text."³⁴ Such a combination could place the parts side-by-side, insert one inside of the other, or weave them together. Tigay places the MT and SP passages of Exodus 18 and Deuteronomy 1 into a synopsis marking how the SP has expanded its source by the insertion of material taken directly from Deuteronomy 1.³⁵ Both of these passages refer to the selection of elders, thus the scribe responsible for this expanded text likely felt the need or desire to smooth out the discrepancies between the two stories. Tigay likens this coordination to that found in Tatian's Diatessaron in which the four gospels are woven

³² On the problems and history of exegesis see Brevard Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1974), 321-36. On the dependence of Deuteronomy upon Exodus at this point, see Bernard M. Levinson, "Deuteronomy's Conception of Law as an 'Ideal Type': A Missing Chapter in the History of Constitutional Law" 58-68 in *"The Right Chorale" Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (FAT 54; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008); and idem., "The First Constitution: Rethinking the Origins of Rule of Law and Separation of Powers in Light of Deuteronomy" *Cardozo Law Review* 27 (2005-2006), 1865-1869; for the less-convincing alternative that the Exodus 18 narrative is dependent on Deuteronomy see John Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 212-8. Van Seters tries to solve the problem of timing by hypothesizing an original location for the pericope after Sinai from which the story was moved by the Priestly writer. Van Seters claims the attribution of the office's creation to Jethro is done to "create a link to the larger context."

³³ Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," in Jeffrey H. Tigay, ed., *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 61-68.

³⁴ Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," 54.

³⁵ The assumption, which seems quite valid, is that the SP is based on a text similar to the chronologically later but typologically earlier MT.

together to make a single text.³⁶ Text from Deuteronomy is copied into Exodus, with the Deuteronomy version placed directly after that of Exodus.

MT 18:21-27

SP 18:21-27

MT Deut 1:9-18

ואתה תחזה מכל־העם
אנשי־חיל יראי אלהים אנשי אמת
שנאי בצע ושמת עליהם שרי
אלפים ושרי מאות שרי
חמשים ושרי עשרת:
ושפטו את־העם בכל־עת
והיה כל־הדבר גדול יביאן
אליך וכל־הדבר הקטן
ישפטוהם והקל מעליך ונשאו
אתך:
אם את־הדבר הזה תעשה
וצוך אלהים ויכלת עמד וגם
כל־העם הזה על־מקמו יבא
בשלום:
וישמע משה לקול חתנו ויעש כל
אשר אמר:

ואתה תחזה לך מכל העם
אנשי חיל יראי אלהים אנשי אמת
שנאי בצע ושמת עליהם שרי
אלפים ושרי מאות שרי
חמשים ושרי עשרות
ושפטו את העם בכל עת
אליך והיה כל הדבר הגדול יביאון
וכל הדבר הקטן
ישפטו הם והקל מעליך ונשאו
אתך
אם את הדבר הזה
תעשה וצוך אלהים ויכלת עמד וגם
כל העם הזה אל מקומו יבוא
בשלום
וישמע משה לקול חתנו ויעש כל
אשר אמר

ואמר אלכם בעת ההוא לאמר
לא־אוכל לבדי שאת
אתכם:

יהוה אלהיכם הרבה אתכם
והנכם היום ככוכבי השמים לרב:
יהוה אלהי אבותכם יסף עליכם
ככם אלף פעמים ויברך אתכם
כאשר דבר לכם:
איכה אשא לבדי טרחכם
ומשאכם וריבכם:
הבו לכם אנשים חכמים ונבנים
וידעים לשבטיכם ואשימם
בראשיכם:

ותענו אתי ותאמרו טוב־הדבר
אשר־דברת לעשות:

ואקח את־ראשי שבטיכם אנשים
חכמים וידעים ואתן אתם ראשים
עליכם שרי אלפים ושרי מאות
ושרי חמשים ושרי עשרת ושטרים
לשבטיכם:

ואצוה את־שפטיכם בעת ההוא
לאמר שמע בין־אחיכם ושפטתם

ויאמר משה אל העם

לא אוכל אנכי לבדי שאת
אתכם

יהוה אלהיכם הרבה אתכם
והנכם היום ככוכבי השמים לרב
יהוה אלהי אבותיכם יסף עליכם
ככם אלף פעמים ויברך אתכם
כאשר דבר לכם

איכה אשא לבדי טרחכם
משאכם וריבכם

הבו לכם אנשים חכמים ונבונים
וידעים לשבטיכם ואשימם
בראשיכם

ויענו ויאמרו טוב הדבר
אשר דברת לעשות

ויקח את ראשי שבטיהם אנשים
חכמים וידעים ויתן אתם ראשים
עליהם שרי אלפים ושרי מאות
שרי חמשים ושרי עשרות ושטרים
לשבטיהם

ויבחר משה אנשי־חיל
מכל־ישראל ויתן אתם ראשים
על־העם שרי אלפים שרי מאות
שרי חמשים ושרי עשרת:

³⁶ Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," 54; See also the reprint of G. F. Moore's article "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 9 (1890) reprinted in *Empirical Models*.

<p>ויצו את שפטיהם לאמר שמעו בין אחיכם ושפטתם צדק בין איש ובין אחיו ובין גרו לא תכירו פנים במשפט כקטן כגדול תשמעון לא תגורו מפני איש כי המשפט לאלהים הוא והדבר אשר יקשה מכם תקריבון אלי ושמעתיו <u>ויצו אתם</u> את כל הדברים אשר יעשון</p>	<p>צדק בין־איש ובין־אחיו ובין גרו: לא־תכירו פנים במשפט כקטן כגדול תשמעון לא תגורו מפני־איש כי המשפט לאלהים הוא והדבר אשר יקשה מכם תקריבון אלי ושמעתיו: <u>ואצוה אתכם בעת ההוא</u> את כל־הדברים אשר <u>תעשון</u></p>
<p>ושפטו את־העם בכל־עת את־ הדבר <u>הקשה</u> יביאון אל־משה וכל־הדבר הקטן ישפוטו הם: וישלח משה את־חתנו וילך לו אל־ארצו:</p>	<p>וישפטו את העם בכל עת את הדבר <u>הגדול</u> יביאון אל משה וכל הדבר הקטן ישפוטו הם וישלח משה את חתנו וילך לו אל ארצו</p>

Tigay highlights how “the redactor” of the conflate text has changed the grammatical person of the Deuteronomy text in order to make it fit its new location.³⁷ In addition to these alterations, there is the triple omission of the phrase “at that time” from Deut 1:9, 16, and 18 which likewise would not fit the new context into which it is inserted. The fact that the omission of the phrase occurs three times points to the fact that it is an intentional omission and not a scribal error. While these brief omissions might go undetected if we had only the evidence of SP, Tigay argues that based on a number of incongruities the conflate text could be recognized as such by source critics even if the non-conflate texts had not survived. He points to the incongruities between the Jethro advising Moses to seek out selective individuals and Moses’ asking the people to do the choosing, the qualifications for the leaders, and the specific vocabulary used in the two sections. Tigay uses this example as a sort of *apologia* for the source-critical approach.

³⁷ Tigay, “Conflation as a Redactional Technique,” 63-67.

On the one hand he claims that this example shows that the sorts of changes predicted by scholars did, at times leave visible traces. On the other hand, he is forced to admit that one could not extrapolate accurate data about the nature of the source nor reconstruct it without additional textual evidence (in this case, MT). As in the expanded plague narrative, there is no new composition created, and the words added contain only material found in the source. The content of MT Exod 18:25 is omitted from SP in the process of smoothing the transition between the base-text and the expansion, since Deut 1:15 is roughly synonymous semantically.³⁸ This is the phenomenon of replacement, mentioned in chapter 3, where words may be altered grammatically or replaced in the process of adding to an existing text. This is a necessary adjunct to addition, and should therefore be differentiated from selective use of the base-text, distinctive to Authorial Composition.

In the case of Exodus 18, a distinction should be made between the base-text and the source text. In this case, Exodus serves as the base in the strict sense because the work continues to be Exodus. The changes are accomplished viz material stemming from Deuteronomy, which in this case would be the source text. The phrase “at that time” is omitted from the source text, thus Deuteronomy is being used selectively. This shows that the source text is no longer Deuteronomy but (snippets of) Deuteronomy within Exodus. On the one hand, this is authorial composition: the material from Deuteronomy has been used selectively and thus resulted in a new work (i.e., words from Deuteronomy are now part of Exodus) and not a new copy of Deuteronomy. On the other hand, we see continuing composition as the base-text of Exodus remains intact, therefore the final product continues to be Exodus.

³⁸ Ibid., 67, “rather than interrupt the insert momentarily for the sake of a variant which offers nothing substantially different from Deuteronomy’s description, the Samaritan preserves Deuteronomy’s version and drops that of Exodus.”

In summary, the additions to Exodus 18 from Deuteronomy are similar to what we saw in the plague narrative, where material from another textual location is used to fill in the text at another point. In the plague narrative the new material was drawn from elsewhere within Exodus. In Exodus 18, the added material was drawn from a different composition—Deuteronomy—and while the source was used selectively the base-text (Exodus) remained intact. The scribe did not compose any additional words, the only creative elements are the grammatical alterations necessary to suit the new context.

4.2.3 THE GOLDEN CALF: DEUTERONOMY MEETS *EXODUS AGAIN

Both Exodus and Deuteronomy record stories of Aaron fashioning a cast-metal calf. As in the Jethro pericope, material from Deuteronomy has been copied back and inserted in various places in various witnesses to coordinate or otherwise harmonize and level the texts, although in these examples the reused text amounts to only a few words rather than several verses as in the previous case. The LXX, MT, and (proto-)Samaritan texts (i.e., SP and 4QpaleoExod^m) all show different degrees of scribal alteration in Exodus 32.

Example #1

Exod 32:7

LXX:

Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων Βάδιζε κατάβηθι τὸ τάχος ἐντεῦθεν· ἠνόμησεν γὰρ ὁ λαός σου, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου παρέβησαν ταχὺ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧς ἐνετείλω αὐτοῖς· ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς μόσχον καὶ προσκεκυνήκασιν αὐτῷ καὶ τεθύκασιν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν Οὗτοι οἱ θεοὶ σου, Ἰσραὴλ, οἵτινες ἀνεβίβασάν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX

וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר לך רד מהר מזה כי שחת עמך אשר העלית מארץ מצרים סרו מהר מן הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם עגל וישתהוּוּ לו ויזבחו לו ויאמרו אלהיך ישראל אשר

העלוך מארץ מצרים

MT:

וידבר יהוה אל־משה לך־רד כי שחת עמך אשר העלית מארץ מצרים:
 סרו מהר מן־הדרך אשר צויתם עשו להם עגל מסכה וישתחוו־לו ויזבחו־לו ויאמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר
 העלוך מארץ מצרים

SP:

וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר לך רד כי שחת עמך אשר העלית מארץ מצרים סרו מהר מן הדרך
 אשר עשו לכם עגל מסכה וישתחוו לו ויזבחו לו ויאמרו אלה אלהיך ישראל אשר העלוך מארץ מצרים

4QpaleoExod^m Col XXXVII line 27

[ידבר יהוה אל משה לא]מור רד כי

MT Deut 9:12:

ויאמר יהוה אלי קום רד מהר מזה כי שחת עמך אשר הוצאת ממצרים סרו מהר מן־הדרך אשר צויתם עשו
 להם מסכה

Exodus 32:7 Variants

LXX:	לאמר		LXX:	לך
MT:	-		MT:	לך
SP:	לאמור		SP:	לך
4QpaleoExod ^m :	לאמור		4QpaleoExod ^m :	-
LXX:	מהר		LXX:	³⁹ מזה
MT:	-		MT:	-
SP:	-		SP:	-
4QpaleoExod ^m :	-		4QpaleoExod ^m :	-

At Exodus 32:7 there is minor variation across the four witnesses examined. The MT lacks “saying” (לאמור) found in the other three witnesses, and 4QpaleoExod^m lacks “go!” (לך) found in the others. More significantly, the LXX contains a plus “quickly from here” (מהר מזה). This plus in the LXX is more easily explained as a secondary expansion based on Deut 9:12, which contains the phrase מהר מזה in the context of the molten calf

³⁹ Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 56. Sanderson reconstructs קום for LXX but it could just have reasonably been identical to MT.

rather than an earlier variant that was lost in the other manuscripts.⁴⁰ The plus “saying” (לאמר) in all but MT may also arise from coordination with Deut 9:12.

Example #2
Exodus 32:9-10⁴¹

MT:

ויאמר יהוה אל־משה ראיתי את־העם הזה והנה עם־קשה־ערף הוא: ועתה הניחה לי ויחר־אפי בהם ואכלם ואעשה אותך לגוי גדול

LXX:

καὶ νῦν ἕασόν με καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὀργῆν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκτρίψω αὐτούς, καὶ ποιήσω σὲ εἰς ἔθνος μέγα.

Reconstructed *Vorlage* of LXX

ועתה הניחה לי ויחר אפי במ ואכלם ואעשה אותך לגוי גדול

SP:

ויאמר יהוה אל משה ראיתי את העם הזה והנה עם קשה ערף הוא ועתה הניחה לי ויחר אפי במ ואכלם ואעשה אותך לגוי גדול ובאהרון התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ויתפלל משה בעד אהרון

4QpaleoExod^m Col XXXVIII lines 1-2

או[תך] לגוי גדול [ובאהרון התאנף יה]וה מאד להשמידו
ו[י]תפלל משה בעד א[הרון] va[cat]

MT Deuteronomy 9:13:

ויאמר יהוה אלי לאמר ראיתי את־העם הזה והנה עם־קשה־ערף הוא

Deuteronomy 9:20 MT:

ובאהרון התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו ואתפלל גם־בעד אהרון בעת ההוא

The contents of MT Exod 32:9 are missing from the LXX. As there are no obvious reasons for positing accidental or conscious omission, and since the absent text is identical to Deut 9:13, it is most probable that here the shortest reading is the earliest and 4QpaleoExod^m, SP, and MT have all been expanded by adding coordinating words from

⁴⁰ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 521-2, “Exod’s parent text must have read רד מהר רד מה as in Deut 9:12 where the Greek is the same as in Exod.” Wevers does not point out that the longer text in LXX Exod is a result of coordination with Deuteronomy. On the influence of these passages upon one another see further, Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 93.

⁴¹ LXX Exod 32:9 = MT Exod 32:8b. The material of MT Exod 32:8a is a minus in LXX.

Deuteronomy 9:13.⁴² The SP and 4QpaleoExod^m scroll share another plus against the MT and LXX, “and YHWH was very angry with Aaron (enough) to destroy him, but Moses prayed on behalf of Aaron.” This phrase is also most likely taken from Deuteronomy 9:20.⁴³ The grammatical person of the verb has been changed from Moses’ perspective in Deuteronomy (“I prayed”) to a third person narration “Moses prayed” to fit the narrative context of the base-text. As with the example in the Jethro pericope of the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m scroll above, the Deuteronomistic phrase “at that time” (בעת ההיא) has not been included in the expansion as it fits Deuteronomy’s reflection on past narrative but not the context of Exodus.

The MT of Exodus lacks the phrase from Deut 9:20 but contains the expansion from Deut 9:13, the LXX lacks both of these expansions, and the (proto-) Samaritan texts contain both. In these verses we can see a progressive coordination of Exodus 32 with passages from Deuteronomy that also refer to the golden calf.⁴⁴ The *Vorlage* of LXX shows a typologically earlier (i.e., pre-MT) text in these verses,⁴⁵ the MT shows a stage where that text has been expanded, and the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m scroll show a still later stage where the text has been expanded by a second expansion taken from Deuteronomy. As in previous cases there is no new text (i.e., unparalleled or freely composed material).

⁴² Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 240-1, 278, “Because this one major expansion is shared by Q^m SP MT, it must have been made late enough so that Q^m SP MT were still together or at least under mutual influence” (241). Cf. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 523, “All other witnesses including the parallel in Deut 9:13 have it, and there is *no evidence for a possible shorter parent text*...and I can see no palaeographic factors which would make such an omission accidental” (emphasis added). Wevers is unable to explain the omission though he recognizes the parallel in Deut 9:13. It should be only one more logical step to see that the presence of such a reading in a parallel passage is itself evidence that the text in question may be a secondary coordination in the manuscripts in which it appears. Deuteronomy 9:13 is the evidence for a shorter parent text of Exod 32:7. Wevers points out coordinations within LXX Exodus in other places, but fails to reckon with the similar possibility here of the influence of parallel passages outside of Exodus. E.g., LXX frequently adds that Aaron is Moses’ brother, see John William Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (AAWG 192; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 252.

⁴³ See Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 208.

⁴⁴ See also Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 93.

⁴⁵ But note how LXX has the typologically later (i.e., more expanded) text in verse 7.

What is new is the location, not the content. As the parallel passages both refer to the same narrative event, it is understandable that details from one account have influenced the other. It is perhaps worth noting that the expansions and influence that we can see in the textual witnesses all go in the direction of Deuteronomy influencing Exodus.⁴⁶ So again the (proto-)Samaritan text of Exodus shows us continuing composition in the case of Exodus, while conversely the excerpted material from Deuteronomy is drawn selectively and becomes part of a copy of Exodus, not a copy of Deuteronomy.⁴⁷

4.2.4 THE TABERNACLE

The largest and most glaring of the textual differences between the textual witnesses of Exodus 35-40 are to be found in the description of the tabernacle in the MT with that of the LXX and Old Latin witnesses.⁴⁸

LXX EXODUS⁴⁹

Priestly Vestments

Ephod	36:9-12
Precious Stones	36:13-14
Breastplate	36:15-29

MASORETIC TEXT OF EXODUS

Structure of the Tabernacle

Curtains	36:8-19
Boards	36:20-34
Veils	36:35-38

⁴⁶ This could be variously explained by either Deuteronomy being more authoritative and thus less open to alteration, or, as I think more likely, that Exodus has been expanded because it occurs earlier in narrative time. For examples of material from Exodus influencing Deuteronomy see the discussion of the Decalogue in Sidnie White Crawford, "Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*. (eds., K. De Troyer and A. Lange; SBLSymS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 127-140.

⁴⁷ According to Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 200, 244, 313, there is no evidence of conscious omission from the text of Exodus, while frequently words are omitted from the text of Deuteronomy that is reused in the expansions.

⁴⁸ Tov, *TCHB*, 316. The SP and 4QpaleoExod^m scroll do not have significant differences from MT, so they will not be discussed separately from it in this section.

⁴⁹ For similar charts and descriptions see Swete, *Introduction*, 231-6; S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), 40-2; William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 19-40: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 2006), 631-7.

Robe of Ephod	36:30-34
Linen Vestments	36:35-40

Structure of Tabernacle

Curtains	37:1-2
Veil	37:3-6
Court	37:7-18

Furnishings and Court

Ark	37:1-9
Table	37:10-16
Lampstand	37:17-24
Gold Altar	37:25-29
Bronze Altar	38:1-7
Laver	38:8
Court	38:9-20

Furnishings

Ark	38:1-8
Table	38:9-12
Lampstand	38:13-17
ουροσ section ⁵⁰	38:18-26
Bronze Altar	38:22-24
Oil and Incense	38:25-26
Laver	38:27

Priestly Vestments

Ephod	39:2-5
Precious Stones	39:6-7
Breastplate	39:8-21
Robe of Ephod	39:22-26
Linen Vestments	39:22-26
Crown Plate	39:30-31

Aejmelaeus summarizes the basic differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Exodus 35-40.⁵¹ First, she points out that both texts share Exodus 25-31, which details the command to build the various accoutrements of the tabernacle, but the order of 25-31 is not followed in the reports of chapters 35-40 in either the MT or the LXX. The LXX presents the construction order as: priests' vestments, tabernacle, ark and cover, golden table, lampstand, altar of burnt offering, anointing oil and incense, and laver, followed by several lists of the metals used, works finished, items to be erected, and items having been erected.⁵² This text is significantly shorter than the MT, excluding references to the incense altar, the goat-hair coverings, and the wooden frame of the

⁵⁰ LXX Exod 38:25-26 should also be considered within this section, but I have listed them separately for ease of comparison with the MT arrangement. On the one hand, these verses are mostly paralleled by MT Exod 37:29 and 38:8, yet they are formulated with ουροσ like the preceding list. The ουροσ section is a plus in the LXX that lists the materials out which various components of the Tabernacle and its furnishings were created, beginning each list with the word ουροσ. For example, LXX Exod 38:22 explains that the altar of burnt offering was made from the bronze fire-pans of Korah's company.

⁵¹ Aejmelaeus, "The Problem of the Tabernacle Account," 107-110.

⁵² Ibid., 108-109.

Tabernacle. The main differences are the position of the furniture and the position of the vestments. Furthermore, the LXX has an additional section describing the origin of the metals used for the altar and laver.

As the Hebrew and Greek texts are clearly very similar, the different arrangement rules out accidental change. One must reckon in this case with conscious alteration of the texts, in one direction or another. Gooding understands the LXX form to be secondary, either the work of the translator or a later editor. He denies that the omissions or changes in sequence reflect any difference in *Vorlage*.⁵³

Aejmelaeus takes issue with Gooding's assumption that abbreviation was something that could be reasonably be expected from the translator.⁵⁴ Her approach is to appeal to translation technique as a means of control on the translator's attitude or approach to his or her task. She argues that there is no conceivable reason why a translator would have rearranged or shortened the MT text into one like the LXX, and that the evidence from Qumran and the rest of the LXX points toward imperfect translators who nonetheless faithfully attempted to render the text they had. The problem with this line of argumentation lies in the fact that we do not know what text the translator was translating and can therefore only reason by analogy that as the LXX, in the main, follows MT the fact that it departs so severely in these chapters gives reason for positing a different *Vorlage*. Wade, for example, comes to the opposite conclusion, namely that the LXX order can be explained as alterations by the translator.⁵⁵ She does

⁵³ D. W. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus* (TS 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 99-100; a similar position is presented by Martha Wade, *Consistency of Translation Technique in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (SBLSCS 49; Atlanta: SBL, 2003).

⁵⁴ Aejmelaeus, "The Problem of the Tabernacle Account," 111.

⁵⁵ Wade, *Consistency of Translation Technique*.

not give compelling reasons for why the translator would modify the text, nor does she engage the textual evidence of the Old Latin, discussed below. Nevertheless, the absence of certainty about the *Vorlage* of the LXX makes her position possible, though less likely. Aejmelaeus has the evidence of Qumran and other portions of the LXX on her side, and is correct to argue that we do not have clear evidence for abridgment by the Greek translator(s).⁵⁶

The LXX section of Exod 38:18-26, containing pluses vis-à-vis MT, presents another problem. This section begins each listing with the word οὐτος which Aejmelaeus argues would not be a normal method of composing such a list in Greek. It does, however, makes much better sense if one imagines it as a translation of a *Vorlage* reading וְהָיָה in each case.⁵⁷ She regards the passage as a late addition to the *Vorlage*, which explains its appearance in the LXX and its absence from the MT. Thus, as in several of the sections examined above, we see independent textual growth within a text-type over time. The οὐτος section probably derives from a different hand and a different time than the MT expansions (and possibly organization), which themselves may not all be of one piece.

An even earlier stage of textual growth might be seen in one of the “daughter versions” (i.e., translations based on the OG). According to Bogaert, the Old Latin codex 6225 or Codex Monacensis (VL^{Mon}) bears witness to a text antedating the *Vorlage* of

⁵⁶ The *Temple Scroll* may provide further evidence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* for the arrangement found in LXX. While the relevant section of TS is, unfortunately, very fragmentary, some of the extant sections agree with the order of LXX against MT. See further, George J. Brooke, “The *Temple Scroll* and LXX Exodus 35-40,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings* (eds., G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCSS 33; Atlanta: Scholar’s Press, 1992), 81-106. For similar results aligning TS with the LXX over and against SP and MT, see Magnus Riska, *The Temple Scroll and the Biblical Text Traditions: A Study of Columns 2-13:9* (PFES 81; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007); and idem., “The *Temple Scroll* – Is it More or Less Biblical?” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (eds., A. Voitiola and J. Jokiranta; SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 607-13.

⁵⁷ Aejmelaeus, “The Problem of the Tabernacle Account,” 118. She suggests the possible parallels of 2 Kgs 14:7, 22, 25; 15:35; 18:4, 8.

Codex Vaticanus (LXX^B) and MT.⁵⁸ This manuscript is a palimpsest which was reconstructed and published by Leo Ziegler in 1883.⁵⁹ The surviving sections of VL^{Mon} contain a text implying a *Vorlage* with content and arrangement close to that of Codex Vaticanus, but with a few differences, especially minuses.⁶⁰

Adrian Schenker has provided methodological guidelines for handling such cases where we are confronted with having to decide between variant readings in the early versions.⁶¹ Schenker's first working principle in working with the Greek is that the further a reading is from the MT the more likely it is to be an earlier form of the OG, as the history of the transmission of the Greek text all points to numerous recensional activities that moved the text closer to the MT.⁶² This principle has to be checked by three conditions. First, the variant text must not derive from textual corruption at the level of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁶³ Second, the variation must not be the result of inner-Greek change or corruption.⁶⁴ Finally, the variant text must not be a literary or redactional alteration of the Proto-MT. Schenker adds two questions to this final condition: (1) Is the *Vorlage* of the variant the Proto-MT? (2) Are the literary modifications at the level of the

⁵⁸ Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "L'importance de la Septante et du 'Monacensis' de la Vetus Latina pour l'exégèse du livre de l'Exode (chap. 35–40)," in *Studies in the Book of Exodus: Redaction – Reception – Interpretation* (ed. Marc Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 399–428. The manuscript is listed as ^{Lat}cod 104 in the Göttingen apparatus.

⁵⁹ Leo Ziegler, *Bruchstücke einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des Pentateuch aus einem Palimpseste* (Munich: K. Hof-und Staatsbibliothek, 1883); Swete, *Introduction*, 94.

⁶⁰ For detailed discussion see Bogaert, "L'importance"; idem., "La construction de la Tente (Ex 36–40) dans le *Monacensis* de la plus ancienne version latine: l'Autel d'or et Hébreux 9,4" in Adrian Schenker and Philippe Hugo, eds., *L'enfance de la Bible hébraïque: Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (MB 52; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2005), 62–76.

⁶¹ Adrian Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebraische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO 199; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 1–7.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 2–3, "je weiter nämlich eine Lesart der LXX vom MT entfernt ist, umso eher kann sie einer ursprünglichen Textform der LXX entsprechen."

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

Greek translator or at the level of his Hebrew (Proto-MT) *Vorlage*?⁶⁵ If one is able to confirm that the variant text is neither the result of textual corruption of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, an inner-Greek change, nor the result of redactional activity upon a text identical to the proto-MT, then, according to Schenker, one is justified in identifying the variant text as the Old Greek.

Applying these guidelines to VL^{Mon} we can deal with it as a witness to the Old Greek, with the *caveat* that one must also reckon with the same questions on the Greek to Latin level. Given the limited tools and data for reconstructing the Old Latin (as compared to LXX), and the two stages of retroversion involved, the reconstructions below are offered as tentative guides to the major divergences between VL^{Mon}, LXX, and MT. In what follows I have provided the MT, the LXX, the Latin of VL^{Mon} from Ziegler's edition, a proposed Greek retroversion of the Latin, and a further retroversion from Greek into Hebrew.

MT Exod 38:21-2

אָלָה פְּקוּדֵי הַמִּשְׁכָּן מִשְׁכָּן הָעֵדוּת אֲשֶׁר פָּקַד עַל־פִּי מֹשֶׁה עֲבַדְתָּ הַלְוִיִּם בְּיַד אֵיתָמָר בְּרֵאתָהּרֹן הַכְּהֵן:
וּבְצִלְאֵל בְּרֵאֲוֹרִי בְּרֵחִוִּיר לְמַטֵּה יְהוּדָה עָשָׂה אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־מֹשֶׁה:

LXX Exod 37:19-20

Καὶ αὕτη ἡ σύνταξις τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου, καθὰ συνετάγη Μωυσῆ, τὴν λειτουργίαν εἶναι τῶν Λευιτῶν διὰ Ἰθαμάρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀαρῶν τοῦ ἱερέως²⁰ καὶ Βεσελεὴλ ὁ τοῦ Οὐρὶ ἐκ φυλῆς Ἰούδα ἐποίησεν καθὰ συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῆ

VL^{Mon} Folio 97, Lines 3-9 (Exod 37 :19-20)

HAEC CONSTITUTION TABERNACULI TESTIMONII SECUNDUM QUAE PRAECEPTA SUNT MOYSI
HAEC FECERUNT BESEEL FILIUS OR FILI URIAE DE TRIBU IUDA ET ELIAB FILIUS ECISAME DE
TRIBU DA

Greek Retroversion

⁶⁵ Ibid., 4-5.

και αυτη η συνταξις της σκηνης του μαρτυριου καθα συνεταγη Μωυση ταυτα εποιησεν
 Βεσεηλ ο υιος του Ορ του υιου Ουριου εκ της φυλης Ιουδα και Ελιαβ ο υιος του
 Αχισαμαχ εκ της φυλης Δα(v)

Hebrew Retroversion

ואלה פקודי המשכן⁶⁶ אשר פקד על פי משה ויעש האלה בצלאל בן חור בן אורי למטה יהודה ואהליאב בן
 אחיסמך למטה דן⁶⁷

MT Exod 38:23

וְאֵתֹוּ אֶהְלִיאֵב בֶּן־אֲחִיסָמֶךְ לְמַטֵּה־דָן תְּרַשׁ וְחִשָּׁב וְרָקַם בְּתַכְלֵת וּבְאַרְגָּמֹן וּבְתוֹלַעַת הַשָּׁנִי וּבַשֵּׁשׁ:

35:35

מִלֵּא אֲתָם חֲכָמַת־לֵב לַעֲשׂוֹת כָּל־מְלָאכַת תְּרַשׁוּ וְחִשָּׁב וְרָקַם בְּתַכְלֵת וּבְאַרְגָּמֹן בְּתוֹלַעַת הַשָּׁנִי וּבַשֵּׁשׁ וְאֶרְגַּע עֲשִׂי
 כָּל־מְלָאכָה וְחִשָּׁבִי מִחֻשְׁבֹּת

OG 37:21

²¹ και Ἐλιαβ ὁ τοῦ Ἀχισαμάχ ἐκ φυλῆς Δάν, ὃς ἠρχιτεκτόνησεν τὰ ὑφαντὰ καὶ τὰ
 ῥαφιδευτὰ καὶ τὰ ποικιλτὰ ὑφᾶναι τῷ κοκκίνῳ καὶ τῇ βύσσῳ.

VL^{Mon} Lines 10-17

HIC ELIAB ARCHITECTONIZAVIT OMNE OPUS DE LIGNO INPUTRIBILI ET FECIT UELA ET
 STOLAS SACERDOTUM TEXTILES ET SUTILES PRAEMIXTAS UARIETATE EX HIACINTO
 PURPURA COCCO ET BYSSO TORTA

Greek Retroversion

και ο ουτος Ελιαβ ἠρχιτεκτονησεν παν το εργον εκ ξυλων ασηπτων και εποησεν τας
 αυλαιας και τας στολας των ιερεων υφαντας και ραφιδευτας ποικιλτας⁶⁸ εκ υακινθου
 πορφυρας κοκκινου και βυσσου κεκλωσμένου

Hebrew Retroversion

ואליאב חרש כל המלאכה מעץ שטים ויעש יריעת ובגדי כהנים חשב ורקם בתכלת ארגמן תלעת ושש משזר⁶⁹

MT 37:1-5

וַיַּעַשׂ בְּצִלְאֵל אֶת־הָאָרֶן עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים אֲמֹתִים וְחֻצֵי אַרְפֹּו וְאֲמָה וְחֻצֵי רֶחֶבֹו וְאֲמָה וְחֻצֵי קִמְתָן:
 וַיַּצְפֹּהוּ וְזָהָב טְהוֹר מִבֵּית וּמִחוּץ וַיַּעַשׂ לָן יָר וְזָהָב סָבִיב:
 וַיֶּצֶק לוֹ אַרְבַּע טַבַּעֹת זָהָב עַל אַרְבַּע פְּעֻמָּתָיו וּשְׁתֵי טַבַּעֹת עַל־צַלְעוֹ הָאֶחָת וּשְׁתֵי טַבַּעֹת עַל־צַלְעוֹ
 הַשֵּׁנִית:

⁶⁶ I understand the MT reading of משכן העדה משכן to be secondary to the *Vorlage* of OG which read only משכן (see below). In other cases the OG translator renders משכן with the full phrase σκηνης του μαρτυριου (e.g., Exod 40:5), and I believe that that is what has also happened here.

⁶⁷ And these are the records of the tabernacle which he recorded by the mouth of Moses: Bezalel ben-Hur ben-Uri of the tribe of Judah and Oholiab ben-Ahisamakh of the tribe of Dan made these things.

⁶⁸ See LXX Exod 35:35, 37:21. τα ραφιδευτα και τα ποικιλτα is a double translation of רקם see Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 619.

⁶⁹ And Eliab fashioned all the work of acacia wood and he made the curtains and the priests garments. He fashioned and wove with blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen.

ויעש בְּדֵי עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וַיִּצַף אֹתָם זָהָב:
וַיָּבֵא אֶת־הַבָּדִים בְּטַבְּעֹת עַל צְלָעֹת הָאָרֶץ לְשֵׂאת אֶת־הָאָרֶץ

OG 38:1-4

Καὶ ἐποίησεν Βεσελεὶλ τὴν κιβωτόν, ² καὶ κατεχρύσωσεν αὐτήν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτῇ κυμάτιον χρυσοῦν κύκλω. ³ καὶ ἐχώνευσεν αὐτῇ τέσσαρας δακτυλίουσ χρυσοῦς, δύο ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ ἓν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ δεύτερον, ⁴ εὐρεῖς τοῖς διωστῆρσιν ὥστε αἶρειν αὐτήν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

VL^{Mon} Lines 18-25 (37:

ET FECIT ARCAM ET IN AURA UITEA BESEEL AURO RUTILO INTUS ET FORIS ET FUDIT EI
QUATTUOR ANULOS AUREOS DUOS IN PARTE UNA ET DUOS IN ALIA OMNES LATOS
GESTATORIIS AD TOLLENDAM ARCAM

Greek Retroversion

καὶ Βεσελ ἐποίησεν τὴν κιβωτόν καὶ χρυσίῳ τα ἐμπλοκίᾳ⁷⁰ χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ ἐσωθεν καὶ ἐξωθεν καὶ ἐχώνευσεν αὐτῇ τέσσαρσ δακτυλίουσ χρυσοῦς δύο ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ ἐν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸ κλίτος τὸ δεύτερον⁷¹ παντὰς εὐρεῖς τοῖς διωστῆρσιν⁷² ὥστε αἶρειν τὴν κιβωτόν

Hebrew Retroversion

ויעש בצלאל את הארון והעבתת זהב טהור מבית ומחוץ ויצק לו ארבע טבעת זהב שתי טבעת על צלעו האחת ושתי טבעת על צלעו השנית הכל לבתים הבדים לשאת את הארון⁷³

Compared with MT Exod 38:21b (=LXX 37:19b), VL^{Mon} has a significant minus.

The reference to the Levites and their work under Ithamar the priest is absent from the text. There is no reason to suspect accidental omission at the Hebrew or Greek level.

Bogaert claims that the reference to the Levites and Ithamar is a later interpolation based on Num 4:29. He also claims that the MT plus משכן העדת, a rather awkward phrase to come right after the word משכן in the MT (i.e., משכן משכן העדת), is based on Num 1:50-53 and 10:11, the only other passages in the biblical corpus where the phrase משכן העדת is

⁷⁰ See the similar phrase in LXX Exod 36:25

⁷¹ See the similar phrase in LXX Exod 38:1-3

⁷² See the similar phrases in LXX Exod 38:4, MT 37:27

⁷³ And Bezalel made the ark and the cords of pure gold inside and out and he poured out for it four golden rings, two rings on one side and two rings on the other, all (the rings) enclosed the poles in order to carry the ark.

found.⁷⁴ This plus in the LXX^B and MT shows a later emphasis on the subordination of the Levites to the Aaronid priests, here VL^{Mon} “représentent l’état textuel le plus ancien, et le TM atteste une refonte soucieuse des droits sacerdotaux.”⁷⁵

VL^{Mon} also differs in its introduction of the two craftsmen Bezalel and Oholiab. In the MT, Bezalel of Judah is preeminent and Oholiab follows as a side-kick (31:1-6; 35:30-4; 38:21-3). Bezalel possesses all the artisans skills and is said to have made “everything YHWH commanded Moses” (38:22). Bezalel acts alone, but Oholiab never appears without Bezalel and is never the subject of a verb. According to Wevers, the LXX distinguishes the two craftsmen by associating Bezalel specifically with metal-work and Oholiab with textiles (e.g., makes of priestly garments and tent’s curtains).⁷⁶ Wevers sees the lack of $\eta\alpha$ in LXX Exod 37:21 (=MT 38:23) as a conscious omission by the LXX translator that makes the two craftsmen equal. Wevers states that two craftsmen have been coordinated over time to give them distinctive roles and more equal status, but it is hard to see why this would occur. As the kingdom of Judah outlived the northern kingdom of Israel and became the primary heir to the traditions, it makes more sense why more credit would attributed to the Judahite craftsman Bezalel, rather than the Danite Oholiab, and later works certainly support this.⁷⁷ The MT shows the greatest inequality between the two craftsmen, the LXX has less, and VL^{Mon} the least. In VL^{Mon} Oholiab is credited not only with fabric, but also with all of the woodwork.⁷⁸ Bogaert lists nine

⁷⁴ Bogaert, “L’importance,” 417-418; See also Martin Noth, *Exodus: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), 278-9. If the minus in the Latin text reflects an earlier stage, the addition may have been motivated by associations between the Levites and the verb $\eta\alpha$ see John R. Spencer, “PQD, the Levites, and Numbers 1-4,” ZAW 110 (1998): 535-46.

⁷⁵ Bogaert, “L’importance,” 420.

⁷⁶ Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 618-9.

⁷⁷ 2 Chr 1:5 only mentions Bezalel, and Josephus *Ant.* 3.200 singles out Bezalel as the better of the two craftsmen. Later tradition clearly privileged Bezalel.

⁷⁸ VL^{Mon} 97.10; Bogaert, “L’importance,” 414-6.

instances where some part of *lignis aseptis* (i.e. עץ שטיים) is legible in VL^{Mon} and where the corresponding LXX passage has no mention of wood (e.g., 37:2, 8, 10, 13, 15, 21).⁷⁹ These occurrences are all in chapter 37 which leads directly into 37:21 where VL^{Mon} connects Oholiab with woodwork. By contrast, as far as the manuscript is legible, the poles, incense altar, and altar of burnt offering, which are made of wood in the MT (37:1, 4; 37:10, 15; 37:25, 28; 38:1, 6) have no mention of wood in VL^{Mon}.⁸⁰ Bogaert conjectures that Oholiab, who did the woodwork, should be recognized as the main artisan responsible for the tabernacle's construction in the earliest layer of tradition, and that expertise in woodcraft was transferred to Bezalel in order to subordinate the Danite to the Judean.⁸¹ If Bogaert is correct, then at some point the references to the wood in chapter 37(=MT 36) were removed from a text preceding the LXX and MT, and added to the descriptions of the poles, ark, altars, and objects now understood to be made of wood, and overlaid with metal. Whether or not Oholiab was ever the primary craftsman, the textual evidence does point to a tendency to emphasize the Judean craftsman Bezalel.

Following Schenker's heuristic principles for establishing the earliest attainable Greek text and applying it to the Old Latin Codex Monacensis, we can see that Bogaert is correct in identifying this manuscript as a witness to the oldest textual form of the tabernacle account. The text has not been corrected towards MT, the differences cannot be explained as inner-Greek developments, and the minuses in VL^{Mon} are better explained as additions on the part of LXX and MT, rather than omissions on the part of VL^{Mon}. Even in the few brief pieces examined above, we are able to see examples of where later interests have entered the text. First, we are able to recognize the textual plus in MT

⁷⁹ Ibid., 414.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid., 414-6.

38:21 (= LXX 37:19) mentioning the Levites under Ithamar son of Aaron the priest, as a late addition to Exodus. A second change, also pointed out by Bogaert, is the subordination of Oholiab the Danite to Bezalel the Judahite, a trend already visible by comparing MT and LXX. Both of these types of alterations, increased focus on Levites and Aaronids and particular privileging of Judahites, can be observed elsewhere in the biblical corpus, which further supports the identification of these alterations.⁸²

4.2.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS ON EXODUS

Within the different copies of Exodus discussed here, we have seen support for the idea that development within the book (i.e., Continuing Composition) may involve rearrangement or expansion, but not the three types of changes associated with Authorial Composition (i.e., the creation of a new work). Furthermore, where changes may be related to one another and relegated to the work of the same scribe, we have not found evidence of wide-spread layers of consistent alteration.

It may be the case that the conflation of Deut 1 and Exod 13 occurred at the same level as the coordinations in the plagues narrative. They are found together only in related manuscripts (i.e., SP and 4QpaleoExod^m) and share at least the common trait of omitting the retrospective reference “at that time” from the parts of Deuteronomy that are reused, but it must be pointed out, however, that these are independent of and typologically later than the different arrangement of the tabernacle pericope and its later emphasis on Bezalel. Likewise, the short addition in MT Exod 32:9 is typologically later than the MT

⁸² See the discussion of the Levites in Jer 33:14-26 below; see further Daniel E. Flemming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

arrangement of the tabernacle section and independent of the conflation or coordination seen among the proto-Samaritan group.

Sanderson lists a number of major and minor minuses in the 4QpaleoExod^m scroll, but in her analysis she attributes all of them to homoioteleuton or some other form of parablepsis.⁸³ Tigay's study reveals the omission of the phrase "at that time" as a redactional necessity to avoid contradiction with the text's new narrative placement. The exact same phrase is omitted from Deut 9:20 when some of that verse is incorporated into Exodus 32:10 in the SP and 4QpaleoExod^m. The only other omissions in the expanded text of Exodus 18 are those which are replaced to fit their new context (e.g., change from first to third person). The golden calf pericope demonstrated how various types of additions could occur independently and how no witness was consistently free of secondary additions. The tabernacle account remains the most complex chiefly due to the lack of an extant Hebrew text paralleling its reconstructed *Vorlage*, and continued debate concerning how to interpret the textual divergences.⁸⁴ A possible case of omission was claimed by Bogaert in the apparent replacement of references to wood in VL^{Mon} Exod 37 by new references to wood in chapter 37 (=MT36) associating woodwork with Bezalel instead of Oholiab.

Rewriting is thus seen within Exodus in isolated sections and in unrelated manuscripts of the book. The tabernacle organization of MT, shared with the other Hebrew witnesses is independent from the expansions in the plague narrative and Exodus 18 of SP and 4QpaleoExod^m. Following Bogaert, we have recognized VL^{Mon} as a witness

⁸³ Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 288-90.

⁸⁴ Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques*, 241, remains the most recent major work on this section, and while it lists Bogaert's work on VL^{Mon} in the bibliography, Wade does not engage the evidence marshaled by Bogaert or his arguments.

to the earliest textual form of the tabernacle pericope. Codex Vaticanus and the larger LXX tradition shows a later textual form where Bezalel has been emphasized over Oholiab and references to the Levites and Ithamar have been added. The MT, SP, and 4QpaleoExod^m support these changes as well as the later reorganization of the sections dealing with the tabernacle.

Some of these, like the Jethro and plague narrative expansions may be connected and considered as part of the same literary level, but these coordinations have been limited to a particular section of the book. The earliest observable stages (earliest relative to the work's creation) suggest more freedom in alteration: changes of order, emphasis on the Judean Bezalel, and the differentiation of Priestly and Levitical duties. The typologically latest stages (e.g., in the expanded plague narrative) are either short additions, or additions taken from elsewhere without the creation of any new text other than changes of tense or grammatical person to fit the new setting. The only conscious omissions appear when text has been replaced as part of an editorial seam (i.e., omission of "at that time").

What we have in the Greek and Hebrew witnesses of Exodus, therefore, are not editions, but snap shots preserving specific moments of textual growth, much of which is parallel (i.e., non-linear). While some texts may be organized into groups such as those which contain a specific ordering of the Tabernacle account or the expansions in the plague narrative, the individual members of these groups still vary from one another. None of the changes examined here are of the type that mark the creation of a new text, so all these changes have occurred within the transmission of the book of Exodus. They are all, therefore, examples of Continuing Composition. While much of the growth is

serial, there are also parallel developments, so one must think in terms of a branching stemma and not a strictly linear sequence of textual development.

4.3 Jeremiah

As we have seen in previous chapters, the book of Jeremiah has become somewhat paradigmatic for the notion of Variant Literary Editions.⁸⁵ Now the larger question arises as to the nature of the differences between the shorter and longer texts. Do we find any cases where textual variation points towards the criteria of Authorial Composition, or, as I have suggested, all the major changes to be understood in terms of Continuing Composition? Do all the changes stem from a single hand or from a series of scribes who altered the text? Are the shorter and longer texts two sequential stages or two extant links of a chain whose other links have not survived?

⁸⁵ E.g., Ulrich, "Double Literary Editions," 34-50; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Textual Study," 326-8, talks about Jeremiah and Esther as variants of different texts; Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 79-83; Tov, "Large Scale Differences," 126, calls Jeremiah "the most clear-cut case" where "the LXX (joined by 4QJer^{b,d}), [is] some fifteen percent shorter than MT in its number of words, verses, and pericopes, and sometimes arranged differently (chapter 10 and the oracles against the nations), [and] reflects an earlier edition, often named 'edition I.' The second edition added various new ideas." Note, however, the minority opinion expressed recently by Shimon Gesundheit, "The Question of LXX Jeremiah as a Tool for Literary-Critical Analysis" *VT* 62 (2012): 29-57. Gesundheit questions the consensus that the shorter text is earlier, and operates by contrasting the amount of difficulty or smoothness he finds in either text. He argues that the MT is more fraught with difficulties from the perspective of *Literarkritik* and thus concludes that the shorter text is later and has been smoothed out. While I agree with the text-critical favoring of *Lectio difficilior potior*, when examining textual growth and not simply scribal "corruption," it seems to me that a text that has been secondarily expanded could also be expected to demonstrate more tensions at the literary level. For this reason, among others, I continue to find the consensus compelling that the shorter text found in LXX and at Qumran is earlier chronologically than the longer form found in the MT and genetically prior to it. For a similar critique of the methodological flaws of prioritizing *Literarkritik* over textual evidence see William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (2 Vols.; ICC; Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1986), 1:621-3. For some of my own arguments and observations relating to the pluses and arrangement of the LXX and MT see the discussion of various examples below. For a thorough critique of the idea of deliberate omissions in Jeremiah, see J. Gerald Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (HSM 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 96-115.

Emanuel Tov has characterized the shorter and longer texts as two “editions,” by which he means simply two different stages of the text.⁸⁶ He calls the longer text witnessed by MT “Edition II” and the shorter text witnessed by the LXX and 4QJer^b “Edition I.” In his study, Tov emphasizes the traits and trends exclusive to Edition II, but also points out several variants between the two witnesses to Edition I.⁸⁷ Given the fact that there are variants between the witnesses to each of these “editions,” in referring to Edition I and Edition II, Tov is limiting himself only to the macro-variants, which Ulrich calls Variant Literary Editions (VLEs), ignoring isolated errors or orthographic variation.⁸⁸

In contrast to understandings of the shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah representing two consecutive editions, William McKane, in his ICC commentary advocates the concept of a “rolling corpus.”⁸⁹ While reacting more to earlier redactional assessments of MT Jeremiah rather than to Tov or Ulrich’s assessment of the textual situation his work remains highly relevant. He values the LXX as witnessing an earlier

⁸⁶ Emanuel Tov, “The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 214 n17.

⁸⁷ Tov, “Literary History of Jeremiah,” 211-37; E.g., 4QJer^b contains minuses at 10:6-8, 10 not shared with LXX, and the LXX likewise has unparalleled minuses in 43:4-6. For further details and examples see *ibid.*, 213.

⁸⁸ See Eugene Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections Toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text,” in *Current Research and Technological Development on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Origins of the Bible*, 99-120. Ulrich claims that the “primary lines in the history of the text” are made by stages of literary growth—Variant Literary Editions—which are distinct from “individual textual variants” and “orthographic differences.” In his opinion textual variation can be catalogued under these three headings with VLEs being the most important changes and developments and orthographic differences being the least. The three should be distinguished though they often overlap, such that manuscripts of VLEs will have both orthographic differences and individual variants that are not necessarily related to the particular “edition” in which they are found.

⁸⁹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:xlix.

stage, but does not work from Tov's assumption that the organization and expansions in MT form a unified editorial layer.⁹⁰

McKane's model of a "rolling corpus" imagines a central kernel of original or earliest material (whether directly from the prophet or not) that is expanded by exegetical additions which progressively coordinate and comment upon the earlier sections of the book.⁹¹ This secondary material frequently draws upon the language of the poetic core and that core serves as a "reservoir" for the vocabulary utilized in the secondary sections.⁹² The secondary comments are often unsystematic, and arise typically from a verse or two which "triggers" comment or expansion.⁹³ The kernel is comprised of poetry that triggers or generates expansions in prose, while yet further prose expansions may also arise from earlier prose.⁹⁴ Similarly Duhm's 1901 metaphor, repeated by Stipp, likens the growth of Jeremiah to that of an unsupervised forest—the growth is random, unsystematic, and unplanned.⁹⁵ Working from the premise that the LXX reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* different than the proto-MT, I will survey a number of examples of the variation between the two texts and consider whether they fit more closely with Tov's model of two sequential stages or of a progressively growing corpus. I will further

⁹⁰ The present study does not make use of Mowinckel's differentiation of A (authentic Jeremianic material), B (additions added by Baruch), C (Sermonic prose material), and D (Deuteronomistic) material, see Sigmund Mowinckel, *Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia* (Kristiania: J. Dybwad, 1914). As Tov, "The Literary History of Jeremiah," 223-4, points out, the MT additions cross all of these form-critical boundaries, and if these differentiations are to be of use it is only after first addressing the textual and literary evidence.

⁹¹ McKane, 1:l.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 1:lvi.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1:l, lxii; Tov also emphasizes the unsystematic nature of Edition II, see Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 216. The unsystematic nature of the MT pluses is not in dispute, but rather whether one imagines a single scribe or a series of scribes at work.

⁹⁴ McKane, 1:lxii, lxx.

⁹⁵ D. Bernard Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia* (KHC XI; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1901), XX, "ein unbeaufsichtigter Wald"; Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (OBO 136; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 144.

investigate whether the extant copies of Jeremiah show evidence of Continuing or Authorial composition, whether various changes can be considered to belong to the same layer as others, what is the scope of such layers, and whether any such layer is found to demonstrate the kind of consistency discussed in chapter 1.⁹⁶

4.3.1 DIFFERENCES IN ARRANGEMENT

The most central of the differences between these two main texts are differences in length and the different structuring of the book, with an alternative location for the oracles concerning the nations and a different order of the oracles within that section.⁹⁷ In contrast to the MT order, where the oracles are found in chapters 46-51 the shorter text of the LXX has them in chapter 26-31.⁹⁸ In Jeremiah 25, the Hebrew and Greek texts diverge in the order in which they present the following sections. In Greek the oracles concerning the nations immediately follow Jer 25:13.⁹⁹ The MT collection contains the oracles in the order Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazor, Elam, and Babylon. The LXX order is Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistia, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, and Moab. Various explanations have been given for the arrangements, with MT purportedly having the nations arranged geographically from South-West to North East.¹⁰⁰ The LXX ordering has been explained as possibly reflecting the

⁹⁶ The assumption that the LXX reflects an earlier text will be further reinforced by the examples explored below.

⁹⁷ Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 217.

⁹⁸ While the division of the text into chapters is late and somewhat artificial, it does correspond quite closely to the pericopes arranged in both texts so I will use the MT and LXX chapter divisions as the simplest way to avoid confusion about which textual units are being discussed.

⁹⁹ Anneli Aejmelaesus, "Jeremiah at the Turning-Point of History: The Function of XXV 1-14 in the Book of Jeremiah," *VT* 52 (2002): 479, argues that chapter 25 was composed as an introduction to the oracles at the time of their insertion into the book, and later lost its original meaning and function when the oracles were moved to the end of the book.

¹⁰⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:313-4, sees chronological succession and geographical organization active here; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:clxiv, similarly accepts the internal ordering of the oracles in MT as more original because of the geographical arrangement and correspondence with the list in 25:19.

arrangement of powers during the Hellenistic era with Elam understood as the Parthians, Egypt as the Ptolemies, and Babylon as the Seleucids.¹⁰¹

Since Janzen's study of the relationship between LXX Jeremiah and the Qumran fragments, many scholars have become convinced of the priority of the LXX arrangement.¹⁰² Several commentators, while accepting the LXX placement of the Oracles Concerning the Nations as earlier, have maintained that the order of oracles in the MT is more original.¹⁰³ The MT order shows a more obvious geographical, if not also chronological, sequence and aligns more closely with the sequence of nations in the oracle concerning YHWH's wrath (Jer 25:15-26) while the LXX order is more difficult to explain. It seems more methodologically sound to start with the assumption that the internal ordering of the nations and the placement of the oracles within the book are

¹⁰¹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:643-4, 2:clxv, 2:1110; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:313; see the earlier arguments of C. Rietzschel, *Das Problem der Urrolle: Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Jeremiabuches* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966), 82-3.

¹⁰² Tov, *TCHB*, 287, says that the question of a Semitic *Vorlage* underlying LXX Jeremiah "has been solved." The remaining arguments must then deal with the relationship between longer and shorter text. For a general overview, see James Watts, "Text and Redaction In Jeremiah's Oracles against the Nations" *CBQ* 54 (1992): 432-47; for the priority of the MT arrangement see Christopher R. Seitz, "The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah," *ZAW* 101 (1989):3-27. Seitz points out that most scholars see the Oracles Concerning the Nations as a late addition to the book of Jeremiah, so it is more a question of whether of the oracles were inserted into the two textual traditions at different times or if they were first put into one and then moved to the other, and if the latter, then which came first. Janzen, *Jeremiah*, 115-6, theorizes that the oracles were added to the book secondarily but that the LXX arrangement with the oracles in the middle of the book preceded the MT location; see also Alexander Rofé, "The Arrangement of the Book of Jeremiah," *ZAW* 101 (1989): 390-8. Rofé defends the MT organization of the book without thoroughly engaging with the textual evidence. His arguments depend heavily on the originality of symmetry and inclusios within the book. Such macro-structure is just as likely, if not more likely, a secondary development than an argument for an original or earlier state. His argument also requires that chapter 25 in the MT has been influenced by a typologically later Hebrew text similar to the LXX-*Vorlage*, a claim that is possible but needlessly complicated. For arguments that such macro-structure is often secondary, see Hendrik Jacob Koorevaar, "The Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and the Macro-Structural Problem of the Pentateuch," in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (ed., Thomas Römer; BETL215; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 423-53 ; Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Growth of the Old Testament," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (eds., J.W. Rogerson and J. M. Lieu; OHRT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 482-3; Christoph Levin, "On the Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch," in *Pentateuch, Hexteuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (eds., T. B. Dozeman, T. Römer, and K. Schmid; AIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 127-54.

¹⁰³ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:5, 313-4; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:clxiv; Both Holladay and McKane link the ordering to the list of nations in the oracle concerning the Cup of YHWH's Wrath in Jer 25:15-26.

related phenomenon, so unless a strong reason presents itself, it will be assumed that if one location is considered earlier, then its internal ordering should also be considered earlier. As the MT shows a more obvious sequence of nations, the sequence within the LXX is the *lectio difficilior*.¹⁰⁴ I suspect that the alignment of the MT with the Cup of YHWH's Wrath list is a secondary harmonization given that the lists have only a superficial resemblance (e.g., there are no oracles against Tyre, Sidon, Uz, Dedan, Tema, Media, etc.) and the final mention of the king of Babylon occurs only in MT.¹⁰⁵ The ending of LXX Jer 25:13, "all of which are written in this book," provides a natural lead into the oracles that follow, while the MT contains a plus at Jer 25:13b-14 that segues into the oracle about the Cup of YHWH's Wrath, and a further plus in MT Jer 46:1 serves as a new introduction to the Oracles Concerning the Nations.¹⁰⁶

Other than the re-ordering of these oracles, the rest of the book (MT 25-45) remains in the same order, placed immediately prior to the oracles concerning the nations, leaving chapter 52 as the common ending of both texts of Jeremiah. I argued in chapter 3 that rearrangement is not a technique that necessarily creates a new text, and it was shown above how the tabernacle pericope in Exodus had undergone similar

¹⁰⁴ The possibility of the LXX ordering reflecting a Hellenistic ordering of political powers not withstanding.

¹⁰⁵ The final element of 25:26 *וּמֶלֶךְ שֶׁשׁךְ יִשְׁתָּה אֲחֵרֵיהֶם* is only in the MT, where *שֶׁשׁךְ* = *בבל* following the *ש"א* code (i.e., *א* = *ת* and *ב* = *ש*) whereby the first letter of the alphabet equals the last, the second equals the penultimate, etc. Thus Babylon is mentioned in the list only in the MT and only in a roundabout way, let the reader understand. See also Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 221; Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases* (SBLMS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 112.

¹⁰⁶ See Aejmelaeus, "Jeremiah at the Turning-Point of History," 459-82; Tov, *TCHB*, 287 n9.

rearranging.¹⁰⁷ In the following sections I will examine a number of the MT pluses and compare them to the above examples from Exodus.

4.3.2 DIFFERENCES IN LENGTH

The difference in length between the two texts results primarily from a number of pluses in the MT relative to the LXX. The differences between the shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah are too numerous to investigate exhaustively, so several examples from a few general categories will be examined. The categories used here are based roughly on those from Tov's oft-cited study. Tov mentions additions of headings to prophecies, the repetition of sections,¹⁰⁸ the addition of new verses or sections, addition of new details and changes in content, in addition to the already discussed issue of textual arrangement.¹⁰⁹ The various pluses cannot be easily categorized, but for the sake of a general survey I will group the examples under the following categories similar to Tov's: Headings Added to Oracles, Parallel Sections Exclusive to MT, Parallel Sections Shared by Both Texts, Unparalleled Expansions in MT.¹¹⁰ There is a significantly smaller number of pluses found in the LXX against the MT. Janzen lists them, but concludes,

they are quite small, with 18 of one word, 13 of two words, 4 of three words, and 1 of four words...all are innocuous, and of the sort that one might expect to find in any text tradition. Of the 36, 18 spring from the immediate context (the same

¹⁰⁷ Ezekiel in p967 also shows a different arrangement of chapters 37-39. See further, Ingrid Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions* (VTS 150; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

¹⁰⁸ Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 218-219. Tov lists a series of duplicated oracles found in the shorter text, his edition I: 6:22-24 = 50:41-43; 10:12-16 = 51:15-19; 23:19-20 = 30:23-24; 49:18-21 = 50:44-46. These texts, he reasons, may have been seen as granting permission or precedent for the similar repetitions inserted into the longer form of the book.

¹⁰⁹ Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 217.

¹¹⁰ I find it necessary to include the group Parallel Sections Shared by Both Texts as a control to thinking about the parallels exclusive to MT and studies by Tov, McKane, and Stipp among others likewise follow this approach.

chapter). Most, if not all, may be attributed to scribal memory of (slightly different) parallel passages prevailing over attention to the text at hand.¹¹¹

Because the LXX pluses and the variants between LXX and 4QJer^b are not significant for evaluating the shorter and longer texts as Variant Literary Editions, I will focus on some of the more significant variations.

4.3.3 HEADINGS ADDED TO ORACLES IN MT

One trend seen in the MT pluses is the presence of several headings that have been placed before oracles such as 2:1-2, 7:1-2, 16:1, 27:1, and 47:1.¹¹²

Jeremiah 2:1-2

ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר: הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר

Jeremiah 7:1-2a

הדבר אשר היה אלי־ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר: עמד בשער בית יהוה וקראת שם את־הדבר הזה ואמרת

Jeremiah 16:1

ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר:

Jeremiah 27:1¹¹³

בראשית ממלכת יהויקים בן־יאושיהו מלך יהודה היה הדבר הזה אלי־ירמיהו מאת יהוה לאמר:

Jeremiah 47:1

אשר היה דבר־יהוה אלי־ירמיהו הנביא אל־פלשתים בטרם יכה פרעה את־עזה:
LXX Jer 29:1 'Επί τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους → על פלשתים

It should be apparent at a glance that these headings or introductory formulae are neither consistent in their specific wording nor in their appearance. The headings are

¹¹¹ Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 67. For the list of pluses against MT see pages 63-5.

¹¹² Tov, "Literary History of Jeremiah," 218.

¹¹³ This verse has no correspondence in LXX Jeremiah 34, where the rest of the chapter's material is located in the Greek order.

found in different parts of the book without any obvious pattern of occurrence. It is not immediately clear why some pericopae gained such introductions while others did not.

Example #1

Jeremiah 2:1-2

ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר: הלך וקראת באזני ירושלם לאמר

Jeremiah 16:1

ויהי דבר־יהוה אלי לאמר:

The headings found in the MT of Jer 2:1 and 16:1 are identical to one another and to others found in the shorter text (e.g., 1:4, 18:5, 24:4, etc.) The fact that the headings in Jer 2:1 and 16:1 are identical to several headings already found in the shorter text points to the idea that they are later additions to Jeremiah, modeled on headings already found within the shorter text of the book. There is no reason to suspect the accidental or intentional omission of these headings in the shorter text. This first example also shows that without manuscript evidence it would be impossible in most cases to identify which headings are later (e.g., 16:1) and which were earlier (e.g., 24:4).¹¹⁴ The heading in 2:1 is followed by an additional plus directing the words towards Jerusalem, a shift that has bothered commentators in the past and may be evidence of the MT plus showing how an oracle was later redirected or applied to a new situation.¹¹⁵

Example #2

Jeremiah 26:2a

כל־ערי יהודה הבאים

כה אמר יהוה עמד בהצר בית־יהוה ודברת על־
להשתהות בית־יהוה

¹¹⁴ Aejmelaeus, "Jeremiah at the Turning Point of History," 462; cf., Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," 67.

¹¹⁵ See especially McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:26-7; also Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 111-4; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:63.

Jeremiah 7:2

עמד בשער בית יהוה וקראת שם את־הדבר הזה ואמרת שמעו דברי־יהוה כלי־יהודה הבאים בשערים האלה להשתחות ליהוה

As Jer 7:2 is lacking in the shorter text, the best explanation is that the MT plus is a new introduction that has been created based upon Jer 26:2. While not verbatim, the agreement in the wording regarding standing in part of the temple and announcing an oracle against those coming to worship in the temple is very close, as the alignment of the two parallels shows. The fact that both passages concern the temple and the example of Shiloh, makes the setting of the temple court or gates appropriate.¹¹⁶ Since the passages are connected by the theme of the fate of Shiloh as a warning regarding the temple, it is not surprising that a scribe would have adding a heading that narrated the oracle in a similar setting to chapter 26.¹¹⁷

There is no good reason for conjecturing accidental or intentional omission of the introduction, and no other passage in Jeremiah contains a similar introduction.

Example #3

Jeremiah 27:1 is completely lacking in the LXX, and like the above examples it resembles other introductions that are extant in the shorter text. The use of the peculiar synchronism “in the beginning of the reign of X” is exclusive to the book of Jeremiah, being found in the MT in Jer 26:1, 27:1, 28:1, and 49:34, but nowhere else in biblical

¹¹⁶ This is not to say that chapter 7 is dependent on chapter 26 in general, but only in the specific case of this plus in the MT.

¹¹⁷ So also Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 36-7; and Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:235-6. Tov, “Literary History of Jeremiah,” 218, simply states “The added information in this last heading derives from v. 10 and the parallel passage in chap. 26.” McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:158-9 agrees the LXX “preserves a more original text” but he does not delve into the issue deeply as he is writing “a commentary on the MT” and the two texts diverge considerably. Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 460, sides with the MT reading, citing 4QJer^a in support, while not discussing the relationship between the shorter and longer texts.

literature.¹¹⁸ A closer glance at the shorter and longer texts reveals that the specific phrase “in the beginning of the reign of X” is not paralleled in the shorter text of 28:1 (LXX 35:1) or 27:1 (LXX 34:1). The following aligned texts will show the Greek text, a Hebrew retroversion, and the parallel MT text.

LXX Jer 33:1 (MT Jer 26:1)

Ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλέως Ἰωακίμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσία ἐγενήθη ὁ λόγος οὗτος παρὰ κυρίου
→ בראשית ממלכות יהויקים בן יאשיה היה הדבר הזה מאת יהוה

MT Jer 26:1

בראשית ממלכות יהויקים בן־יאשיהו מלך יהודה היה הדבר הזה מאת יהוה לאמר

MT Jer 27:1

בראשית ממלכת יהויקים בן־יאשיהו מלך יהודה היה הדבר הזה אל־ירמיה מאת יהוה לאמר:

LXX 35:1 (=MT 28:1)

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Σεδεκία βασιλέως Ἰουδα ἐν μηνὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ εἶπέ μοι
Ανανίας υἱὸς Ἀζωρ ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης ὁ ἀπὸ Γαβρων ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου κατ’ ὄφθαλμούς
τῶν ἱερέων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων
→ ויהי בשנה הרבעית צדקיהו מלך יהודה בחדש החמישי אמר אלי הנניה בן עזור הנביא אשר מגבעון בבית
יהוה לעיני הכהנים וכל העם לאמור

MT Jeremiah 28:1

ויהי בשנה ההיא בראשית ממלכת צדקיה מלך־יהודה בשנת הרבעית בחדש החמישי אמר אלי חנניה בן־עזור
הנביא אשר מגבעון בבית יהוה לעיני הכהנים וכל־העם לאמר:

MT Jer 49:34

אשר היה דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו הנביא אל־עילם בראשית ממלכות צדקיה מלך־יהודה לאמר

LXX Jer 26:1

ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλεύοντος Σεδεκίου βασιλέως ἐγένετο ὁ λόγος οὗτος περὶ Αἰλαμ
→ בראשית ממלכת צדקיה המלך היה הדבר הזה על עילם

MT Jer 25:13b

אשר־נבא ירמיהו על־כל־הגוים:

= LXX Jer 25:14

Ἄ ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἱερεμίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ Αἰλαμ.

→ אשר נבא ירמיהו על גויי עלים¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:100, understands the phrase to mean “in the accession year of.”

¹¹⁹ Aejmelaeus, “Jeremiah at the Turning-Point,” 467, suspects that the words τὰ Αἰλαμ in the LXX arose from a mistake, so the reconstructed *Vorlage* would be identical to MT.

Looking at the aligned parallels, one can see that Jeremiah 26:1 (LXX 33:1) and 49:34 (LXX 26:1) are the only example of the phrase “in the beginning of the reign of X” extant in the *Vorlage* of the shorter text. Since the three chapters 26-28 (33-35 in the LXX) are adjacent to each other in both texts with all three containing the above phrase in the MT and only one of them in the LXX, it seems logical that the occurrences in chapters 27 and 28 have been modeled upon 26:1.¹²⁰ This was likely done by the same scribe as these passages all contain the same rare phrase, are all found only in the longer text, and occur in adjacent pericopae.¹²¹ As Stipp has pointed out, one finds ממלכת only in the MT, but מלכות in 26:1 (LXX 33:1) and 49:34 (LXX 26:1).¹²²

Example #4

Jeremiah 46:1

אשר היה דברייהוה אל־ירמיהו הנביא על־הגוים

Jeremiah 47:1

אשר היה דברייהוה אל־ירמיהו הנביא אל־פלשתים בטרם יכה פרעה את־עזה:
LXX Jer 29:1 Ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους → על פלשתים

Jeremiah 14:1

אשר היה דברייהוה אל־ירמיהו על־דברי הבצרות
Καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν περὶ τῆς ἀβροχίας
→ אשר היה דברייהוה אל ירמיהו על הבצרות

¹²⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:112; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:685, also suggests that 27:1 and 28:1 have been modeled on 26:1.

¹²¹ Aejmelaeus, “Jeremiah at the Turning-Point,” 478, argues that Jer 27:7 served as a model for the expansions in MT Jer 25:9, 14 in a similar manner to how I have suggested 26:1 functioned in the creation of the expansions in 27:1 and 28:1.

¹²² Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut*, 78; Jeremiah 49:34 is odd in that although it looks like a heading or introduction, in the LXX it comes after the oracle concerning Elam, instead of before it as in the MT. The LXX oracle begins instead with “Ἄ ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἱερεμίας ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ Αὐλαμ. The final phrase identifying the nations with Elam in particular is probably an error, see Aejmelaeus, “Jeremiah at the Turning-Point,” 476 n38; and McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:632. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:387, hypothesizes that MT and LXX reflect two different traditions that expanded a short original אל עילם; Whether the text of LXX 26:1 is secondary and later moved to the beginning of the oracle as in its location in MT 49:34 or whether it was displaced from its original location is not clear from the evidence.

The final examples Jeremiah 46:1 and 47:1 (LXX 29) both add the phrase אשר היה אשר היה דבר יהוה אל־ירמיהו which is found in both the shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah 14:1. In the case of 46:1, we see a new heading composed to introduce the Oracles Concerning the Nations, formerly the task of 25:13.¹²³ Jeremiah 46:1 in the MT leads into the oracle concerning Egypt, while in the LXX the same spot is occupied by the curious LXX Jer 26:1 that addresses Elam, but comes between Elam and Egypt in the LXX ordering. The Greek text parallel to MT Jer 47:1 implies a *Vorlage* of simply “Concerning the Philistines” but the MT adds a historical reference “before Pharaoh struck Gaza.”¹²⁴ We have already seen added historical details in 27:1 and 28:1.

* * *

In the examples of added headings, only a few clear trends present themselves. The additional headings found in MT resemble formulations already found at an earlier stage of the book. Sometimes the precursors they are based upon are fairly obvious as in the case of the influence of 26:1 on 27:1 and 28:1, or the heading added to 7:1-2 based on 26:2. In the former case, the expansions occur right after the source; in the latter, the expansion occurs far from its source. In other cases the formulation is too general for direct dependence to be determined. While 27:1 may be detectable as an addition due to the conflict between the synchronism (in the reign of Jehoiakim) and the references to Zedekiah in the chapter proper, without manuscript evidence we would have no means of distinguishing between the headings absent in the MT and those such as 13:8 that are present in both shorter and longer texts. It is worth noting that the process is highly unsystematic. Moreover, the fact that a number of the headings (the MT pluses) are

¹²³ See Aejmelaeus, “Jeremiah at the Turning-Point.”

¹²⁴ On the difficulties of determining the historical referent see Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:336.

secondary additions does not lead to the conclusion that all such headings are secondary. Furthermore, we see again that the MT pluses are rightly understood as additions, and that we do not see evidence of selective use of the base-text in the shorter text of Jeremiah. As in the case of Exodus, above, we see expansions added to the book based up on other adjacent and remote portions of the book, an example of Continuing Composition.

4.3.4 PARALLELS EXTANT ONLY IN MT

Jeremiah exhibits the phenomenon of parallel sections, meaning almost identical content found in two different passages. We have already observed this on a small scale in the comparisons of the headings exclusive to MT and similar introductions already present in the shorter text. Like with the headings, there are parallels that are exclusive to the MT and others that existed already in the shorter text. Has this duplication of material arisen from the prophet's own reuse of oracles or statements in different situations? Has a scribe copied from one section and inserted it secondarily into a new context elsewhere in the book? Do these sections share a specific theme, topic, context, or location within the book? The above observations about the headings added to some sections gives weight to the idea that frequently earlier parts of the book served as models for later sections. The very fact that in many parallel sections one constituent of the pair is absent from the shorter text provides an obvious reason for thinking diachronically about this phenomenon. As the overlap between the parallel passages is near verbatim, and given the fact that many of them are found in some textual witnesses but not others, leads to the working hypothesis that we are dealing with a textual phenomenon and not, for example,

the prophet's own reuse of material in different contexts (as the MT and LXX point to much too late a date for this) or mutual dependence on a shared, but now lost, source. In an effort to start with what is more certain, and use it to illuminate the less certain cases, I will examine the parallels distinctive to the longer MT text before turning to those found in both longer (MT) and shorter (LXX) texts.

Example #1

Jeremiah 8

Jeremiah 6:13-15

כי מקטנם ועד־גדולם כלו בוצע בצע
 ומנביא ועד־כהן כלו עשה שקר:
 וירפאו את־שבר עמי על־נקלה לאמר
 שלום שלום ואין שלום:
 הבישו כי תועבה עשו גמ־בוש לא־יבושו
 גם־הכלים לא ידעו לכן יפלו בנפלים
 בעת־פקדתים יכשלו אמר יהוה:

Jeremiah 8:10b-12

כי מקטן ועד־גדול כלה בצע בצע
 מנביא ועד־כהן כלה עשה שקר:
 וירפן את־שבר בת־עמי על־נקלה לאמר
 שלום שלום ואין שלום:
 הבשו כי תועבה עשו גמ־בוש לא־יבשו
 והכלם לא ידעו לכן יפלו בנפלים
 בעת פקדתם יכשלו אמר יהוה:

Variants

8:10b] בוצע 6:13 | כלה 8:10b] כלו 6:13 | גדול 8:10b] גדולם 6:13 | מקטן 8:10b] מקטנם 6:13
 8:11] - 6:15 | וירפן 8:11] וירפאו 6:14 | כלה 8:11] כלו 6:14 | מנביא 8:10b] ומנביא 6:13 | בצע
 הכלם 8:12] הכלים 6:15 | ו 8:12] גם 6:15 | יבשו 8:12] יבושו 6:15 | הבשו 8:11] הבישו 6:15 | בת
 פקדתם 8:12] פקדתים 6:15 |

The shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah 8 are largely the same except for verses 10b-12 in the MT, which are not found in the shorter text. While these verses are not found in chapter 8 of the Greek text, they are found in chapter 6 of both the shorter and longer texts, introducing the possibility that these verses have been copied from the context of chapter 6 and placed into a new context in chapter 8.

All of these differences are minor variants with no significant difference in meaning.¹²⁵ The closeness of the text—perfect agreement in all but a few letters—and its

¹²⁵ Most of these are orthographic. Jer 6:13 contains a pluses adding pronominal suffixes and conjunctive waw. The variant of גמ and ו is not orthographic but falls into Talmon's category of Synonymous Variant and is of only minor significance for the present study. Others such as פקדתם\פקדתים

absence in the LXX of chapter 8, points strongly to the conclusion that the MT plus in Jeremiah 8 is a later addition of material drawn directly from chapter 6. There are no grounds for hypothesizing accidental omission from the LXX *Vorlage* of chapter 8, and there is no evidence to support the idea that scribes omitted duplicate statements, especially when found in different pericopes. Instead it appears that a section of chapter 6 was reproduced to further expand chapter 8. This is very similar to what was observed above in the plague narrative of Exodus where exact phrases were copied from elsewhere in the book and inserted into a new context.¹²⁶ As in those cases, the insertion is made completely of preexisting text to which nothing new or novel has been added. The variants probably arose in the process of fitting the material into chapter 8.

Example #2

Jeremiah 15:13-14

חילך ואוצרותיך לבז
אתן לא במחיר ובכלי-חטאותיך
ובכלי-גבוליך:
והעברתי את-איביך בארץ לא ידעת
כי-אש קדחה באפי עליכם תוקד:

Jeremiah 17:3-4

הררי בשדה חילך כלי-אוצרותיך לבז
אתן במתיך בחטאת בכלי-גבוליך:
ושמטתה ובך מנחלתך אשר נתתי לך
והעבדתיך את-איביך בארץ אשר לא-ידעת
כי-אש קדחתם באפי עד-עולם תוקד:

Variants

15:13 -] 17:3 | הררי בשדה | 15:13 | ואוצרותיך] 17:3 | כלי-אוצרותיך | 15:13 | לא במחיר] 17:3 | במותיך] 17:3 | ושמטתה ובך מנחלתך אשר נתתי לך] 17:4a | 15:13 -] 17:3 | בחטאת] 17:3 | ובכלי-חטאותיך] 15:13 | והעברתי] 17:4 | והעבדתיך] 17:4 | קדחה] 15:14 | קדחתם] 17:4 | עליכם] 15:14 | עד-עולם] 17:4

Unlike the first example from Jeremiah 6 and 8, where several verses were found added to another section, here the plus in the MT is longer than simply the paralleled verses, and the direction of dependence is more difficult to determine. Roughly the same contents are found in 15:13-4 and in 17:3-4 in MT, but 17:1-4 are absent from the LXX. In MT, instead of the phrase “without price” (15:13) we find “your high places” (17:3)

reflect different interpretations of the same consonants, in this case, either “[at the time] I visit them” or “[at the time of] their visitation.”

¹²⁶ On the similarity of the MT and (proto) Samaritan expansions see Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:6-8.

and the additional difficult phrase in verse 4 “and you yourself will drop from your inheritance that I have given to you.” The ill-suited “I will make you cross over” is clearly an error for “and I will make you serve,” as in 17:4, based on the similar appearance of η and γ .¹²⁷ Because the material shared in common by these two passages overlaps so closely, commentators have posited a literary relationship between them. There are two main options, either Jer 15:13-14 is earlier and the MT plus in chapter 17, is a later addition reusing earlier material as in the previous example, or else Jer 15:13-14 is secondary to 17:3-4 and its absence in the LXX must be explained in a different manner. It is at least clear that the LXX minus cannot be attributed to conscious omission.

All of verses 1-4 are absent in the shorter text. This could be evidence that 15:13-14 has been used to create a larger expansion. The fact that the overall theme of 17:1-4 deals with “Judah’s sin,” specifically improper worship practices, makes the reference to “high places” in verse 3 evidence that these four verses should be viewed as a whole unit. The textual evidence supports this at first glance, as does the change from במחזיר to במתוך , which could be intended as a gloss explaining the word “sins.”¹²⁸ The concern with the “high places” and other forbidden worship practices would then be an example of an ideological insertion that is congruent with ideas already found in the shorter text (e.g., 7:31, 19:5, 32:35 = LXX 39:35), and fits the contents of the preceding passage Jer 16:1-21. Despite all this, this first option has been rarely adopted.

Most often, commentators see the lack of 17:1-4 in the LXX as the result of homeoteleuton from a scribe’s eye skipping from the tetragrammaton at the end of 16:21

¹²⁷ If Jer 17:4 preserves the original, it could either mean that it is prior to 15:14 or simply that 15:14 was secondarily corrupted at a later state.

¹²⁸ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:448-50 suspects that change was intentional; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:384-5, follows Duhm in seeing the change as a corruption.

to that in 17:5, after which the LXX text begins.¹²⁹ This has been the recent consensus and as such should be given some serious consideration. Following this line of thinking, the absence of 17:4a, from the material in 15:13-14, can be explained if one assumes that 17:4 was the earlier text, and that the difficult phrase was omitted from the source when that material was reused to create the addition in chapter 15. The location of 15:13-14, verses that undoubtedly reflect divine speech, are oddly located in chapter 15 in the midst of speech that must be connected with the prophet's voice. Jeremiah 17:1-4 follows somewhat smoothly after the themes of chapter 26, but it does not fit particularly well with the verses that follow it. While the tetragrammaton in the "Thus says YHWH" is considered to be the reason for the accidental omission of 17:1-4 by Holladay, among others, he immediately uses the LXX's lack of the phrase "Thus says YHWH" to justify deletion of the phrase from his critical reconstruction.¹³⁰ Thus in his view, the added oracular introduction (to a passage that he claims is not an oracle) leads to the accidental loss of 17:1-4. The following section 17:5b-13 does not connect directly with the theme of Judah's idolatry, arguments based on the aesthetics of how the discourse seems to flow mostly focus on perceived links with the preceding passage.

If 17:1-4 were original to the text, one is left with explaining its relation to 15:13-14 and the variation between them. Janzen has offered the ingenious solution that 15:13-14 resulted from a mistaken attempt at correcting the loss of 17:1-4. He claims that Jer 17:14 was first omitted by homoioteleuton and a later scribe mistakenly placed it in a parallel column, and that MT now displays a conflate reading of both 17:1-4 (presumably

¹²⁹ Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 117; Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:484; McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:384; and Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut*, 62-3, 138-9, all view the minus of 17:1-4 as the result of haplography in the LXX *Vorlage*, and thus 15:12-14 is thought to be "nicht die Quelle...aber das Derivat" of 17:1-4. See also, Parke-Taylor *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 23-32.

¹³⁰ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:489.

lost in the part of the tradition) and 15:13-14 (the mistaken attempt to fix it).¹³¹ If Janzen's theory is correct, this example should be compared to the other doublets that are found in both the shorter and longer text rather than treated in the same category as the material exclusive to the MT. To my mind, however, the MT plus of 17:1-4 is better explained as a late addition not present in the *LXX Vorlage*, which expanded upon material from Jer 15:13-14. While Janzen's solution is possible, it is needlessly complicated as it requires that 17:1-4 be omitted by accidently, partly restored in the wrong place, and that both parallel passages found their way into MT. The current placement of Jer 15:13-14 is admittedly awkward in its surrounding literary context, so ultimately it is a difficult choice to determine whether we are dealing with conscious expansion or accidental duplication. For the present purpose, we need only note that the *LXX* minus does not stem from conscious omission and therefore the shorter text is not the result of selectively abridging the longer text (an activity exclusive to Authorial Composition).

Example #3

MT Jeremiah 46:27-28 (LXX 26:27-28)

MT Jeremiah 30:10-11

ואתה אל־תִּירָא עֲבָדֵי יַעֲקֹב

ואתה אל־תִּירָא עֲבָדֵי יַעֲקֹב נֹאמְרֵיהוּהָ

ואל־תִּחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִנְנִי מוֹשִׁיעַךְ מִרְחֹק

ואל־תִּחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי הִנְנִי מוֹשִׁיעַךְ מִרְחֹק

ואת־זֶרַעַךְ מֵאַרְצָ שְׁבִים וְשֵׁב יַעֲקֹב

ואת־זֶרַעַךְ מֵאַרְצָ שְׁבִים וְשֵׁב יַעֲקֹב

וּשְׁקֵט וּשְׁאֲנֵן וְאִין מַחְרִיד:

וּשְׁקֵט וּשְׁאֲנֵן וְאִין מַחְרִיד:

אתה אל־תִּירָא עֲבָדֵי יַעֲקֹב נֹאמְרֵיהוּהָ

כִּי־אתךְ אֲנִי נֹאמְרֵיהוּהָ לְהוֹשִׁיעַךְ

כִּי אַתְּ אֲנִי

¹³¹ Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 133, "It is to be noted that 15.11ff and 17.1-4 would have stood in adjacent columns of an ancient manuscript. 15.12-14 may have originated as a marginal variant to 17.1-4 (note the numerous variants between the two basically similar passages), or as a correction (since corrupted) of haplography in the common archetype of 17.1-4 (still reflected in G), wrongly restored. In either case, 15.12-14 and 17.1-4 would represent conflation in M of two manuscript traditions"; and McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:384, following Janzen describes 15:13-14 as "a fragment of 17:1-4 which does not fit into the context of chapter 15 but which has a contribution to make to the textual criticism of 17.1-4."

כי אעשה כלה בכל־הגוים
 אשר הדחתֶיךָ שמה ואתֶךָ לא־אעשה
 כלה ויסרתֶיךָ למשפט ונקה לא אנקֶךָ

כי אעשה כלה בכל־הגוים
 אשר הפצותֶיךָ שם אך אתֶךָ לא־אעשה
 כלה ויסרתֶיךָ למשפט ונקה לא אנקֶךָ

Variants

46:28a -] 30:10 נאמ־יהוה | 46:28a מושעך] 30:10 מושיעך | 46:28a] יעקב] 30:10 יעקב |
 46:28a] נאמ־יהוה להושיעך] 30:11 - | 46:28a -] 30:11] אתה אל תירא עבדי יעקב נאמ־יהוה | 46:28
] 30:11] ואתֶךָ] 46:28 - | 30:11] אך] 46:28a] שם] 30:11] שמה] 46:28] הפצותֶיךָ] 30:11
] הדחתֶיךָ
 אתֶךָ

This third example is similar to the first in that the content of Jeremiah 46:27-28 (LXX Jer 26) is found in a parallel location in MT Jer 30:10-11 (LXX 37) with only a handful of variants between them and no obvious marks of intentional change or updating, yet the two passages are so close in their formulating that some kind of literary relationship can be assumed. Jeremiah 30:10 contains the words “oracle of YHWH” absent from 46:27. This textual plus may have been added, but it does not change the meaning in any way and functions more as an interjection.¹³² Jeremiah 46:28 contains the phrase “As for you, do not fear, Jacob my servant—oracle of YHWH” which is not found in the parallel section, although the phrase “oracle of YHWH” appears in the middle of 30:11 and may have been displaced in the course of later transmission or at the time the parallel was added if the scribe were working from memory.¹³³

The two variants, הדחתֶיךָ “I have driven you” (46:28) and הפצותֶיךָ “I have scattered you” (30:11), express similar ideas and constitute synonymous variants, meaning that one cannot find grounds to prefer one to the other as there is no apparent mark of accidental or conscious change. Both verbs can be found throughout the Torah, Prophets, and

¹³² On the syntax and use of נאמ־יהוה as an interjection see E. J. Revell, “Pausal Forms in Biblical Hebrew: Their Function, Origin and Significance,” *JSS* 25 (1980):171-5.

¹³³ On “memory variants,” and the case for their existence, see Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 13-56.

Writings spanning genre and book divisions, so there is no reason to suppose that a scribe has replaced an obscure word with a more common synonym.

The textual evidence of the minus in 30:10-11 should be a clue as to the direction of dependence, yet despite this McKane remarks, somewhat strangely, that it is impossible to tell which of the two MT locations is more original.¹³⁴ McKane hesitates on this point since in the location shared by both texts (i.e., MT Jeremiah 46=LXX 26) the two verses appear tacked on to the end of the oracle against Egypt and are not integrated into the context. In MT Jeremiah 30, by contrast, the comfort proclaimed to Judah fits the larger context of the pericope. Holladay takes a similar view, that contra Tov, Jer 30:10-11 is original. Prioritizing *Literarkritik* he explains that the LXX has omitted the second occurrence since MT Jeremiah 46 and MT Jeremiah 30 are found as chapters 26 and 37 respectively.¹³⁵ To my mind, whether Jer 46:27-28 are original to their present context or not, the textual evidence points towards seeing 30:10-11 as a later expansion drawing upon 46:27-8.¹³⁶ It is methodologically safer to begin with the textual evidence that we have, rather than an aesthetic judgment that cannot be calibrated with any outside controls. The frequent appearance of doublets and parallel passages in many parts of the biblical corpus argues against the possibility that a scribe would omit an apparent doublet.¹³⁷ Giving priority to the Greek order reinforces the theory that scribes were more

¹³⁴ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:1136.

¹³⁵ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:7, 156, 160-1.

¹³⁶ For similar conclusions to my own see Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 119-126. Parke-Taylor takes up the issue of neither section fitting its context well, and the relationship of the language of these passages to Deutero-Isaiah.

¹³⁷ Even if one were to try to mount an argument that the parallels lacking in the LXX point to such a tendency, one would still have to explain why a number of parallel passages are yet shared by both texts. Even more difficult to refute is that many of the parallels exclusive to the MT show clear evidence of updating or redirecting its source material (e.g., 17:3-4 and 33:14-26). In SP Exod 18:25 we saw a sentence omitted from base-text as it was replaced by similar content. While this may be evidence that a scribe who

likely to fill in parallel material drawing from sections they had recently copied, while the orthographic and synonymous variants may stem from the use of memory or errors in later recopying.¹³⁸

Example #4

Jeremiah 49:22 (=LXX 29:23)

Jeremiah 48:40b-1 (LXX Jer 31 minus)

הנה כנשר יעלה וידאה ויפרש כנפיו
על־בצרה
והיה לב גבורי אדום
ביום ההוא כלב אשה מצרה:

הנה כנשר ידאה ופרש כנפיו אל־מואב:
נלכדה הקריות והמצדות נתפשה
והיה לב גבורי מואב
ביום ההוא כלב אשה מצרה:

Variants

49:22] יעלה 48:40b - | 49:22] וידאה 48:40b | ידאה 49:22] על 48:40b | אל 49:22] בצרה 49:22]
מואב 48:41] אדום 49:22 -] 48:41] נתפשה 48:41] מואב 48:40b |

Here again we meet a pair of passages that contain near verbatim overlap, with one of the passages (Jer 48:40-41) being absent from the shorter text of Jeremiah. One of the most obvious differences between these two passages concerns what geography the oracle addresses, Edom or Moab. In the passage exclusive to the MT (Jer 48:40b-1), twice Moab appears where Jer 49:22 (LXX 29:23) mentions Bozrah and Edom.

The direction of dependence can be verified with more certainty than in previous examples. What appears to be an MT plus in this alignment, “the cities are seized and the fortresses taken” is actually found in LXX Jer 31:41 and in the MT that material has been straddled by the added material. This scenario, in which a verse contains a plus made up of paralleled material on either side of it, is some of the clearest evidence that the MT plus material was not accidentally omitted in the LXX *Vorlage*. If the LXX minus were

is expanding a text may avoid introducing such a doublet, it does not follow from this that a scribe who encounters such a doublet would omit one of the constituents.

¹³⁸ In this case the passages are not nearly as close as in the example of Jer 49:22 and 48:40-41 discussed next, but not as distant as Jer 23:5-6 and 33:14-26 (=LXX chapter 40).

the result of homeoteleuton or a similar scribal error, one would expect the entire block to be lost, including LXX Jer 31:41. The fact that the material lacking in the shorter text is found in its entirety elsewhere shows that these verses in the MT are an expansion based on the passage in MT Jer 49:22 (=LXX 29:23). The switch in geography from Edom to Moab shows that the passage has been reused and modified to fit into a new literary and historical context. There is no reason why the extra verb יעלה would not be included in the expansion found in the MT plus, but it is neither necessary nor significant for the meaning in either case.¹³⁹

Janzen suggests that “Perhaps the couplet arose as a gloss on בצרה in 48.24 (49.22 has בצרה where 48.40 has מואב) and was taken into the wrong column of the manuscript, with appropriate change of names.”¹⁴⁰ This is a clever solution, but requires that the text was added by accident, yet was then consciously made to fit. If the names had not been updated to fit the new literary context, the case for an accidental insertion would be much stronger. As the updating of Edom to Moab must be the result of a conscious change, it is hard to imagine that the incongruities were noticed and altered during the course of such a mistake. Janzen acknowledges that “40b.41b cannot really be said to disrupt the context.”¹⁴¹ I propose that while apparent disruption can be evidence of an insertion, and is to be expected if the insertion resulted from a mistake, there is no reason to suspect that all secondary additions will cause such disturbances and a smoother text may point towards conscious, rather than accidental, alteration.¹⁴² As mentioned above, the added

¹³⁹ See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:371; and Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 25.

¹⁴⁰ Janzen, *Studies in the Book of Jeremiah*, 59. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:344, 371 follows Janzen; so also Parke-Taylor, *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 138-39.

¹⁴¹ Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*, 59.

¹⁴² This is the reason for the standard text-critical preference for *Lectio difficilior*. E.g., Tov, *TCHB*, 275-77. Tov cautions against such typical canons of criticism. Much of his caution stems from the

text straddles 48:41a (LXX 31:41), and this, with the changes from Edom to Moab, points conclusively against accidental inclusion because both factors require conscious effort to fit the new text into its present context. Therefore the changes should be understood as intentional reuse of earlier material to create further expansions in the book. This is Continuing Composition from a shorter text to a longer one, there is no conscious omission from the base-text of Jeremiah.

Finally, as in the previous example, here the expanded pericope comes earlier in the order of MT Jeremiah than the order of its (shorter) source. When one compares the arrangements of the two texts, one can see that in the order of the LXX the expanded section (LXX Jer 31:41) actually comes two chapters after its source (LXX Jer 29:23) rather than immediately before it as in the MT order. One may expect that a scribe would more likely expand upon a passage recently copied, but it is not clear whether this pattern of source preceding expansion is actually typical. Earlier we saw that Exod 11:3 in the SP contained an expansion that coordinated with 4:22-3, reflecting a horizon beyond the immediate context, and several of the examples in Jeremiah reflect similar distance between parallel passages (e.g., 7:2 and 26:1; 46:27-8 and 30:1-11). If the scribe responsible for the expansion was working from what had just been copied then one would expect to find an arrangement like the LXX and not like the MT.¹⁴³

Example #5

Jeremiah 23:5-6

הנה ימים באים נאם־יהוה והקמת־י

Jeremiah 33:14-26

הנה ימים באים נאם־יהוה והקמת־י

argument that scribal errors often lead to more difficult readings. However, the converse must also be true: intentional scribal alterations more often lead to “easier” readings.

¹⁴³ This is possible evidence that the expansion found in MT Jeremiah 48 occurred at a time before the rearranging of the text, thus the MT plus and the different arrangement of the LXX and MT are not the work of the same scribe. The relationship between the divergences in order and divergences in expansions has not yet been sufficiently explored.

את־הדבר הטוב אשר דברתי אל־בית
ישראל ועל־בית יהודה:
בימים ההם ובעת ההיא
אצמיח לדבד צמח צדקה
ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ:
בימים ההם תושע יהודה
וירושלם תשכון לבטח וזה אשר־יקרא־לה
יהוה צדקנו:

לדוד צמח צדיק ומלך מלך והשכיל
ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ:
בימיו תושע יהודה
וישראל ישכן לבטח וזה־שמו אשר־יקראו
יהוה צדקנו:

כי־כה אמר יהוה לא־יכרת
לדוד איש ישב על־כסא בית־ישראל:
לכהנים הלויים לא־יכרת איש
מלפני מעלה עולה ומקטיר מנחה

ועשה־זבח כל־הימים:
ויהי דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו לאמור:
כה אמר יהוה א־ס־תפרו
את־בריתי היום ואת־בריתי הלילה ולבלתי
היות
יומס־ולילה בעתם:
גם־בריתי תפר את־דוד עבדי
מהיות־לו בן מלך על־כסאו ואת־הלויים
הכהנים משרתי:
אשר לא־יספר צבא השמים
ולא ימד חול הים כן ארבה את־זרע דוד
עבדי ואת־הלויים משרתי אתי
ויהי דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיהו לאמור:
הלוא ראית מה־העם הזה דברו לאמר שתי
המשפחות אשר בחר יהוה בהם
וימאסם ואת־עמי ינאצון מהיות עוד גוי
לפניהם:
כה אמר יהוה א־ל־א בריתי יומם ולילה
חקות שמים וארץ לא־שמת:
גם־זרע יעקוב ודוד עבדי אמאס מקחת
מזרעו משלים אל־זרע אברהם ישחק ויעקב כי־אשוב
את־שבותם ורחמתים

Variants

ומלך 23:5 | צדקה 33:14 | צדיק 23:5 | את הדבר הטוב אשר דברתי אל בית ישראל ועל בית יהודה 33:14
 33:16 | ישראל 23:6 | וירושלם 33:16 | וישראל 23:6 | בימים ההם 33:16 | בימיו 23:5 | מלך והשכיל
 33:17-26+ | יקרא־לה 33:16 | יקראו 23:6 | שמו 23:6 | תשכון

Jeremiah 33:14-26 is the longest plus in MT Jeremiah. Verses 14-16 parallel 23:5-

6 and are accompanied by an additional ten verses. The reasons for viewing these as a

whole unit are first that they appear together in the MT but not the LXX, and second, because they are connected thematically.¹⁴⁴ Verses 14-16 downplay the focus on a Davidic messiah from 23:5-6 by shifting the title of “YHWH our Righteousness” from the figure of the branch (i.e., a male deliverer) to the delivered city of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁵ The shift from “in his days” to “in those days” further moves prophecy to exilic eschatology.¹⁴⁶ The following verses repeat the famous promise to David (e.g., 2 Sam 7:8-17), but then follow it up immediately with something completely novel, an eternal covenant with the sons of Levi.¹⁴⁷ The passage continues in 33:23 with God informing Jeremiah that the people are saying that God has rejected the “two families which YHWH chose.” These two, contextually, can only be Judah (David) and Levi. Finally, the oracle concludes with the restatement of the inviability of the natural order as proof of the enduring promise to David’s offspring. The distinctiveness of the eternal covenant with Levi, its affiliation with ideas and themes emphasized in the Hellenistic period (e.g., *Jub.*

¹⁴⁴ Some thorough discussions of this passage can be found in Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 471-74; Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut*, 133-36; Parke-Taylor, *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 55-62; William M. Schniedewind, *Society and Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 135-38.

¹⁴⁵ Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 473.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Fishbane also points out that “the good word” in Jer 33:14 most likely refers to Jer 23:5-6 itself, pointing to the former’s later date.

¹⁴⁷ A promise of an eternal covenant with Levi is not found explicitly in the Hebrew Bible. Malachi rebukes the priests in light of a covenant with Levi (Mal 2:4-8), the closest parallel within the biblical text is the covenant with Phineas in Num 25:12-13, but there is no reason to connect that with Jer 33. On the other hand, Jubilees exhibits some striking parallels with the covenant formula here. In *Jub.* 30:18-23, Levi’s zeal in slaughtering the Shechemites echoes the actions of Phineas, and in *Jub.* 31:32-32:1 after Levi and Judah are blessed by Abraham, Levi has a dream in which God promises him an eternal priesthood. Levi and Judah (in that order) are singled out from the other tribes just as Jeremiah 33:24 refers to “the two families that YHWH chose.” Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (SJSJ 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 296-7; 303 n80, highlights another connection between *Jub.* 6:4 and Jeremiah 33:25-6 where both similarly emphasize the fixing of the natural order promised Noah covenant in Gen 9:16. On the late dating, see further P. Piovanelli, “JrB 33,14-26: Ou la Continuité des Institutions à l’Époque Maccabéene,” in *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception* (ed. A.H.W. Curtis and T. Römer; BETL 78; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 255-76, esp. 268-71. Piovanelli dates Jer 33:14-26 to the Hellenistic period, but he understands the passage to be of a piece with the MT plus material. For arguments for an earlier (pre-Hellenistic) date, see Schniedewind, *Society and Promise to David*, 136; and McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:clxiii.

6:4), its absence from the LXX, and the careful redirecting of the oracle from chapter 23 argue conclusively against Tov's opinion that 33:14-26 have preserved authentic Jeremianic material that was later added into the book, and instead may point to a late date for this section.¹⁴⁸

Because of its uniqueness, Stipp considers the plus in 33:14-26 to be *sui generis*, unconnected to the other expansions found in MT.¹⁴⁹ The doublets explored in the other examples repeat other sections almost verbatim, but show evidence of only slight alteration to fit a new context (e.g., changing the addressee from Edom to Moab). The alterations in this example are much heavier handed.

This passage in Jeremiah seems similar in kind to the special interests of books like Chronicles and *Jubilees*, although it is only a brief insertion within a book and not a thoroughgoing editorial layer. While Tov includes it as part of "edition II" of Jeremiah, this particular interest is only visible here and need not be seen as part of a layer reaching beyond vv.14-26. Stipp has argued for its independence on the grounds of its distinct use of language and specific interests compared with the rest of the MT *Sondergut*.¹⁵⁰ In chapter 3, I argued against Segal's claim that an ideological layer was a necessary feature of distinguishing between copies of the same text and new texts that contained significant overlap with their sources. In the last chapter I will take this question up again, showing that the creation of a new text is almost a prerequisite for including a new ideology, but does not in itself shift a text from one category to the other. Jeremiah 33:14-26 is possibly the clearest example of such an ideological addition on a small scale (i.e., a single

¹⁴⁸ Tov, "The Literary History of Jeremiah," 220. On the possibility of a late date see the above note discussing similarities between the MT plus material and *Jubilees*.

¹⁴⁹ Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut*, 133.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 133-136.

insertion) that, despite its innovation, does not create a new work but becomes part of new copies of an existing work.

Having examined the parallels within Jeremiah where one constituent of each pair is missing in the shorter text, we can see that in every case where the direction of dependence is clear, the MT plus represents a later expansion. In the cases where the direction of dependence is not clear, the alternative to expansion on the part of MT is not conscious but accidental omission on the part of the shorter text. In no case have we found evidence of conscious omissions in these sections of Jeremiah, nor of any other change associated with the creation of a new text. Let us now turn to the cases where parallel passages survive in both shorter and longer text.

4.3.5 PARALLEL SECTIONS EXTANT IN MT AND LXX

Example #1

MT Jeremiah 6:22-24

כה אמר יהוה הנה עם בא מארץ צפון
וגוי גדול יעור מירכתי־ארץ:
קשת וכידון יחזיקו אכזרי הוא ולא
ירחמו קולם כים יהמה ועל־סוסים ירכבו
ערוך כאיש למלחמה אליך בת־ציון:

שמענו את־שמעו רפו ידינו
צרה החזיקתנו חיל כילודה:

Jeremiah 49:19-21

הנה כאריה יעלה מגאון הירדן אל־נוה
איתן כ־ארגיעה אריצנו מעליה ומי
בחור אליה אפקד כי מי כמוני ומי יעידני
ומי־זה רעה אשר יעמד לפני:

לכן שמעו עצת־יהוה אשר יעץ אל־אדום
ומחשבותיו אשר חשב אל־ישבי תימן
אמ־לא יסחבום צעירי הצאן אמ־לא
ישים עליהם נוהם:
מקול נפלם נרעשה הארץ צעקה
בים־סוף נשמע קולה:

MT Jeremiah 50:41-46

הנה עם בא מצפון
וגוי גדול ומלכים רבים יערו מירכתי־ארץ:
קשת וכידון יחזיקו אכזרי המה ולא
ירחמו קולם כים יהמה ועל־סוסים ירכבו
ערוך כאיש למלחמה עליך בת־בבל:

שמע מלך־בבל את־שמעם ורפו ידינו
צרה החזיקתהו חיל כילודה:

הנה כאריה יעלה מגאון הירדן אל־נוה
איתן כ־ארגיעה ארוצם מעליה ומי
בחור אליה אפקד כי מי כמוני ומי יועדני
ומי־זה רעה אשר יעמד לפני:

לכן שמעו עצת־יהוה אשר יעץ אל־בבל
ומחשבותיו אשר חשב אל־ארץ כשדים
אמ־לא יסחבום צעירי הצאן אמ־לא
ישים עליהם נוה:
מקול נתפשה בבל נרעשה הארץ וזעקה
בגוים נשמע:

Variants

[וכידון 6:23 | יערו 50:41 | יעורו 6:22 | ומלכים רבים 50:41 | 6:22 - | 50:41] כה אמר יהוה 6:22
[6:24 - | שמע 50:43 | שמענו 6:24 | בבל 50:42 | ציון 6:23 | המה 50:42 | הוא 6:23 | וכידן 50:42
50:43 | החזיקתנו 6:24 | ידיו 50:43 | ידינו 6:24 | שמעו 6:24 | מלך בבל 50:43
| ארץ 50:45 | ישבי 49:20 | בבל 50:45 | אדום 49:20 | ארוצם 50:44 | אריצנו 49:19 | החזיקתהו
[49:21 - | נתפשה 50:46 | נפלם 49:21 | נוה 50:45 | נוהם 49:20 | כשדים 50:45 | תימן 49:20
50:46 | ביס־סוף 49:21 | וזעקה 50:46 | צעקה 49:21 | נרעשה 50:46 | ראשה 49:21 | בבל 50:46
| בגוים 50:46 - | קולה 49:21]

Though it is found in both the shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah, Jer 50:41-6

otherwise gives every indication of being a scribal creation based upon Jer 6:22-4 and Jer 49:18-21. It appears that a scribe has reused material and reshaped it as an addition elsewhere in the text. The near-verbatim overlap points toward a literary relationship of dependence, and the direction of dependence is clear from two factors. First, it is difficult to imagine that parts of Jer 50:41-6 were at some point copied and changed to be included

in two very distant and unrelated parts of the book.¹⁵¹ It is much more probable that two previous sections were combined. Second, not only does it make more sense to see two unrelated parts brought into one related whole, rather than the other way around, the common addressee in the longer passage of Jer 50:41-6 is Babylon. In 50:43 “the king of Babylon” is the subject instead of “we” in 6:24; in 50:42 the “daughter of Babylon” replaces the “daughter of Zion” of 6:23; in 50:45 YHWH has made a plan against Babylon instead of Edom in 49:20; and in 50:45 the parallel reads “the land of the Chaldeans” (i.e., Babylonians) instead of “the inhabitants of Teman” (i.e., Edomites) in 49:20. Both of these parallel sections are present in the MT and LXX, so they should not be associated with the same level of alternation as found in the MT pluses, but the closeness of the text with only small changes adapting it for a different addressee gives every appearance of being a scribal creation. The acknowledge existence of additions in the MT should speak in favor of viewing Jer 50:41-46 as a similar expansion, only one that was added at a time chronologically prior to MT Jeremiah. Thus we see Continuing Composition on two different levels, one preserved only in the MT and one pre-dating the MT.

Example #2

MT Jeremiah 10:12-16

MT Jeremiah 51:15-19 (LXX 28:15-19)

עשה ארץ בכחו מכין תבל בחכמתו
 ובתבונתו נטה שמים:
 לקול תתו המון מים בשמים ויעלה
 נשאים מקצה הארץ ברקים למטר עשה
 ויוצא רוח מאצרתיו:
 נבער כל־אדם מדעת הביש כל־צורף

עשה ארץ בכחו מכין תבל בחכמתו
 ובתבונתו נטה שמים:
 לקול תתו המון מים בשמים ויעל
 נשאים מקצה־ארץ ברקים למטר עשה
 ויוצא רוח מאצרתיו:
 נבער כל־אדם מדעת הביש כל־צרף

¹⁵¹ See Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 2:421; and McKane, *Jeremiah*, 2:1292-3. Parke-Taylor, *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 155-7, 175-6, agrees that 6:22-4 is older than 50:41-6, but finds 50:44-6 superior to 49:19-21 textually. Following the consensus of the previous century, he leans toward seeing 50:44-6 as the source of 49:19-21, primarily because the downfall of Edom would “hardly be considered an earth-shaking event,” but in the end he refrains from definite judgment.

מפסל כי שקר נסכו ולא־רוח במ:
הבל המה מעשה תעתעים בעת פקדתם
יאבדו:
לא־כאלה חלק יעקב כ־יוצר הכל הוא
וישראל שבט נחלתו יהוה צבאות שמו:

מפסל כי שקר נסכו ולא־רוח במ:
הבל המה מעשה תעתעים בעת פקדתם
יאבדו:
לא־כאלה חלק יעקב כ־יוצר הכל הוא
ושבט נחלתו יהוה צבאות שמו:

Variants

10:13] יעלה] 51:16 | 10:13] הארץ | 51:16] ארץ | 10:14] צורף | 51:17] צרף | 10:16] יעקב | 51:19] ושבט | 51:19] - | 10:16] שבט | 51:19] ושבט | 10:16] וישראל | 10:16] יעקב | 51:19]

As the aligned texts in this second example show, there is only the slightest orthographic variation between these two passages and the plus of the name Israel in Jer 10:16. Unlike the above example of Jer 50:41-6 where a direction of dependence seemed clear and there were obvious marks of reorientation of the material, here no such traces can be found.¹⁵² One might conjecture that the material interrupts the flow between Jer 51:12-14 and 51:20 as it switches from a second person address to Babylon to a third person description about God and thus fits the location in chapter 10 better than that in chapter 51, but without further evidence this remains only conjecture. This example is similar to 6:13-15=8:10b-12 and 46:27=30:10-11 where the text is remarkably close but without new or updated material, yet both passages are found in the LXX.

Example #3

MT Jeremiah 23:19-20

Jeremiah 30:23-24 (LXX 37:23-24)

הנה סערת יהוה חמה יצאה וסער
מתחולל על ראש רשעים יחול:
לא ישוב אף־יהוה עד־עשתו
ועד־הקימו מזמות לבו באחרית הימים
זבוננו בה בינה:

הנה סערת יהוה חמהי יצאה סער
מתגורר על ראש רשעים יחול:
לא ישוב חרון אף־יהוה עד־עשתו
ועד־הקימו מזמות לבו באחרית הימים
תתבוננו בה:

Variants

23:19] וסער] 30:23 | 23:19] מתחולל] 30:23] מתגורר] 23:20] -] 30:24] חרון] 23:20] בינה] 30:24] - | 30:24] -

¹⁵² The single exception may be ויעלה which is a much rarer form than ויעל. See Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 178.

As in several examples above, here again we see two nearly verbatim parallel passages found in both MT and LXX. The variant *הרון* in 30:24 is frequently paired with *אף* in Jeremiah, so if Jer 30:23-4 is secondary it is not surprising that it has been added.¹⁵³ The difference between *מתחולל* and *מתגורר* is not clear. Holladay renders the former as “whirling” and the later as “continuing.”¹⁵⁴ *גרר* is the less common verb and could be an error. If the change were intentional one would expect a shift from the less common to the more common verb (i.e. 30:23 would be earlier than 23:19).¹⁵⁵ The plus *בינה* in 23:20 is not reflected in the LXX and not significant for the meaning of the passage. It is more understandable why it would be left out rather than why it would be added.¹⁵⁶ These few variants do not show any conclusive reason to prefer one constituent over the other. As there is no manuscript evidence or internal adaptation to show which is prior, arguments among scholars have centered almost exclusively upon how well either of the two fits into present context, which is an aesthetic criterion for which we lack outside controls.¹⁵⁷

In the context of chapter 23 the anger of YHWH “against the head of the wicked” (20) should be understood as directed against the (false) prophets of verses 16 and 21. That the storm theophany addresses “the wicked” in general and not the prophets in particular, feels slightly abrupt, but the storm theophany connects well with the denial of their having stood in YHWH’s secret counsel in verses 18 and 22.

¹⁵³ E.g., 4:8; 4:26; 12:13; 25:37, 38; 30:24; 49:37; 51:45; See Parke-Taylor, *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 87.

¹⁵⁴ Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 179.

¹⁵⁵ *HALOT*, 1:184, follows Driver in viewing *מתגורר* as an error of *מתחולל*. It could just as well be a memory variant of the type championed by David Carr, but in that case one would assume that 30:23 has the earlier word and 23:19 has updated it intentionally or subconsciously. Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 179, lists the possibility of intentional alteration citing G. R. Driver, “Hebrew Roots and Words,” *WO* 1950 (unavailable to me).

¹⁵⁶ *Contra* Holladay, *Jeremiah*, 1:633, who deletes the word on account of its absence in the LXX, Peshitta, and parallel in 30:24.

¹⁵⁷ See especially McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:570, 578; 2:772, 778-9.

In chapter 30, by contrast, the referent of “the wicked” must be assumed to be the surrounding nations (MT 30:11) from whom the people of Israel and Judah will return. Verses 23-24 appear tacked on to the end of chapter 30 and interrupt the theme of the people being YHWH’s people and YHWH being their God in 30:22 and 31:1. Parke-Taylor concludes “The oracle of judgment (23:19-20) has been thoroughly adapted to a later situation by its insertion in Jeremiah 30, followed by the hope expressed in 31:1.”¹⁵⁸ If one of these passages is dependent on the other, 23:19-20 has the better case contextually, but this situation is much less clear than that of 50:41-6.

* * *

On the whole, in these cases of parallel passages found in both texts, the shared text is nearly verbatim and the doublets are short without obvious alteration of meaning or context. The main exception is the re-orientation of the material from Jer 6:22-4 and 49:18-21 to deal with Babylon in Jer 50:41-6. Like the MT-only parallels examined above, the oracle against Babylon in chapter 50 draws upon material found earlier in the book, but several brief changes adjust the new combination of verses so that the subject in all cases is the king of Babylon, Babylon (Babel), or the land of the Chaldeans. Examples two and three, by contrast, have only the slightest orthographic variation with no other added text, and, while there are reasons why 10:12-16 and 23:19-20 fit their present context better than their counterparts, these two cases are not conclusive. In these examples we see some further support for the idea that the book of Jeremiah was expanded, and that such scribal alteration occurred at multiple periods.

¹⁵⁸ Parke-Taylor, *Formation of the Book of Jeremiah*, 89; also McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:576-578; 2:772, 778-9.

4.3.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS ON JEREMIAH

The paralleled oracles, like the added headings, show evidence of part of an earlier text being used as a model for the expansions. We do not find any cases where a shorter text results from conscious selectivity of a scribe. In some cases the expansion is solely made up of material paralleled in the shorter text, but in other cases the expansion has been adjusted to suit a new context. In the case of 33:14-26 the parallel section is followed by new text expressing a special interest otherwise foreign to the book (i.e., an eternal covenant with Levi). Doublets where one constituent is absent from MT are frequently found in close proximity such that the source of an expansion is typically no less than a few chapters before it, as if the scribe added text based upon what had recently been copied.¹⁵⁹ The major exceptions to this prove the rule in so far as cases where an expansion is found before its source or much further on in the MT can be found in an earlier position in the LXX order.¹⁶⁰ This may be evidence that the expansions in question were made prior to the rearranging of the text. If so, the LXX order, as is usually claimed, is the earlier order, and the shorter text was expanded before it was

¹⁵⁹ E.g., the short distance between 6:13-15=8:10-12, two chapters; 15:13-14=17:3-4, two chapters; 49:22(LXX 29:23)=48:40-1(LXX 31), one chapter in the MT, two in the LXX. One exception to this forward trend pertains to the heading in Jer 7:1-2 added on the basis of 26:2. Recall that the expansions in the plagues narrative in the (proto-)Samaritan texts came from the immediate contexts, (8 out of 9) plus 11:3b based on 4:22-23, see Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, 206-7; and Lemmelijn, *Plague of Texts*, 206-7. Some of the larger gaps observed are 46:27-8(LXX 26:27-8)=30:1-11(LXX 37), sixteen chapters in MT, eleven in LXX; 23:5-6=33:14-26(LXX 40), ten chapters in the MT, seventeen in the LXX.

¹⁶⁰ If one accepts the general consensus that Jer 17:3-4 is the source of 15:13-4, then this might constitute an exception, but in that case the parallel in 17:3-4 is missing by homeoteleuton and should not be considered along with the MT plus material, but instead should be compared to the parallels found in both MT and LXX. The parallels found in both texts have much larger gaps between them, i.e., 6:22-4=50:413(LXX 27:41-3), forty-four chapters apart in the MT, twenty-two in the LXX; 10:12-6=51:15-9(LXX 28:15-19), forty-one chapters apart in the MT and eighteen in the LXX; 23:19-20=30:23-4(LXX 37:23-4), seven chapters apart in MT, and fourteen in LXX. The only approximate example was 49:19-21(LXX 29:23)=50:44-6(LXX 27:44-6), one chapter apart in MT and two in the LXX.

rearranged. The doublets found also in the LXX tend to be much further apart than those of the constituents only extant in MT.¹⁶¹

In the parallels that are found in both shorter and longer texts we see the same evidence of scribal reuse and updating seen in the parallels exclusive to the MT. This makes it likely that these parallels resulted from the same kind of scribal expansion as those exclusive to the MT, only at an earlier time, given (1) The fact that we have textual evidence for such parallels being created in at least two different stages (pre-MT and MT); (2) the fact that the parallels are often localized phenomenon; and (3) the possibility that the reorganization of the book occurred after some of the MT expansions. These three factors all support a view that the book of Jeremiah has grown at least three stages—and potentially more if Jer 33:14-26 is independent of the other MT pluses or if the differences in order are not related to the expansions in the MT. McKane's description of Jeremiah as a "rolling corpus" resulting from a series of alterations, is perhaps more helpful than being limited to two distinct editions, as Tov has claimed, yet, as far as the textual witnesses and inner-book parallels can tell us, there is no obvious central core around which the later expansions snowball.

In sum, then, we have two snapshots or textual moments preserved in the witnesses of Jeremiah, not two different editions of the book.¹⁶² The shorter and longer

¹⁶¹ See previous note.

¹⁶² Eugene Ulrich has done more than anyone to popularize the terminology of "editions," but unlike Tov, who tends to address only the extant manuscripts (e.g., LXX and MT Jeremiah are an earlier and later edition of Jeremiah), Ulrich tends to see more clearly the plurality implied below the iceberg's tip. My main disagreement with Ulrich is that he tries to make the term "Variant Literary Edition" so broad as to include sources that were never understood as "editions" of what was later made out of them. The term VLE needs to be understood as limited to differing copies of "the same text." See further chapter 3 of the present work and Eugene Ulrich, "Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated" in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson* (ed. J. L. Crenshaw; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 101-16; repr. in *The Dead Sea Scroll and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 34-50; idem, "The

extant texts are two surviving moments of an ongoing process, like the tip of an iceberg that does not show the full extent of the picture. The evidence from Jeremiah is similar to that of Exodus discussed above where the different textual witnesses show some independent expansion on each side, reorganization at some stage, and coordination of different parts that are often limited to a smaller portion of the book. The fact that some of the doublets are found only in MT while some are shared, in addition to the fact that both shorter and longer texts have some secondary additions shows that many of these alterations occurred independently of one another. There is, however, absolutely no evidence of conscious omission from the base-text, a new narrative frame, or new narrative voice. All the major variation within copies of the book of Jeremiah has aligned with the description of Continuing Composition laid out in chapter 3. At no point have we found evidence of a new book being created using Jeremiah as a main source, rather we see examples of expansion and rearrangement within copies of what is unquestionably Jeremiah.

4.4 Daniel

The text of Daniel provides yet another case of large-scale differences between copies of the same book. This is most pronounced between the Old Greek (OG) and the MT. The OG is found only in two extant manuscripts (Chigi MS 88 and p967).¹⁶³ The

Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books” in *Changes in Scripture* (ed. Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter: 2011), 47-64.

¹⁶³ See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 4; Swete, *Introduction*, 47; Swete refers to the manuscript as Chigi MS 87, but it is numbered 88 in Holmes-Parsons. On the error see James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1927), 26, MS 88 contains the Hexaplaric text, while p967 witnesses a pre-Hexaplaric text, (see Collins, *Daniel*, 4). A further witness to the hexaplaric text survives in Syriac. See A. M. Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris ambrosianus* (MSP 7; Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1874). The Göttingen edition by Ziegler is based upon these three witnesses for its reconstruction of the OG, but it has been criticized for not paying enough attention to p967. For further discussion of the Greek witnesses see Alexander A. Di Lella, “The Textual History of Septuagint-

rest of the Greek textual tradition contains the text of Theodotion instead of the OG, which at a certain point was judged to diverge too radically from the MT and thus replaced.¹⁶⁴ The Greek tradition as a whole contains two additional Daniel stories, Susanna and the tale of Bel and the Dragon.¹⁶⁵

In contrast to MT, Theodotion, and MS 88, the chapters of p967 are arranged so that the visions follow the narratives in whose time they are set. Specifically, chapters 7-8 follow 1-4 and precede 5-6.¹⁶⁶ Since it survives in only a single manuscript, it is difficult to evaluate whether this arrangement was an idiosyncratic trait of this particular manuscript (a true accident of preservation!) or if it appeared in other manuscripts as well, including the one from which it was copied.¹⁶⁷ The main evidence for the latter idea is that Bishop Quodvultdeus in the 5th century appears to have been working from a Latin text that reflected the same order as p967.¹⁶⁸ Since p967 is both the oldest manuscript witness to OG and the only non-hexaplaric witness, and since Quodvultdeus' work provides confirmation of a (possibly) more widespread existence of the p967 order

Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (eds., J. Collins and P. Flint; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2:586-607.

¹⁶⁴ Collins, *Daniel*, 3-7; Swete, *Introduction*, 46-9; Montgomery, *Daniel*, 24-9, 46-50. On the textual nature of Theodotion specifically, see Di Lella, "Textual History," 593-97.

¹⁶⁵ Montgomery, *Daniel*, 8-9; Collins, *Daniel*, 405-39; Di Lella, "Textual History," 597-98.

¹⁶⁶ Collins, *Daniel*, 4; Johan Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 44-53.

¹⁶⁷ Codex p967 is dated between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, and although it is the oldest witness to OG Daniel as well as the only pre-Hexaplaric witness, it is certainly not an autograph of the original OG translation, and by default it is a copy of a previous manuscript of Daniel. See further Frederic G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible* (8 vols; London: Emery Walker Limited, 1933), 1:5-6; Di Lella, "Textual History," 590-93; and Johan Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5."

¹⁶⁸ P.-M. Bogaert, "Le témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la Septante. Ezéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967" *Biblica* 59 (1978): 7-76; Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," 46; for the works of Quodvultdeus see R. Braun, *Opera Quodvultdeo Carthaginensi episcopo tributa* (CChL 60; Turnhout: Brepols, 1976). For a critique of the claim that p967 presents an early or earlier order see R. Timothy McLay "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV-VI and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55 (2005): 304-23.

beyond p967 itself, Lust and Bogaert have claimed that the p967 ordering is more original or at least equally original to that of the MT, in contrast to most scholars who have seen this ordering as a secondary re-ordering of the material so that visions and court tales that are set during the reign of the same king are placed together.¹⁶⁹ In any case, we see further evidence that rearranging sections (in either direction) did not create a distinctly new work, but instead resulted in a new copy of Daniel that had an alternative order of some parts, similar to the rearrangements already seen above in the discussions of the tabernacle pericope in Exodus and the oracles concerning the nations in Jeremiah.

The majority of textual differences between OG and MT, apart from the additional Susanna and Bel stories, are to be found in chapters 3-6. Chapter 3 contains an extended prayer and song placed on the lips of the three youths who are thrown into the fiery furnace.¹⁷⁰ The prayer, the story of Susanna, and the story of Bel and the Dragon, although sizably expanding the book of Daniel, do not change it into something else.¹⁷¹ In chapter 4, the MT and OG deviate widely from one another both in details and in

¹⁶⁹ Daniel scholars almost universally theorize an earlier stage at which the court tales circulated independently of one another, so it is possible that p967 may be original to the OG but the order of the components of the book, esp. chapters 4-6 may have been fluid leading up the creation of the Book of Daniel. Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," 42; Di Lella, "Textual History," 590-92. The independent origin is assumed on the basis of form-critical and literary-critical observations about the disconnectedness of the tales (e.g., chapter 3 makes no reference to Daniel), as well as the evidence of 4QPrNab which may represent a form of the tradition behind the narrative of chapter 4, as well as the stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, the latter of which appears to be based on the shared motif of the lion's den shared with chapter 6. See Collins, *Daniel*, 35-8; 216; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 23; Garden City, Ny.: Doubleday, 1978), 11-24; Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (HDR 26; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 75-152. See also, P.-M. Bogaert, "Relecture et refonte historicisantes du livre de Daniel attestées par la première version grecque (Papyrus 967)," in *Études sur le Judaïsme hellénistique* (eds., R. Kuntzmann and J Schlosser; *Lectio divina* 119; Paris: Cerf, 1984), 188-224.

¹⁷⁰ See Di Lella, "Textual History," 597-600.

¹⁷¹ See chapter 3 of the present work.

organization.¹⁷² Ulrich claims that both OG and MT texts of chapter 4 contain secondary additions, thus neither one is original.¹⁷³ This has been further demonstrated by Amanda Davis.¹⁷⁴ Davis provides a synopsis of the OG and MT of Daniel 4, and closely examines both texts. She concludes, like Ulrich, that both versions grow out of a common *Vorlage*. This *Vorlage* has been expanded in different ways in each textual tradition. She argues that the MT has a tendency to enlarge and multiply descriptions, while the OG typically has a shorter text.¹⁷⁵ The OG, where it does expand, typically repeats an earlier line and then attaches new material to this doublet (e.g., OG 4:12-3 adds “in the mountains like an ox”).¹⁷⁶

Dan 4:12-14

בְּרָם עֵקֶר שְׂרִשׁוּהִי בְּאַרְעָא שְׂבָקוּ וּבְאַסּוּר
 דִּי־פְרִזְל וּנְחִישׁ בְּדַתְאַא דִּי בְרָא וּבְטֹל שְׂמִיָּא
 יִצְטַבֵּעַ וְעַם־חַיּוֹתָא חֲלָקָה בְּעֵשֶׁב אֲרַעָא:
 לְבַבָּה מִן־אַנּוּשָׂא יִשְׁזֹן וּלְבַב חַיָּוָה
 יִתְיַהֲב לָהּ וְשִׁבְעָה עֲדָגִין יִחְלַפּוּן עֲלֵיהִי:
 בְּגֹרֶת עִירִין פְּתַגְמָא וּמֵאִמֶר קִדְשִׁין

Dan 4:12-14a

καὶ οὕτως εἶπε Ῥίζαν μίαν ἄφετε αὐτῶ ἐν
 τῇ γῆ, ὅπως μετὰ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς ἐν
 τοῖς ὄρεσι χόρτον ὡς βοῦς νέμηται.¹³ καὶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα
 αὐτοῦ ἀλλοιωθῆναι, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη βοσκηθῆναι
 σὺν αὐτοῖς,¹⁴ ἕως ἄν γνῶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ
 οὐρανοῦ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ
 οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν

¹⁷² Collins, *Daniel*, 216-7. Emanuel Tov, “The Many forms of Hebrew Scripture: Reflections in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of His 65th Birthday* (eds., Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold and József Zsengellér; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009), 20, claims that OG Daniel 4 has omitted as well as added, but I can find no example of a minus that resulted from conscious omission, rather the minuses in OG are better understood as additions on the part of MT and the MT minuses show where OG has independently expanded, see further below. See further Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions,” 39-50.

¹⁷³ Eugene Ulrich, “Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Sha`arei Talmon: Studies in the bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992, 267-91. Repr. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 71; idem., “Double Literary Editions,” 40; Collins, *Daniel*, 7.

¹⁷⁴ Amanda M. Davis, “A Reconsideration of the MT and OG Editions of Daniel 4” (M.T.S. thesis, Candler School of Theology, Emory University, 2012). I agree with Davis’ textual analysis about the differences and relationship between OG and MT of Daniel 4, but I am not yet persuaded by her proposed historical development and preservation of the texts. See further, Dean O. Wenthe, “The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 1-6” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, 1991) (Unavailable to me).

¹⁷⁵ Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 32.

¹⁷⁶ Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 52-3.

שְׁאֵלָתָא עַד-דְּבִרְתָּ דִּי יִנְדַעוּן חַיֵּי דִּי-שְׁלִיט
 עֲלֵיָא בְּמַלְכוּת אֲנוּשָׂא וְלִמְן-דִּי יִצְבֵּא יִתְנַנְּהּ
 וְשִׁפְלֵ אֲנָשִׁים יְקִים עֲלֵיהּ

θέλη, ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς.^{14a} ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ
 ἐξεκόπη ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ, καὶ ἡ καταφθορὰ
 αὐτοῦ ἐν ὥρᾳ τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ οἱ κλάδοι
 αὐτοῦ ἐδόθησαν εἰς πάντα ἄνεμον, καὶ
 εἰλκύσθη καὶ ἐρρίφη· τὸν χόρτον μετὰ τῶν
 θηρίων τῆς γῆς ἤσθιε καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν
 παρεδόθη ἐν πέδαις καὶ χειροπέδαις
 χαλκαῖς ἐδέθη ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.

But let them leave a shoot of its roots in the earth--in bonds of iron and bronze in the grass of the field—with the dew of heaven let him be wetted and his lot shall be with the beasts in the herbage of the earth. His mind shall be changed from a man and the mind of a beast will be given to him and seven times shall pass over him. This announcement is the decree of Watchers and this request is from the word of the holy ones, until it results that the living shall know that the most high has power over human kingship and he gives it to whom he wishes and the lowliest of men he sets up in its place.

And thus he said, “Leave for him one root in the earth, that with the beasts of the earth let him eat grass like a bull upon the mountains, and from the dew of heaven let him change his body and seven years he will feed with them until he knows the lord of heaven has authority of all in heaven and upon the earth and whatever he wishes he does to them. It was cut out before me in one day, and his destruction in an hour of the day, and his branches were given to all every wind, and it was pulled and thrown. He would eat grass with the beasts of the earth and he was given over to a guard, in bronze fetters and handcuffs with them.”

In Daniel 4, minuses in either text are better explained as more original than the corresponding plus material, which can be shown to be almost certainly secondary.¹⁷⁷

Often the secondary material coordinates with other expansions; for example, the MT expands by adding a court competition in 4:3-6 with references to Daniel being named Belteshazzar, having the spirit of gods in him, and being chief of the magicians—all of which tie the narrative more closely to chapters 1, 2, and 5.¹⁷⁸ The reference to dwelling with the beasts, being wet with dew, and eating grass is repeated twice in MT Dan 4:20-

¹⁷⁷ The pluses are almost always doublets or repetitions of near-by words or phrases. At other times they are expansions (e.g., the size of the tree in OG Dan 4:9) or additions that coordinate with other narratives in the book (see below). See also, Collins, *Daniel*, 219-21; Montgomery, *Daniel*, 247-49; and Ulrich, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives.”

¹⁷⁸ Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 46; Collins, *Daniel*, 220; Montgomery, *Daniel*, 247-8.

23, from its source in 4:12 (=OG 4:12-13), there is no reason to think that these repetitions have been omitted in OG.¹⁷⁹ Several of the OG expansions are also quite large, such as the recounting of a full-scale “conversion” of Nebuchadnezzar into a worshipper of the Jewish God in OG Dan 4:34a.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore the OG changes the order of the *Vorlage* by moving the letter to the end of the story and adding the regnal formula in its earlier place.¹⁸¹ While Davis only notes that the pluses are better explained as expansions than omissions, I believe that one can say with certainty that both OG and MT are both copies of Daniel (sharing a common archetype), neither of which omits from or otherwise abridges its source to any noticeable extent.¹⁸² Each text has secondary additions independent of the other, and sometimes the shared *Vorlage* has been altered (or corrupted) to a degree that the archetype cannot be reconstructed (e.g., the bounds of iron and bronze in MT 4:12-3 and OG 4:14a).¹⁸³ The differences in chapters 5 and 6 are similar, yet not as dramatic.

Both MT and OG contain expansions. For example, the MT adds the conspirators’ belief that “we will not find anything against this Daniel unless we find it against him in the religious practices of his God” (6:6), and that “before they reached the bottom” (6:25) the lions devoured the conspirators and their families. The OG ends with Darius proclaiming not only that the God of Daniel be honored, but that Darius himself promised

¹⁷⁹ See Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 26. There is no reason to posit accidental or intentional omission by a scribe, and since the pluses are repetitions of material found near-by, they should be understood as expansions reusing earlier material—a phenomenon encountered repeatedly in this chapter of the present work.

¹⁸⁰ Dan 4:34a; Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 76; Collins, *Daniel*, 232; Klaus Koch, “Stages in the Canonization of the Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 2:426; Conversion of the foreign king is not limited to chapter 4 in the OG, as Darius makes a similar monotheistic proclamation in OG 6:27.

¹⁸¹ Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 20-1, 52; and Collins, *Daniel*, 220.

¹⁸² E.g., Davis, “A Reconsideration,” 74 n30.

¹⁸³ On the difficulty of several of these verses and the possibility of textual corruption, see Collins, *Daniel*, 219-21; and Montgomery, *Daniel*, 220-49.

to serve God and reject idols made with hands (5:27). Lust has argued that there is a larger trend of coordination linking chapter 5 back to chapter 4 in the MT, while the OG by contrast lacks this level but shows more coordination between chapters 6 and 5.¹⁸⁴ The OG plus of 5:11 to Daniel “in whom are the spirit of the holy gods” (די רוח אלהין קדישין) (בה) is an expansion that coordinates with the description in Dan 4:6, 15, the only other place where this phrase occurs.¹⁸⁵ Similar references back to chapter 4 are found in the MT plus in 5:11-12 that gives more details of Daniel’s successful career under Nebuchadnezzar including that he was called Beltshazar, a detail found in OG Dan 1:7 and 2:26 but not in chapters 4 and 5 of OG. There is no reason to suspect abridgement or any kind of accidental omission in either MT or OG.¹⁸⁶ A further plus in MT 5:18-22 explicitly fills in details from chapter 4, such as Nebuchadnezzar being driven from humankind because of his pride, living with the beasts, eating grass, being soaked with dew, and finally acknowledging the Most High God. Daniel chides Belshazzar for not humbling himself as his father Nebuchadnezzar had done ending with the rebuke “You his son, Belshazzar, did not humble your heart though you knew all this!” (כל-קבל די ידעת כל-דגנה ידעת).¹⁸⁷

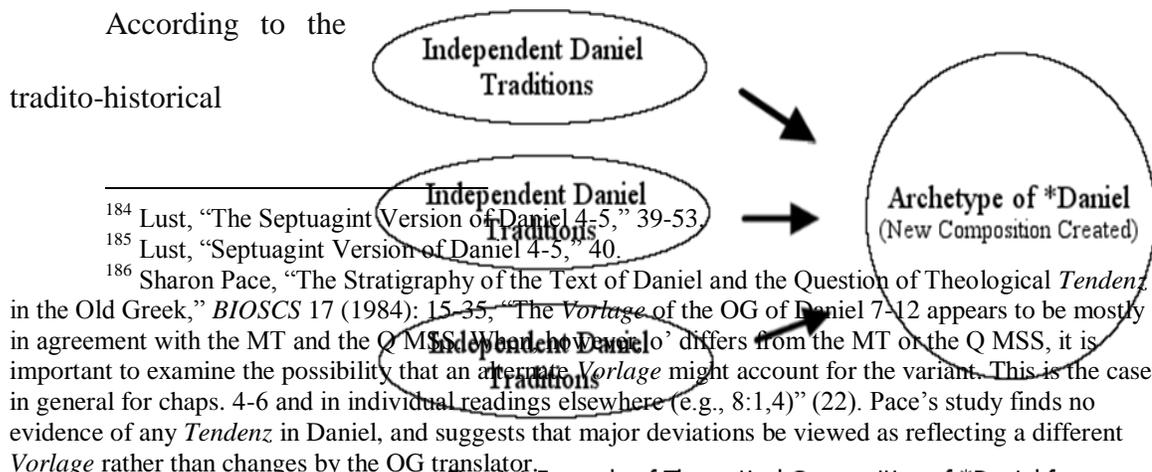


Fig. 4-1 Example of Theoretical Composition of *Daniel from Pre-Existing Sources (Authorial Composition)
¹⁸⁷ Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King*, 126; Lust, Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5,” 40; Collins, *Daniel*, 242.

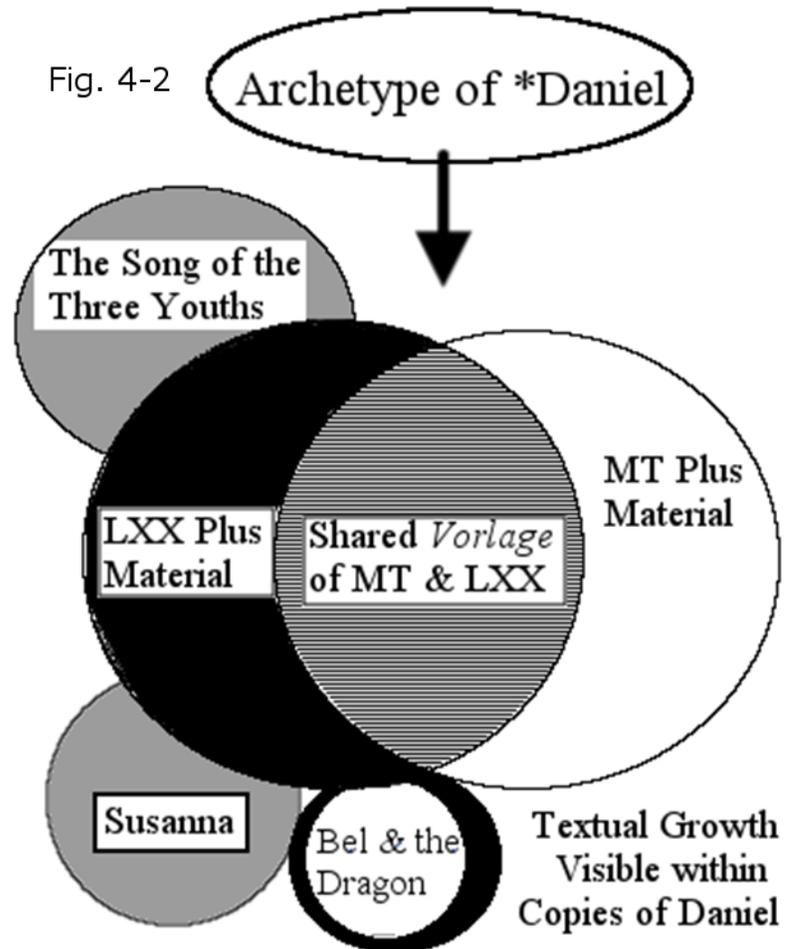
hypotheses of Collins and other commentators, the narratives of chapters four and five were originally independent of their current literary context.¹⁸⁸ If so, the MT plus of Dan 5:18-22 is somewhat textually ironic, as it is only as the narratives were progressively brought closer together that a character could reference a previous occurrence. In the OG version of the story, which does not contain the summary of the events of chapter 4, Belshazzar did not “know all this.” Even if one were to doubt the hypothesis of an independent origin of the tales, the textual evidence is undeniable that regardless of whether the court tales were originally part of a single narrative or were originally related to one another; in the MT, the connection between chapters 4 and 5 has been filled out and made explicit, bringing the two narratives closer together by means of coordinating additions. Similarly an addition in OG 6:3 creates a link back to OG 5:29 where Daniel is “dressed in purple and given authority.”¹⁸⁹ Whereas the MT shows evidence of additions that coordinate chapters 4 and 5, in the OG that trend is absent but instead one finds a similar addition that connects the details of chapters 5 and 6. These links are similar to the coordinating tendency observed above in Exodus and Jeremiah where earlier material has been repeated or imitated to bring more unity to the whole and one section has been expanded on the basis of another. As in several cases within Exodus, there is independent expansion in different manuscripts.

¹⁸⁸ Collins, *Daniel*, 35-8, 179, 220, 264; Lust, “Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5,” 46-53; and Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 186. Such hypothetical stages, if they existed, are sources for Daniel, but not copies or Variant Literary Editions of Daniel, thus the move from such sources into a new work—in this case Daniel—would constitute Authorial Composition (the creation of a new work), and not Continuing Composition (inner-book growth), which is the concern of this present chapter.

¹⁸⁹ In the MT, references to being clothed in purple are solely in 5:7, 16, 29. The MT has nothing paralleling ἐξουσία in OG 5: 29 and 6:3; See Lust, “Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5,” 40; Collins, *Daniel*, 263.

In summary, the extant manuscripts of the book of Daniel testify to non-linear, independent textual growth within copies of the same book. As with the examples of Exodus and Jeremiah above, the texts show us moments of a continuing process of the development of a book and not the creation of a new work out

Fig. 4-2



an earlier one (though such a process may have occurred when earlier material was used to create the archetype of the book of Daniel). In all cases this growth (Continuing Composition) occurs by addition, sometimes of large units such as the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Youths, Susanna, or Bel and the Dragon in the Greek forms of the book, and sometimes in smaller details such as the MT's coordination of chapters 4 and 5 or the OG's coordination of chapters 5 and 6.¹⁹⁰ In part of the manuscript tradition (p967) several chapters are found in an alternative order. As argued previously in chapter

¹⁹⁰ Chapter 3 of the present work made the case that additions—regardless of size or content—do not create a new work, though they may be found within them. The three techniques that change an earlier work into a new one are using the base-text selectively, changing the narrative voice, or changing the literary setting. The story of Susanna precedes Daniel 1:1 in Theodotion, and while it may color or contribute to the overall picture of Daniel presented by Theodotion's version, such placement does not affect the literary setting or narrative voice of the rest of the book (e.g., Dan 1-12 are not subsumed into a speech or a dream).

4, rearrangement and expansion are frequently found within what was considered to be copies of the same book and both Exodus and Jeremiah exhibit similar phenomena. The MT and OG (as well as Theodotion) are all copies of the book of Daniel, not new compositions based on Daniel. Even with the larger additions of Susanna and Bel, these copies of Daniel do not use their source (i.e., archetype *Daniel) selectively, do not reframe the narrative, and do not change the narrative voice.

4.5 Conclusion

These examples from Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel reiterate what has been argued in previous chapters. The reordering of verses, chapters, or larger pericopes does not create a new work (though it may accompany it). This has been observed in Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel. The textual growth that survives in our extant witnesses to these books tends to be localized. In cases where a tendency may be identified it is limited and does not cover the whole span of the book. We do see frequent expansions, often non-linear, but no abridgment or conscious omission from the base-text. Some draw upon text within the same work or are influenced by a parallel in a different work, while some have additional material (usually connected to something in the text which “triggers” the expansions, to use McKane’s terms).¹⁹¹ Finally, we have seen no examples of any of the scribal activities that create a new text, namely, using the base-text selectively, changing the literary setting of the work, or changing its narrative voice. In all of the example cases explored in the present chapter, we have seen only cases of Continuing Composition where a work may be expanded or rearranged as it is transmitted, but the result is always

¹⁹¹ McKane, *Jeremiah*, 1:lxii

a new copy of the same work rather than a new work in its own right. In contrast to this, the next chapter explores examples of Authorial Composition to see how textual growth in “rewritten” texts (i.e., new compositions) differs from that seen here, which occurred within copies of the same book.

Chapter 5

AUTHORIAL COMPOSITION: TEXTUAL GROWTH IN THE CREATION OF A NEW WORK

5.1 Introduction – Two Types of Composition

In the previous chapter we looked at several cases of how texts grew within the confines of a single book. I have argued that such growth is correctly understood as a kind of composition that occurs within the process of transmission. Similar to Talmon's notion of scribes as a "minor partner" in the authorship of biblical books, scribes did not only copy verbatim in antiquity but often added to the material that they passed down.¹ I have chosen the term Continuing Composition to designate this kind of growth within copies of the same work. This compositional process within transmission does not change the identity of the work (i.e., it continues to be recognized as the same work), although as we have seen it can change the work in a variety of ways, major and minor including major and minor additions, rearrangement, and replacement as illustrated in the discussion of examples in chapter 4.

The present chapter will examine cases of Authorial Composition—the creation of a new work.² In chapter 3, I showed how the evidence of early citations, self-references to sources, and later codicological placement pointed to an emic distinction in the ancient world between copies of the same text (e.g., shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah) and new compositions that show frequent and significant overlap with their main source or that follow its central literary structure (e.g., narrative) as a base-text. I

¹Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible: A New Outlook" in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 381; repr. in *Text and Canon of the Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns: 2010), 1-84.

² As discussed in earlier chapters, I have no interest in trying to identify actual authors or impose modern notions of authorship upon the past. I use the term "Authorial Composition" to refer to the process of creating a new work (out of an older one).

argued that certain compositional methods—selective use of the base-text, addition of a new narrative voice, or addition of a new literary setting—subordinate the source materials in such a way that they are reshaped into a composition no longer interchangeable with its sources. If we use the biological concept of speciation as an analogy, we can think of continuing composition as analogous to different breeds within a single species (e.g., a collie and a poodle, both *Canis familiaris*), while Authorial Composition marks the differentiation of related but distinct species (e.g., a dog and a fox, *Canis familiaris* and *Vulpes vulpes*, respectively).³ The two groups may be related, and a member of one set may become the member of another. In such new compositions, the base-text is now part of the material for construction, and not the sole foundation upon which Continuing Composition may build. At this point it is not longer a copy of its *Vorlage*, but something new.

The present chapter will examine several examples from *Chronicles*, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll* (TS) that exhibit some or all of these features demarcating new compositions. As will be shown, all three of these works have significant textual overlap with their sources—meaning that an identifiable base-text is being followed, and that if only a fragment of any one of these works had been found it would be difficult or impossible (depending on the specific passage preserved) to determine if the fragment came from the later text or its source, that is, if it were the source text itself even if at a later stage of continuing composition. But, despite the closeness of the two texts in any such fragments, examination of the full composition reveals that they are not Variant

³ I do not want to press the analogy too much as the scientific concept of speciation itself continues to be debated. Charles Linnaeus' categories were based upon typologies of appearance; more recent concepts of speciation, such as those of Ernst Mayr, delineate based upon DNA, but still have not reached full consensus. For some of the history of classification see, Douglas J. Futuyma, *Evolutionary Biology* (3d ed.; Sunderland, Mass.: Sinauer Associates, 1997).

Literary Editions (VLEs), i.e., not copies of the same work. Unlike Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel, which have been variously expanded and, at some points, rearranged but remain copies of the same text as their *Vorlage* (see chapter 4), the three works examined here are *new compositions* that not only contain expansions and rearrangements, but also omissions, changes of narrative voice, or changes of literary setting. They exemplify *Authorial Composition*.

Often omissions and additions in a given work are connected by larger tendencies or ideologies. Against Segal's view, I stated in chapter 3 that ideology does not seem to cause or necessarily mark the creation of a new text, and that distinct ideologies can be identified within (revised or expanded) copies of the same composition.⁴ Instead, I argued that the creation of a new text by the methods described above provides the opportunity for more heavy handed ideological alteration of the text than found in continuing composition.⁵ While Segal may be correct that adding an ideological layer in the process of making a new book, such as *Jubilees*, may motivate such rewriting in terms of literary phenomena, this is an effect and not a cause of its being a new work. Put differently, a strong ideological position answers the question of why a new work was created, but not how it has been created or what criteria identify it as a new composition and not an updated copy of an existing work.

In each of the three examples below, I will show first that each follows an identifiable base-text. I do not assume, for example, that Chronicles is based on Samuel-

⁴ E.g., the promise of an eternal covenant to Levi in MT Jer 33:14-26 or the apparent subordination of Oholiab to Bezalel in MT Exodus.

⁵ Undoubtedly there are also social factors, or cognitive ones (e.g., levels of familiarity), that may explain how alterations might affect the acceptance of a given copy of a work by a given community. This is a large question falling outside the scope of the present study dealing which focuses on the literary relationship between texts.

Kings as preserved in the MT or any other single extant witness.⁶ Rather the author of Chronicles utilized a copy of “Samuel,” meaning a manuscript that would have been recognized by the ancients as the same work as that preserved in the witnesses extant today, albeit with some minor degree of variation (see chapter 3). This overlap is significant enough that part of 1 Chronicles could possibly be mistaken as a copy of 1 Samuel. This proximity allows us the opportunity to show that they are not the same by highlighting the features outlined in chapter 3, features that distinguish the later text from its base-text. Second, I will discuss the additional sources that have been used in each work and how they are used. While it is often the case that several sources have been used, only one at any given point functions as the base-text that is being “rewritten” into a new composition. The other sources, as in the case of some of the expansions seen in the examples of continuing composition in chapter 4, only function as reservoirs for details or reused words or phrases. Third, I will discuss apparent omissions from the base-text, highlighting how the base-text has been used selectively and if the omissions reflect any detectable tendency. Fourth, and finally, I will treat the addition of new material.

The goal of the present chapter is thus to identify the traits and commonalities of texts resulting from Authorial Composition so as to characterize this group in contrast to those resulting from continuing composition discussed in the previous chapter. I will highlight how the books of 1 and 2 Chronicles, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll* result from the techniques identified in chapter 3 that are exclusive to new compositions and indicative of what I have termed Authorial Composition, features that were found lacking

⁶ The copy of 1 Samuel used in 1 Chronicles has more affinity with the LXX *Vorlage* and the 4QSam^a scroll than with 1 Samuel as found in MT. See Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1978).

among the varying texts of the books of Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel in chapter 4.

Ultimately the data of the present and previous chapter will be used to create a means to evaluate the types of stages through which a work may have developed, and to shape expectations that are appropriate to each type.

5.2 The Book of Chronicles

The books of Chronicles have been created by reusing significant portions of the books of Samuel and Kings (hereafter Sam-Kgs).⁷ Unlike *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* (TS), which will be examined later in this chapter, and other Second Temple period writings often termed “Rewritten Scripture” (e.g., *Genesis Apocryphon* or *Pseudo-Philo*), the books of Chronicles do not rewrite narrative or legal portions of the Pentateuch or participate in what Hindy Najman has termed “Mosaic Discourse.”⁸ These distinctions

⁷ As stated earlier, I do not assume that the copy of Sam-Kgs used by the author of Chronicles (Chr) is identical to MT or to any other ancient witness, only that it would have been recognized by ancient readers as a copy of the same text as found the copies of Samuel and Kings extant today. The text of Samuel used in Chronicles differs much more significantly from MT than does Kings. See further, Ulrich, *Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*; Werner E. Lemke, “The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler’s History,” *HTR* 58 (1965): 349-63; Georg Steins, “Die Bücher der Chronik,” in E. Zenger, et. al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (8th ed.; Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011), 313-31. The main voice in opposition to this consensus is A. Graeme Auld, *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible’s Kings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), who argues that while Chronicles rewrites and expands a text known to us from the book of Samuel, the Chronicler did not omit significant portions of his source but rather used an earlier source which itself was the basis for the book of Samuel. This view has not shaken the consensus that Chronicles is based on a form of the book of Sam-Kgs. For a critique of Auld see especially Steven L. McKenzie, “The Chronicler as Redactor,” in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSupp 263; ed. M. Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 70-90; Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:31; The question of omissions from the Chr’s source will be taken up in the discussion below.

⁸Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (SJSJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1-40. Najman tries to evade the common pitfalls of anachronistic assumptions about concepts of authorship and textuality in the Second Temple period. She claims that *Jubilees*, the *Temple Scroll*, and similar works follow Deuteronomy’s lead in participating in a “Mosaic Discourse”—a mode of expressing new interpretations as consistent with and in fact deriving from a founder, in this case Moses. This extension of an existing discourse is to be contrasted with views that see so-called pseudepigraphy as “forgery” or, to use de Wette’s term for Deuteronomy, “pious fraud.” Najman’s four criteria are as follows: 1) Reworking and expanding older tradition. 2) The new text self-identifies as Torah. 3) The new text “re-presents” the revelation at Sinai. 4) The new text is connected,

enable us to compare the common literary features of texts that share significant overlap with a base-text, that is, new compositions based on their sources, not new expanded copies of their sources, and show that the criteria outlined in chapter 3 that create a new text out of an earlier one are not limited to rewritings of the Pentateuch, although such texts are one of the most numerous and widely known examples.⁹ Chronicles therefore functions as a kind of control within a larger category dominated by texts expanding on the revelation of Torah at Sinai to show that the scribal actions of selective use of a base-text, altering the literary setting, or changing the narrative voice are relevant beyond the extensive, but ultimately narrow, scope of the Pentateuch proper.

Sara Japhet states that the books of Chronicles are comprised of two types of material, “material taken from various sources and transposed, at times verbatim, at times with drastic changes, and material written by the book’s author.”¹⁰ From this, Japhet draws a number of important conclusions. First, she states that divergences from Samuel-

either by ascription or association, with Moses. While Najman’s work is incredibly valuable in pursuing questions of textual authority and challenging modern assumptions about ancient concepts of textuality, the case of Chronicles, which does not meet criteria 2-4, and, while it may claim authority by reusing an ancient source, it does not identify itself as revelation nor does it link itself to a particular founder, Moses or otherwise. The example of Chronicles shows, moreover, that this kind of textual reuse is not limited to texts connected with the Pentateuch or the figure of Moses. Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities* could be considered another example of the creation of a new work from a known base-text that does not meet Najman’s criteria for participating in “Mosaic Discourse,” but is more correctly understood as historiography, complete with its own author function (i.e., Josephus) and authority claims. Chronicles should probably also be understood as historiography, but without the author function (i.e., association with a named historian) common to the tradition of Hellenistic historiography (e.g., Thucydides, Herodotus, Josephus) or in texts that seek to project their message through the mouth of a founder figure, as per Najman’s “Mosaic Discourse.” On Chronicles as history, see Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ 9; trans. Anna Barber; 2d ed.; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997), 513.

⁹ See chapter 3 for the distinction between the question of authority and the question of literary relationship. Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 144, speaks of much of the category of Rewritten Scripture as characterized by a distinctive “priestly-levitical/Essene line of interpretation,” and while Chronicles highlights much concerning the priests and Levites, it undoubtedly stands outside that line of interpretation as it does outside of Najman’s delimitation mentioned above.

¹⁰ Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 7-8. I will follow Japhet and others in referring to the books’ author as The Chronicler, abbreviated Chr, and refer to this entity using masculine pronouns.

Kings often include “changes of language, style, content, and ideology.”¹¹ Although some of the apparent changes may actually have come from a source (e.g., similar to 4QSam^a), “most of them were his own work, and they give us a clear picture of his world-view.”¹² Secondly, she points out that Chr was not systematic in his handling of his sources.¹³ Thus not every passage of the books of Chronicles can be used to define the views or ideology of Chr, only those portions which can be arguably be shown to come from Chr and not from a source or a variant text. Additionally, Japhet cautions that one “must consider the possibility that passages were altered after its composition and that passages were added in the course of transmission.”¹⁴ This caution reckons with the possibility of inner-book growth or Continuing Composition beyond the initial composition created by Chr.

5.2.1 Chronicles’ Relationship to its Base-Text

At many points the books of Chronicles are close to their base-text, Sam-Kgs, to the point of resembling a variant “edition” of them, so in order to distinguish Chronicles from other VLE texts it is necessary, first to establish its closeness to its base-text, and then second, to examine the features that differentiate it from a VLE. First Chronicles 10, which recounts the death of Saul, is such a close parallel to 1 Samuel 31 that it provides a

¹¹Ibid., 8.

¹²Ibid., *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 8-10, 505-11. See also Ulrich, *Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 151-64. I adopt the convention also used by Japhet of referring to Chr using male pronouns. This seems justifiable on the grounds of probability for as far as we know, the scribal profession (i.e., those who could read and write at a high literary level) was limited to males. The fact that Chr removes nearly all references to female characters and pays them little or no attention (e.g., Michal, Bathsheba, Athaliah, Huldah) provides further reason for this convention. The historical reality of Chr’s identity makes no difference to my arguments in the present work. See also McKenzie, “The Chronicler as Redactor,” 70-90; Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 405-6.

¹³Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 8. See also Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 381-92; and David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 73-4.

¹⁴Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 9.

good demonstration of Chr's use of Sam-Kgs as a base-text, even while simultaneously showing the selective use of that base-text because the material prior to 1 Samuel 10 is completely absent from Chronicles. There are no other large pluses or minuses within this pericope with the exception of 1 Chr 10:13-14. Each of the other variations in 1 Chr 10:1-12 thus has equal likelihood of being a textual variant or a tendential or stylistic change by Chr. Although much of the chapter is nearly identical with only a few minor variations from its base-text, the passages discussing the mutilation of Saul's body vary considerably in ways which cannot be explained solely by Chr using a differing text of Samuel. The following observations will establish how closely Chronicles and Samuel overlap, while paving the way for demonstrating that they are different books, based on the criteria established in chapter 3.

1 Samuel 31:6-13¹⁵

וימת שאול ושלת בניו ונשא כליו גם כל־אנשיו
ביום ההוא יחדו:
 ויראו אנשי־ישראל אשר־בעבר העמק ואשר בעבר
הירדן כי־נסו אנשי ישראל
וכי־מתו שאול ובניו ויעזבו את־הערים
 וינסו ויבאו פלשתים וישבו בהן:
 ויהי ממחרת ויבאו פלשתים לפשט את־החללים
 וימצאו את־שאול ואת־שלת בניו נפלים בהר
 גלבוע:
ויכרתו את־ראשו ויפשיטו את־כליו וישלחו
 בארץ־פלשתים סביב לבשר בית עצביהם ואת־העם:
וישמו את־כליו בית עשתרות ואת־גויתו תקעו בחומת
 בית שן:
 וישמעו אליו ישבי יביש גלעד את אשר־עשו
 פלשתים לשאול:
 ויקומו כל־איש חיל וילכו כל־הלילה ויקחו
 את־גוית שאול ואת גוית בניו מחומת בית שן
 ויבאו יבשה וישרפו אתם שם:
ויקחו את־עצמותיהם ויקברו תחת־האשל ביבשה

1 Chronicles 10:6-14

וימת שאול ושלת בניו וכל־ביתו
 יחדו מתו:
 ויראו כל־איש ישראל אשר־בעמק
 כי נסו
 וכי־מתו שאול ובניו ויעזבו עריהם
 וינסו ויבאו פלשתים וישבו בהם:
 ויהי ממחרת ויבאו פלשתים לפשט את־החללים
 וימצאו את־שאול ואת־בניו נפלים בהר
 גלבוע:
ויפשיטוהו וישאו את־ראשו ואת־כליו וישלחו
 בארץ־פלשתים סביב לבשר את־עצביהם ואת־העם:
וישמו את־כליו בית אלהיהם ואת־גלגלתו תקעו
 בית דגון:
 וישמעו כל יביש גלעד את כל־אשר־עשו
 פלשתים לשאול:
 ויקומו כל־איש חיל וישאו
 את־גופת שאול ואת גופת בניו
 ויביאום יבישה
 ויקברו את־עצמותיהם תחת האלה ביבש

¹⁵ The overlap actually begins at 1 Sam 31:1 and 1 Chr 10:1, but for reasons of space I have started the comparison with verse six in both passages. The prior five verses show a number of minor variants, mostly orthographic, but none of them can be clearly attributed to Chr.

ויצמו שבעת ימים:

ויצמו שבעת ימים:
 וימת שאול במעלו אשר מעל ביהוה על־דבר יהוה
 אשר אל־שמר וגם־לשאול באוב לדרוש:
 ולא־דרש ביהוה וימיתהו ויסב את־המלוכה לדויד
 בן־ישי

Variants

1 Sam 31:6 | וכל־ביתו 1 Chr 10:6 -- | 1 Sam 31:6 -- | 1 Chr 10:6 | נשא כליו גם כל־אנשיו 1 Sam 31:6 | ביום ההוא | בעמק 10:7 | בעבר העמק 31:7 | איש 10:7 | אנשי 31:7 | מתו 10:6 -- | 31:6 -- | 10:6 | בהם 10:7 | בהם 10:7 | בקן 31:9 | וישאו 10:9 | וכרתו 31:9 | גלבע 10:8 | הגלבע 31:8 | שלשת 31:8 | ואת 10:9 | את 10:9 | את 10:10 | גלגלתו 10:10 | גויתו 31:10 | אלהיהם 10:10 | עשטרות 31:10 | את 10:9 | בית 31:9 | ואת 10:9 | את 10:11 | כל 10:11 | ישבי 31:11 | 10:11 -- | 10:11 | אליו 31:11 | דגון 10:10 | שן 31:10 | 10:10 -- | 10:10 | בחומת 31:10 | 31:11 | וישאו 10:11 | ויקחו 31:11 | 10:11 -- | 10:11 | כל 10:11 | 31:11 | ויבאו 31:11 | 10:11 -- | 10:11 | מחומת בית שן 31:11 | גופת 10:11 | גוית 31:11 | את־גופת 10:11 | את־גוית 10:11 | ויקחו 31:13 | 10:12 -- | 10:12 | וישרפו אתם שם 31:12 | יבישה 10:11 | יבשה 31:11 | ויביאום 10:11 | 31:13 | ביבשה 31:13 | האלה 10:12 | האשל 31:13 | ויקברו את־עצמותיהם 10:12 | את־עצמותיהם ויקברו 10:12 | וימת שאול במעלו אשר־מעל ביהוה 10:13-14 | 31:13 -- | 10:12 | ביבש 10:12 | אשר על־דבר יהוה אשר אל־שמר וגם־לשאול באוב לדרוש ולא־דרש ביהוה וימיתהו ויסב את־המלוכה לדויד בן־ישי

In this short chapter we see first that up to verse 13, Chr's source is recognizable—it is a text very close to that known from the MT of 1 Sam 31—and as most of the numerous minor differences can likely be relegated to textual differences, it appears that Chr has recycled most of the text almost verbatim, likely changing some of verses 9-12, and adding verses 13-14. There is no clear case of conscious omission in this pericope, but immediately following it the rest of the Samuel narrative is omitted until 2 Sam 5:1 (paralleled by 1 Chr 11:1). This omission skips over all the contention surrounding David's rise, and rivalry with Saul's son Ishbaal.¹⁶ According to the narrative in Chronicles, David's succession follows naturally upon Saul's death because of his disobedience. David's ascension to the throne is straightforward and uncontested.

¹⁶ Stephen L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984), 36.

The Chronicler alters the details from “his armor bearer and all his men” (נשא כליו) (גם כל-אנשיו), to “his entire house” (כל ביתו). The number three (שלשה) from 1 Sam 31:8 is also left out of Chr’s retelling, reinforcing the image that Saul’s household had been completely decimated. As we will continue to see in other examples, Chr leaves out or changes any detail that would suggest the existence of a rival to David or Solomon.¹⁷

In MT 1 Sam 31:9 it says “they cut off his [i.e., Saul’s] head” (ויכרתו את-ראשו). The Greek of LXX^B says “they brought him back” (και αποστρεφουσιν αυτον), a reading that might reflect a different *Vorlage* than MT or an error in Greek.¹⁸ The discrepancy in meaning between the MT and LXX is highlighted by Greek mss 29 which prefaces the LXX reading with the words “and they cut off his head” (και αποκαπταουσιν την κεφαλην αυτου), probably a later coordination reacting to the lack of decapitation in the LXX narrative.¹⁹ Despite uncertainty about the OG, it appears that Chr’s *Vorlage* was very close if not identical to MT 1 Samuel, as both 1 Chronicles 10 and 1 Samuel 31 refer to Saul’s decapitation. Kalimi points out that in 1 Chr 10:9 and 12, Chr has altered the verbs “cut” (כרת) and “take” (לקח) from his source, to “remove” (נשא) with the result that the actions of the Philistines regarding Saul’s head and the people of Jabesh-gilead regarding Saul’s body are put in the same terms but with strikingly contrasting meanings.²⁰ The word גופה, occurring only in 1 Chr 10:12, is a later Aramaism updating the more common

¹⁷ See Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 410-1.

¹⁸ ἀποστρέφω is most frequently a translation equivalent for שׁוּב, but it is not otherwise attested as a Greek translation equivalent for כרת. See Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 16, 236-7.

¹⁹ Mss 29 is b₂ in the Cambridge edition by Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray. This isolated reading probably reflects a later harmonization with a Greek or Hebrew text explicitly referring to Saul’s decapitation.

²⁰ Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 326. In support of Kalimi’s idea, one should note that the same pairing of contrasting meanings with the verb נשא appears in Gen 40:19-22 where Pharaoh “lifts up the heads” of two of his servants—one is restored to his previous station and the other is hanged. A similar description of Chr’s rewriting is given by Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:288.

Hebrew גויה.²¹ The shift from Beth-Shan to Beth-Dagon likely reflects Chr's view that Beth-Shan was part of Israelite territory.²²

The final verses of 1 Chr 10:13-14 do not come from Chr's *Vorlage*, whatever base-text of Sam-Kgs he is using, but should be understood as a creation of Chr. These verses explain Saul's punishment and loss of the kingdom as well as declare that the kingdom passed to David. The theme of David (and Solomon) ascending the throne without rival or question by divine choice has already been mentioned and it will appear again below. Connecting a king's fate to his deeds, especially religious loyalty, is a common trait in Chronicles.²³ Klein points out that no judgment is cast on Saul at his death in 1 Samuel 31, and that the root מעל, which denotes infidelity or treason is typical of Chr's style.²⁴ The root appears disproportionately in the books of Chronicles (e.g., nearly a third of all total verbal uses are found in Chronicles, and these are not paralleled in Sam-Kgs). Furthermore, these verses have been composed by a method of general paraphrase where the narrative of 1 Sam 28 is referenced but not recapitulated in Chronicles and the second accusation, that Saul "did not keep the word of YHWH" may refer to 1 Sam 13:13-4; 15; or 22:18-19. Alternatively the vague reference to Saul's not keeping YHWH's word may be a more general summary of all these events in 1 Samuel. This type of composition by loose allusion is similar to the longer ending of Mark's gospel discussed in chapter 3, where the references to speaking strange tongues or

²¹ HALOT, 1:184; Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:288-9; See also Edward L. Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* (ICC; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 31.

²² Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:288. Klein claims that Chr, when altering his *Vorlage*, routinely "mimicked" his source text, choosing replacements with orthographic similarity (e.g., בית דגון to בית שן).

²³ Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 186-93. Kalimi refers to his trait as the theme of "measure for measure" punishment; For other examples see the discussion of the Judean kings in Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 490-1

²⁴ Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:289-90.

handling venomous snakes are taken from narratives not found in Mark.²⁵ As these verses are not found in any known text of Samuel and as the language and themes align with those found elsewhere in the books of Chronicles, they are best understood as additions created by Chr.

The overlap between 1 Samuel 31 and 1 Chronicles 10 is near verbatim at many points. As will become clear in the following discussions, Chr follows the narrative sequence of Sam-Kgs, although the former reproduces parts of it only selectively. The larger the block reproduced, the closer the overlap. Put differently, when Chr reproduces a large block of the base-text he follows that block very closely and in great detail.²⁶ Rarely does Chr changes the order of pericopes. For example, 1 Chr 13:5-14 and 1 Chr 14:1-6 reverse the order of 2 Sam 6:1-11 and 2 Sam 5:11-16 such that the section about the messengers from Hiram and the notice about David's sons follow the Ark's halt at Perez-uzzah instead of preceding it, as they do in Samuel.²⁷ Such minor changes in sequence are rare, and transposed sections are not placed far from their original location.

Often, Chr gives only a brief summary of a pericope or a few narrative details (e.g., 2 Chr 32:24-26). This proximity points to Chr's use of some from of Sam-Kgs as a base-text. The base-text has not been used in its entirety as the narrative events of 1 Samuel leading up to the death of Saul are left out as are many of the following details about David's rise (e.g., the brief rival reign of Ishbaal). Accompanying this selective use

²⁵ See the similar example 2 Chr 32:24 where the "sign" (מוֹפֵת), must be a reference to the story of the sundial in 2 Kgs 20:8-11 (=Isa 38:7-8). See further Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 205-14.

²⁶ Carr, *Formation*, 73, calls this "incomplete abbreviation," i.e., "there is good evidence that the author(s) of Chronicles knew of an chose to omit large swathes of material found in Samuel-Kings. On the other hand, it does not appear that the author(s) of Chronicles so freely omitted material from sections of Samuel-Kings that he or they chose to reproduce." Some examples he cites are 1 Chr 14:3 where David takes "more wives," without any mention of his earlier marriages (1 Sam 25, 2 Sam 3:13-6) and 2 Chr 10:15 where Jeroboam dies in fulfillment of Ahijah's prophecy (1 Kgs 14) which has not be reproduced in Chronicles.

²⁷ See further, Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:338.

of the base-text is a larger reframing of the narrative and changing of the literary context: the material from 1 Samuel now follows a long series of genealogies and narrates the history of the monarchy from an explicitly post-exilic perspective (see 1 Chr 9:1-2).

5.2.2 The Use of Other Sources in Chronicles

Chronicles includes many details not found in its base-text that appear to have been drawn from the Pentateuch.²⁸ The account of the selection of the threshing floor of Ornan/Aravnah the Jebusite as the future temple site ends with the explanation that the Tabernacle which Moses had made in the wilderness and its altar were at Gibeon (1 Chr 21:29).²⁹ In 1 Chr 23:13-14 Moses and Aaron are included in the genealogy listed by Chr, as well as the explanation of the priestly role of Aaron and his sons. In 2 Chr 1:3 the narrator explains that Gibeon's high place housed the tent of meeting which Moses had made in the wilderness, similar to the notice in 1 Chr 21:29, including mention of the craftsman Bezalel ben-Uri (2 Chr 1:5).³⁰ The temple's vessels and furnishings are listed in 2 Chronicles 4, including the golden incense altar and the bread of the presence (4:19).

²⁸ Other sources may be possible, but the Pentateuchal examples are the clearest and most certain.

²⁹ This is one of the most textually complicated pericopes within Chronicles. As Chronicles diverges dramatically from its source, its more drastic differences have been deemed the work of Chr. In particular 4QSam^a contains a plus parallel to 1 Chr 21:16-7. Ulrich, *Qumran Text of Samuel*, 156-7, maintains that it was lost by homeoarcton (with the scribe's eye skipping from וישא to ויאמר) and that its presence in Josephus points to its originality in OG, while its absence from MT lead to its excision from OG; Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Book of Samuel* (OBO 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984), 112-4, instead suggests that the error is unlikely, that there is no proof of its presence in any OG witness, and that Josephus as well as 4QSam^a contain a text that has been expanded upon based on Chronicles; see also Frank H. Polak, "Statistics and Textual Filiation: The Case of 4QSam^a/LXX (With a Note on the Text of the Pentateuch)," in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990) (ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SBLSCSS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 215-76, esp. 252; Pancratius C. Beentjes, "David's Census and Ornan's Threshing-Floor: A Close Reading of 1 Chronicles 21," in idem, *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (SSN 52; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 45- 59; McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 39, 55-7; Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 245-6; Carr, *Formation*, 95.

³⁰ Keith W. Whitelam, "Hiram," *ABD* 3:204, proposes that "The Chronicler draws a parallel between the construction of the temple and the making of the tabernacle by comparing Solomon with Bezalel and Hiramabi with Oholiab."

In 2 Chr 11:15, Chr adds שעירים to the list of Jeroboam's vices—a rather rare word, usually translated as “Satyrs” or “Goat-demons” but probably better understood as some kind of fertility deities.³¹ The word is mostly likely taken from Lev 17:7.³² These details are best explained by the use of pentateuchal material by Chr to supplement Samuel-Kings which served as his main source. No pentateuchal text is ever used by Chr as a base-text, instead various texts are drawn upon to supply specific names and short details.³³ These details often occur in several pentateuchal passages and in most cases cannot be linked to any one specific instance other than to say that Chr did have access to, and indeed drew upon, pentateuchal material in some form, incorporating it into his work. The combination of various details is crystal clear in the case of Josiah's Passover celebration in 2 Chr 35:13 where Passover laws from Exodus and Deuteronomy are mixed such that the Passover lamb is “boiled in fire according to the statute,” a practice which ultimately agrees neither with the Exodus commandment to roast but not boil it (Exod 12:9), nor the deuteronomic requirement that the meat be boiled (Deut 16:7).³⁴ These few examples show that Chr had access to other sources (some known to us) and made use of them as reservoirs of details but never as an alternative base-text to Sam-Kgs. Ben Zvi writes

³¹ On the occurrences, ancient translations, and conceptual identification of שעירים see N. H. Snaith, “The Meaning of שעירים,” *VT* 25 (1975): 115-8; cf, *HALOT* 3:1341. Snaith opts for an understanding of שעירים as “rain-gods” or “fertility deities” against “satyrs,” which he claims is an erroneous identification made from classical mythology. Ancient witnesses frequently identify the creatures as “demons” (e.g., שדים or δαιμόνια); see also Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 212.

³² In Leviticus 19, שעירים are clearly the object of prohibited worship, as they are in 2 Chronicles, such a referent is not so clear in the other occurrences of the word in Deut 32:2, Isa 13:21 and 34:14.

³³ Unlike the above case where 1 Chr 10 reused extensive amounts of 1 Sam 31, in these cases only single words or at most a phrase appear without any additional context. The base-text has substantial overlap and provides a rough guide for the organization of the new work, these other sources, by contrast supply only details.

³⁴ Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 135.

Despite all the reliance on information taken from Genesis, no one would claim that 1 Chr 1:1-2:2 is a rewritten Genesis. More importantly, it is difficult to see 1 Chr 1:1-2:2 as a ‘condensed’ Genesis or a representation of the book of Genesis as a whole.³⁵

This aspect of utilizing details from another work is similar to the expansions surveyed in the previous chapter, but in Chronicles we see not so much the reuse of phrases or words from parallel sections, but the use of specific details mined from other sources. While Chr clearly had access to a variety of sources, most noticeably much of the Pentateuch, only Sam-Kgs was used as a base-text, and that selectively.

5.2.3 Omissions from Chr’s Base-Text

Having seen how close Chr’s *Vorlage* was to texts known to us, we are justified in identifying small and large portions that have been left out as conscious omissions. Various sections, ranging from large units to individual words appear to have been deliberately omitted by Chr. To prove conscious omission one must first eliminate two possibilities: (1) that Chr’s *Vorlage* differed from MT Sam-Kgs, and (2) that the textual minus in Chronicles is not due to accidental omission (e.g., parablepsis). The following two examples will demonstrate that Chr selectively drew from his source, omitting minor and major details.

In 1 Kgs 6:1, 37-38 and 8:2 there are references to the months זו, ברל, and אתנים.

Months that are not otherwise attested in the Hebrew Bible or in the later Jewish calendar.³⁶ These names are all absent from the parallel passages in Chronicles. Focusing

³⁵ Ehud Ben Zvi, “One Size Does Not Fit All: Observations on the Different Ways That Chronicles Dealt with the Authoritative Literature of Its Time,” in *What was Authoritative for Chronicles?* (ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana Edelman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 23.

³⁶ On the development of the Jewish calendar and ancient calendars generally see Sacha Stern, *Calendar and Community: A History of the Jewish Calendar Second Century BCE-Tenth Century CE* (New

for the moment on the parallel in 1 Kgs 8:2 and 2 Chr 5:3, we can identify the phrase בִּירַח האֲתָנִים “in the month of Ethanim [lit. “overflowings]” as a conscious omission by Chr.

3 Kgdms 8:2 ἐν μηνί Αθανίω = בִּירַח האֲתָנִים

1 Kgs 8:2 וַיִּקְהֵלוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּירַח האֲתָנִים סוּג הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ
הַשְּׁבִיעִי

2 Chr 5:3 בַּחֹג הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּקְהֵלוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ
הַשְּׁבַע

The reading “in the month of Ethanim” (ἐν μηνί Αθανίω), in 3 Kgdms 8:2 represents a Hebrew *Vorlage* בִּירַח האֲתָנִים. It is clear from this that the obscure month name אֲתָנִים appeared in the Greek translator’s *Vorlage*, but apparently without the explanatory phrase “that is the seventh month” (הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁבִיעִי).³⁷ This latter phrase is likely a secondary gloss on the word אֲתָנִים; it explains a rare word otherwise unknown to the text’s readers, and its absence from the LXX points strongly to its secondary nature.³⁸ The phrase “for the festival” (בַּחֹג) is syntactically awkward in the MT as the explanation “that is the seventh month” describes אֲתָנִים and not חֹג.³⁹ The phrase “for the festival” may also be a later expansion connecting the completion of the Temple with *the* festival (i.e., Sukkot).⁴⁰

York, Oxford University Press, 2001); and idem, *Calendars in Antiquity: Empires, States, and Societies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). Despite her otherwise thorough coverage of the ancient calendrical variations, Stern never addresses the archaic month names in 1 Kings.

³⁷ In Codex B and most other major witnesses of LXX, only the phrase “in the month of Ethanim” is present, the surrounding text “And every man of Israel was assembled to King Solomon [in the month of Ethanim] for the festival which is the seventh month,” is a plus in the MT. Codex A, in typical fashion, has a reading harmonized with MT.

³⁸ On this and similar cases see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 44-48.

³⁹ Such identifying clauses typically have the pronoun (הוּא or הִיא) followed immediately the noun it modifies, see *IBHS* 16.3.3a-c; and Joüon 154j. Some exceptions occur, such as Josh 18:13, on which see Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 44-45.

⁴⁰ Lev 23:34, Neh 8:13. “*The* festival” (הַחֹג) becomes the standard idiom for Sukkot in rabbinic literature.

Whatever the relation between MT and LXX, our interest for the moment is specifically on Chr’s use of his source text.⁴¹ Was the month removed by Chr or simply not a part of Chr’s *Vorlage*? A clue arises if we attempt to translate 2 Chr 5:3 into English.

The parallel verses, although almost identical, must be translated quite differently due to issues of syntax. Translating 1 Kgs 8:2 is fairly straightforward: “Every man of Israel assembled to (the) King Solomon in the month of Ethanim for the festival—it is the seventh month.” Here the main difficulty is the awkward gap between “it is the seventh month,” which semantically must refer to Ethanim, and the phrase “for the festival,” which appears between the noun “Ethanim” and its modifier “that is the seventh month.”⁴² An author rewriting this text into part of a new work could resolve this

⁴¹ A central argument of the present discussion is that Chr’s *Vorlage* was identical to MT at this point, so the LXX readings are not immediately relevant. My own suspicions regarding the textual history of the varying narratives in the MT and LXX is that MT is an expanded text that is trying to explicitly connect the inauguration of the temple with the celebration of Sukkot (likely already in view in 3 Kgdms 8:65). The LXX contains only the phrase “in the month of Ethanim,” lacking both the words that follow and the words that precede it in MT (i.e., “Every man of Israel was gathered to King Solomon”). The LXX provides a coherent text that tells a different narrative at this point. In 3 Kgdms 8:1, Solomon has just finished construction of his palace and YHWH’s temple (neither are mentioned in MT 1 Kgs 8:1, and the preceding verses emphasize only the temple) and he gathers all the elders of Israel in order to bring the ark of the covenant of YHWH into the Zion “in the month of Ethanim,” and the priests bring the ark and the Tent of Meeting. The MT has not only the elders, but also the heads of tribes and the family leaders come to bring up the ark into Zion. The MT does not immediately situate this event in Ethanim, as does LXX, but instead digresses slightly narrating that King Solomon also gathers “every man of Israel, in the month of Ethanim, [for/in/on] the Festival—it is the seventh month.” The MT contains a further plus saying that all the elders of Israel came. The translational difficulties I point out above relate primarily to בָּהָג, which I think should be translated here as “for the Festival” as it explains why “every man of Israel” has been gathered (cf, Deut 16:16; Num 29:12), namely to celebrate Sukkot in the seventh month. I see three main possibilities: (1) בָּהָג entered the MT at the same time as the rest of the MT plus in 8:2 and בָּהָג just happens to be placed two words earlier in the sentence than expected resulting in odd syntax; (2) The MT contained 8:2 without בָּהָג, and a reason was added (or made explicit) later and the inserted lemma created an unexpected break between the noun Ethanim and its modifier “which is the seventh month”; (3) בָּהָג is original to MT’s expanded 8:2, but the gloss explaining Ethanim (“it is the seventh month”) was added later and in being tacked on at the end, resulted in the strange syntax discussed above. Of these three theoretical options, I find number one the least likely and number three the most likely. The latter explains both why a scribe would have expanded MT to begin with (i.e., to make observance of Sukkot explicit) and how the modifier “it is the seventh month” arose.

⁴² NJPS reads “All the men of Israel gathered before King Solomon at the Feast, in the month of Ethanim—that is, the seventh month.” In this case, the translators have rearranged the text placing “at the Feast” before “in the month of Ethanim.” This would be the expected word order in Hebrew. The need to rearrange the text in order to make sense of it highlights the difficult inherent in the Hebrew.

difficulty either by rearranging the text so that “for the festival” follows “seventh month,” as one would expect in Hebrew (so NJPS and KJV) or by omitted “for the festival,” yet Chr does neither. Translating 2 Chr 5:3 we find not the resolution of an existing textual difficulty, but the introduction of a new one. The text reads “Every man of Israel assembled to the king for the festival. It is the seventh month.” In Kings, the phrase “it is the seventh month” explains the rare month name אֶתְנִיִּים, whereas in Chr the only referent available for it to modify is “festival,” and it makes no sense to state that the festival *is* the seventh month, thus translators have sought solutions. The translators of the NASB clearly noticed the problem as they give “at the feast, that is *in* the seventh month,” (italics original) in 2 Chronicles whereas in the corresponding verse from 1 Kings the NASB translates “at the feast, in the month of Ethanim, which is the seventh month.”⁴³ The need to insert the English preposition “in” in the former case derives from the awkward syntax generated by the omission of the month name. The Targum to Chronicles similarly translates “at the festival of Sukkot which is in the seventh month” (בהגא דמטליא דהוא בירחא שביעאה), identifying “the festival” explicitly with Sukkot and clearing away the awkward syntax.⁴⁴ The NJPS translators give “at the Feast, in the seventh month,” though there is no documented lexical case of הוּא meaning “in,” the contortions that the translators perform demonstrates that there is a difficulty in the text.⁴⁵ The difficulty of 2 Chr 5:3 results from its being an alteration of a source text identical to

⁴³ In NASB the use of italics denotes “words which are not found in the original Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek but implied by it.” The same addition of “in” appears in JPS, NRSV and KJV. Cf. Lutherbibel (1545), “Und es versammelten sich zum König alle Männer Israels am Fest, das ist *in* siebenten Monat.” Emphasis added.

⁴⁴ The text follows Stephen A. Kaufman, ed. *Targum Chronicles: The Late Jewish Literary Aramaic version of Chronicles from the files of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project (CAL) the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, USA* (2005).

⁴⁵ I suspect that Chr and his early readers mentally supplied a preposition.

MT 1 Kgs 8:2. A rare word deemed unnecessary or unwanted was omitted and in the process its explanatory gloss was left in place, its meaning now obscured. The awkward syntax shows that the word was present in Chr's *Vorlage* which appears to have been identical with MT, and the added fact that all of the old month names are also removed shows that this was not done accidentally, although only in one case does a redactional "seam"—the lack of a fitting noun for "it is the seventh month" to modify in 2 Chr 5:3—remain.⁴⁶ Thus Chr's handling of his base-text clearly could involve omissions of small details deemed unneeded or undesirable, and in at least some cases omission left traces in the text. As Chr also leaves out the references to the months זו and בול (1 Kgs 6:1, 37-38), this may be evidence of a tendency to leave out the archaic month names, which had fallen out of use.⁴⁷ But as we have already seen above, Chr's omissions are by no means limited to such minor details.

Two larger scale cases of conscious omission concern David's involvement with Uriah's wife Bathsheba and the Shunammite Abishag.

2 Sam 11:1

ויהי לתשובת השנה לעת צאת המלכים ישלח דוד את-יואב

1 Chr 20:1

ויהי לעת תשובת השנה לעת צאת המלכים וינהג יואב את-חיל הצבא

The narrative introduction "In the spring time when kings go to war" makes sense in its original context in which David does not go off to war, but gets into trouble while remaining at home.⁴⁸ In Chronicles this narrative introduction is kept without any of the

⁴⁶1 Kings 6:1 (= 2 Chr 3:2), 6:37-38 (not paralleled by Chr) and 8:2 (=2 Chr 5:3). In the first and final cases the month names are removed but the glosses "the second month" and "the seventh month" (respectively) remain.

⁴⁷ It is possible that the vestige of the old calendar may have been at odds with worship liturgy contemporary with Chr, but no work has been done on this question. See note 36 above.

⁴⁸ Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:407; McKenzie, *Chronicles's Use*, 37; Carr, *Formation*, 73.

following story which interacts with it in its source, thus in Chronicles the setting of the stage no longer serves the narrative function that it did in its source. An even more striking vestige of the earlier narrative is the detail that “David remained in Jerusalem” (ודויד ישב בירושלם).⁴⁹ As in both Samuel and Chronicles this section is immediately preceded by the battle with the Syrians and followed by the account of Joab’s victory at Rabbah. This shows that Chr is following the basic narrative of its base-text. It is therefore clear that 1 Chronicles 20:1 echoes the language of its source, 2 Samuel 11, while skipping over two full chapters of narrative, and going directly to the reporting of the victory. The verses omitted are those comprising the story of David’s affair with Bathsheba, the attempted cover-up, David’s correspondence with Joab arranging for Uriah’s death, Uriah’s death itself, Nathan’s rebuke, and Solomon’s birth. In 2 Samuel the setting “At the turn of the year, when kings go to war,” contrasts directly with David’s staying at home and not going to war, which leads directly into the narrative of his affair with Bathsheba. By contrast, in 1 Chr 20, the fact that David remains in Jerusalem while Joab leads the army does not cast David in so bad a light as its earlier source.

References elsewhere to Solomon and Bathsheba/Bathshua (1 Chr 3:5, 14:4), in addition to the aforementioned narrative interruptions, show that this story was known to Chr, but has been omitted to remove an account which reflected negatively on David.⁵⁰ Following the pericope of 1 Chr 20:1-3, Chr omits all of the material from 2 Sam 13:1—

⁴⁹ See Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 241-2.

⁵⁰ On the reasons for Bath-Shua’s appearance in Chr’s genealogies see, Willien Van Wieringen, “Why Some Women were Included in the Genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1-9,” in *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (ed. Jeremy Corley and Harm van Grol; DCLS 7; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 291-300; but note also Ingeborg Löwisch, “Cracks in the Male Mirror: References to Women as Challenges to Patrilinear Authority in the Genealogies of Judah,” in *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, 105-32; Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 315-7, 362-5.

21:18 (=1 Chr 20:4), nearly all of which deals with opposition to David and rebellion. In line with the omissions of Ishbaal in 1 Chr 10-11 mentioned above, it is clear that Chr has a strong tendency to omit details of rivals or rebels, depicting David's reign as steadfastly as possible.⁵¹

Similarly, the short Abishag narrative was likely omitted due to its portrayal of David as weak and impotent, and the role it plays in complicating Solomon's ascension to the throne.⁵²

1 Kings 1:1 והמלך דוד זקן בא בימים ויכסהו בבגדים ולא יחם

1 Chr 23:1 ודויד זקן ושבע ימים וימלך את־שלמה בנו

Following the narrative thread of Samuel-Kings, Chr reuses the notice of David's old age from 1 Kgs 1:1, preceding Solomon's coronation. The wording is not identical, but these are the only references to David's old age in each book and the placement within the sequence of narrative events implies that Chr is following the order of its source, although reusing precious little. The entire episode of Abishag functioning as the king's "human hot-water bottle" is left out.⁵³ In Chronicles, Solomon's ascension to the throne, like his father's before him, is straightforward and uncontested, and David's old age in 1 Chr 23:1 only marks the appropriate time to pass the crown on to his son.

These examples show that Chr omitted small and large portions of text, from minor details to large narrative episodes. Often these omitted portions contain details

⁵¹ McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 36.

⁵² M. J. Evans, "Women," *DOT:HB* (ed. B. T. Arnold & H. G. M. Williamson; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2005): 995. See also, Klein, *Chroniclers*, 1:44.

⁵³ Japhet, *Ideology in the Book of Chronicles*, 469.

considered unnecessary or opposed to the ideology Chr is trying to portray.⁵⁴ In the larger examples specifically we can observe a shared tendency to leave out mention of rivalries or rebellions. Such a tendency, and Chr's own ideology, can only be reconstructed in hindsight by searching for connecting threads that give coherence to additions or omissions.

5.2.4 New Material Added in Chronicles

Chronicles places a great deal of emphasis on the construction of the Temple and the organizations for its personnel. These discussions go from 1 Chr 22 to 2 Chr 7, and represent a large segment of text which has no parallel in Sam-Kgs and appears to be the work of Chr.⁵⁵ The additions focus on David's organization of the Priests, Levites, musicians, gatekeepers, military and tribal divisions, and Solomon's construction and dedication of the temple. These chapters connect two of the central themes of Chronicles, namely the Davidic monarchy and the Jerusalem temple.⁵⁶ These themes reoccur throughout the book which opens with a genealogy that leads directly to David (1 Chr 2:15) and invests considerable space to the divisions of priests, Levites, and the tribes of Israel that are organized in 1 Chr 23-27.

Other major themes in Chronicles are likewise attested across the span of the work. The frequently noted theme that kings are rewarded or punished in their lifetime

⁵⁴ e.g., negative portrayals of David or Solomon. It has frequently been noted that Chr also omits or downplays most references to the Exodus. See Japhet, *Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, 379-86; Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 212; Note Pancratius C. Beentjes, "The Chronicler's View of Israel's Earlier History," in *Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles*, 101-13, "It is not to minimize the Exodus tradition, let alone to sweep it away, but to emphasize that the covenant with YHWH is a matter that affects every Israelite" (111).

⁵⁵ McKenzie, *Chronicler's Use*, 37-41, 88-9; Steven J. Schweitzer, "The Temple in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," in *Rewriting Biblical History*, 123-35.

⁵⁶ Japhet, *Ideology in the Book of Chronicles*, 428.

explains Chr's addition concerning Saul's death 1 Chr 10:13-4. Manasseh, whose wickedness is blamed for the exile (1 Kgs 23:26), nevertheless has a long and flourishing reign, while Josiah, who gets the highest appraisal in Kings dies rather young.⁵⁷ To explain how such an evil monarch could nonetheless rule for fifty-five years and a righteous king rule for only thirty-one years, Chr explains that Manasseh repented of his deeds (2 Chr 33:12-9) while Josiah spurned a prophecy from God (2 Chr 35:20-4).

5.2.5 Summary

In summary, Chr utilized a text of Sam-Kgs as the base-text of his own composition. That base-text was used selectively—omitting small and large details and stories—was occasionally rearranged, and was furnished with details from other sources (mainly pentateuchal material) and additions of Chr's own creation. Many of the omissions and additions give a coherent picture of either Chr's own views or shed light on the specific portrayal Chr hoped to achieve by the reshaping of his source material into a new text. While rearrangement and additions were seen in the examples of continuing composition in chapter 4, what is unique to Chronicles compared with those examples of textual growth is its *selective use of its base-text*. There were no clear cases of conscious omission in the examples from Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel, let alone regular omissions that could be identified as selective use of their base-texts.⁵⁸ Such selective-use is one of the three compositional techniques that create a new text, as seen in chapter 3, and this is what makes Chronicles a different work than Sam-Kgs. It is not a

⁵⁷ Klein, *Chronicles*, 1:20, 46, 291; Kalimi, *Reshaping*, 332-5; Japhet, *Ideology in the Book of Chronicles*, 166-8, 490.

⁵⁸ The only exceptions are cases of replacement where a few words to a full sentence have been omitted in the processes of smoothing the transition between an addition and the base-text to which it is added (e.g., the content of MT Exod 18:25 is omitted by SP where it expands based on Deuteronomy 1).

version of Sam-Kgs, then, but *an entirely new composition*. All three methods of Authorial Composition are on display in *Jubilees*, to which I now turn.

5.3 The Book of *Jubilees*

The book of *Jubilees* is a Hebrew work from the Hellenistic period that renarrates much of the contents of Genesis 1 until Moses' ascent to Sinai.⁵⁹ The narrative is filled in with a variety of details from Exodus-Deuteronomy making the larger point that the commandments of Torah preceded the revelation at Sinai and were followed by the important antediluvians and patriarchs.⁶⁰ As with Samuel-Kings in the books of Chronicles, one can see that Genesis and part of Exodus are used as a base-text by the author of *Jubilees*.⁶¹ This base-text is used selectively and much new information is added. Frequently the omissions and additions together can highlight the specific interests of the author. The narrative of the base-text is reframed such that the work opens with Moses' ascent to Mt. Sinai at God's invitation based on Exodus 24 (Jub 1:1-26). There, over the course of forty days and nights, God "showed him what (had happened)

⁵⁹ On the issues of the Hebrew original and historical dating of the book see James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, Mont.: Scholar's Press, 1977), 1-15, 207-85, and idem., *The Book of Jubilees* (GAP; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 13-21. VanderKam dates *Jubilees* to between 164 and 100 BCE, favoring a date between 152-134 BCE based on the presence of the book at Qumran, the paleographical dating of those manuscripts, the reference to Jubilees in the *Damascus Document*, the apparent influence of Judah the Maccabee's wars in 163 BCE upon the retelling of the battles of Judah and his sons (e.g., Jub 37:1-38:14), denouncing of public nudity probably alluding to the gymnasium of Antiochan times (cf. 1 Macc 1:14-5), and on the relationship of *Jubilees'* views (esp. the Solar calendar) to those of the Qumran sect and the politics of the Hasmonean priesthood. See also, James C. VanderKam, "Jubilees and Hebrew Texts of Genesis-Exodus," in idem, *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature* (SJSJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 448-61.

⁶⁰VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 12.

⁶¹ The copy of Genesis used was certainly not identical to MT, but often had more in common with the LXX *Vorlage* or SP, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 116-38. Just as with Chronicles, where the copy of Samuel used by Chr was closer to the LXX *Vorlage* or the 4QSam^a scroll, the minor differences do not prevent us from recognizing Genesis as the source of Jubilees, even while differentiating that source from the copies of Genesis extant today.

beforehand as well as what was to come” (1:4 VK).⁶² In *Jub.* 1:27, God commands the angel of the presence to dictate to Moses “from the beginning of the creation until the time when my temple is built among them throughout all ages of eternity.” From verse 27 onwards, the angel of the presence is the narrator who occasionally inserts himself (and his fellow angels) into the narration. For example, in *Jub.* 2:3 after the creation of heaven, earth, and the various spirits (including angels) the angel of the presence says, “Then we saw his works and blessed him. We offered praise before him regarding all his works because he had made seven great works on the first day” (VK).⁶³ As argued in chapter 3, these features of (1) selective use of the base-text, (2) new literary setting, and (3) new narrative voice are the type of alterations that create a new work out of an earlier source (Authorial Composition) rather than create an expanded copy or version of the same (Continuing Composition). Further details from *Jubilees* only make this point even more secure.

5.3.1 *Jubilees*’ Relationship to its Base-Text

Within its new literary setting, *Jubilees* retells most of the opening chapters of Genesis, following them sequentially starting in *Jub.* 2:1, but the wording is not repeated verbatim. Instead the text is paraphrased, usually accompanied by new details (e.g., the creation of the various spirits on the first day of creation in *Jub.* 2:2). To be sure, the

⁶² English translations of *Jubilees* marked VK are from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (SAT 88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 18-19; references to the Ethiopic follow idem., *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (SAT 87; Louvain: Peeters, 1989). All other translations are my own.

⁶³ See also the examples of “we” and “I” in *Jub.* 16:1 and 18:9 in the discussion below. The angel of the presence interjects in the first person singular at various key points continuing to the final verse of the book, i.e., *Jub.* 6:22, 35, 38; 12:26, 27; 15:33; 16:5; 18:9, 10, 11; 30:12, 21; 48:4, 13; 50:1, 2, 13. The broader perspective of the involvement of the angels of the presence, expressed in the first person plural is even more frequent, i.e., *Jub.* 2:3, 17, 30; 3:1, 9, 12, 15; 4:6, 18, 23; 5:23, 26; 10:4, 10-3, 23, 32; 12:2, 20, 31; 14:20; 16:1-4, 7, 15-6, 19, 28; 19:3, 6; 30:20; 41:24, 27; 48:10-1, 13, 16, 18-9.

narrative of the base-text is sometimes followed near-verbatim, such as the conversation between the woman and the serpent in *Jub.3:17b-22*.

Genesis 3:1b-7

He said to the woman, “Did God indeed say, ‘You shall not eat from every tree of the garden?’”

The woman said to the serpent, “From the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat, but from the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden God said ‘Do not eat from it and do not touch it so that you may not die.’”

The serpent said to the woman, “You will not really die for God knows that when you eat from it your eyes will be opened and you will be like gods, knowing good and evil.”

The woman saw that the tree was good to eat and pleasing to the eyes and the tree was desired to make one wise. She took of its fruit and she ate and she gave (it) also to her husband with her. He ate and the eyes of the two of them were opened. They knew that they were naked. They sewed together fig leaves and made for themselves aprons.

Jubilees 3:17b-22 (VK)

The serpent said to the woman, “Is it from all the fruit of the trees in the garden (that) the Lord has commanded you, ‘Do not eat from it?’” She said to him, “From all the fruit of the tree(s) which are in the garden the Lord told us, ‘Eat.’ But from the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden he told us, ‘Do not eat from it and do not touch it so that you may not die.’” Then the serpent said to the woman, “You will not really die because the Lord knows that when you eat from it⁶⁴ your eyes will be opened, you will become like gods, and you will know good and evil.”

The woman saw that the tree was delightful and pleasing to the eye and (that) its fruit was good to eat. So she took some of it and ate (it). She first covered her shame with fig leaves and then gave it to Adam. He ate (it), his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was naked. He took fig leaves and sewed (them); (thus) he made himself an apron and covered his shame.

The closeness of the two texts is immediately clear coupled with the consistent following of the base-text’s narrative sequence, and allows us to see that the author is in fact following the text of Genesis and to trace just how far he has transformed his source.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ *Jubilees* is similar to Genesis, “for the day you (pl.) will eat from it,” (አመ: ዕለተ: ትብልዑ: እምኔህ).

⁶⁵ While *Jubilees* omits and adds numerous sections and details, there are very few changes of the sequence of events. In *Jub* 34:11-2, Joseph is sold before the reader hears of Isaac’s death, opposite the order of *Gen* 37. See Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10-28. In *Jub.* 19:13-23:7 Abraham’s death is placed after the birth of Jacob and Esau. This allows the author of *Jubilees* to have

Small discrepancies can be explained as issues of translation, such as VanderKam's translation of እግዚአብሔር as "Lord" instead of the more typical translation "God."⁶⁶ The addition of the word "fruit" in *Jub.* 3:17-18 is apparently based on Gen 3:2.⁶⁷ In Genesis, the woman sees that the tree is good for food and appealing to the eye, an order that *Jubilees* may have altered on account of logic.⁶⁸ The notice that the tree is desirable to make one wise (וְנַחֲמַד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל) is the only clear omission from this section of the base-text, and it may have resulted from a textual error when the author of *Jubilees* rearranged the sequence of the woman's seeing, desiring, and eating from the tree.⁶⁹ The most significant addition is that the woman, upon eating the fruit, covers her own nakedness (ገፋ-ረታ, "her shame") *before* giving the fruit to the man. This change removes the problem of delayed reaction in Genesis, where the woman eats first, but it is only after the man eats that "the eyes of the two of them were opened," and likely stems from the

Abraham give instructions concerning Jacob (*Jub.* 19:16), to give his final testament, and to have Abraham die in Jacob's arms (*Jub.* 23:1-5). See further J. T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26-25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14-23:8* (SJSJ 161; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 227-51, 338.

⁶⁶ It has become widely accepted that the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* was translated from a Greek *Vorlage*, itself based upon an original Hebrew, but it is not clear that the Greek preserved any distinction between divine names. On the relationship of the Hebrew, Greek and Ethiopic see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 1-17. For an example demonstrating a textual error in the Ethiopic text that can only be explained by positing a Greek intermediary text, see William K. Gilders, "Where did Noah Place the Blood? A Textual Note on *Jubilees* 7:4," *JBL* (124): 745-9. On the historical dating of *Jubilees* see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*,

⁶⁷ See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees translated by James C. VanderKam*, 18, n3:17.

⁶⁸ James Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (SJSJ 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 40, suggests that *Jubilees* may have changed the order to reflect a more natural or logical sequence of the tree's appeal first to the eye, and then to the taste.

⁶⁹ J. T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (SJSJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 94-5. Van Ruiten hypothesizes that the phrase may have been accidentally omitted by the scribe's eye skipping from *הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל* to *הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכַל* in Gen 3:6 because of the similar appearance of the words. He further suggests the possibility that the rearrangement of the sequence influenced this error and the apparent plus "delightful" (ወያዥ) in *Jub.* 3:20 is actually a rendering of "and was desired" (וְנַחֲמַד) in Gen 3:6, its current location explained by the new arrangement. If this is correct, then we have a clear case of change in sequence by the author of *Jubilees*, but without addition or omission.

larger condemnation of nudity in *Jubilees*.⁷⁰ While the pericopes of *Jub.* 3:1-17a and 3:23-35 stray far from the text of Genesis, *Jub.* 3:17b-22 is remarkably close. So, as with the case of Chronicles, when the author of *Jubilees* does reproduce a block of its base-text the reused source material is usually followed quite closely.

Another example where a large block of the base-text is followed almost verbatim is found in *Jub.* 17:15-18:19, which follows the narrative of Genesis 22 adding an elaborate introduction, a conclusion, and a number of short but significant insertions, and with only the smallest of barely noticeable omissions.⁷¹ The additional frame to the narrative in *Jub.* 17:15-18 is exegetically grounded and ideologically motivated.⁷² *Jubilees* accomplishes a number of exegetical moves with the changes brought about by this introduction. First, the introduction contains an explanation of the term “things” or “words” (דברים), and explains that the term in Gen 22:1 means “words”—specifically heavenly words describing Abraham’s faithfulness.⁷³ In a setting reminiscent of the beginning of the book of Job, Mastema comes and instigates the “test” of Abraham. Second, it removes blame from God for instigating this “test”; it is now Mastema’s responsibility. Third, it lists a number of ways in which God had already tested Abraham

⁷⁰VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 31; Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 40-1.

⁷¹ See the chart in the appendix for specific textual details and textual reconstruction.

⁷² See Menahem Kister, “Observations on Aspects of Exegesis, Tradition, and Theology in Midrash, Pseudepigrapha, and other Jewish Writings,” in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. John C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholar’s Press, 1994), 1-34; Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees*, 108-10. The main exegetical difficulty is why God would test Abraham, and a clue is taken from the word הדברים, which contextually should be translated as “things” but is understood as “words,” see further the footnotes below.

⁷³Cf., LXX Gen 22:1, “these words” (τα ρηματα ταυτα) rather than “these things” equally possible translations of הדברים האלה; see the similar interpretations in *Ant.* 32.1-4, *Ps.-Philo* LAB 32:1-2; *Gen. Rab.* 55.4, *b. Sanh.* 89b; On these and other ancient interpretations see Kister, “Observations on Aspects of Exegesis, Tradition, and Theology,” 1-34; See further J. T. A. G. M. Van Ruiten, “Abraham, Job, and the Book of *Jubilees*: The Intertextual Relationship of Genesis 22:1-19, Job 1:1-2:13 and *Jubilees* 17:15-18:19,” in E. Noort and E. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and its Interpretations* (TBNJCT 4; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 58-85; James C. VanderKam, “The Aqedah, Jubilees and Pseudojubilees” in C. A. Evens and S. Talmon, eds., *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (BIS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 241-262.

and found him faithful. Fourth, the added chronology in *Jub.* 17:15 situates the third day of Abraham’s journey, and thus the Aqedah, on Passover.⁷⁴ Finally, it removes the possibility of a denial of divine omniscience, stating explicitly that God already knew how Abraham would act and there was nothing more that needed to be proved to him.

The introduction to the pericope is at pains to protect God’s omniscience, and this is seen again by the appearance of *Jubilees’* own narrator.⁷⁵ The angel of the presence—who is given credit for telling Abraham to desist from his intentions of slaying his son (*Jub.* 18:9), is also given the controversial lines “Now I know that you are one who fears God, and you did not spare your first-born son from me” (*Jub.* 18:11).⁷⁶ This change protects God’s omniscience by clarifying that it is the angels, not the deity, who have gained new knowledge.

In *Jub.* 18:14, God again becomes the speaker instead of the angel of the presence. The text makes clear that the earlier statement “Now I know” applies to the angel while the oath is sworn by God himself. The phrase, “you did not spare your first-born son from me” (ወኢመሐከ: ውልደከ: በኩረከ: እምኔ?) remains a difficulty in *Jub.* 18:11, as its immediate referent is the angel of the presence who is not the intended recipient of the aborted sacrifice. The author of *Jubilees* was able to remove the problem of denial of divine

⁷⁴ If the twelfth day begins in the evening, and the words in heaven are heard during the night, then Abraham’s departure “early in the morning” (*Jub.* 18:3; Gen 22:3) is later that same day and the final day of the journey when Abraham and Isaac arrive at the mountain falls on the fourteenth of the first month (i.e., Passover; Lev 23:5). See further Van Ruiten, “Abraham, Job and the Book of Jubilees,” 74-5; VanderKam, “The Aqedah, Jubilees, and Pseudojubilees,” 241-62, esp. 247.

⁷⁵ Gen 22:12 was a particularly troubling text to interpreters throughout history. Jean-Louis Ska, “‘And Now I Know’ (Gen 22:12),” in idem, *The Exegesis of the Pentateuch: Exegetical Studies and Basic Questions* (FAT 66; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 111-38, documents how ancient interpreters struggled to protect divine omniscience, Jubilees being the oldest extant among them.

⁷⁶ *Jubilees* has “your firstborn” (በኩረከ = בכורך) instead of “your only” (יחידך) as MT/SP/Syr or “your beloved” (ךדיך) as LXX, OL, EthGen; Segal, *Jubilees*, 196-7, connects the reference to “firstborn” with Jubilee’s correlation between the Aqedah and the Passover. This connection with Passover is superior to the possibility that Jubilees might be down-playing or disinheriting Ishmael, since *Jub.* 17:4-14 is remarkably positive on Ishmael, especially compared to its highly negative portrayal of Esau.

omniscience by moving this speech to the angel, but in the process he left parts of the base-text in place that now look as if the sacrifice had been to the angel and not God. This shows that despite the author's careful attention to most details, he could not completely iron out every wrinkle.⁷⁷

The insertions in *Jubilees* are also exegetically based. In *Jub.* 18:4, Abraham and company stop at “a well of water” not mentioned in the text—but presumably an oasis of some kind is the only place where Abraham's servants and their animals could wait for several days, so *Jubilees* inserts it. More significantly, in *Jub.* 18:8 the mountain to which Abraham is directed is identified as “the mountain of God” or “the Divine Mountain.” *Jubilees* 18:13 explains more explicitly “It is Mt. Zion” (ወ-እቱ ደብሩ ለጳዴን = הוּא הַר צִיּוֹן). This connection is already present in 2 Chr 3:1, but it is likely that *Jubilees* takes it directly from an interpretation of Gen 22:14. The specific phrase from Gen 22:14, “of which it is said, ‘Today, on the mountain YHWH will be seen,’” is one of the only obvious omissions in the pericope that is not replaced, and was likely omitted because of the fact that it signals a “today” that is different both from the narrative time of Genesis and from the pseudepigraphic standpoint of *Jubilees*—as a revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai.

VanderKam describes *Jubilees*' closeness to the base-text at this point in this passage as follows:

It is accurate to say that, apart from several cases of abbreviating the somewhat repetitive text of Genesis, *Jubilees* generally deviates from the MT only in a text-

⁷⁷Ovadia Sforno in the 16th century related מניי back to “I know that you fear God [more than me],” but there is no evidence that *Jubilees* has found a similar solution. On Sforno's exegesis see Ska, “And Now I Know,” 127; Cf, Van Ruiten, “Abraham, Job, and the Book of Jubilees,” 80 n61, “Apparently, the contradiction between *Jub* 18:9a (‘I stood before him, and in front of the Prince of Mastema’) and *Jub.* 18:10a (‘I called to him from heaven’) was not relevant for the authors of *Jubilees*. It illustrates the tendency in this chapter to follow the biblical text as closely as possible.”

critical sense; that is, its differences from the MT are attested in ancient versions of the Bible and probably derive from a slightly different Hebrew biblical text. Moreover, *Jubilees* omits no section or even any verse of Gen 22:1-19, and it always reflects the order of Genesis. In other words, for all practical purposes, *Jub.* 18:1-17 equals Gen 22:1b-19. More specifically, *Jub.* 18:1-8 = Gen 22:1b-10, and *Jub.* 18:10-17 = Gen 22:11-19.⁷⁸

As already noted, several words are omitted so as not to contradict the new literary setting (i.e., “as it is said today” in Gen 22:14). Furthermore, *Jubilees* splits the identity of מלאך יהוה so that the angel (of the presence) is one literary character and YHWH is another, thus he alters the reference in Gen 22:15 from “the angel [of YHWH]” speaking “again” (שנית), to God making a speech following the angels’ own words. The word “angel” and “again” are omitted in order to avoid contradicting the new division of the divine speech between the angel and God. While VanderKam is right that no section or full verse is omitted, the brief words and phrases that have been left out go beyond differences “only in a text-critical sense,” especially as they are related to two of the features that create a new text (i.e., new literary setting and new narrative voice). It is these very features that show that *Jubilees* is not a copy of Genesis, but a separate work.

This pericope is a microcosm of *Jubilees* as a whole in its relationship to its base-text. The narrative is prefaced with an expanded introduction and interlaced with the new narrative voice of the angel of the presence and the related new literary setting of the book’s dictation upon Mt. Sinai. Only a small portion of Gen 22:14 is omitted and all of the changes made are tied to shifts required by the book’s new narrator and setting. Thus the base-text has been reused selectively, reframed with a new preface, put on the lips of a new narrator (the angel of the presence), and expanded with new content—all of which marks *Jubilees* as a new composition.

⁷⁸ VanderKam, “The Aqedah, Jubilees, and Pseudojubilees,” 256.

5.3.2 The Use of Other Sources in *Jubilees*

Like Chronicles, *Jubilees* contains material from sources other than its base-text of Genesis-Exodus 24. Here too, as in Chronicles, these other sources never become the base-text, but instead furnish additional details that are incorporated into the new work.

The main sources that can be readily identified are the legal portions of Exodus-Deuteronomy, works now found in *1 Enoch*, and possibly Job.

In the first week Adam and his wife—the rib—were created, and in the second week [God] showed her to him. Therefore, a commandment was given to keep (women) in their defilement seven days for a male (child) and for a female two (units) of seven days. After 40 days had come to an end for Adam in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the Garden of Eden to work and keep it. His wife was brought (there) on the eightieth day. After this she entered the Garden of Eden. For this reason a commandment was written in the heavenly tablets for the one who gives birth to a child: if she gives birth to a male child, she is to remain in her impurity for seven days like the first seven days; then for 33 days she is to remain in the blood of purification. She is not to touch any sacred thing nor to enter the sanctuary until she completes these days for a male. As for a female she is to remain in her impurity for two weeks of days like the first two weeks and 66 days in the blood of purification. Their total is 80 days. (*Jub.* 3:8-11 VK).

This passage grounds the commandment in Lev 12:2-5, that a woman be considered ritually impure for seven days following the birth of a male child and two weeks following the birth of a female child, upon exegesis of humankind's creation. Other legislation known from Exodus-Deuteronomy is similarly interjected into the narratives of Genesis and Exodus, especially events related to the calendar such as Sabbath and the festivals (e.g., שבועות in *Jub.* 6:15-22; סכות in *Jub.* 16:20-31; מצות in *Jub.* 18:17-9; and יום הכפורים in *Jub.* 34:12-19).

Jubilees also appears to draw on Enochic materials. In *Jub.* 4:17, a reference is made to Enoch ascending into heaven and recording the signs and patterns of the celestial bodies in a book, probably referring to *1 En.* 72-82, which modern scholars refer to as the Book of the Luminaries.⁷⁹ The use of other source material known to us from *1 Enoch*, is evident in *Jub.* 4:22-6 and 5:6-8 where we read of Enoch's warning of the watchers (ἄγγελοι) and their fate, which appears to be drawing on The Book of the Watchers (*1 En.* 1-36).⁸⁰ There are no clear quotations from *1 Enoch*, but the allusions are plentiful such that direct influence is widely asserted.⁸¹

Job has likely had a similar influence, especially upon the image of Mastema in *Jub.* 17:15-17:19. Van Ruiten finds the direct influence of Job unlikely, and he suspects that Job may not yet have been finished at the time of the writing of *Jubilees*.⁸² By contrast, VanderKam, and Kugel see the setting of *Jubilees* 18 and the character of Mastema as influenced by Job 1:6-12.⁸³

While it seems clear that *Jubilees* made use of other sources known to us, these sources contribute only details, they never serve as the base-text. This is the same situation that pertained in the case of Chronicles: a single base-text is followed

⁷⁹ See Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 48.

⁸⁰ See Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (SJSJ 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 115-6; Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 54; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 34-5; idem, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (SPOT; Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 110-21.

⁸¹ Segal, *Jubilees*, 103-37, argues for direct dependence of *Jubilees* upon the Book of the Watchers and attempts to explain the many divergences; VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and Other Second-Century Sources" *SBLSP* 1 (1978): 232-6 repr. in *From Revelation to Canon*, 305-31; idem., *Enoch, A Man for All Generations*, 110-21. VanderKam concludes that the author of *Jubilees* knew various parts of *1 Enoch* including the Astronomical Book (*1 En.* 72-82), the Book of the Watchers (*1 En.* 6-16), the Book of Dreams (*1 En.* 17-36), and the Epistle of Enoch (*1 En.* 91-107); See also Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 164-6.

⁸² See Van Ruiten, "Abraham, Job, and the Book of Jubilees," 58-85; and idem, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*, 212-4.

⁸³ VanderKam, "The Aqedah, Jubilees, and Pseudojubilees," 241-61; and Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 108.

selectively and only occasionally supplemented with details from other sources, apparently on an *ad hoc* or as needed basis.

5.3.3 Omissions from *Jubilees*' Base-Text

There are many cases where the author of *Jubilees* selectively omits not only short phrases, as seen previously, but large amounts of text—a feature also observed in Chronicles. *Jubilees* 14:21-24 summarizes the content of Genesis 16, reporting that Sarai, despite her husband's resolute faith in God's promise of offspring, tells her husband to beget children through her Egyptian servant Hagar, and that Ishmael is born. Sarai's accusation in Gen 16:2 that "YHWH has kept me from bearing children," is omitted, as well as the details of Ishmael's birth. The author of *Jubilees* is at pains to paint Abram as steadfast in faith, even while cooperating with Sarai's suggestion (and censored claims).

Jubilees 16 shows a similar truncation of the narrative. The appearance of YHWH in Gen 18:1 and Abram's interactions with the three visitors in the following verses are shortened to a simple summary: in *Jub.* 16:1-4 the angel of the presence dictates that "we" (i.e., the angels of the presence) appeared to Abraham, announced the birth of a child, and revealed the name from the heavenly tablets that the child was to be called—Isaac. The meal, the dialogue between the characters, and most details have been removed.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the entire episode of Abraham interceding for Sodom in Gen 18:22-33 is absent, as is the narrative of Gen 19:1-29. *Jubilees* summarizes all this material succinctly in *Jub.* 16:5-7. By reusing only select portions of Genesis, the

⁸⁴ See Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 100; Van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*, 170-4.

retelling in *Jubilees* smoothes over difficulties such as the relationship between the theophany and the three visitors and the strangeness of serving food to angelic visitors.⁸⁵

The base-text of the final chapters of *Jubilees*, 46-50, transitions from Genesis into Exodus, and these chapters are similarly selective in what details are reproduced. Moses' marriage to a Midianite in Exod 2:15-22 is omitted, and the plagues are summarized in the briefest possible manner in *Jub.* 48:5:

He struck them and killed them with blood, frogs, gnats, dog flies, bad sores which break out in blisters; (and he struck) their cattle with death; and with hailstones – with these he annihilated everything that was growing for them; with locusts which ate whatever was left for them from the hail; with darkness; (and with the death of their first-born of men and cattle. The Lord took revenge on all their gods and burned them up. (VK).

This single verse replaces almost all the narrative of Exodus 4-12. While the following chapters of *Jubilees* 48-50 follow the narrative of Exodus, only parts of the base-text are reproduced and the main attention is on the Passover, followed by final legislation on sabbaths and jubilees. In all these examples we see the base-text utilized selectively, in some cases omitting large pericopes and in others only small details.

5.3.4 New Material Added in *Jubilees*

Once again, and exactly like what was seen in the great stretches of new material found in 1 Chronicles 23-29, the specific concerns of *Jubilees* are made clear in a number of lengthy additions. Noah's sacrifice in *Jub.* 6:1-38 touches on many of the most important themes of the book. In *Jub.* 6:10-4, Noah and his sons swear not to consume blood and the oath is connected with covenant renewal at the festival of Weeks (שבועות)

⁸⁵ On the difficulties of the source text smoothed out by *Jubilees* retelling see Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, 51; and Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 100-101. On textual issues in Genesis related to the food prepared for the messengers, see Jean-Louis Ska, "Genesis 18:6 – Intertextuality and Interpretation – 'It All Makes Flour in the Good Mill,'" in idem, *The Exegesis of the Pentateuch*, 89-110.

“weeks” also being understood as “oaths,” cf, Gen 21:30-2). The prohibition of consuming blood is stressed in *Jub.* 6:7-38 as an eternal and fundamental component of the covenant, and the warnings are found again in Abraham’s final words to his son Isaac in *Jub.* 21:6-18.⁸⁶ In *Jubilees* the covenant made with Noah after the flood is viewed as the single eternal covenant of which the covenants with the patriarchs and with Moses at Sinai are later renewals.⁸⁷ An equally strong statement is made about the calendar.

As is widely known and explicit at many points in the book, *Jubilees* advocates a Solar Calendar of 52 weeks of 7 days—364 days exactly (*Jub.* 6:32). The calendar is presented as necessarily for proper worship, for failure to follow it will result in profaning holy days and sanctifying “worthless” (אִתְּרִית) days (*Jub.* 6:37). By adding the words of Gen 8:22 into the covenant promise of Gen 9:8-12, the stability of the seasons and years in *Jub.* 6:4 becomes part of the covenant and paves the way for the emphasis of correct calendrical observance as essential to covenantal obedience.⁸⁸

While these themes appear in prominent places, such as speeches by characters or explanatory comments by the narrator, they are typically found throughout the work and arise from narrative events that provide a connection to the topic discussed. For example, the Eden story provides a natural locus for the prohibition of nakedness (*Jub.* 3:30-1), whereas warnings against sexual impurity accompany the narratives of Rueben and Joseph (*Jub.* 33:20, 50:5). The calendar and related chronological reckonings, for example, occur throughout the book from beginning to end. In contrast to the occasional presence of an identifiable *Tendenz* or ideological insertion in the so-called Variant

⁸⁶ See also *Jub.* 7:28-30; 11:2.

⁸⁷ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 13, 49, 60.

⁸⁸ See VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 97; By putting the covenant making directly after Noah’s sacrifice, the author of *Jubilees* also makes the covenant contingent on obedience and directly related to the prohibition of consuming blood, see Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 58-9.

Literary Editions (i.e., copies of the same book) explored in chapter 4, when a new composition is created, the fewer restraints allow for more heavy-handed, and thus more readily apparent, ideological changes comprised not only of additions but also omissions. As but one example, the frequent emphasis on proper marriages in *Jubilees* easily explains the omission of any mention of Moses' Midianite wife.

5.3.5 Summary

A synoptic comparison of *Jubilees* with its base-text, as also Chronicles with its, shows that *Jubilees* has used that base-text in a highly selective manner. *Jubilees* leaves out whatever is unwanted or unnecessary, while paraphrasing and supplementing the remaining text. *Jubilees* also shows a change of narrative voice—the new narrator is the angel of the presence—and the entire work presents itself as a divine revelation at Mt. Sinai of all that has happened and will happen up to the building of the Temple (*Jub.* 1:26). Like Chronicles, other sources, especially the books of Exodus-Deuteronomy and the Book of the Watchers from *1 Enoch*, supply additional details although these sources never become the base-text of the work. Like Chronicles, *Jubilees* is a new composition. Older sources have been reshaped and supplemented so that the base-text receives a new presentation so as to accomplish a new purpose. In the process it is manifestly clear that *Jubilees* is not Genesis.

5.4 The Temple Scroll (11Q19)⁸⁹

The *Temple Scroll* (TS) is a composition that rewrites many of the legal portions of the Pentateuch, all the while exhibiting the features that demarcate new compositions, that were traced in both Chronicles and *Jubilees*: namely (1) selective use of the base-text, (2) new narrative voice, and (3) new literary setting. The scroll, while one of the longest and best preserved of the finds in the Judean desert, has not been completely preserved and the beginning is fragmentary and the ending uncertain.⁹⁰ Throughout the work there is a frequent change of third person pronouns to the first person such that God is the new narrator of the material, and at TS 44.5 there is a reference to “the sons of Aaron your brother” (אהרן אחיכה) making it clear that God is addressing Moses.⁹¹ The literary setting can be guessed from the fragmentary opening of TS 2.1-15 in which God speaks of the

⁸⁹ In the following discussion I will focus on the *Temple Scroll* as witnessed by 11Q19 in Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983); for a critical edition including 11Q19, 11Q20, 4Q365, and 4Q524 see Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (JDS; Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 1996).

⁹⁰ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:10; Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll From Qumran Cave 11* (SAOC 49; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990), 155-7; see also Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Unfinished Scroll: A Reconsideration of the End of the *Temple Scroll*,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 67-78. Schiffman claims that 11Q19 was in fact unfinished. Against this, the fact that the opening columns of the manuscript are in a different hand is a strong case that the scroll was in fact used enough to warrant repair, and thus to repair a used, yet unfinished scroll seems unlikely. On the two scribal hands of TS and their relationship, see Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:11-2. Furthermore, Schiffman’s argument depends strongly on the assumption that 4Q524 is a copy of TS, rather than a source of TS. If it is the latter one should not expect TS to have adopted its complete list of rulings. As we shall see in the following discussion, TS uses all of its sources selectively, and often condenses legislation into a shorter, simpler, or clearer form than in its sources. On this last point see further, Emanuel Tov, “Deuteronomy 12 and 11QTemple^a LII-LIII: A Contrastive Analysis,” *RevQ* 15 (1995): 647-53, repr. in idem, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 17-20; for the original publication of 4Q524, which Puech believed was a copy of TS, see Émile Puech, “4QRouleau du Temple,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q475-4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 85-114.

⁹¹ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 71-3; On the exceptions to the changes of third to first person see Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, “Literary Sources of the ‘Temple Scroll,’” *HTR* 75 (1982): 275-288. The exceptions to the change of third person references to God in Deuteronomy to the first person, listed by Wilson and Wills, are TS 54.12-3; 55.9, 14; 60.21; 61.3, 7, 8. Outside of these, they claim the pseudepigraphic formulation of divine narration is ignored in the festival calendar (13.9-30.2), which uses the third person consistently, and the purity laws (48.1-51.10), which refers to the deity by the third person up until the redactional section of 51.7-9 where all such references appears in the first person. The different appearances of the divine name are central to their arguments that these sections stem from different sources.

upcoming conquest and warns of the influence of the peoples living in the land, but it is made explicit at TS 51.7 where God warns Moses concerning all “which I tell you on this mountain” (אשר אני מגיד לכה בהר הזה)⁹²—certainly a reference to Sinai/Horeb.

5.4.1 The *Temple Scroll*'s Relationship to its Base-Text

Diachronic studies of the *Temple Scroll* (TS) have tended to isolate sources utilized in the composition of TS.⁹³ This differs from Chronicles and *Jubilees* where most unparalleled material is ascribed to the author, only smaller amounts are attributed to other sources (e.g., Book of the Watchers material in *Jubilees*).⁹⁴ The *Temple Scroll* has tended to be dissected on the basis of a block model rather than a strata model of source plus redaction(s) more typical of work on Chronicles and *Jubilees*.⁹⁵ Like the previous two examples, the base-text is both excerpted from its own context and given a new context. Chronicles reframes much of Sam-Kgs, prefacing it with long lists of genealogies and adding details drawn from the Pentateuch. *Jubilees* primarily follows the narrative of Genesis, including just enough of Exodus to end where the book began, upon Mt. Sinai. *Jubilees*, in addition to this reframing of the literary setting of the narratives, also draws upon the legal material of the Pentateuch and frequently inserts it into its narrative. The TS differs, however, in that it covers much of the legal material of the Pentateuch, following Exodus 34 in the opening columns, much of Exodus 35-40 in the

⁹² See Johann Maier, *Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (JSOTSupp 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 120; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (CQS 2; Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 18; Wilson and Wills, “Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*,” 276.

⁹³ Wilson and Wills, “Literary Sources of the ‘*Temple Scroll*,’” 275-288; Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*; see also Crawford, *Temple Scroll*, 22-4; Wise’s view is essentially followed by D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

⁹⁴ Even those who detect multiple layers of strata still speak in terms of the main source plus one or more layers of redaction, e.g., Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*. While various portions of the TS may have had an independent origin as some of the source- and redaction-critical studies cited here suggest, I will focus on the product of that redactor who is variously termed the author or creator of TS. The (divine) narrative voice, addressed to Moses on the mountain appears by all accounts to be the work of TS’s creator.

⁹⁵ See the discussion of these general models in chapter 1 of the present work.

temple description, various parts of Exod-Deut as relevant to the discussions of the festivals, their offerings and the purity regulations, and finally the law code in Deuteronomy 12-26 in the final portion of the scroll.

Swanson adopts similar language to that used in the present study as he makes this point describing “consistent use of a base text” as a central feature of TS:

In the treatment of any given subject the Scroll may gather two or more pertinent biblical texts, but one of them will always be the base to which the other texts are added. This is the case in Column 48, but is evident from the very beginning. In Column 2, in which Exod 34:11-15 and Deut 7:25-26 are used, Exodus 34 is the base text, and Deuteronomy 7 is added to it. Major examples are the use of Leviticus 23 in the First-fruits Festivals and Numbers 19 in the Purity Laws.⁹⁶

The *Temple Scroll* therefore follows a base-text, as was the case with both Chronicles and *Jubilees*, but as it covers Exodus 25-Deuteronomy 26, perhaps we should reckon with those legal portions of the Pentateuch being considered a single unit of Torah.⁹⁷

Chronicles follows the narrative of 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings, and *Jubilees* follows the narrative of Genesis and Exodus, but in both cases these are related and adjoining narratives. The *Temple Scroll*, by contrast, does not follow a narrative, but reworks

⁹⁶ Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, 228; cf. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:73.

⁹⁷ On book delimitation within the Pentateuch see Hendrik J. Koorevaar, “The Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and the Macro-Structural Problem of the Pentateuch,” in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (ed. Thomas Römer; BETL 215; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 423-54; Christoph Levin, “On the Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch,” in *Pentateuch, Hexteuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (eds., T. B. Dozeman, T. Römer, and K. Schmid; AIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 127-54; and Menahem Haran, “Book-Size and the Device of Catch-Lines in the Biblical Canon,” *JJS* 36 (1985): 1-11. Koorevaar and Levin, by different arguments, see the delimitation of books as a secondary phenomenon driving by the physical demands of scrolls; Haran sees the book unit as primary and the scroll divisions as secondary. Despite their apparent disagreements, Haran and Levin treat Gen-Deut as a single literary unit (Koorevaar treats Genesis, Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers, and Deuteronomy as three separate entities), and the frequent ancient practice of referring to the Pentateuch as the “Torah of Moses” lends credence to the idea that the Pentateuch could have been conceptualized by ancient readers as a single literary unit. In this chapter I will work from the assumption that TS conceives of the legal portions of the Torah as a single unit and gives more emphasis to the text of Deuteronomy in its overall efforts to reshape that Torah. This seems to be the position of Bernard M. Levinson and Molly M. Zahn, “Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כִּי and מִן in the *Temple Scroll*,” *DSD* 9 (2002): 295-346; and Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 154, who views TS as an eschatological law created by “sifting the laws of this present era, the ‘wicked era.’” Though Wise posits an intermediate state between Deuteronomy and TS, his study implies that TS is, in the grand scheme of things, a rewriting of the (halakhic) Torah.

primarily legal texts according to a topical arrangement.⁹⁸ The overarching structure of the book, according to Maier, works from the Temple outward in decreasing spheres of holiness. For this reason Maier suggests that TS should be better called the “Holiness Scroll” because the issue of holiness defines the larger interests of the document much more than the temple, although the temple has pride of place as the center of the author’s conception of holiness.⁹⁹ Wacholder recommended the label 11QTorah to emphasize the scroll’s presentation as Torah.¹⁰⁰ Schiffman similarly claims, “the scroll represents a complete reediting and recasting of the canonical Torah.”¹⁰¹ Ultimately, Yadin’s designation “Temple Scroll,” Maier’s suggested “Holiness Scroll,” and Wacholder’s preferred designation “*Seper Torah*,” are each somewhat fitting as they identify some of the scroll’s particular emphases and characteristics. The main points are that TS’ arrangement is topically determined rather than following the events of a narrative, and that the legal portions of the Pentateuch (likely viewed as a whole) are used as the base-text.¹⁰²

Columns 3-51 describe the temple, its courts, the cultic calendar, and the purity laws. All of these draw upon numerous parts of the Pentateuch, but only the final 15 columns (cols. 51-66), often termed the “Deuteronomic Paraphrase” (or the like), directly

⁹⁸ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:74, 84, 87.

⁹⁹ Maier, *Temple Scroll*, 6; Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 178, follows Maier’s structural assessment of TS following concentric circles of holiness, but maintains “Always, however, he [the redactor of TS] had in mind the production of a new Deut[eronomy], so he accounted for every portion of the relevant laws.”

¹⁰⁰ Ben-Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (MHUC 8; Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), xiii.

¹⁰¹ Lawrence Schiffman, “The Deuteronomic Paraphrase of the *Temple Scroll*,” *RevQ* 15 (1992): 543-67; repr. in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 444. Compare the description by Levinson and Zahn, “Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כ and ח in the *Temple Scroll*,” 307, who echo the United States’ Constitution in claiming “The *Temple Scroll* is more than the blueprint for a more perfect Temple. It also represents the attempt to create a more perfect Torah: one whose halakhah is self-consistent and clearly organized.”

¹⁰² See note 97 above.

follow a consistent base-text, namely the law code of Deuteronomy 12-25, within which the king's law (Deut 17:14-20) has been greatly expanded.¹⁰³ The laws taken from Deuteronomy make sense in their final position as they deal with ordinary (i.e., non-priestly) people living in the land, the furthest sphere from the priestly world of the temple where the text begins.¹⁰⁴

The following synopsis demonstrates the great extent to which TS reuses Deuteronomy as its base-text in the quoted sections, rearranging smaller units with greater frequencies than was observed in the examples from Chronicles and *Jubilees* above. The dotted underlining marks portions whose words are arranged differently than MT. One example is TS 53.5-7 where a clearer sequence is created by moving the phrase “for the blood is the life and you shall not eat the life with the meat,” after the added phrase “and cover it with dust” (cf., Lev 17:13), with the result that the explanation follows the (expanded) instruction instead of appearing in the middle of it.¹⁰⁵ This case and most others appears to be intentional as they remove ambiguity or are intertwined with plus material that in most cases can be shown to be additional. Solid underlining in the chart below marks other differences between MT and TS, either plus material found only in one of the two, or variation such as the shift from third to first person found

¹⁰³ The number should be reduced to 12, if one subtracts the 3 columns of the King's Law in cols. 57-59, which is commonly recognized as a distinct, if not independent, unit. See Wilson and Wills, “Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*,” 287; Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 57; but note the arguments for the King's Law being “simply part of the same basic process of composition that generated the larger Deuteronomistic Paraphrase,” in C. D. Elledge, *The Statutes of the King: The Temple Scroll's Legislation on Kingship (11Q19 LVI 12 – LIX 21)* (CahRB 56; Paris: Rue Pierre and Marie Curie, 2004), 32-6. On the terms for these sections, see Schiffman, “Deuteronomistic Paraphrase,” 443-69. Wilson & Wills, “Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*,” 275, calls 51.11-56.21 and 60.1-66.17 the “Laws of the Polity,” and cols. 57-9 the “Torah of the King.” Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 35-6, calls cols. 2:1-15, 48:1-10a, 51:11-8, 52:1-12, 53:1-56:21, 60:12-63:14a, 64:1-6a, 64:13b-66:9b, and 66:10-12a the “Deuteronomy Source,” and 57:1-59:21, 60:2-11, and 64:6b-13a the “Midrash to Deuteronomy Source.” See also Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 22-3.

¹⁰⁴ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1: 87; White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 62.

¹⁰⁵ The phrase “and cover it with dust,” from Lev 17:13, is also added to material from Deut 25:23 several lines earlier in TS 52.12.

frequently throughout TS. Dotted underlining marks differences in arrangement. Purely orthographic variations have not been marked. Empty brackets mark blank space (*vacat*); text in brackets are Yadin's reconstruction.

The Temple Scroll 51.11-16 and Deuteronomy

11QT 51.11-16

שופטים ושוטרים תתן לכה בכול שעריכה
ושפטו את העם
משפט צדק.
ולוא יכירו פנים במשפט ולוא יקחו שוחד
ולוא יטו משפט כי השוחד מטה משפט ומסלף דברי
הצדק ומעור.
עיני חכמים ועושה אשמה גדולה ומטמא
הבית בעוון החטאה.

צדק צדק תרדוף למען תחיה ובאתה וירשתה
את הארץ אשר אנוכי נותן לכה לרשתה
כול הימים. והאיש
אשר יקח שוחד ויטה משפט צדק יומת ולוא
תגורו ממנו להמיתו. []

לוא תעשו בארצכה כאשר הגואים עושים
בכול מקום המה
זובחים ונוטעים להמה אשרות ומקימים
להמה מצבות
ונותנים אבני משכיות להשתחות עליהמה
ובונים להמה.

לוא תטע [לכה אשרה כול עץ אצל מזבחי]
[אשר תעשה ל]כה ולוא תקים לכה מצבה
[אשר

שנאתי וא]בן
[מ]שכית [לו]א תעשה לכה בכול ארצכה
להשתחו[ות] עליה.

ולוא תזבח ל]י שור ושה אשר יהיה בו כול
מום רע כי תועבה המה
לי. ולוא תזבח לי שור ושה 11QT 52:5
ועז והמה מלאות כי תועבה המה לי.
ושור ושה אותו ואת בנו לוא תזבח ביום
אחד ולוא תכה אם

Deuteronomy 16:18-17:1

שפטים ושטרים תתן לך בכל־שעריך אשר
יהיה אלהיך נתן לך לשבטיך ושפטו את־העם
משפט־צדק;
לא־תטה משפט לא תכיר פנים ולא־תקח
שחד
כי השחד יעורר עיני חכמים ויסלף דברי
צדיקים:

צדק צדק תרדף למען תחיה וירשת
את־הארץ אשר־יהיה אלהיך נתן לך:

לא־תטע לך אשרה כל־עץ אצל מזבח יהוה
אלהיך אשר תעשה־לך: ולא־תקים לך מצבה
אשר שנא יהוה אלהיך:

לא־תזבח ליהוה אלהיך שור ושה אשר יהיה
בו מום כל דבר רע כי תועבת יהוה אלהיך הוא:

Deut 15:19-23

כל־הבכור אשר יולד בבקרך ובצאונך
 הזכר תקדיש ליהוה אלהיך לא תעבד בבכור
 שורך ולא תגזז בכור צאנך:
 לפני יהוה אלהיך תאכלנו שנה
 בשנה במקום אשר־יבחר יהוה אתה ובי־תך:
 וכי־יהיה בו מום פסח או עור כל מום רע
 לא תזבחנו ליהוה אלהיך: בשעריך
 תאכלנו הטמא והטהור יחדו כצבי וכאיל:
 רק את־דמו לא תאכל
 על־הארץ תשפכנו כמים:

על בנימ. 106 []
 כול הבכור אשר יולד בבקריכה ובצואנכה
 הזכרים תקדיש לך לוא תעבד בבכור
 שורכה ולוא תגזז בכור צואנכה.
 לפני תואכלנו שנה
 בשנה במקום אשר אבחר.
 ואם יהיה בו מום פסח או עור אן כול מום
 רע לוא תזבחנו לך. בשעריכה
 תואכלנו הטמא והטהור בכה יחדיו כצבי
 וכאיל. רק הדם לוא תואכל
 על הארץ תשופכנו כמים וכסיתו בעפר.

Deut 25:4

לא־תחסם שור בדישו:

ולוא תחסום שור על דישו

Deut 22:10

לא־תחרש בשור־ובחמר יחדו:

ולוא תחרוש בשור ובחמור יחדיו.

[Deut 12:1-14]¹⁰⁷

לוא תזבח שור ושה ועז טהורים בכול
 שעריכה קרוב למקדשי דרך שלושת ימים כי אם
 בתוך
 מקדשי תזבחנו לעשות אותו עולה או זבח
 שלמים ואכלתה ושמחתה לפני במקום אשר אבחר
 לשום שמי עליו. וכול הבהמה הטהורה אשר יש בה
 מום בשעריכה תואכלנה רחוק ממקדשי סביב
 שלושים רס לוא תזבח קרוב למקדשי כי בשר פגול.
 הוא לוא תואכל בשר שור ושה ועז בתוך
 עירי אשר אנוכי מקדש לשום שמי בתוכה אשר לוא
 יבוא לתוך מקדשי וזבחו שמה וזרקו את דמו על יסוד
 מזבח העולה ואת חלבו יקטירו.

Deut 12:20-26

כי־ירחיב יהוה אלהיך את־גבולך

[-- כי ארחיב את גבולכה]

כאשר דבר־לך

ואמרת אכלה בשר כי־תאווה נפשך לאכל
 בשר בכל־אות נפשך
 תאכל בשר:
 כי־ירחק ממך המקום אשר יבחר יהוה
 אלהיך לשום שמו שם
 וזבחת מבקרך ומצאנך אשר
 נתן יהוה לך כאשר צויתך
 ואכלת בשעריך בכל אות נפשך:

[כאשר דברתי לכה וכי ירחק ממכה]
 המקום אשר בחרתי לשום שמי שמה]
 [ואמרתה אוכלה בשר כי א] [ותה נפשכה]
 [לאכול ב] [שר בכול אות נפשכה]
 תואכל בש] [ר]

[וז] [חת] [ה מצואנכה ומבקריכה כברכתי]
 אשר אתן לכה.
 ואכלתה בשעריכה והטהורה והטמא בכה.

¹⁰⁶ Compare this last phrase to Deut 22:6b, לא־תקח האם על־הבנים.

¹⁰⁷ On the condensation of Deut 12 in TS 52-3 see Tov, "Deuteronomy 12 and 11QTemple^a."

<p><u>יִחַדְנוּ כְּצַבִּי וּכְאֵיל.</u></p> <p>רק חזק לבלתי אכול הדם על הארץ תשופכנו כמים וכסיתו בעפר <u>כי הדם הוא הנפש ולוא תואכל את הנפש</u> <u>עם הבשר</u> למען ייטב לכה ולבניכה אחריכה עד עולם <u>ועשיתה הישר והטוב לפני אני יהוה אלוהיכה.</u></p>	<p>אך כאשר יאכל את־הצבי ואת־האיל <u>כן תאכלנו הטמא והטהור יחדו יאכלנו:</u> רק חזק לבלתי אכל הדם <u>כי הדם</u> <u>הוא הנפש ולא־תאכל הנפש עם־הבשר:</u> <u>לא תאכלנו</u> על־הארץ תשפכנו <u>כמים: לא תאכלנו</u> למען ייטב לך ולבניך אחריך <u>כי־תעשה הישר בעיני יהוה:</u></p>
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Glancing at the chart, one notices immediately that almost every line of TS reproduced there corresponds to part of Deuteronomy. Because the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, like the rest of TS, organizes material topically, the Deuteronomic law code does not dictate the order of the TS, except in the most basic or superficial sense. Despite the differences of arrangement, it is clear that TS 51-66 utilizes Deuteronomy as its base-text. In Deuteronomy, the law code opens up with the issue of centralization of worship and the accompanying legislation differentiating profane slaughter from sacrifice, which may only be performed in a single legitimate site (chapter 12). In TS, by contrast, the scroll begins its use of Deuteronomy in column 51 at Deut 16:18, not 12:1, though the latter passage appears to be paraphrased several lines later.¹⁰⁸ So the order of TS sometimes follows the order of the law code but its departures occur when TS incorporates other passages to facilitate its topical organization. For example, in TS 51.11-53.14, Deut 16:18-17:1 is reproduced, which dictates the general topics and order, with Deut 15:19-23 incorporated at TS 52.7-12. Thus TS connects the prohibition of sacrificing blemished (and pregnant) animals to injunctions regarding the sacrifice of first-born animals. These topics share a related concern: appropriate and prohibited animal sacrifice. Only after bringing in other legislation related to animal slaughter (Deut

¹⁰⁸ See note 105.

22:10; 12:20-26; note rearrangement of pericopae) and vows (since TS 53.10 mentions the sacrifice of whatever is vowed), does TS return to Deuteronomy 13, which is then reproduced *in toto*. At this point the order of topics in the scroll returns to that of Deuteronomy itself. Thus TS rearranges portions of Deuteronomy topically, but on occasion it also appears that the order of Deuteronomy has some bearing upon the order of topics discussed.

Within cols. 55-66, it is thus clear that TS follows some form of Deuteronomy as a base-text, treating it similarly to what was seen in both Chronicles and *Jubilees*. Outside of this section, TS appears to be freer and less consistent with its use of base-text material. We can perhaps conceptualize TS' base-text as the halakhic portions of the Pentateuch, understood as a single base-text, with Deuteronomy given disproportionate attention by the creator of TS.¹⁰⁹

5.4.2 The Use of Other Sources in the *Temple Scroll*

In the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, Deuteronomy shapes the general formulation of TS such that the influence of other pentateuchal sources can only rarely be detected.

Within the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, sources other than the base-text are often brought in to furnish small details or coordinate similar sections, for example consider TS 66.8-11.¹¹⁰

TS 66.8b-11a

¹⁰⁹ Compare, for example, how Chr reproduces much more of 1-2 Kings than it does of 2 Samuel, let alone 1 Samuel of which only a single chapter is used. Similarly, *Jubilees* reproduces much more of Genesis than Exodus. See further, note 97 above.

¹¹⁰ On this occurring outside of the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, see Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, 228.

כי יפתה איש נערה בתולה אשר לוא אורשה והיא רויה לו מן ההוק¹¹¹ ושכב עמה ונמצא ונתן האיש השוכב עמה לאבי הנערה חמשים כסף ולוא תהיה לאשה תחת אשר ענה לוא יוכל לשלחה כול ימיו

Exod 22:15

וכי־יפתה איש בתולה אשר לא־ארשה ושכב עמה מהר ימהרנה לו לאשה

Deut 22:28

כי־ימצא איש נער¹¹² בתולה אשר לא־ארשה ותפשה ושכב עמה ונמצאו ונתן העיש השכב עמה לאבי הנער חמשים כסף ולו־תהיה לאשה תחת אשר ענה לא־יוכל שלחה כל ימיו

The formulation כי יפתה איש in TS 66.8 appears to be influenced by Exod 22:15 at the expense of Deut 22:28, which furnishes the majority of the verse and its larger context. As none of the ancient witnesses have the reading יפתה in Deut 22:28, there is no manuscript support for theorizing that the wording may result from a variant text. The plus “and she is fitting for him according to the statute” (והיא רויה לו מן ההוק) is a clear addition by the author of TS.¹¹³ Yadin is of the opinion that TS is consciously mixing legislation from Exodus and Deuteronomy, pointing out that Exod 22:16 addresses a seduced woman (מפותה) while Deut 22:28 speaks of a seized woman (תפוישה) and TS appears to be combining the two.¹¹⁴ The verb פתה is taken from Exodus, and the plural “and they are found” (וינמצאו) from Deuteronomy is changed to the singular in TS so that it addresses only the male perpetrator. The resulting law in TS addresses a situation where a man lies with an unbetrothed virgin, and according to that law in TS, he must marry her,

¹¹¹ This is clearly an insertion by the author of TS making the text say what he believed it to mean, namely that seduction cannot lead to a prohibited marriage. This addition functions as a kind of segue to lines 12-17, which depart from the base-text (Deut 22:28-30 at that point) and list a number of prohibited unions. See further, Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:368-69. Note the Mishnah’s similar language, “a wife fitting for him,” in m. Ketub. 3:5.

¹¹² The MT points the vowels to mark נער as if were נערה, twice in this verse.

¹¹³ Note that 4Q524 frgs. 15-22.0-1 are often reconstructed as if they read identical to TS, but the manuscript is too fragmentary for any confidence on this portion.

¹¹⁴ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:368.

provided of course that the marriage does not violate the laws against incest as understood by TS.¹¹⁵

Probably the clearest example of other pentateuchal sources being interwoven with the base-text of Deuteronomy is the discussion of vows in TS 53.10-21, which moves from a discussion of profane slaughter, based on Deuteronomy 12, to the topic of vows based on Deut 23:22-3 and Num 30:3-6.

Vows in TS and Deuteronomy

TS 53.9-21

רק קודשיכה וכול נדריכה תשא ובאתה אל המקום
אשר אשכין שמי עליו ונבחתה שמה לפני. כאשר הקדשתה
אוגרתה בפיכה

Deut 12:26a

רק קדשיך אשר יהיו לך ונדריך תשא ובאת אליהם
אשר יבחר יהוה

Deut 23:22-23

כי יתדר נדר ליהוה אלהיך לא תאחר לשלמו כי ידרש
ידרשנו יהוה אלהיך מעמך והיה בך חטא וכי תחדל לנדור
לא יהיה בך חטא מוצא שפתיך תשמר ועשית
כאשר נדרת ליהוה אלהיך נדבה אשר דברת בפיך

Num 30:3-6

איש כי יתדר נדר ליהוה או יהשבע שבעה לאסר אסר
על נפשו לא יחל דברו ככלי יצא מפיו יעשה
ואשה כי יתדר נדר ליהוה ואסרה אסר בבית
אביה בנעריה ושמע אביה את נדריה
ואסרה אשר אסרה על נפשה והחריש לה אביה וקמו
כל נדריה וכל אסר אשר אסרה על נפשה יקום ואם הניא
אביה
אתה ביום שמאו כל נדריה
ואסרה אשר אסרה על נפשה לא יקום ויהוה יסלח לה
כי הניא אביה אתה

וכי אם תדור נדר לוא תאחר לשלמו כי דרוש
אדורשנו מידכה והיה בכה לחטאה ואם תחדל ולוא תדור
לוא יהיה בכה חטאה מוצא שפתיכה תשמור
כאשר נדרתה נדבה בפיכה לעשות כאשר נדרתה
ואיש כי ידור נדר לי או ישבע שבעה לאסר אסר על
נפשו
ולוא יחל דבריו ככלי הינצא מפיו יעשה
ואשה כי תדור נדר לי או אסרה אסר על נפשה בבית
אביה בשבעה בנעוריה ושמע אביה את נדרה או את
האסר אשר אסרה על נפשה והחריש לה אביה וקמו כול
נדריה וכול אסרה אשר אסרה על נפשה יקומן ואם הנא
יאנה אביה אותה ביום שומעו כול נדריה
ואסרה אשר אסרה על נפשה לוא יקומן ואנכי אסלה לה
כי הניא [אביה]

In the chart, one can see that the link between Deuteronomy 3 and Numbers 30 is

based on the flow of the base-text (Deuteronomy) with other passages brought in by

¹¹⁵ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:369-71. Yadin points out that TS, like Deuteronomy, leaves out the possibility of the woman's father's refusal, found in Exodus. Thus the woman must marry the man regardless of her father's permission; on the law in Deuteronomy see Adele Berlin, "Sex and the Single Girl in Deuteronomy 22," in *Mishnah Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay* (eds., N. Fox, et. al.; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 95-112.

linking catchwords.¹¹⁶ The original topic of profane slaughter includes the mention of a vow (Deut 12:26), and the discussion of vows from Numbers 30 was inserted as a digression triggered by the catch-word נדר. After these two digressions addressing vows in TS 54.6, TS resumes with the text of all of Deuteronomy 13 (TS 54.8-55.14).¹¹⁷ As Deut 13:1-18 deals with persons who lead the people into apostasy, TS 55.15 follows it with the similar content of Deut 17:2-7, which similarly addresses punishing those who go after other gods.

So, in its use of texts outside the base-text, it is clear that TS, especially in the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, uses other passages as sources of details (e.g., the requirement to cover blood with dust or the borrowing of Exodus' verb פתה in the law of the seized and seduced women) in order to create a new, patchwork type legislation. This is not novel: the *Temple Scroll* has often been viewed as composed not only of various passages of the Pentateuch but also of other previously existing sources, some of which were themselves based on the Pentateuch. The result is clearly a new composition.

The studies of Wilson and Wills, and later Wise, have concluded that TS is a composite document assembled from several sources, each comprising a major form-critically distinct block.¹¹⁸ Wise appealed not only to Form- and Source-critical criteria of Wilson and Wills, but also to the textual evidence of 4Q365 frg. 23, and 4Q365a frgs. 3 and 2, which he argued represented parts of a hypothetical "D source," and a "Temple

¹¹⁶ cf, the Rabbinic practice of interpretation by גזרה שווה.

¹¹⁷ Deut 12:27-31, which finish up a discussion of sacrifice and then address forbidden worship practices of the nations, are omitted. The chart in Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 163, suggests that "subsumed under 54.5b-55.14," perhaps suggesting that these laws are included under "all the things which I command you today to be careful to do" (כול הדברים אשר אנוכי מצוה אותמה היום תשמור לעשות). Note, however, that Deut 18:9-14 forbidding similar worship practices, are found in TS 55.16-21.

¹¹⁸ See Wilson and Wills, "Sources of the *Temple Scroll*"; See also Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*; Crawford, *Temple Scroll*, 17-24.

Source,” respectively.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, the state of 4Q365a frg. 2 is such that much of Wise’s text-critical comparison depends on counting the spaces between extant shared words and seeing if the remaining space could conceivably contain the same content. Assuming the three fragments stem from a single manuscript, he concludes that the overlap shows it to be directly related to TS and thus a “proto-Temple Scroll.”¹²⁰ Wise claims that this (hypothetical) early text form was later expanded by the redactor of TS and that interpolations explain the occasional discrepancies Wise notes between the reconstructed lines of the fragments compared with the parallel sections of TS.¹²¹

While the specifics of Wise’s source-critical analysis have not been widely followed, Molly Zahn has recently suggested that Wise’s claim that TS is based, not directly on Deuteronomy, but on an already reworked source (his “Deuteronomy source”) may be partially correct.¹²² Specifically, Zahn proposes that the author of TS used a text either identical or closely related to 4Q365, which includes the fragments discussing the festivals of new oil and the wood offering that Wise connected with TS.¹²³

The possibilities offered by Wise and Zahn are suggestive. However, as the text of 4Q365 that overlaps with Deuteronomy is found only in two small fragments (frgs. 37

¹¹⁹ Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 44-59; Crawford, *Temple Scroll*, 34, similarly points to 4Q365a as evidence for a preexisting Temple Source used by TS; see further Molly M. Zahn, “4QReworked Pentateuch C and the Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*: A New (Old) Proposal,” *DSD* 19 (2012):133-58; see further Sidnie White (Crawford), “Three Fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and their Relationship to the *Temple Scroll*,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 259-73; and more recently, Sidnie White Crawford, “4QTemple? (4Q365a) Revisited,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (ed. J. Penner, K. Penner, and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 87–96.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 58. Wise has some reservations about 4Q365a frg.2 being penned by the same scribe as the other two fragments, but still insists that the shared form and content similar to TS supports the assumption of their unity.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹²² Molly M. Zahn, “4QReworked Pentateuch C and the Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*: A New (Old) Proposal,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 133-58.

¹²³ Zahn, “A New (Old) Proposal,” 137; see also Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 46-50. Ruckerfeller 43.366 is now cited as 4Q365 frg. 23; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:8, 2:172, had believed that the fragments in the Ruckerfeller museum were from copies of the *Temple Scroll*. These fragments (i.e., 4Q365) appear in the apparatus of Qimron, *The Temple Scroll*.

and 38), it seems safest to assume that the Deuteronomy Paraphrase follows a text close to that found in MT, SP, and LXX.¹²⁴ Even so, the appropriate caution that Wise and Zahn raise is that one should not assume that every seemingly new or innovative feature in TS is necessarily the creation of the author(s) of the scroll. 4Q365 frg. 23 offers good reasons to suspect instead that features like the wood offering (cf., Neh 10:35) or the first-fruits offerings of New Wine and Oil (TS 43.1-17) may just have easily been taken from elsewhere. As Zahn states

although 4Q365 mentions the feasts of new oil in 23 9, it cannot have contained anything like the extensive legislation for that feast found in TS, at least not at this point in the text. Frag. 23 goes directly from the end of the Sukkot legislation in Leviticus 23 to the wood offering. The feast of new oil seems to be referred to, but not explained or discussed—an interesting fact given that it, like the wood offering, is not mentioned in the familiar versions of the Pentateuch. Second, the introduction to the wood offering in 4Q365 23 4-8 cannot have been paralleled in the Temple Scroll: there is not room at the top of TS col. 23 for these additional lines. The overlaps are such that there must have been some sort of literary relationship between this fragment and TS, but the discrepancies suggest that this is not a case of simple borrowing: each text presents the material in a distinct way.¹²⁵

It seems therefore justifiable to assume that these festivals were not invented whole cloth by the author(s) of TS, but known and adopted from other sources. But even if 4Q365, or a text very much like it, was the source of these festivals in TS, this would only remind us of how Chronicles and *Jubilees* supplement their own base-texts with details culled from elsewhere.

¹²⁴ On the closeness to MT, see Schiffman, “Deuteronomic Paraphrase,” 451.

¹²⁵ Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 106.

5.4.3 Omissions from the Base-Text of the *Temple Scroll*

In yet another similarity to the compositional tendencies of Chronicles and *Jubilees*, TS reproduces its base-text selectively. As the TS is not primarily a narrative work (the first column is not preserved so one can only speculate about the opening frame of the document based on the legible parts of col. 2), there is not a plot or narrative flow such as we saw with Chronicles and *Jubilees*. Instead, TS is organized topically, and while it follows an identifiable base-text at most points (esp. cols. 51-66), the order of that base-text is rearranged frequently and small and large omissions are evident.

Since TS offers a new narrator, God the speaker, the omission of “which YHWH your God is giving to your tribes” (Deut 16:18) from 51.11 is immediately explicable.¹²⁶ Likewise col. 51.16 omits most of a similar phrase, altering the rest to “which I am giving to you” followed by the additional “to possess for all times.” Similar changes maintaining the first person divine narrative voice occur in 52.2, 4, 5, 7, 8-10, and in 51.14-20, which is not found in Deuteronomy, and where first person reference abound.

In his study of the redaction of TS, Wise proposes three primary principles that explain omissions in TS. First, Wise points to “the redactor’s desire to eliminate repetition—which is, of course, a form of harmonization.”¹²⁷ Similar laws within the Pentateuch are often combined or streamlined (as with vows, or the case of the seized/seduced woman), with Deuteronomy providing the base-text for TS’s law. Such

¹²⁶ The phrase could have been simply changed to the first person as was done in 51.16, and Schiffman has argued that the omission results from opposition to a tribal organization (vs. local, i.e., בשעריך). He states “This conclusion was reached despite the assumption of the scroll that the biblical tribal definitions would exist in the ideal society which the complete scroll envisaged. It is possible that this is an example of disagreement between the Deuteronomic Paraphrase and other sections of the scroll,” Schiffman, “Deuteronomic Paraphrase,” 464. As the scroll does not generally oppose organization by tribes, it seems preferable to me to understand the omission as driven more by avoidance of third person references to the deity than the word שבטיך, especially as Schiffman admits “This is a difficult omission to explain” (463); see also Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 95; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:228.

¹²⁷ Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 167.

omission of seemingly redundant material is evident, for example, in TS 52.13-6 where the rather verbose style of Deuteronomy 12 is condensed down to its bare essentials.¹²⁸

The second principle Wise identifies is “[the redactor’s] abhorrence of זנות,” which Wise understands in this context as improper marriages—e.g., polygamy, niece marriage, prostitution, and divorce.¹²⁹ This tendency explains the omission of Deuteronomy’s laws concerning Levirate marriage (Deut 25:5-10) in TS, since they might lead to polygamy.¹³⁰ Deuteronomy 23:17-9 is also omitted, perhaps because the mentioning of prostitution in the same sentence as the temple (בית יהוה) is unthinkable to the author of TS.¹³¹

The third principle is that “the redactor left out all portions of D which would cease to function in the ‘end of days.’”¹³² Thus, legislation dealing with the sojourner (גר) or foreigner (נכר); lending between Israelites; slavery; and wickedness or violence (including asylum for homicide) are not found in TS.¹³³ Wise’s three principles provide a means of making sense of the pattern of omissions in TS. The elimination of repetition is certainly a primary factor, but one should not neglect what seems to be a desire for clarity in the specific halakhic understanding offered in TS. The various topics organized under the rubric זנות, moreover, should also be recognized as related to the author(s)’ emphasis

¹²⁸ See further, Tov, “Deuteronomy 12 and 11QTemple^a LII-LIII.”

¹²⁹ Ibid., 168; TS omits Deut 23:18-9, 24:1-4, 25:5-10. See the related pluses at TS 57:17-9 and 66:12b-17. The first lines of TS 2.1-15 are typically reconstructed as warnings against intermarriage, connecting it with the adoption of idolatry (cf, Deut 7:1-5).

¹³⁰ Cf., TS 57.15-19 which allows the king to remarry only upon his wife’s death. Wise understands this passage as reflecting a view that TS opposes all polygamy, not only in the case of the king. The requirement of monogamy for the king is surely derived from Deut 17:17 that states a king “not multiply wives for himself” (לא ירבה־ילו נשים).

¹³¹ See Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 168.

¹³² Ibid., 168. Much of Wise’s argument is based on connecting TS with CD and 4QFlorilegium (4Q174). The latter, at 4Q174 1:2b-4, explicitly lists parties that will be excluded from “the temple they will build for him in the last days” (הבית אשר יבנו לוא באחרית הימים) based primarily on Deut 23:3-5: Ammonite, Moabite, bastard (ממזר), adding the foreigner (בן נכר), and the sojourner (גר).

¹³³ See Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 173-5. Wise connects TS with 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) that explicitly links the building of the temple with the end of days (168-9).

on holiness, which is evident throughout the document, especially in the addition of new material. Whatever the case, in these ways, we can see how TS has reused its base-text selectively with the result that sometimes patterns or tendencies emerge. Some of these special interests of the author can also be found in material added into the new work. This further confirms that TS is using its base-text selectively, purposefully leaving out small details and larger sections.

5.4.4 New Material Added in the *Temple Scroll*

Yadin, who gave the TS its familiar name, emphasized that the document expands in two particular areas that fill perceived gaps in the canonical text, by providing the content of documents to which the earlier text alludes.¹³⁴ First, Yadin pointed to 1 Chr 28:11, which describes David giving Solomon a plan (תבנית) for the temple comparable to that given to Moses (Exod 25:9, 40) which described the Tabernacle and its vessels. Second, Deut 17:18 mentions “this copy of the Torah” (משנה התורה הזאת) that the king will write out. In both of these texts mention is made of apparently unknown documents, the contents of which TS explicitly provides in cols 3-13.8 and cols. 57-59.¹³⁵ While TS’s dependence on Chronicles has been questioned, the King’s Law in TS undoubtedly capitalizes on Deut 17:18 as an opportune moment for halakhic expansion and explanation, though whether that is derived from a preexisting source is no longer

¹³⁴ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:82-3.

¹³⁵ The omission of “copy” (משנה) from Deut 17:18 in TS LVI.21 makes it clear that what follows is not a copy of the law but the unmediated law itself. See Ellenge, *Statues of the King*, 90-1; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:83-4.

discernable.¹³⁶ Providing the contents of these mysterious documents are not the only areas to which TS contributes new material.

Yadin has pointed out a general trait of TS, “the author of the scroll...abridges where the pentateuchal text is lengthy and clear, and discourses at length where it is brief and ambiguous.”¹³⁷ On a large scale, various form-critically differentiated sections of TS may reflect this trait such that the section on the Temple and its courts (cols. 3-13, 30-47), the calendar of festivals and their offerings (cols. 13-30), the purity regulations (cols. 48-51), and the Deuteronomic Paraphrase (cols. 51-66) present an organized corpus of Torah touching on those areas that the creator of TS deemed most in need of clarity. Within that schema, the temple plan and the king’s law provided major points of expansion.¹³⁸ On a small scale, TS also shows attention to the various details of different sections that may have been more obscure in their original context.

¹³⁶ On the use of Chronicles in TS, see Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, 215-26; on the Statutes of the King as a preexisting source see Wilson and Wills, “Literary Sources of the *Temple Scroll*,” 275, 287-8; Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 101-27; Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The King, His Guard, and the Royal Council in the *Temple Scroll*,” in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord*, 487-504; Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible*, 117-73; Steven D. Fraade, “The Torah of the King (Deut 17:14-20) in the *Temple Scroll* and Early Rabbinic Law,” in James R. Davila, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 25-60; The strongest argument for 56.12-59.21 stemming from a separate source than the rest of the Deuteronomic Paraphrase is the reuse of text from a wide range of the biblical canon including many of the Prophets and Writings not alluded to in any other portion of the scroll. For a defense of the unity of cols. 56.12-59.21 within the larger context of the Deuteronomic Paraphrase see Elledge, *The Statutes of the King*, 34-7. In defense of the unity of these sections, there are not glaring contradictions in their prescribed halakha, the King’s Law fits well into its context, and there are no doublets as themes or topics treated by the King’s Law are not dealt with in other parts of the scroll. Wise’s arguments for viewing the King’s Law as part of a source he calls “The Midrash to Deuteronomy Source,” can also be viewed as arguments for the interconnectedness of the King’s Law with other portions of TS (e.g., that 60.3-5 presupposes 58.11-5).

¹³⁷ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, Yadin, 1:108.

¹³⁸ I do not believe that these expansions were driven by exegetical necessity, but rather provided an opportunity for the creator of TS. See also, Molly M. Zahn, “New Voices, Ancient Words: The *Temple Scroll*’s Reuse of the Bible,” in John Day, ed., *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (LHBOTS 422; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 434-58. Zahn rightly points out that, “The examples of the Law of the King and the Temple Plan illustrate that the author of TS was not constrained to use the Bible as his starting point. He drew on biblical material to the extent that it complemented and authorized his own composition, but no more. In a way, such independent and selective use of sources comes as no surprise in a post-biblical composition, since the same phenomenon occurs within the Bible itself,” (451).

The general organization of the scroll to address various spheres of holiness is accompanied by stress on the appropriate levels of purity necessary for proximity to God's temple. Concern with all things pure and impure is therefore a concern of TS spanning the whole of the work.¹³⁹ Columns 48-51 are frequently singled out as the main purity regulations, but such concern is also evident in apparent pluses found in other sections. For example, in TS 52.14-5 a plus to the text from Deut 16:19 states that taking a bribe “makes great guilt and defiles the temple” (עושה אשמה גדולה ומטמא הבית). Similarly, in TS 63.10-15 a line is added to the law concerning a beautiful woman taken captive during war (Deut 20:10-14), stating that “she shall not touch anything pure belonging to you for seven years, and she shall not eat a sacrifice of well-being until seven years pass, afterwards she may eat” (ולוא תגע לכה בטהרה עד שבע שנים וזבה שלמים לוא תואכל אד יעבורו שבע שנים) (אחר תואכל).¹⁴⁰ These and other examples show that concerns with holiness are wide reaching in TS and evident in a number of changes.¹⁴¹

Famously, TS extends the regulations of the festival of first-fruits such that festivals of barley, wheat, new wine, and oil are prescribed (TS 18.10-22.16), but as already pointed out, these may well stem from other sources rather than being an invention of the author of TS.¹⁴²

Finally, the passage in TS 51.5-10 is one of the clearest “redactional” passages in TS bringing together a number of its main features.¹⁴³ The portion in question occurs

¹³⁹ E.g., Maier, *Temple Scroll*, 120; Crawford, *The Temple Scroll*, 27.

¹⁴⁰ Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 364-7.

¹⁴¹ Other examples include TS 35.7, which warns against priests defiling (יחל[לו]) God's sanctuary by not being appropriately adorned.

¹⁴² See the discussion of 4Q365 and its relationship to TS above; Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 44-59; Zahn, “A New (Old) Proposal”; Crawford, “4QTemple? (4Q365a) Revisited”; see also Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:102-14; Meir, *Temple Scroll*, 80-4.

¹⁴³ Wise, *Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 161-7; cf, TS 29.2-10.

between the purity regulations and the Deuteronomic Paraphrase, and reminds the reader of the document's implied author and setting, namely God's revelation to Moses at Sinai/Horeb,

and you shall warn the children of Israel concerning every impurity and they shall not defile themselves by them just as I declare to you on his mountain, and they shall not defile themselves for I YHWH dwell in the midst of the children of Israel and sanctify them and they shall be holy and they shall not make themselves detestable by anything which I have separated for them to be unclean, they shall be holy.

If one follows source-critical theories such as those offered by Wilson and Wills or Wise, then this section may be one of the few sections composed whole cloth by the author or redactor of TS. Regardless of whether different parts of the composition depend upon earlier sources (as the Temple plan possibly and the Deuteronomic paraphrase almost certainly do) 51.5-10 stems from the author of TS, and brings together some of the major features of the work. The reader is reminded of the setting at Sinai, the divine narration, the importance of holiness, and the appropriate levels of purity. The change of literary setting and narrative voice are two of the three changes that create a new work out of an earlier one. If the section quoted above is one of the few sections of TS composed whole cloth by its creator, then it is interesting to see that these features of new setting and voice are made explicit again here. The attention that TS gives to these features confirms the point made repeated above that the scroll is a new composition, not an altered copy of its base-text, and that the changes of selective use of the base-text, narrative voice, and literary setting are the features by which such a new composition is made.

5.4.5 Summary

The *Temple Scroll* differs in some details from the other examples of new compositions treated in this chapter, yet it has been created by the very same techniques and is thus rightly recognized as a new work distinct from its sources. The main differences between TS when compared with *Chronicles* or *Jubilees* are that while Deuteronomy forms the base-text for the final section of the scroll, the preceding portions follow other legal sections of the Pentateuch or have been composed by TS's author. Furthermore, TS frequently rearranges its base-text in a way seldom, if at all, seen in *Chronicles* or *Jubilees*. Both of these differences can be explained by the fact that TS is arranged topically instead of on the basis of narrative plot and thus the difference is not one of technique so much as to the genre of the underlying halakhic base-text(s). While the scroll as a whole is arranged in outward expanding spheres of holiness, the specific legislation often abuts different texts that share a related theme or topic. Speeches by characters or comments by the narrator are some of the main modes of communicating the author(s)' goals in *Chronicles* and *Jubilees*, but TS, due to its nature as legal text, often communicates its goals through subtle changes to laws including coordinating combination of the same. Despite these differences, TS clearly follows a base-text, and does so selectively, and changes most references to the deity into the first person so that the document as a whole is reframed as divine speech narrated by God. These changes of selective use of a base-text and a change of narrative voice are two of the three compositional techniques characteristic of Authorial Composition (see chapter 3), and thus demonstrate that TS (neither in whole nor in part) is a copy of Deuteronomy or any other of its sources, but instead is a new composition in its own right despite the reuse of

earlier material. It is precisely the techniques of selective use of a base-text and the change of narrative voice that have made it such. Still further, the specific interests of TS, whether characterized as ideological or tendentious, are not the features that are responsible for the creation of a new work, though they may represent the reasons for its creation, though again, not the means of that creation.

5.5 Conclusions

In the three examples of Chronicles, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll*, we have seen the compositional techniques that turn the base-text or existing work into a new work. In the cases of Exodus, Jeremiah, and Daniel in chapter 4, I showed examples of various ways scribes had expanded or otherwise altered the work in question, which resulted in a new and altered *copy* of what is otherwise recognized as the *same composition*. By contrast, the present chapter has highlighted the techniques first identified in chapter 3 that effectively create a new work, namely (1) selective use of the work's base-text, (2) a new narrative voice, and (3) a new literary setting. I have argued in chapter 3 that ancient readers could and did distinguish between (expanded or updated) *copies* of the same text and *new works* that were based on sources, but nonetheless distinct from them. These three compositional techniques are the common denominator shared by such new compositions, and I have argued in chapter 3 that any one these techniques is sufficient to create a new work, because such rewriting is qualitative not quantitative. Not surprisingly then, the three compositions treated in this chapter manifest the techniques to different degrees.

Chronicles clearly displays its selective use of Sam-Kgs, yet one cannot speak of a change of narrative voice. Neither is there a distinctive change of literary setting—the history of Judah begins with a genealogy leading up to the death of Saul, but the narrative as a whole and as a series of components has not been placed inside another structure.¹⁴⁴ Chronicles clearly begins its story from a different point, but this is done by omitting from its base-text and inserting the genealogies in its place. It manifests, then, only the first criterion but it is sufficient to reveal that Chronicles is a new composition.

Jubilees clearly displays all three techniques. Its author omits much of Genesis and Exodus, and the narrative of creation until Sinai is turned into a dictation at Sinai. Finally, the narration of the revelation is put into the voice of the angel of the presence. It would be hard indeed to imagine anyone who knew anything of Genesis confusing *Jubilees* as a copy of the same.

The *Temple Scroll*, is set at Sinai (or Horeb, the mountain is not named) with its source text altered so that God narrates and commands in the first person. In the “Deuteronomic Paraphrase,” TS follows the text of Deuteronomy’s law-code quite closely, yet selectively, and with more rearrangements than seen in Chronicles or *Jubilees*. These differences are likely connected to differences in genre. As TS is not a narrative, but a halakhic or legal document, its ordering has been chosen topically and the base-text has been arranged so that similar matters are dealt with together. Narratives following a course of events or a plot have more restraints upon them. These generic categories

¹⁴⁴ Compare later works that gather individual stories within a larger meta-narrative, e.g., *The Canterbury Tales*, *The 1001 Arabian Nights*, or *The Aleph-Beth of Ben-Sira*.

notwithstanding, it is nonetheless clear that TS manifests all three of techniques that make a new composition.¹⁴⁵

Each of these three examples has identifiable special interests that are emphasized throughout, the clearest of which are found in Chronicles and *Jubilees* since the narrative genre permits the insertion or enlargement of speeches by characters as well as comments by the narrator. The *Temple Scroll*, while lacking such speeches or comments, still reveals its own interests in ways comparable to Chronicles and *Jubilees* by its additions to and subtractions from its base-text. But, to repeat a point made in chapter 3, having a specific interest, ideology, or *Tendenz* does not in and of itself create a new text. Such interests by the author may motivate the creation of a new work, but they do not differentiate a copy of one work from another. They are often a necessary factor, but not a sufficient one. This is why a *Tendenz* may be detected in a so-called Variant Literary Edition, but such VLEs remain copies of the same composition. The three literary techniques that can be used to identify a text that is no longer a copy of its source, despite significant textual overlap, are the three I have emphasized here. These are the only necessary criteria, any one of them is a sufficient criterion to identify a new composition.

There are several contributions to redaction- or source-critical studies that result from this two-part typology of rewriting that I have called Authorial Composition and Continuing Composition. First, it can be pointed out that both Authorial Composition and Continuing Composition give some credence to the common model of literary strata (*Schichtenmodell*) where a single source is progressively built upon. Likewise there is also support for the block model (*Blockmodell*) as seen in TS, which draws upon

¹⁴⁵ As Deuteronomy is situated on the plains of Moab, not at Horeb/Sinai, TS shows a change of literary setting by shifting its presentation of Torah back to the revelation at the mountain.

Deuteronomy in one block and apparently a source text dealing with the construction of a new Temple, perhaps related to 4Q524. As I have pointed out in earlier chapters these two models are not mutually exclusive, but in fact often complement one another. The difference rests in whether vertical divisions of the text (into blocks) or horizontal divisions (into strata) predominate in the reconstruction. Examples of both models in chapter 1 demonstrated that “layers” were often composed of blocks and that “blocks” were always linked by some kind of redactional layer. Ultimately, though the more significant distinction is not blocks versus strata but between Authorial Composition, which creates a new text, and Continuing Composition, which alters an existing text.

The recognition of these two types of composition in textual growth should form and guide our presuppositions and expectations in reconstructing where we do not have significant textual data. The traits of Continuing Composition observed in chapter 4 were that such alterations typically did not span the entire work, but were restricted to a limited section of the text. Specific interests, ideology, or *Tendenz*, where they were detectable, were likewise localized. In the present chapter, by contrast, additions and omissions that appear connected by common concerns span the entirety of a work, often from beginning to end.

If we apply these observations to the assumptions characteristic of many redactional models (see chapter 1), this means that hypothesized redactional stages that are based on an ideological criterion believed to be detectable at various points throughout a work must reckon with the kind of alteration produced in the process of Authorial Composition—especially omissions from or paraphrases of the earlier stage. Conversely, if one’s reconstruction imagines a process of *creatio continua* or

Fortschreibung where the developing work is not changed into a new work but remains an (altered) copy interchangeable with its source (i.e., Continuing Composition), then the amount and types of alteration should be limited by contrast with Authorial Composition. Stated differently, the data of the previous and present chapter can provide a control to calibrate expectations for theoretical reconstructions.

In the final chapter we will look at two test cases for thinking about how this two-part typology of rewriting (Authorial and Continuing Composition) might be used, and how one might determine if a stage hypothesized is one of Authorial or Continuing Composition and how that determination should guide reconstruction of early hypothetical stages in the scholarly assessment of the formation of the Hebrew Bible.

CHAPTER 6
TEST CASES AND CONSEQUENCES

6.1 Introduction

This study has advanced the idea that the creation of a new work out of an earlier one (its *Vorlage* or base-text) can be distinguished from the transmission of a work, even when the work is significantly expanded or rearranged. The former case, which I have called Authorial Composition, creates something new by subordinating the base-text into the role of materials for constructing an entirely new structure instead of functioning as the basic foundation, if not also the structural “bones,” upon which a new façade may be built. My investigation has concluded that using the base-text selectively, changing its literary setting (i.e., making the narrative into a dream, vision, speech, etc.), or changing its narrative voice, effectively accomplishes this subordination and results in the creation of a *new text* rather than a new *copy* of the same text. This is in contrast to the latter case of expanding an existing foundation, which I have been calling Continuing Composition.

In the first chapter I surveyed a number of common assumptions in the practice of diachronic exegesis, such as consistency of ideology, smoothness of flow, and the integrity of pristine sources. I also surveyed appeals to external controls, especially Akkadian literature, Variant Literary Editions, and Rewritten Scripture. I have argued in chapter 2 that a distinction between composition and transmission remains useful if that distinction is made based upon distinguishing composition that results in the creation of a new text from composition that occurs within copies of the same work. In chapter 3, I argued that three specific types of changes create a new work: selective use of a base-text, change of narrative voice, and change of literary setting or frame. In chapters 4 and 5, I

investigated a number of cases that showed that composition occurring within transmission (Continuing Composition) is comprised only of additions and rearrangements.¹ By contrast, composition producing a new work (Authorial Composition) is accomplished by selective use of the base-text, new literary setting, or new narrative voice to relegate the main source text (i.e., the base-text) into the role of materials. These three types of changes are exclusive to Authorial Composition. Unlike addition and rearrangement, which are also found in the creation of new compositions, the use of these three compositional techniques makes a new text out of an older one by omitting or abridging material or reframing it in a transformative way as I have described.

Although various examples have been offered along the way, the present chapter will explore two test cases, the books of Esther and Deuteronomy. The former book exists in three Variant Literary Editions (VLEs), truly an embarrassment of textual riches, while the latter exists in only one. In view of these two examples, one with plentiful textual data of rewriting and one with precious little, we will first examine the VLEs of Esther to establish whether they should be considered the result of Authorial or Continuing Composition. Related to this is the question of how to understand the six major additions found in the Greek versions of Esther. Do these additions form a unified layer with a consistent ideology and a new beginning and end? By exploring these matters, I will use the example of Esther to connect the data of chapters four and five with the common assumptions of diachronic reconstruction identified in chapter 1. In this

¹ Continuing Composition as documented in chapter 4 shows examples only of addition and rearrangement, the sole exception is replacement. On occasion when material from elsewhere is added to a base-text, a few words or a full sentence may be omitted to smooth the transition between the base-text and the additional material if the addition contains content roughly equal to the omitted words or sentence.

process, it will also prove instructive to look at some proposed reconstructions for the growth of Deuteronomy and evaluate the plausibility and usefulness of those reconstructions and their accompanying assumptions in view of the overall picture provided by the evidence investigated here.

In the end, the evidence explored in the present study suggests that much of the content of the Hebrew Bible did indeed grow over time by many of the scribal interventions that other scholars have suggested, and specifically by the two types of compositional strategies I have proposed. And yet, while the pre-history of the biblical books is as complex, if not even more complex, than is usually recognized, our ability to access or reconstruct that pre-history is very limited, so the challenge will be to learn to maximize what can be said or known from the available evidence and to stop and admit ignorance when we reach the limits of that evidence. To go beyond the data and models at hand, that is, may produce ingenious historical, theological, or literary reconstruction; the problem is when such reconstructions can neither hold water nor bear weight.

6.2 LXX Esther

The book of Esther survives in two forms in Greek: the form typically found in the LXX, and a second Greek text found in four Greek manuscripts (and one Georgian manuscript) that is commonly called the Alpha Text (AT).² Both Greek texts of Esther

² The AT, previously labeled as the “Lucianic” text, is found in mss 19, 93, 108, and 319 as well as the Georgian Oshki Bible (978 CE) stored at the Mt. Athos monastery. I am grateful to Natia Mirotdadze for the latter reference and for giving me an English summary of her work on this manuscript. Manuscript 392 contains a mixed text possibly related to AT. On this see Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (SBLTCS 4; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 61; and idem, “The Many Texts of the Esther Story,” *Folio* 18 (2001): 3, 7-8. The name “Alpha-Text” (AT)

include six sections unanimously recognized as “Additions” and generally labeled A, B, C, D, E, and F.³ Beginning with the LXX text, we can pose the following questions: is this a new version of the book of Esther, or a new composition based on Esther? What are we to make of these major Additions? After treating these questions I will turn to the AT. Compared with its apparent source text, does LXX Esther manifest any of the three criteria laid out earlier for the creation of a new text: Selective Use of a Source, New Literary Setting, or New Narrative Voice?

Greek Esther is a translation of a Hebrew text very close to MT, with the obvious exception of the six additions.⁴ Addition A foreshadows the events of the story with a dream, reminiscent of the apocalyptic visions of Daniel and related literature.⁵ In the

comes from the initial publication of mss 93, which contained AT and LXX, thus 93a (alpha) and 93b respectively (the order of books is reversed in 108).

³I will refer to these six pluses as A, B, C, D, E, and F following the convention suggested by Hort and used in the Cambridge LXX. See Henry Barclay Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (rev. ed.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1989), 242 n.557; Carey A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 44; Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 153-155; idem, *Esther: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 7b; Garden City: Doubleday, 1971), xxxii. The convention of labeling additions with A-F was anticipated by the additional preface (attributed to Rufus) found in some Vulgate manuscripts which used α - θ to demarcate the additions of the “septuaginta interpretum” (i.e., OG) into 8 units. See further, Jean-Claude Haelewyck, “The Relevance of the Old Latin Version for the Septuagint with Special Emphasis on the Book of Esther,” *JTS* 57 (2006): 454; and idem, *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bible 7/3 Hester* (3 vols; Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 2003-2008), 1:20. On the four Vulgate manuscripts containing this reference (mss AKΘc) see the introduction and apparatus of *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. The so-called Alpha-Text of Esther is considered by some scholars to be a witness to a pre-Masoretic text, once the additions are removed. See David J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story* (JSOTSup 30; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 186 n.2-3; and Michael V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts* (SBLMS 40; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991). For the view that the alpha-text represents a later reworking of the Septuagint text, see Kristin De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther: Translation and Narrative Technique in MT 8:1-17 and AT 7:14-41* (SCS 48; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000). See also, Lewis Bayles Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1908), 37-47.

⁴ See Michael V. Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 265-69; and Paton, *Esther*, 46-47. On such “literal” translation techniques (i.e., consistency of words chosen as lexical equivalents), see further the discussion in 4.1 above.

⁵On Addition A’s shifting of genre towards apocalyptic see Jon D. Levenson, *Esther: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 31-32, 39-42; and Moore, *The Additions*, 179-81; 249. Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 191, points out that according to John J. Collins’ typology of apocalypses, the dream—if it may be characterized as “apocalyptic”—is of a type known only in Christian

dream, Mordecai sees two dragons battling, nations preparing for war, and God's people crying out for deliverance. Their prayer is answered by the appearance of a small stream which steadily grows into a great river. Mordecai awakes and, like Daniel (Dan 4:19; 7:15; 8:27), ponders the meaning of the dream, seeking vainly (at least for the present) to understand it. Despite this extended new preface to the book, the following narrative is not made into a dream; the dream is simply an added episode foreshadowing what is to come. In chapter 5 of the present work, we saw how the stories of Susana, Bel, the Dragon, the Prayer of Azzariah and the Song of the Three Youths were added in the Greek versions of Daniel, but those episodes did not refer to other portions of the book or otherwise connect with it, outside of the shared figure of Daniel, neither did they change the *Vorlage* in any of the three ways that create a new work.⁶ The book of Esther in the LXX, receives an additional beginning, while its earlier beginning (1:1) remains.⁷ This can be compared to the new preface added in the late version of Gilgamesh and contrasted to the reframing of the Genesis narratives as a revelatory vision on Sinai in

sources. She writes, "Although discussions of Mordecai's dream have always seemed to assume a Jewish origin, the intriguing idea that its extant form may have come from a Christian redaction deserves further thought." Jobs does not mention the fact that the content of additions A and F are lacking in Josephus' *Ant. XI*, which otherwise agrees frequently with the AT. On the possible Christian provenance of Hellenistic texts assumed to be Jewish, see further, James R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* (JSJSup 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005). Davila finds all six of the additions to Esther to be of Jewish origin "beyond reasonable doubt" (234).

⁶ In Theodotion, Susanna is placed before Daniel chapter one and the final verse describes Daniel's rise to prominence, whereas in OG Daniel, Susanna is found at the end of the book, and ends with an exhortation to watch for wise and capable sons. See R. Timothy McLay, *NETS*, 986-87; and Moore, *Additions*, 26-27, 78-80, 90-93. In Theodotion, Susanna may possibly be viewed as a new beginning or opening rubric to the book of (or at least the character of) Daniel.

⁷ Levenson, *Esther*, 37-41, "The effect of Mordecai's dream in A:4-9 and its interpretation in F:1-6 is to bracket the book of Esther within a structure of prophecy and fulfillment, a well-known biblical pattern... These two Additions are thus, in part, early interpretations of the story of Esther. They resolve a question that the MT leaves suggestively open: Whence came the happy ending to what might have been a gruesome story of genocide and anti-Semitism triumphant? The help came from God, the Additions tell us, to whom the people cried out (A:8) and who was, despite appearances, always completely in control, from even before Haman hatched his foul plot to obliterate the Jews" (40).

Jubilees, as the latter not only changes the literary setting but omits the earlier beginning.⁸ To reiterate once again, literary setting refers to the scene in which the work is presented, so for example, if all of the Esther narrative were reset within a dream that Mordecai had, thus making the whole a dream, that would constitute a change of literary setting. As it is, the dream in Addition A functions no differently than other additions discussed in chapter 4, though it happens to be placed at the beginning of the narrative. Thus the narrative voice and literary setting of Greek Esther remain the same even though new themes may be highlighted or introduced.

Additions B, C, D, and E, likewise, do not alter the narrative voice or setting of the book. Additions B and E give the purported contents of letters, and while those letters are narrated in the voice of their implied authors, the criterion of change of narrative voice has to do with a change that affects the base-text. For example, these additions do not recontextualize the base-text in such a way that the story is now, as a whole, narrated as a letter by the king. The criteria of selective use, change of narrative voice, or literary frame have to do with changes that subjugate the base-text into materials of something else (e.g., a dream, a letter, or a story told by another character). These two additions expand the book of Esther and change it, but they do not change it into a different literary work. LXX Esther, thus far, that is, is still a copy of the book of Esther.

Additions C and D contribute some of the greatest changes of content, most notably prayers by Esther and Mordecai as well as several explicit mentions of God

⁸ On Gilgamesh, see David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford, 2011), 42; on the frame of *Jubilees*, see the discussion in chapters 3 and 5 of the present work. By beginning the narration of the Torah's narrative at Sinai, the author of *Jubilees* makes the whole into divine revelation mediated by the angel of the presence.

acting in the narrative. While these additions affect the feel, and even the meaning of the story, they are not the types of changes that result in the creation of a literary work. The base-text is not broken down and reutilized in such a way that a new work is created.⁹

Despite the large and small expansions in LXX Esther, omissions are exceedingly rare. One possible omission is the names of the conspiring officials in Esth 2:21, due to the occurrence of the names in the doublet at the end of Addition A (Esth A:12).¹⁰ In MT Esth 2:21-23, Mordecai exposes the two plotting eunuchs, Bigtan and Teresh. In LXX Esth A:12-17, one finds an nearly identical story of Mordecai overhearing a plot by the same two eunuchs (Γαβαθα and Θαρρα), and in LXX Esth 2:21-23, the same—or strikingly similar—event is recounted, but the officials are unnamed. One interpretation of this data is that Addition A includes a secondary doublet based on 2:21-23, and that the names of the eunuchs were omitted in the second story as a form of coordination or replacement.¹¹ Having Mordecai expose two plots, each formulated by a pair of officials, poses no problem to the narrative logic of the story; however, a pair of specific, named individuals can only be executed once. According to this theoretical reconstruction, at

⁹ We will return to the issue of theological and ideological content and its relationship to rewriting further below.

¹⁰ On this see Jeffery H. Tigay, “Conflation as a Redactional Technique,” in idem (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2005), 57-61. For a list and discussion of omissions see Hanna Kahana, *Esther: Juxtaposition of the Septuagint Translation with the Hebrew Text* (CBET 40; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 443-449. Other possible examples of conscious omission by LXX that Kahana lists are Esth 3:6a ויבזו בעיניו לשלח (modifying טוס?!); and the phrase מנער ועד זקן טף ונשים is lacking in both 3:13 and 8:11. See also Emanuel Tov, “Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere,” in idem, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran* (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 384.

¹¹ We have seen in previous cases that sometimes when an insertion is made, if there is overlap of content, some of the base-text will be replaced resulting in the loss of a few words or even a full verse. This happens in LXX Esther where Addition D replaces 5:1-2. As this is related to the act of insertion, it differs from our criterion of selective use of the base-text. See further the discussion of replacement in chapters 3 and 4 of present work. See first note.

some stage there was conscious omission of the names of the two officials from the story in chapter 2, in order to avoid a narrative contradiction. This solution is straightforward and makes perfect sense, but the situation is complicated by AT and the Old Latin.

In AT, the story is found in Esth A:12-17, while it lacks the contents of 2:19-23. The question then arises whether the AT has omitted the second occurrence of the story in a more extreme attempt to avoid the narrative problem just discussed, or whether the AT bears witness to a text in which the story had not yet been added to chapter 2.¹² The OL, now available in a thorough critical edition, often agrees with AT (especially in its minuses), but in this regard they differ.¹³ In OL Esther, A:12-17 are a textual minus, but 2:21-23 are present with the names of the eunuchs.¹⁴

In sum, the MT and OL have the story and names only in chapter 2, the AT has the story and names only in addition A, and the LXX has the story narrated in both passages with the names only in addition A. Even if we grant that the two names have been omitted from LXX Esth 2:21 as part of replacement, the lack of other obvious and extensive omissions speaks against any form of selective use by the author(s) of Greek

¹² This second possibility that AT's *Vorlage* was different and prior to MT at this point is claimed by Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 105; Fox, *Character and Ideology*, 40. Both of them seem to assume that the Addition A story is based upon the text found in chapter two of MT, and that AT has only the later version because the additions were added to it at a later stage, thus the theoretical pre-AT did not yet include a conspiracy. For further discussion see, Serge Frolov, "Two Eunuchs, Two Conspiracies, and One Loyal Jew: The Narrative of Botched Regicide in Esther as Text- and Redaction-Critical Text Case," *VT* 52 (2002): 304-325. Frolov argues for a Hebrew *Vorlage* for the conspiracy story in Addition A, but he does not clearly address the AT's minus of the second conspiracy story nor the evidence from the OL. See most recently, Noah Hacham, "Bigthan and Teresh and the Reason Gentiles Hate Jews," *VT* 62 (2012): 318-356. Hacham views the AT minus of the failed plot and the LXX minus of the two eunuchs names in chapter 2 as conscious omissions by the redactors who altered the story as it grew from the form found in MT to that in LXX and finally to AT.

¹³ See Paton, *Esther*, 40-41; and Haelewyck, "The Relevance of the Old Latin Version"; and idem, *Hester*.

¹⁴ The eunuchs are called either Bartageus, Basthageus, Baltageus, or Baldoccus on the one hand, and Thedestes, Teadestes, or Teastes on the other. For the text, see Haelewyck, *Hester*. On the priority of the Old Latin in the eunuch conspiracies and other pericopes, see idem, "The Relevance of the Old Latin Version," 458-73.

Esther.¹⁵ This supports the view that in LXX Esther we are dealing with Continuing Composition and not Authorial Composition.

But what of the content of these Additions? Segal's pioneering work to differentiate between copies of the same text versus copies of new (but related) compositions, proposed that new compositions contained an identifiable ideological layer, but he notes LXX Esther's insertion of God into the narrative as one possible exception to this claim.¹⁶ In chapter 3, I criticized Segal's description of this criterion as too vague to be useful for differentiation, and in chapter 5 I have proposed instead that while a certain ideology may motivate the creator(s) of a new work, it is not one of the three phenomena that creates a new work out of its source. Selective use of the base-text, changing its narrative voice, or altering its literary setting are the only clear things that change a work into a source for a new work. The LXX additions do not make this type of change. So, while theological or ideological content may provide the driving motivation for creating a new work, their presence does not necessarily indicate the presence of a new work.

If one imagines that the additions all stem from the same hand, among them only Addition C exhibits the concerns with inter-marriage and food offered to idols that one

¹⁵ See the examples in Kahana, *Esther*, 449. In the examples that Kahana discusses, it seems clear that if words or phrases have been omitted, it occurred in the process of translating the Hebrew *Vorlage* into Greek and is thus a linguistic issue of determining semantic or lexical equivalents rather than an editorial issue whether defined textually or redactionally.

¹⁶Segal, "Between Bible and Rewritten Bible," 25, n.36, "A possible exception to this phenomenon can be found in Esther, where the additions to the book preserved in the LXX do change the ideational framework of the story, specifically by inserting God, who is absent in the MT, into the narrative." Segal contends that adding an ideological layer is a distinctive trait of "Rewritten Bible" (i.e., making a new text, not updating a text in the form of a new version), but Greek Esther may pose an exception, meaning apparently that Segal recognizes Greek Esther as a copy of Esther and not a new work based upon a book of Esther, but his article is noncommittal on this point.

might clearly demarcate as ideological.¹⁷ Thus, these concerns are limited to a single pericope, like the ideological concerns of the Levitical covenant in the MT of Jer 33:14-26.¹⁸ The only potentially “ideological” trait that the additions share is the reference to God, with the exception of Addition B which is a description of the king’s letter. It should be pointed out that direct references to God are not limited to the pericopes of the six major additions. Outside of the Additions A-F, such references occur in LXX Esth 2:20; 4:8; 6:1, 13; and AT Esth 4:5, 9, 10; 5:7; 6:1, 22. Clines proposes that proto-Esther (underlying AT and preceding MT) contained such references and that MT shows a stage at which they have been *removed*.¹⁹ Against this position is the OL, which agrees frequently with the minuses of AT yet lacks all of the aforementioned occurrences outside A-F with the sole exception of 6:1 (*dominus percussit regem vigilantia*).²⁰ The few proposed reasons for the removal of God are unconvincing, while the concerns prompting God’s inclusion are obvious.²¹

¹⁷ See below for discussion of the term.

¹⁸ See the discussion of this passage and its textual plus in chapter 4.

¹⁹ Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 107-12, “MT represents a deliberate excision of *all* religious language, from whatever perspective...no one redactional activity seems to be responsible for the group of AT’s religious pluses. The textual affinities and diction of the pluses indicate for them a rather diverse parentage” (109, emphasis original).

²⁰ Haelewyck groups the manuscripts of OL into four groups, R, I, J, and F. Of these, J and F represent later revisions of the OL and R represents the oldest unrevised European text of OL Esther. Unlike other books in the OL, there is no African text of Esther. Esth 6:1 is present in the major OL witnesses including groups R and I. Esth 6:13-14 contains a reference to God only in some manuscripts of the I group. Esth 6:13 contains a reference to God only in F, the latest revisions of OL. See further, Haelewyck, *Hesther*, 40-69, 317, 336; idem, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 449; and Ernst Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament* (trans. Errol F. Rhodes; 2d Rev. and enl ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 91-92. On Esth 6:1 in the AT and OL, see Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 108-10. De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text*, 83, views the OL as well as Josephus as later adaptations of AT, a view that is possible, though far from proven either in general or even in the case of her specific example of the letter of Mordecai in AT 7:34-38.

²¹ Paton, *Esther*, 95, is forced to explain the avoidance of God in the book as a result of the drunken revelries accompanying the celebration of Purim when the book was read aloud, and thus a desire to avoid blasphemy; but Fox, *Character and Ideology*, 239, rightly points out the baselessness of this reasoning: “Purim celebrants, even if they become tipsy, are unlikely to blaspheme, and if they were to do

To still further push against Segal and his argument for the presence of an ideological layer in LXX Esther in the first place, the possibility should be noted that the additions which make references to God, are probably not all of a piece.²² I have already listed above the passages outside of additions A-F where references to God occur in the LXX and AT, but not OL.²³ There is therefore no uniform layer which adds “God” to the story.

Martin argues that additions B and E were composed in Greek, while A, C, and D stem from a Semitic *Vorlage*, while F is either a very free translation or a Greek composition. If Haelewyck or Martin is correct, then one can not speak of a single, distinct layer, but rather a series of independent additions.²⁴ Even if one takes the view that additions A-F are related, and thus compose one layer, there is still no distinctive

so, the presence of God’s name in the Scroll (which is read aloud by a lector, who would not be drunk) would not have conduced to it. Moreover, the festivities come after the reading.” See further, Moore, *Esther*, xxxiii: “Tempting though this theory is, it is probably not correct. It may well explain the absence of God’s name in Esther, but not the absence of law, covenant [*sic!*], dietary regulations, prayer, angels, or afterlife.” Moore goes on to adopt a suggestion put forth by Talmon that Esther’s lack of overt theology and religiosity is due to its relation to wisdom literature.

²² See R. A. Martin, “Syntax Criticism of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther,” *JBL* 94 (1975): 65-72. Martin’s arguments are followed by Moore, Clines, Levenson, and Fox. Tov follows Martin’s approach, but bases his theory on the ease of retroverting the Additions into Hebrew, see Emanuel Tov, “The ‘Lucianic’ Text of the Canonical and Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book,” in *Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTS 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999). See also the recent critiques in Karen H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text* (SBLDS 153; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 7-47. Jobes provides a thorough critique of Martin’s methodology and provides significant improvements by normalizing the ratios, such that his various criteria can be more easily compared, and by estimating how many occurrences (not lines of text) are minimally required for the numbers to have any statistical weight. She shows, contra Martin, that the six additions do not provide enough examples for most of his criteria to inspire any confidence in determining whether any given addition was composed in Greek or translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage*. Therefore one should proceed with caution if the main evidence for that view comes from syntax criticism. See further, the critiques and cautions of James R. Davila, “(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?” *JSP* 15 (2005):3-61.

²³ See also Haelewyck, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 449.

²⁴ To be sure these Additions do *complement* one another in their effects. Note Paton, *Esther*, 44: “The main reason for them [i.e., the Additions] was the desire to supply the religious element that is so conspicuously absent from the Hebrew edition”; Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 169, “the primary effect of the LXX expansions as a whole is, I would suggest, *to assimilate the book of Esther to a scriptural norm*, especially as found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel” (emphasis original). See also, Fox, *Character and Ideology*, 269.

ideology unifying the layer to be found. Additions properly labeled “ideological” should demonstrate an “ideology” that is identifiable and separates one group from another (e.g., the roles of Levites vs. Aaronide priests or differences over calendrical reckonings). LXX, AT, and OL Esther lack *precisely* this.

Here my understanding of “ideological layer” is akin to the description of “sectarian variants,” provided by Eugene Ulrich.²⁵ Such variants, by Ulrich’s definition, must be secondary, intentional, specific, and repeated or consistent. In explaining his criteria Ulrich says, “the variant must be specific to one group or sect vs. another, or supporting a major theme or word peculiar to a specific group as opposed to Jews in general,” and such a scribal alteration must “be repeated or consistently made or accompanied by other similarly sectarian variants in the same manuscript, not a single isolated variant.”²⁶ This is relevant because Segal’s description, as it applies to new “rewritten” compositions, is strikingly similar. Segal states that “rewritten compositions differ in their ideas and spirit from the composition upon which the new texts are based...A tendentious editorial layer includes scribal intervention not merely in specific verses but throughout the entire composition.”²⁷ For Segal, such ideology includes differences of eschatology, calendar, chronology, angelology, and “fundamental beliefs” about the nature of God, Israel, and their relationship. While these may occur in isolated variants (e.g., Deut 32:8 in MT, LXX, and 4QDeut^l), “the difference between this variant [Deut 32:8] and the tendencies that appear in the rewritten compositions pertains to the

²⁵ Eugene Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (eds., E. Herbert and E. Tov; London: Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 179-95.

²⁶ Ulrich, “Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants,’” 192.

²⁷ Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” 26.

scope of such changes.”²⁸ Debel’s critique of Segal is correct that Ulrich and Segal’s descriptions of such layers (in VLEs and “Rewritten Bible,” respectively) have so much in common that it renders Segal’s use of such a layer as a delimiting criterion problematic, as discussed in chapter 3.²⁹

In sum, despite inserting explicit references to God and concerns of intermarriage and appropriate diet, and adding a new beginning and ending (A and F), LXX Esther fails to meet the criteria laid out in chapter 3 for delimiting the creation of a new text. Greek Esther is thus a copy of Esther, a “variant literary edition”—updated and expanded no doubt—but it is *not* a new composition based on Esther. LXX Esther is still Esther, not a new book based on Esther.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ See Hans Debel, “Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions, and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (eds., H. von Weissenberg, et. al.; BZAW 419; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 78-81. However, Debel misunderstands Segal’s argument as speaking of authoritative status (“Bible” versus “Rewritten Bible”) rather than the contrast of copies of the same work and new compositions based on them. Segal’s choice of words in his article’s title is unfortunate because his main point is really about separating copies of the same text from the point at which they become a new text, and has nothing to do with claims about canon or scriptural authority. See further, Eugene Ulrich, “The Canonical Process, Textual Criticism, and Latter Stages in the Composition of the Bible,” in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origin of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 77; repr. from *Sha’arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (eds., M. Fishbane and E. Tov with W. Fields; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 267-91; idem., “Pluriformity in the Biblical Texts, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon,” in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 89; repr. from *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls – Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (eds., J. Barrera and L. Montaneur; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:23-41; and idem., “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 42; repr. from *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed., D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 78-105.”

6.3 Ideology, *Tendenz*, and Reasons for Rewriting

In his study of the Alpha-Text of Esther, Michael Fox discusses the relationship between the texts and the activities of the various redactors. Fox describes his view of the activity of the redactor of AT as follows:

Inasmuch as R-AT was also a redactor, creating a new version of the Esther story from earlier materials, it is not surprising that his intentions are far more extensive and bold than in most manuscript copying. Whereas most minuses in such copying are unintentional, most of R-AT's are deliberate and rarely explicable as mechanical lapses... He is situated near the middle of the continuum running from mechanical reproduction to creative authorship.³⁰

Fox associates authorship with a way of reusing earlier materials in a manner different from what finds in most scribal copying. He highlights conscious omission as a practice more aligned with authorship than mechanical copying yet still consistent with his own idea of redaction. So far Fox's description has much in common with the language I have proposed describing Continuing and Authorial Composition. Fox seems to locate full-blown authorship with the criterion of ideology:

In those chapters [9-10] the redactor [R-MT] becomes an author... R-MT *used* his source text, making the tale the vehicle for a new ideology. He shifted the central purpose of the story from exemplary and inspirational to institutional and normative, without, of course, doing away with the former functions.³¹

Here Fox sees the addition of the Purim ideology in the MT as a result of authorial activity. Although he does not define authorship the way I have proposed here (i.e., the creation of a new composition), this general sentiment of how a source is utilized uses some of the same language I have used in the present work regarding the three techniques that create a new work. Fox's statement implies that in his view a new ideology performs

³⁰ Fox, *Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 90. In Fox's model, a "proto-AT" stands behind both AT and MT, which in turn both precede LXX Esther.

³¹ Fox, *Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 126. Emphasis original, comments in brackets added.

this subordinating function that I have been describing in regards to Authorial Composition.

Unlike the three criteria that I have proposed, which are mostly observable phenomenon, gauging the “purpose” of a text or identifying shifts in the purpose of a story as Fox does is no straightforward task. It is easier to identify how a text has been changed than it is to say why. The fact that variant editions show ideological insertions and yet were adopted by their contemporaries (i.e., read and recopied), often replacing (or outliving) their predecessors speaks against the notion that the purpose of such alterations was to create a new work.³² In trying to speak descriptively rather than prescriptively, the preceding chapters indicate that on an emic level even drastic ideological updates could be added to a work without it being identified as a new composition, i.e., it remains an interchangeable copy containing “the same text” as its source or predecessor. The changes explored in chapter 4 showed cases where one might point out a change in purpose (e.g., exalting the Judahite Bezalel over Oholiab in the MT/LXX of Exodus or granting the Levites an eternal covenant in MT Jer 33:18-24). Here, revisions “within-the-book,” i.e., Continuing Composition can alter the meaning or purpose of the text (or parts of it, at any rate) without making it a new composition.³³ What we may identify as purpose or ideology may be a driving force motivating why a work is changed, but the

³² E.g., Eugene Ulrich, “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 11; repr. from *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (eds., C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 327-42, “scribes and their predecessors were at work along two lines. First, they often simply copied the individual books of the Scriptures as exactly as humanly possible. But secondly, sometimes the scribes intentionally inserted new material that helped interpret or highlight for their contemporary congregation in a new situation the relevance of the traditional text” (11); see further the discussion in chapter 4 of the present work.

³³ Cf., John H. Sailhammer, *The Meaning of the Pentateuch: Revelation, Composition and Interpretation* (Downers Grove, Ill: IVP Academic, 2009), 303, “Composition creates a new book, whereas editorializing gives an existing book new meaning.”

analysis of the present work has argued that the shift between a copy of the same work and a new work is the result, or is done by, the means of rewriting, not ideology. The three types of alterations I have associated with Authorial Composition are the mechanics of how a new text is created, which is a separate question from why it has been created. “How” is a question that can be answered. “Why” is far more difficult.

The extant data attests to alterations that were successfully accepted in at least some quarter, but it does not follow that all such alterations were successful. In my judgment, the evidence suggests that changes that were unlikely to have been acceptable to a given community if inserted directly into the text were incorporated instead into new works, the “rewritten texts.”³⁴ Such potentially controversial changes could include additions such as the Solar Calendar in *Jubilees* or the repentant portrayal of Manasseh in Chronicles. Eugene Ulrich has stated that there are no cases of “sectarian variants” among the “biblical” scrolls from Qumran, meaning that we do not find evidence of scribes inserting their own particular ideology or halakhic interpretation into copies of the biblical books.³⁵ This does not prove that it never happened, but it may imply that if it did, such copies were not accepted (i.e., did not continue to be copied and read) and so did not

³⁴ Cf., Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford, 1985), 87, “even a written *tradium* is more easily altered in the Hebrew Bible when it is reconceptualized and stylistically recast *in toto*. For confirmation, one need but recall the degree to which the materials in the books of Exodus-Numbers are subject to modification via the reformulating *traditio* of them in Deuteronomy, or how much the historical record in Samuel-Kings is transformed by the reformulating *traditio* of them in Chronicles.” For Fishbane, *tradium* refers to tradition qua tradition and *traditio* refers to the process of handing down the *tradium*.

³⁵ Eugene Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian’ Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. Herbert & E. Tov; London: British Library, 2002), 179-195; idem, “Double Literary Editions of Biblical Narratives and Reflections on Determining the Form to Be Translated,” 42. See also Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, 152: “in our view it is justifiable to look for sectarian readings...although I have not been able to locate them.”

survive.³⁶ The successful strategy, it appears, was to house such controversial changes in new compositions. Extreme or controversial changes do not by themselves, create new compositions, but the fact that we find them only in the latter indicates that this was the historically successful way of bringing such ideas into the larger stream of texts that were read and recopied, and these often influenced the understandings of other texts – even the text that could not, as it were, “accept” the new changes.

In sum then, the insertion of a new ideology did not alter a text enough for it to be considered a new composition. Rather, it was the creation of a new composition that supplied the opportunity to add truly distinctive ideology. It is precisely for this reason that the texts often grouped under the heading “Rewritten Scripture” or the like frequently *do* have an identifiable ideology. To be sure, ideological insertion is traceable within, say, Esther Addition C, Jeremiah 33:14-26, etc., but new coherent programs are only traceable in (the process of creating) a new work. Such reworking requires rewriting the foundations. Other types of changes can alter the façade but not the bones of the building. Said differently, and as others have proposed, rewriting is a strategy.³⁷ If one were hypothetically to imagine a new version of a book, say Genesis, with numerous insertions all reflecting a single, new ideology—the text still implicitly presents itself as a copy of “Genesis.”³⁸ Otherwise, as per the arguments above, such a work would be

³⁶ One “sectarian variant” is the additional commandment in the Samaritan Pentateuch that survived within a particular community that shared that view. See Tov, *TCHB*, 88.

³⁷ See Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 13.

³⁸ On the language of self-presentation see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 187-91; and Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, “Ancient Interpretations of Jewish Scriptures in Light of Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense* (eds., Andrés Piquer

rejected by readers as “Genesis,” if “Genesis” had achieved some degree of familiarity and/or if the ideological program in question was too obvious or too controversial (esp. halakhic). This explains why we find only limited ideological insertions or specific tendencies among VLEs. When one cannot replace a text in terms of transmission, then one can only replace it terms of meaning or understanding. Enter the Rewritten Texts.

Rewritten texts did not typically replace their sources in terms of transmission. In the case of Deuteronomy, *Jubilees*, Chronicles, or the *Temple Scroll*, which often seem to rework their sources against the grain of their source’s “plain sense” (i.e., that what it “means” differs from what it “says”), we find that, despite whatever their authors’ intentions might have been, these texts continued to be transmitted alongside their sources instead of in their place.³⁹ Thus, whatever their initial intentions, these new compositions could join their sources and alter the way that they were viewed or understood—they *displaced* rather than *replace* them.

A new (and expanded) copy could replace an older copy of the same text, but a new composition could not as easily render its sources obsolete. The evidence of Jeremiah, Daniel, Esther, and Exodus (and one could easily expand upon this list) points to fact that variant editions were apparently treated interchangeably. Thus at Qumran shorter and longer texts of Jeremiah existed, but later only one version continued to be

Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales; SJSJ 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 94. See further, Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, 81, 530-38; and the discussion in chapter 3.

³⁹ See Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 152-7. The term “plain sense” is highly controversial, and has meant different things to different interpreters (contrast the medieval Christian understanding of “the literal sense” with Rabbinic notions of פשוט). My use of the term “plain sense” essentially follows that defined in John Barton, *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 69-116. For many of the difficulties with various notions of the “plain” or “literal” sense, see Frank Kermode, “The Plain Sense of Things,” in *Midrash and Literature* (eds., G. H. Hartman and S. Budick; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 179-94.

transmitted in Hebrew (and only one in Greek). This is also why Theodotian Daniel could replace OG Daniel—both were considered Daniel, so only one of the two was needed and a choice could be made as both were considered more or less interchangeable copies of the same work.⁴⁰ It is, of course, a mere accident of preservation that we have knowledge of some of these alternatives at all.⁴¹ True replacement—where it occurred—was best accomplished by a new copy of it, a so-called Variant Literary Edition (VLE).

It is difficult to imagine that the authors of the rewritten texts were such miserable failures that their intentions were utterly thwarted. Indeed their rewritten texts were sometimes accepted into the stream of transmission, meaning they were recopied and read along with other texts.⁴² It is not hard to imagine, however, that such authors may well have recognized that a new composition—especially one that draws and depends heavily upon its predecessor—would have difficulty displacing its predecessor. What is being replaced by the new composition, then, is not the older text *per se*, but the *meaning*

⁴⁰ It is not clear that it was ever incumbent to choose, but over time that seems to have been what happened. Theodotian Daniel replaced the OG, and while only the shorter text of Jeremiah was translated into Greek, only the longer text continued to be copied in Hebrew in later periods. The choice of Jeremiah, especially in the preservation of the shorter text in the LXX, may have been accidental. The choice of Theodotian Daniel seems to be conscious as far as can be gathered from Jerome's brief comments. See John J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 3-4. In one case, OG Daniel is found bound alongside Theodotian Daniel, see the following note.

⁴¹ E.g., the OG of Daniel exists in only two Greek manuscripts, 88 and 967. The former codex contains both the OG and the version commonly referred to as Theodotian, the later only the OG. Similarly the AT of Esther survives in only four Greek manuscripts: 19, 93, 108, and 319. In 93 and 108 the AT is found bound in the same codex as LXX Esther. The fact that copies of these books could exist side-by-side shows that their differences from one another are significant, yet the fact that both OG Dan and AT Esther ceased to be copied yet the books of "Daniel" and "Esther" continued to be known, studied, and copied down to the present day shows that AT and LXX Esther, on the one hand, and OG and Theodotian Daniel on the other hand, were considered interchangeable enough that in both cases the latter alone continued to be transmitted. In the case of Daniel this is a case of replacement by displacement, while the possibility is disputed in the case of the two Greek versions of Esther. See further Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther*; and De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha-Text of Esther*.

⁴² Note for examples the 14 copies of Jubilees found in Qumran caves 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11 as well as the book's later appearance in the Abyssinian Orthodox canon and in references in the church fathers. See James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (GAP; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 11-22; and idem, *The Book of Jubilees* (SAT 88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), iii-xxxiii. For another example, see Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 152-7.

or *understanding* of that composition.⁴³ Put differently, the intention is not to remove the older text from circulation but to introduce a new text as an interpretive guide. Once one has the latter, the former is not forgotten or ignored, but its meaning is now understood in the light of the newer. James Kugel makes a relevant point when he writes,

to the biblical interpreter of, say, the first or second century C.E., Chronicles and Daniel, were, no less than Genesis and Jeremiah, part of Scripture. For such an interpreter, the fact that Chronicles talks about something found in Genesis hardly makes Chronicles an *interpretation* of Genesis: both books were part of the great sacred corpus of Scripture, that seamless body of divine instruction that was held to be perfect and perfectly harmonious. Similarly, Ben-Sira may have started out by attempting to (among other things) interpret Scripture, but for those ancient Jews and Christians who subsequently came to view Ben Sira's book as part of the Bible, the things that Ben Sira says about Enoch, Abraham, and other ancient figures simply became part of what *Scripture* has to say about Enoch, Abraham, and the others, that is, they became part of the corpus of things *to be interpreted*.⁴⁴

Kugel speaks here in terms of later reception and canon, but his description of the effect is helpful in illustrating the point I am trying to make. The goal, I propose, for most ancient authors of the works under discussion is that his or her work would be read, followed, and disseminated and thus gain admittance to the larger body of tradition. Some works (e.g., *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees*) present themselves as direct or mediated divine revelation, and in those cases it is quite likely that the author(s)' goals aimed at something akin to scriptural status.⁴⁵ In general, however, the movement historically has been from literature to scripture, with texts being considered scripture in hindsight and in the wake of their use and influence.⁴⁶ The intertextual effect of how the reading of one text affects how another is understood is widespread both geographically and

⁴³ See the similar discussion in Martin S. Jaffee, "The Pretext of Interpretation: Rabbinic Oral Torah and the Charisma of Revelation," in *God in Language* (eds., Robert P. Scharlemann and Gilbert E. M. Ogutu; New York: Paragon, 1987), 73-89.

⁴⁴ See James L. Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 35. See further Eugene Ulrich, "From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text's Authoritativeness," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10 (2003): 3-25.

⁴⁵ See VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 187-91.

⁴⁶ See Ulrich, "From Literature to Scripture," 3-25.

chronologically. Historically Christian exegesis reads the biblical text as “the Old Testament,” reading the earlier in light of the later “New” Testament. Similarly, traditional Jewish exegesis throughout history has understood those same books quite differently than their Christian contemporaries, reading them in the light of Rabbinic literature containing the תורה שבעל פה, most notably the Babylonian Talmud. The meanings these Jewish and Christian interpreters find in the books of the canon are quite different from what scholars identify as their earlier meanings, or plain sense (when not harmonized with the later tradition).⁴⁷

This effect has been felt within critical scholarship as well. De Wette’s and Wellhausen’s need to discredit Chronicles as a historically reliable source resulted directly from the book’s influence on the understanding of its sources: Even though the books of the former prophets give little or no indication that the Torah was known or normative, Chronicles portrayed the Mosaic law as normative in the temple at the time of the Davidic monarchy, and thus readers of Chronicles could use that knowledge to fill in the gaps in their understanding of Gen-Kgs.⁴⁸ The creation of new texts supplies the “from elsewhere” from which other knowledge can be obtained.

⁴⁷ E.g., the Rabbinic consensus that עין תחת עין (Exod 21:24) does not mean what it says (i.e., “eye in place of eye”) but actually refers to monetary compensation (e.g., *m. B. Qam.* 8:1; *b. B. Qam.* 83b-84a); or the common Christian understanding that כל משפחת האדמה / ενευλογηθησονται εν σοι πασαι αι φυλαι της γης (Gen 12:3) refers to God using Abram to bless “all the families of the earth,” rather than that God will make Abram a blessing used by them (as is probably the meaning of the Hebrew). See further Kugel, *How to Read the Bible: A Guide to Scripture Then and Now* (New York: The Free Press, 2007), 91; and James L. Kugel and Rowan A. Green, *Early Biblical Interpretation* (LEC; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986); R. W. L. Moberly, *The Theology of the Book of Genesis* (OTT; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 141-56. On “plain sense” see note 39 above.

⁴⁸ See Kai Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research Volume 1* (PFES 64; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996), 69-103, “As far as the monarchic period was concerned, the whole traditional picture of the religion and history of Israel thus pivoted on Chronicles alone. It was because of this basic observation that de Wette saw it as extremely important to prove the chronistic version of the history of Israel to be unreliable”; and Ernest Nicholson,

My suspicion is that the authors of these rewritten texts were largely successful in their goals—the older texts continued to be transmitted, but how those texts were understood could now be redirected.⁴⁹ One example is Manasseh, depicted in 2 Kings as one of the most evil of Judah’s kings. The Chronicler, however, paints a nuanced portrait in 2 Chronicles 33, in which Manasseh prays a prayer of repentance and turns from his idolatry. The creation of the work known as *The Prayer of Manasseh*, in the Hellenistic period, is later indirect confirmation that Chronicles successfully influenced the reading (or, here, creation) of other texts—Manasseh became viewed as an example of repentance rather than purely an example of wickedness.⁵⁰ The existence of Chronicles does not itself eliminate Kings, but once readers have access to both texts, even if the latter is not yet considered scripture, it exerts an influence upon the understanding of other works. For many readers, ancient and modern, Manasseh is a paradigm of repentance. This, like the view that pentateuchal legislation was normative during the Davidic monarchy stems, arguably, directly from the influence of Chronicles. In these examples we see that the writers of later “rewritten” compositions did not write them in order to be transmitted in place of their source documents, but instead sought to displace the earlier understandings or positions of those texts by supplementing them, at times in ways that substantially redirected if not completely contradicted their perceived message.

The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 5-6. See also, Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 154 n.21, “precisely in having the last word, the Chronicler becomes the final mediator of Israel’s past and alone provides the charter for the future of the postexilic commonwealth.” Note also the Greek title of Chronicles, “Things Left Out,” (Παραλειπομενον), implying an understanding of the work as an additional source of details neglected in the first exposition of Gen-Kgs.

⁴⁹ Cf., Kugel, *The Bible as It Was*, 560, “interpretation is inevitably a kind of second authorship.”

⁵⁰ For a summary of the dating and other issues surround the Prayer of Manasseh see James R. Davila, “Is the Prayer of Manasseh a Jewish Work?” in L. Lidonnici, et. al., *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (SJSJ 119; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 75-85.

A work could be replaced or redirected, then, in one of two ways. If we speak of transmission, then only in the cases of VLEs were previous works actually *replaced*. As I have argued earlier, VLEs must refer, by definition, to interchangeable copies of the *same* work. A VLE, therefore, as a new copy—however expanded—could feasibly replace its predecessor. The creation of a new work out of a previous one, on the other hand, could alter the understanding or interpretation of the earlier work and thus *displace* its influence, but it could not physically replace its predecessor in the stream of transmission. Ideological interests found in both categories are likely the background reason for rewriting or expanding a work, yet they should not be considered either the means or a criterion of authorship.

6.4 The Alpha Text of Esther

Scholars are conflicted over the origins and nature of the AT, and this diversity of opinion stems from two agreed upon facts. First, the AT contains a number of readings that are so close to LXX that some inner-Greek relationship must exist. Second, the AT at times agrees with MT against the LXX. All major studies of the AT have had to grapple with these two opposing facts.⁵¹

Robert Hanhart, who edited the Göttingen edition of both Greek versions of Esther, states that “Der ‘L-text’ ist nicht eine Rezension des o´-Textes, sondern eine Neugestaltung der griech. Est-Überlieferung, die in starkem Maß auf dem o´-Text

⁵¹ E.g., Haelewyck, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 457, “All these forms [i.e., Josephus, AT, and OL] have one major characteristic in common: their agreement with the LXX text, but also, to a lesser extent, an independent return to the Hebrew model.”

beruht.”⁵² Hanhart here follows Paul de Lagarde’s belief that the AT represented a revision of the LXX text.⁵³ This opinion, defended most recently by Kristin De Troyer, restricts itself to the three extant texts of MT, LXX, and AT, viewing them in linear succession: the LXX is a translation of the MT, the AT is dependent either as a revision or recension of the LXX.⁵⁴ This solution is simple and elegant in that it addresses the three extant texts without recourse to hypothetical stages, but it has to allow for external influence on the LXX from some other text, for which neither Hanhart nor De Troyer completely account.⁵⁵ The alternative positions that hold that AT derives from a Hebrew text (similar to or varying from MT) all require more complicated scenarios to address the issue of LXX and AT agreement accompanied by AT and MT agreements against LXX.

Emanuel Tov has argued that AT is “a translation based on the LXX but corrects it towards a Hebrew (or Aramaic) text which differs from MT.”⁵⁶ Tov therefore agrees with much previous opinion that AT is dependent on the LXX while also adding that in a number of places it witnesses to an otherwise unknown Semitic text.

⁵² Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum Vol. VIII, 3: Esther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 87. “The ‘L-text’ is not a recension of the LXX text, but a new shaping of the Greek Esther tradition, which is in large measure based upon the LXX text.” See also, Paton, *Esther*, 38, “[AT] is a recension, not a version; nevertheless, it is the most widely variant recension that is found in the whole Greek OT.”

⁵³ Though Hanhart uses the label “L-text,” traditionally standing for “Lucianic,” he makes it clear in his introduction to Esther in the Göttingen series that the “L-text” (i.e., AT) has nothing to do with the Lucianic recension found most prominently in the former prophets. See Hanhart, *Esther*, 92; and De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text*, 72-76; Paton, *Esther*, 38.

⁵⁴ De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther*, 37-9. De Troyer gives a summary and schematic illustration of the various scholarly reconstructions.

⁵⁵ Hanhart, *Esther*, 89-91; De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther*, 39-42, 346. De Troyer ultimately attributes the remaining differences to the creator of AT (346), which does not explain the instances where AT and MT agree against LXX. See Tov, “The ‘Lucianic’ Text of the Canonical and Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book,” 539; and Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 87-9, for several examples.

⁵⁶ Tov, “A Rewritten Biblical Book,” 535-48.

Clines posits an original Semitic text behind both the proto-MT and proto-AT, neither of which, in his view, contained the six major additions nor the “appendix” of chapters 9-10. The MT resulted from the addition of this appendix, and the LXX was translated from a text much like it with the six major additions being added later. The proto-AT, likewise, received the appendix, was later translated into Greek, and finally received the Additions (likely from the LXX).⁵⁷ A major point of Clines’ study, followed by Fox, is that the clearest areas of agreement between LXX and AT are in Additions A-F, and not in the material found also in MT.⁵⁸ This means, according to Clines, that arguments about the relationship of AT to both the LXX and MT need to be founded upon sections outside of the six major additions. He contends that while the six additions point to an inner-Greek relationship, the rest of chapters 1-8 argue in favor of a “proto-AT,” a Hebrew text earlier than that found in MT, which lacked the additions and final chapters. This proto-AT serves as his starting point for diachronic reconstruction.

Fox, similar to Clines, imagines a Proto-Esther in Hebrew that was the ancestor (or a “cousin”) of both AT and MT in chapters 1-8.⁵⁹ The MT form was expanded, especially in chapters 8-10, and was later translated into Greek and received the Additions, resulting in the LXX. The proto-AT was similarly translated into Greek, supplemented with the Additions, and later influenced by the LXX.⁶⁰

Jobes does not reconstruct a full history of the book’s development. She argues that the AT is based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* differing little from MT, and that AT is

⁵⁷ Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 140. Jobes argues the reverse: that Additions A-F were added from AT to LXX, see below.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, *The Esther Scroll*, 85-9.

⁵⁹ Fox, *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther*, 259.

⁶⁰ Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 9.

probably the oldest version of Esther extant. The later LXX version replaced the AT, and received the Additions from it.⁶¹ While Jobes agrees with Clines and Fox that AT is an independent translation of a non-MT Hebrew *Vorlage*, she does not believe that it lacked any of the content currently in AT chapters 8-10, she does not attempt to use AT to reconstruct earlier stages of the book of Esther, nor does she address the minuses in the AT.⁶²

To properly address all the evidence relating to each and attempt to synthesize it would require a book-length study in and of itself. Instead, I will focus on a neglected section of AT that is not disputed by the aforementioned studies and that can be of use in answering a major question relevant to this study: Does the AT (in its extant form) show us an example of Continuing Composition or Authorial Composition?

The AT presents a much shorter text of the material of chapter 9 than either the LXX or the MT. The AT lacks the date found in MT and LXX 9:1. Like LXX, it lacks MT 9:5, yet has some agreement with LXX 9:4 against MT. The numbers of those slaughtered is significantly larger in AT: 700 and 70,100 (7:44, 46) compared with 500 and 300 in MT and LXX (9:6, 15). The AT lacks the content of 9:17-19 in which the Jews kill an additional 15,000 of their adversaries and in which the divergence in practice between those who dwell in the country as opposed to the city is explained. Mordecai writes a record of the happenings and sends it out, and the reader is told in AT 7: 49 that *δια τουτο εκληθησαν αι ημεραι αυται Φουραια δια τους κληρους τους πεσοντας εις τας*

⁶¹ Jobes, *Alpha Text*, 224-225.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 62-63, 85. Jobes does not take a side in the debate over whether the minuses in AT reflect a shorter *Vorlage* or later abridgment. Though her study tracks the minuses in her calculations of percentage of agreement between LXX, AT, and MT, she focuses her discussion solely on the agreement between units the texts have in common. The lack of attention to the minuses and their origin (and thus to the nature of the AT) is a major weakness of her study.

ημερας ταυτας εις μνημοσυνον, which is somewhat awkward as AT lacks the description of the feast of Purim found in MT 9:16-19, 27-31, and as a result “for this reason” (δια τουτο) has no obvious referent.

The question for our purposes is whether this chapter in the AT has been abridged or whether the LXX and MT contain expanded texts. This question is complicated by several factors. First, the text is in Greek, and there is neither agreement nor unambiguous evidence of whether the AT is a translation of a Hebrew text (whether like MT or not) or a recension or reworking of the LXX.⁶³ This frustrates appeal to the control of translation technique. Second, most diachronic studies of Esther have argued that the material in chapter 9 is a later addition to the story of chapters 1-8.⁶⁴ As a result of this latter point, although Clines and Fox argue that the AT is a witness to an earlier form of the book than MT, it does not necessarily follow that they consider the AT to have the oldest text of chapter 9. Fox in particular explicitly states that chapter 9 has been abridged.⁶⁵ Clines does not discuss the issue specifically, as his study of the AT focuses on delimiting the earliest stage of the book, and the ending chapters of 9-10 are among the first layers he subtracts. Jobs argues that the *Vorlage* of AT was a Hebrew text with the same final chapters as found in MT, and thus implicitly the minuses in AT chapter 9 were omissions by the creator(s) of AT, though she does not specifically address the

⁶³ De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther*, 85, “it remains a fact that we do not know whether the AT is a translation of the MT, or of a Hebrew text other than the MT, or a reworking of the LXX or one or other combination of the above.”

⁶⁴ Clines, *The Esther Scroll*, 84-5; Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 9; Jobs, *The Alpha-Text of Esther*, 134-135.

⁶⁵ Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, 19, “The redactor of the AT did just that – supplementing the proto-AT with passages from the LXX while omitting much of the material from ch. 9.”

minuses in her study.⁶⁶ What all three scholars agree on is that chapters 8-10 in the AT have significantly more textual minuses than the earlier chapters, and no one, to my knowledge, claims that the shorter text of chapter 9 stems from an originally shorter *Vorlage*.⁶⁷

If Hanhart, Tov, Clines, Fox, Jobes, and De Troyer all understand the minuses of AT chapter 9 to be some sort of abridgment of the content known from LXX and MT, should we understand the author(s) of AT as having selectively used the base-text of this portion of Esther (if not other parts)? Is the AT a new version of Esther or a new composition based upon Esther?

The other examples of new compositions that I have proposed in previous chapters all show (1) selective use of source material over a wide spread of the composition and (2) show use of that criterion in conjunction with one of the remaining two. The AT lacks the contents of MT Esth 1:22; 2:6, 8, 10-13, 19-23; 3:14, 4:5-7, 12; 5:11; 6:3; 7:10; 8:3, 4, 6, 13; 9:1, 11, 15, 17-19, 24, 25, 27, 29-32.⁶⁸ Here we are faced with our first example where only a single criterion (i.e., selective use) is relevant.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 193, “There is insufficient agreement between AT and LXX in chapters 8-10 to support literary dependence between the two. Both seem to have been redacted extensively and independently when addition E was introduced into each.” She later states that “the AT originally translated a Hebrew text that was in most respects quite similar to the MT, but which was subsequently edited extensively to produce a Greek version of Esther in which the political dynamics between the Jews and the pagan empire overshadowed the Purim etiology and in which Mordecai’s stature overshadowed Esther’s” (220); see also, De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text*, 85, “The AT retains the same forms; it summarizes parts of the content of LXX chapter 9 in 7:18-21; and, finally, it omits some elements that no longer fit with the new emphasis on Mordecai, the savior of the Jews.”

⁶⁷ Even Haelewyck, who argues for OL as representing the earliest witness to Esther in Greek, followed chronologically by AT and finally LXX, sees the minus of the recounting of the slaughter in chapter 9 as a conscious omission from the OG *Vorlage*. See Haelewyck, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 471-73.

⁶⁸ See further Paton, *Esther*, 38; and Haelewyck, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 458-61.

⁶⁹ Leaving aside the 4QRP texts which are too fragmentary to allow precise classification in terms of omissions. See chapter 3.

Assuming that the aforementioned studies of the AT are correct that the minuses of chapter 9 reflect conscious omission, is this sufficient to classify the AT as a new composition, the product of what I have called Authorial Composition?

On balance, it seems that, when one applies the basic typology of Authorial Composition and Continuing Composition to Esther, the AT, in its extant form, should be understood as a new work. While no claim can here be made regarding whether AT Esther at any point preserves an earlier text than LXX or MT, the extant form including the highly abridged chapter 9 must be regarded as a new composition. The selective use of the base-text (*Esther) is the literary act that creates a new composition.⁷⁰ It may be, as in the case of many examples examined, that within such a new composition one is able to identify specific interests or concerns, but the literary actions that create a new text out of its base-text are only three: selective use of the base-text, change in narrative voice or change of literary setting.⁷¹ Unlike previous examples of proposed Authorial Composition where at least two, if not three, of these actions have been in view, here

⁷⁰ As noted above, the fact that AT Esther is found alongside LXX Esther in two codices provides external confirmation that the significant differences between them was perceived by readers in the following centuries. This does not necessarily prove that AT was therefore viewed as a different book than LXX, as the same phenomenon occurs in ms 88 where OG Daniel is preserved in the same codex as Theodotion Daniel. To the best of my knowledge these are the only examples of this phenomenon. Contrast, Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (trans. Sr. Pascale Dominique; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 179, “the author of the Akkadian text [of Gilgamesh] made a choice. He decided to eliminate a few earlier episodes... However, it is clear that they did not “create” a new work. They handed on a ‘revised’ version of the work that had been composed at an earlier period. To put it more simply, they acted like editors and no longer like original authors.”

⁷¹ The precise aims of AT are difficult to identify. Some of the most common include a devaluation of Esther and Purim and increased attention to Mordecai as the hero of the story. For these and other proposals, see De Troyer, *End of the Alpha-Text*, 399-403; and Jobes, *Alpha Text of Esther*, 223-33. If one follows the position of Haelewyck that OL is a witness to the earliest Greek form, then a removal of the story of the slaughter in chapter 9 seems to be a major change. In this view, at some point a recounting of the slaughter of the Jews’ enemies was added later in what is now AT 7:18-21, 46, the contents of which are absent from OL. See further Haelewyck, “Relevance of the Old Latin,” 465-73.

only the first is relevant and thus the typological categorization is more difficult.⁷²

Despite the difficulty at present, in light of the arguments of the preceding chapters it appears best to view the AT tentatively as a new composition though it fails to display several of the features common to the texts surveyed in chapter 5.

Finally, it should be noted how despite, or perhaps because of, the substantial amount of textual data, diachronic reconstruction is extremely complicated and always tentative. The embarrassment of textual riches that the book of Esther provides does little to ease the difficulty of reconstructing its textual history. That fact should be kept firmly in mind as we now turn to the case of Deuteronomy. Instead of focusing on its textual variants and what these might say about the history of the book's growth, we will look primarily at some proposed diachronic divisions of the book and consider the plausibility of such reconstructions in the light of my proposed typology based on the more secure data stemming from the later periods and books discussed thus far.

6.5 Deuteronomy: Evaluating Reconstructions in light of the Typology

In regards to the book of Esther, we have a multitude of evidence that the book was consciously changed (although even there the exact direction of change is not always clear), but what is one to do when the text in question does not have clear proof of textual growth? When asking source- or redaction-critical questions of such a text, an empirical model can “tip the balance,” as Tertel puts it, in an ambiguous case.⁷³

⁷² Cf., the case of the 4QRP scrolls in chapter 3 of the present work.

⁷³ Hans Jürgen Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (BZAW 221; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 1-10.

In contrast to other biblical books discussed thus far, Deuteronomy, whose text shows numerous variants, does not survive in “variant literary editions” (VLEs).⁷⁴ While there are a number of textual variants, and many of them significant, these have not typically played a major role in redaction critical reconstruction.⁷⁵ In this second case study, we will evaluate some compositional theories of the textual growth of the book in light of the distinction between Authorial and Continuing Composition, and the techniques of revision associated with each. The basic sketch will be taken from Karel van der Toorn, and supplemented by others.

As van der Toorn’s reconstruction is a fair representation of common methodological assumptions and of diachronic approaches to Deuteronomy, frequently

⁷⁴ See Sidnie White Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period,” in Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, eds. *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (SBLSS 30; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 127-140.

⁷⁵ Some of the most significant variants in Deuteronomy are often assumed to be Samaritan, namely “has chosen” instead of “will chose,” frequently found in Deuteronomy, and the reference to Mt. Gerizim instead of Mt. Ebal in Deut 27:4. There is, however, increasing evidence that not only is “Ebal” an ideological alteration of “Gerizim,” but the tense of “choose” (בחר) may have been altered such that SP contains an earlier reading than MT. The reading in Deut 27:4 especially affects the interpretation of Deuteronomy, for if “Gerizim” is the book’s original implied central site, then its origins should be understood against a Northern backdrop before being adopted, and later altered, by Judeans. This also affects diachronic analyses that depend on the connections between Deuteronomy 27 and Joshua 8, as 4QJosh^a provides evidence that the placement of Joshua’s altar on Mt. Ebal in MT is likely a secondary transference from an earlier form of the text where the altar was built at Gilgal. See the recent discussion in Stefan Schorch, “The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy and the Origins of Deuteronomy,” in *Samaria, Samaritans, Samaritans: Studies on Bible, History and Linguistics* (ed. József Zsengellér; Studia Samaritana 6; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 23-37; Eugene Ulrich, “The Old Latin, Mount Gerizim, and 4QJosh^a,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera* (eds. A. P. Otero, et al; SJSJ 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 361-76; see also the discussion of the recent fragment, purportedly from Qumran, showing the reading בַּהַר גֵּרִיזִים, in James H. Charlesworth, “What is a Variant? Announcing a New Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of Deuteronomy,” *Maarav* 16 (2009): 201-212; Ursula Schattner-Rieser, “Garizim versus Ebal: Ein neues Qumranfragment samaritanischer Tradition?” *Early Christianity* (2010):277-81; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3d ed. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 88. Note also Karin Finsterbusch, *Deuteronomium: Ein Einführung* (UTB; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2012), 170 n.390, who considers the fragment to be “wohl eine Fälschung,” though recognizing from other version evidence (esp. Old Latin) that the MT reflects a secondary change in Deut 27:4. On early theories of a Northern (but not Samaritan) origin for Deuteronomy see Adam C. Welch, *The Code of Deuteronomy: A New Theory of its Origin* (London: J. Clarke, 1924); Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972). See also Gerhard von Rad *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (trans. Dorothea Barton; OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 26.

agreeing with many other scholars' divisions as noted, it is a good starting point for testing approaches to Deuteronomy in light of the theses and data laid out in the present work. Van der Toorn divides Deuteronomy into four stages: the Covenant Edition, Torah Edition, History Edition, and Wisdom Edition.⁷⁶ The labels are heuristic, serving to distinguish the stages by focusing on their most characteristic traits, yet are not completely original as the main themes of these "editions" and many of the apparent beginnings and endings of these units have been widely noticed in the past.⁷⁷

Like most scholars since de Wette, van der Toorn identifies the legal material of chapters 12-26 as the central core, the oldest parts of the book, but he includes the literary setting in Moab and the treaty form.⁷⁸ The assumptions of layers having consistent ideological themes or emphases and discernable beginnings and endings are evident in van der Toorn's argument here.⁷⁹ His "Covenant Edition" begins with Deut 4:45, followed immediately by 6:4-9, and most of the law code of 12-26 (details discussed below), and ends with the colophon he identifies in 26:16-19.⁸⁰ Van der Toorn equates this version with what scholars speak of as *Urdeuteronomium*, the earliest stage of the book qua book, while reminding his readers that this edition is an "*aggiornamento*" of the

⁷⁶ Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 150-66.

⁷⁷ E.g., the "history" edition is similar at many points to Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (trans. J. Doull and J. Barton; JSOTSupp 15; 2d ed.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991); and the "covenant" edition picks up on Deuteronomy's widely noticed relationship to ancient treaty forms, esp. the Vassal Treaties of Essarhadon. See further, Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 6-9; and Finsterbusch, *Deuteronomium*, 17-21, 155-7.

⁷⁸ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 150-4. Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und die Historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (3d Ed.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899), 193, delimits three stages: First, *Urdeuteronomium*, comprised of the law code in chapters 12-26; second, two independent editions of the book, chapters 1-4 and 7, on the one hand, and 5-11 and 28-30, which were each added to the central core; and third, a final stage where the book was integrated into the Hexateuch.

⁷⁹ See the discussion in chapter 1 of the present work.

⁸⁰ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 151-52.

Covenant Code (Exod 21-23).⁸¹ In addition to its reworking of earlier law, this version follows the covenant or treaty structure known from Hittite and Neo-Assyrian treaties, namely prologue (Deut 6:4-9), stipulations (Deut 12:1-16:17; 26), and ending with blessings and curses (Deut 28).⁸²

The second stage of the development of Deuteronomy in van der Toorn's reconstruction is what he terms the Torah Edition. This edition begins in Deut 4:44, adds chapter 5, 16:18-18:21 chapter 28, the colophon in 28:68, and chapter 29 ending at 29:28.⁸³ At this stage, the contents of the scroll are no longer primarily a treaty (i.e., a covenant), but now teaching—Torah.⁸⁴ The work's purpose has shifted. Specifically, the teaching is the teaching of Moses, who now has a heightened role in the book serving as the mediator between God and the people (Deut 5).⁸⁵ Van der Toorn identifies the role of the pair *חוקים ומשפטים*, “decrees and verdicts,” as typical of this version.⁸⁶ This pair of terms points to the special instruction given to Moses in private alongside the written code, thus

⁸¹ Ibid., 152-4; cf. Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (trans. John Bowden; London: T & T Clark, 2005), 123-33, where *Urdeuteronomium* begins in Deut 6:4-5 (followed immediately by 12:13-28) and ends at Deut 26:16. See also Ernest W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 22-36, where *Urdeuteronomium* is imaged as comprising the portions of Deuteronomy 5-26 formulated in the second person singular plus some of chapter 28; similarly, Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuch*, 193. Most recently, the handbook by Finsterbusch claims that “liegen die Anfänge des Deuteronomiums im Dunkeln,” and thus she begins her working model only with a stage she dates to the exilic period (Finsterbusch, *Deuteronomium*, 35).

⁸² Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 153. Although van der Toorn lists the blessings and curses as part of the treaty structure, he lists chapter 28 as an addition at the second stage, his “Torah Edition.” On page 157 he claims that the Torah edition “has supplemented the curses with a reference to the Judean Diaspora” in Deut 28:64-65.

⁸³ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 155-157. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 10-11, understands Deut 4:44-28:68 as comprising a consensus view as to the original stage of Deuteronomy (i.e., *Urdeuteronomium*).

⁸⁴ As many of these passages also contain the threat of exile, Frank Moore Cross ascribed them to his Dtr², i.e., the exilic layer of the Deuteronomistic History. See further his *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274-89.

⁸⁵ van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 156.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

assuming or implicitly arguing for the existence of an authoritative oral tradition as authoritative interpretation.⁸⁷ The additions to the law code shift it towards being “the constitution of a theocratic state...since it is in fact the priests who are to run the show.”⁸⁸ Again in this reconstruction, the new additions redirect the purpose of the book. In all of these cases van der Toorn makes his divisions by looking for clear beginnings and endings and trying to connect them with sections that share a consistent outlook or emphasis.

The third stage, the “History Edition” makes the covenant and Torah aspect of the earlier stages equivalent while rewriting the book into “the beginning and the basis of a much larger historical work” (i.e., the “Deuteronomistic History”).⁸⁹ At this stage Deut 1-3 is added as well as chapters 27 and 31-34, concluding with Deut 34:10-12. Van der Toorn dates this stage to the Exilic (Neo-Babylonian) period. Chapters 7-11 seem to be included in this division as well but van der Toorn does not discuss them explicitly.

The last major redactional stage in van der Toorn’s reconstruction is termed the “Wisdom Edition.” This stage adds chapters 4 and 30 at the beginning and end, and sets forth Torah as a form of wisdom (Deut 4:6). Exhortation is now based on reason rather than religious authority. The pessimism of the Neo-Babylonian period is now replaced with optimism in the Persian period.⁹⁰ Van der Toorn entertains the idea that much if not all of Deut 19-25 should be ascribed to this stage, due to the rationale used to justify or

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.,158.

⁸⁹ Ibid.,160. The History editions uses ספר התורה and ספר הברית interchangeably. Such “promiscuous use” occurs elsewhere in the Deuteronomistic History (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:8, 11; 23:2, 21, 24). See also, Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 28-9; and Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition*, 23-36.

⁹⁰ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*,163.

explain the commandments (Deut 19:6, 7, 10; 21:14; 22:26-27, 29; etc.), a practice not evident in the other portions of the law code.⁹¹

In sum, van der Toorn presents the major contours of Deuteronomy's development as a law code (i.e., *Urdeuteronomium*), in the form of a Mosaic speech that has been successively supplemented in three major stages marked by clear beginnings and endings.

Fig. 6-1 Van der Toorn's Four Editions of Deuteronomy

History Edition Deut 1-3; 27; (7-11?); 31-34:10-12	Torah Edition Deut 4:44, 16:18-21; 28-29:28	Covenant Edition Deut 6:4-9; 12-26*	Wisdom Edition Deut 4; 30
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This reconstruction is based upon the same common assumptions found in many diachronic studies, as identified in chapter one of the present work. These assumptions include the notion that “original” documents (in whatever pristine form one images them) are consistent in their specific themes and ideological interests as well as characterized by a smooth (i.e., uninterrupted) narrative flow within the bounds of a (identifiable) beginning and ending.⁹²

If one follows a model roughly akin to that laid out by van der Toorn, then Deuteronomy, more so than any other book examined in this study, fits McKane's model

⁹¹ Ibid., 165.

⁹² See section 1.2.3 of the present work; and Reinhard G. Kratz, “The Pentateuch in Current Research: Consensus and Debate,” in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (eds., Thomas B. Dozemann, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz; FAT 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 31-61. Note Kratz's frequent citation of E. Blum's motto “To be able to understand a text one should know where/how it begins and where/how it ends” (Um einem Text verstehen zu können, sollte man wissen, wo/wie er anfängt und wo/wie er aufhört); and the critique of the modern assumptions of concern with plot, theme, consistency, unity, and closure by John Barton, “What is a Book? Modern Exegesis and the Literary Conventions of Ancient Israel,” in *The Old Testament: Canon, Literature, and Theology Collected Essays of John Barton* (SOTSMS; Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 137-47.

of a “rolling corpus.”⁹³ More so than Jeremiah, Deuteronomy has an identifiable core (the legal code of chapters 12-26). Like the center of a snow-ball rolling down a mountain, the accretions which become attached to the core are mostly to be found at the exposed exterior (i.e., the beginning and ending of the physical scroll), yet van der Toorn’s model hypothesizes a number of additions within the core as well.⁹⁴ This model also fits Tigay’s example of Gilgamesh growing and shifting with additions to the prologue and the insertion of the flood account and tablet XII.⁹⁵ Van der Toorn’s model differs, however, from the other examples explored here in that the stages that are visible in Exodus, Jeremiah, or Daniel do *not* each receive their own beginning and ending. Additions A and F in LXX Esther may be one comparable example of a new beginning and ending added in the process of Continuing Composition (note also Jer 51:64b), but this has not been the norm of the examples examined in chapter 4. In the creation of new works the original beginning and ending is often omitted or replaced.⁹⁶

Assuming, for the sake of argument, that van der Toorn’s reconstructed layers are correct, and placing them into the categories I have proposed, we would see three stages of Continuing Composition following an initial stage of Authorial Composition. The earliest stage, in which “Deuteronomy” is first created, is an example of Authorial

⁹³ William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (2 Vols.; ICC; Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1986), 1:1-lxxxviii.

⁹⁴ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 151, “Taking the editorial technique of the Babylonian scribe as a model, we should expect to find evidence of the successive editions of Deuteronomy at the borders of the book.” Contrast Menahem Haran, “Book-Scrolls at the Beginning of the Second Temple Period: The Transition from Papyrus to Skins,” *HUCA* (1983): 111-122, esp. 116, who cites Deuteronomy as his prime example of a literary work that, from its first inception was composed and thought of as a single work on a single scroll, whereas many other works spanned multiple scrolls.

⁹⁵ Jeffery H. Tigay, “Evolution of the Pentateuchal Narratives,” in idem (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, 41-42; see also Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 178-183.

⁹⁶ In the case of Chronicles, an example of Authorial Composition, the original beginning and endings of sources have been omitted. Similarly in Jubilees the beginning is completely reframed and the narrative ends at a different point than its sources. See also, Carr, *Formation*, 89.

Composition—material from the Covenant Code and other texts known to us from the tetrateuch have been used selectively, reframed literarily (now located in Moab), and are now newly narrated in the voice (speech) of Moses.⁹⁷ Once again, the three changes that create a new text out of an earlier source text are (1) the selective use of a base-text, (2) a change in the literary setting, and (3) a change in narrative voice, all of which are found in the earliest stage of van der Toorn's theoretical reconstruction. Thus van der Toorn's model, put into my categories, consists of the creation of "Deuteronomy" from earlier materials (Authorial Composition), but his following stages are all growth by addition within that book (Continuing Composition).

In an approach differing from van der Toorn, if the Mosaic voice or the setting in Moab were secondary to the law code, by my criteria, we would be dealing with a series of different books, and not the growth of a single book. Wellhausen, for example, imagined *Urdeuteronomium* as comprised solely of portions of the law code found in Deuteronomy 12-26, and such a delimitation may imply that the earliest stage the implied narrator was either anonymous or the deity.⁹⁸ Chapters 4 and 5 of the present work support the idea that multiple beginnings and endings are more likely to survive within the growth of a single book, since stages where a new text is created reuse their base-text

⁹⁷ Van der Toorn does not discuss when Moses becomes the main narrator of the book, but he does discuss the role of Moses in the various editions he proposes. See below. Kratz, *Composition*, 116, 123-4, explores and ultimately rejects the possibility that the core of Deuteronomy could have originally been divine speech or otherwise non-Mosaic discourse. He points especially to the first person "I" in Deut 6:6 and third person references to the deity in 26:1-2, 11.

⁹⁸ Wellhausen himself does not seem to have been concerned either way with this issue, but others have suggested that the deuteronomistic law code was originally divine speech (cf., the *Temple Scroll*) that was only later made into a Mosaic speech. E.g., Norbert Lohfink, "Jahwegesetz oder Mosegesetz? Die Subjektzuordnung bei Wörtern für 'Gesetz' im Dtn und in der dtr Literatur," in idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur*, Bd 3 (SBA 20; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1995), 157-67; and idem, "2 Kön 23, 3 und Dtn 6, 17." *Bib* 71 (1990): 34-42. See note 97.

selectively, frequently omitting beginnings and endings.⁹⁹ Conversely, it is unlikely that textual features such as beginnings and endings would survive if the narrative voice or setting in Moab arose at a later stage, as these types of changes are among the techniques for making a new work, as argued in chapter 3. Van der Toorn is inconsistent or at least non-committal in addressing at what point the literary setting at Moab was added or when the law code became part of a Mosaic dialogue, though his description of the first (“covenant”) edition seems to assume them. Are we dealing with the growth of a single book, then, or a series of related books? And can this determination shed light on the plausibility of reconstructions such as those provided by van der Toorn and others?

6.5.1 IS IT ALWAYS *DEUTERONOMY*?

The title of the book in Hebrew, דברים, stems from its incipit, i.e., the opening words in Deut 1:1, but this was not necessarily the original title of the work.¹⁰⁰ In previous chapters, I have argued for a distinction between stages where a book, though changed, continues to be recognized by its readers as another copy of its *Vorlage* or base-text, what I have called Continuing Composition, and stages where a book is reused selectively or changed by altering its narrative voice or literary setting resulting in the creation of a new book from pieces of the earlier one, what I have called Authorial

⁹⁹ E.g., if we lacked Genesis and Sam-Kgs, it would be impossible to reconstruct their beginnings or endings solely from Jubilees or Chronicles, respectively.

¹⁰⁰ *Jubilees*, for example, is cited in CD 16:3-4 under the title “The Book of the Divisions of the Times by Jubilees and by their Weeks” (הנה הוא מדוקדק על ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם) which although containing some overlap with the opening of Jubilees, is not an incipit. The opening in Ethiopic Jubilees is “this is the word of the divisions” (ሰነድ ስላሉ ስላሉ), and the book is often known simply as “Divisions” (ስላሉ). Patristic authors cite the book occasionally under the title “The Little Genesis” (ἡ λεπτή γενεσις or *Parva Genesis*). See James C. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (SA 88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989) XII, XVIII. This analogy implies that multiple titles might be imagined for a single work at different times. Compare also the different names for Deuteronomy (דברים, Δευτερονόμιον, etc.).

Composition. As we consider the stages advocated by van der Toorn and others, we must ask whether these proposed stages contain the marks of Authorial or Continuing Composition, whether the book, by whatever name, grew as that one book or as a series of new, different books.

Most of the scholarly reconstructions cited above view Deut 1:1 as a part of a later addition to the book, so we will survey several of the commonly identified headings or beginnings and what they might say about a given stage. Both Deut 4:45 and Deut 4:44, the beginnings of van der Toorn's first two stages, respectively, associate the book's contents with the mediation of Moses, so the narrative voice or Mosaic address appears here as a constant.

Verse 4:45 reads "These are the testimony and statutes and rulings which Moses spoke to all the Israelites when they went out from Egypt" (אלה העדות וההקים והמשפטים אשר דבר משה (אל-בני ישראל בצאתם ממצרים)). This verse is formulated as an introduction and associates the tripartite contents (i.e., העדות וההקים והמשפטים) with words spoken by Moses in the context of the Exodus, but that does not automatically mean that it must have once opened the book. Van der Toorn is surely right, however, to note the oddity of the transition to Deut 4:45. In verse 44, the claim is made that "this is the Torah that Moses placed before the children of Israel," but this is immediately followed by verse 45 which claims "These are the testimonies and the statutes and the rulings which Moses spoke to the children of Israel when they came out of Egypt." In the former verse the content is called Torah and is connected with Moses. In the latter verse, the three categories of legislation are said to stem from Moses' words at the time of the Exodus. The content of these verses is very similar as both are formulated in the third person as introductions defining the nature of

the following Mosaic discourse, but the odd thing is that there is no legislation immediately following 4:44, with the result that verse 45 feels redundant in addition to offering new terms and additional information.¹⁰¹ Van der Toorn's explanation that 4:45 is the earlier heading and 4:44 has been added to redefine the contents not in solely judicial terms (i.e., statutes and rulings) but under the broader heading of Torah (i.e., teaching), is sensible. Also supporting this is the fact that 4:44 begins with a conjunction as if it had been added in or tacked on, while 4:45 does not, giving it the appearance, at least, of original independence.¹⁰²

But several other passages have been proposed as the opening for the earliest stage of the book—namely Deut 6:4, and 12:13. The famous passage of Deut 6:4 is yet another candidate for the opening of the earliest level, and in Kratz's reconstruction it directly preceded the law code.¹⁰³ Its relationship to the laws in Deuteronomy 12 is obvious: a single deity worshiped at a single site.¹⁰⁴ This passage only speaks of God in the third person, and makes no immediate reference to Moses. If it were the earliest beginning of Deuteronomy one wonders what would have followed and if the narration remained anonymous or if the enclosure of the legal material within Moses' speech was present from the beginning as it appears to be with regard to 4:44-45.

Chapter 12, the beginning of the law code recognized as the central core of the book, is itself largely considered composite.¹⁰⁵ The earliest proposed level begins in

¹⁰¹ See Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 79.

¹⁰² See also Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 189, 193.

¹⁰³ E.g., Kratz, *Composition*, 124, 132-3.

¹⁰⁴ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 153.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 154; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical, and Literary Introduction* (New York: T & T Clark, 2007), 56-58; Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 23-52; but see also the reservations of Driver, *Deuteronomy*, lxvii.

12:13 and reworks the altar law from the beginning of the Covenant Code, the main source of the legal portions of Deuteronomy.¹⁰⁶ The text refers to God in the third person in verses 14, 15, 18, yet in verse 14 we find the phrase “and there you shall do all which I command you,” (ושם תעשה כל אשר אנכי מצוך). If this portion of chapter 12 is a beginning, it is hard to imagine who the referent of the first person pronoun might be, as it is surrounded by references to the deity in the third person.

If Deuteronomy originally began with 6:4 or 12:13 then the first person reference in 12:14 is hard to explain. If the original beginning is to be found in 1:1, 4:44, or 4:45 then the only candidate is Moses. For these reasons, I find it impossible to imagine an early stage of the book—even limited to portions of 12-26—which did not assume Mosaic narration.¹⁰⁷ Van der Toorn similarly admits the difficulty of identifying whether the Mosaic discourse was present for the beginning or added at a later stage, writing that “it must be conceded that if Moses was part of the Covenant Edition, he was not a prominent character. His role in the subsequent editions is far more significant.”¹⁰⁸ I find this consistent with what has been argued in previous chapters—that later additions tend to coordinate various parts of a work and draw them closer together as well as to follow trajectories started earlier. The reconstructions of van der Toorn and most others noted

¹⁰⁶ Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, 23-52. The alternative position of John Van Seters, *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), that the Deuteronomic code is the source and historical precedent of the Covenant Code in Exodus, and not *vice versa*, has been thoroughly critiqued, see Bernard M. Levinson, “Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters,” 276-330 in idem, *The Right Chorale”: Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008). See also previous note.

¹⁰⁷ So also Kratz, *Composition*, 124.

¹⁰⁸ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 168.

above imply that the Mosaic narration was part of the book from its beginning as

*Deuteronomy (or whatever it may have been called).¹⁰⁹

As the Mosaic narrative voice remains a constant for most reconstructions we can conclude that it is not a secondary addition signaling Authorial Composition. Let us now turn to address the next feature that would demarcate a new book: the question of literary setting. Deuteronomy 1:1 establishes the following words as those that Moses spoke to Israel on the banks of the Jordan in the land of Moab (1:5). The placement of the scene in Moab is referenced again only a handful of other times in Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 2:18; 29:1; 32:49; 34:1, 5, 6, 8) and most of these occur towards the end of the book. This means that according to van der Toorn's reconstruction, which is hardly novel, only with the "History Edition" (i.e., the third stage of the book) is the literary setting in the land of Moab added.¹¹⁰ In line with the typology advanced here, this means that such a stage would be one of Authorial Composition: whatever the underlying source, the result is a new work and thus if the "History Edition" begins what we might call "Deuteronomy," then the previous stages were not earlier versions of "Deuteronomy," but earlier work(s) utilized (selectively) in its creation. All of the examples of Authorial Composition explored in chapter 5 that showed a change in literary setting also showed frequent selectivity.¹¹¹ A change in literary setting does not require selectivity of the base-text, but that is the general trend so it behooves us to begin with such an assumption.

¹⁰⁹ Note the exceptions of Wellhausen, who does not address the question of narrative voice in his reconstruction, and Lohfink noted above.

¹¹⁰ See van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 160-62.

¹¹¹ The omissions were only rarely marked by any linguistic *aporia* in the text. In most cases the omissions would have been completely undetectable as such without recourse to synoptic comparison with known sources.

If we accept the position that van der Toorn's third stage of Deuteronomy's development is a stage of Authorial Composition—the result of a new literary setting—we need to re-think the earlier stages and adjust our expectations accordingly. One immediate difficulty is that all the data examined so far calibrate our assumptions to expect stages of Authorial Composition to omit, among other things, a book's earlier beginning and ending, yet van der Toorn's reconstruction requires the survival of not only one but two sets of beginnings and endings. This should not be ruled out *a priori* as impossible, but should at minimum raise our suspicions about our ability to speak with any accuracy about the details of the source of Deuteronomy in its "History Edition," or even of our ability to detect such a change at all. More to the point, it raises suspicions about the cogency of van der Toorn's reconstruction, at least with reference to what we know from other later (and cleaner) examples of textual growth. But perhaps we should imagine that in this case a change of literary setting did not create a new work, and in that case we recognize only three stages of Continuing Composition.

Two possible reconstruction remain: either (1) Deuteronomy grew through a single stage of Authorial Composition (drawing selectively on the Covenant Code, and situating the content as a Mosaic speech in the land of Moab) and was followed by several successive stages of Continuing Composition; or, (2) there were two stages of Authorial Composition, the second of which situated the speech in Moab. Both possibilities present difficulties, several of which have already been mentioned. In the latter case, positing multiple stages of Authorial Composition undermines van der Toorn's reconstruction of four successive editions because such stages are usually characterized by omission of beginnings and endings. If the third stage was indeed one of

Authorial Composition, the prospects of one earlier beginning or ending (let alone two!) are highly doubtful in view of the examples examined in chapter 5. We have seen that without the earlier sources themselves, it is impossible to accurately predict or describe the situation preceding a stage of Authorial Composition. It would be far easier to speak at this point of Continuing Composition—but this too has some difficulties for van der Toorn's proposed stages.

Fig 6-2 Options for understanding van der Toorn's Reconstruction

Covenant Edition	Torah Edition	History Edition	Wisdom Edition
Option 1: Authorial	Continuing	Authorial	Continuing
Option 2: Authorial	Continuing	Continuing	Continuing

In the case of one stage of Authorial Composition with three following stages of Continuing Composition (option 2 in the chart), once again we have seen no examples of a text that preserves multiple sets of beginnings and endings. Additions A and F, in the Greek versions of Esther, might be considered a single example, but van der Toorn's model requires the positing of multiple beginnings and endings, so on this point the extant evidence speaks against the likelihood of such a model.

Does Deuteronomy represent a special case? Perhaps so. The number of copies found at Qumran, Deuteronomy's own role in giving the Pentateuch its identity as Mosaic Torah, and a host of other factors may point to Deuteronomy having a special

status and receiving disproportionate amounts of attention and study.¹¹² The presence of “Deuteronomic” or “Deuteronomistic” language throughout the biblical corpus may be traceable to the central role of the book in scribal education and public worship.¹¹³ Perhaps an exalted position would subject the book to more—and different—kinds of editing.

And yet, an important issue which van der Toorn and others recognize is that there is tension between the authority and importance of a text, on the one hand, and the ability of scribes to reshape it or alter it, on the other.¹¹⁴ For Lohfink, this tension can be explained by positing the text’s initial growth and use within a restricted circle after which it becomes less variable but more widely known. He posits the growth of the text of Deuteronomy chiefly at a point in time when it existed in a single copy (located in Jerusalem, functioning as a charter), which was replaced only occasionally, and which was not widely available beyond those who could access it directly or hear it read.¹¹⁵ At a later point, this text, now having grown in several major stages, becomes publically accessible through public reading and being “canonized.”¹¹⁶

Such “canonization” is basically to be associated with the text’s use in a liturgical setting where it is heard, expounded, and memorized. It is likely, then, that—at least according to Lohfink—early on scribes had much more freedom to alter or change a text

¹¹² See Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 17-18. Crawford, “Reading Deuteronomy in the Second Temple Period,” 127, counts 29 copies of Deuteronomy found at Qumran including for excerpted manuscripts.

¹¹³ Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, 148; Norbert F. Lohfink, “Was there a Deuteronomistic Movement?” in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (ed. L. S. Schearing and S. L. McKenzie; JSOTSupp 268; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 63.

¹¹⁴ Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*, 145; Lohfink, “Was there a Deuteronomistic Movement?” 36-66.

¹¹⁵ Lohfink, “Was there a Deuteronomistic Movement?” 47-49, esp. 48, “Texts of an official character were not multiplied. ‘Ur-Deuteronomy’ evidently was not found in the Temple as a copy of juridical erudition but as a document in its original version; earlier copies did not exist.”

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

and that later on that freedom became more and more limited.¹¹⁷ Of course “early” does not refer to a specific period in history, but is relative to each text.¹¹⁸ Early in each work’s own history, meaning before it is widely circulated, well known, or of major importance, scribes are able to insert a variety of changes that they are not able to insert once the work gains broader acquaintance. Once there are multiple texts and no master copy that the others are constantly checked against, then it becomes much more difficult for a work to undergo massive transformation in a linear direction as many changes will remain independent of others. Alterations which are introduced in the process of Continuing Composition will not be readily evident in all copies unless checked against a single exemplar or unless a large portion of the manuscripts in circulation cease to be copied or are otherwise destroyed, leaving only a sole manuscript or group of manuscripts from which others are copied.

The tension between scribal freedom to expand or alter and stabilizing or “canonization” of a text as its familiarity and authority grow becomes strongest when one considers that the very premise of the need for recopying and expansion is precisely use and influence, yet Lohfink’s model necessitates that successive editions were produced over a course of years (generations?) when the book existed in the restricted form of a single master copy. It is perhaps, still possible to maintain Lohfink’s theory if one distinguishes between a time when the master copy of Deuteronomy was heavily used, but its use was restricted to educated professionals in a single locale, and a later time

¹¹⁷ E.g., Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 180-81.

¹¹⁸ E.g., *ibid.*, 170.

when the book was disseminated more broadly.¹¹⁹ Lohfink argues that the Pentateuch and Deuteronomy, in particular, are special cases unlike most other scrolls.¹²⁰ If he is correct, this means that the books of the Pentateuch, and Deuteronomy in particular, are potentially the firmest grounds for scholarly imagining of a complex redactional history; conversely, whatever we judge to be a realistic estimate of previous stages for these books (van der Toorn suggests four) should set the maximum limit for our estimates of other books.¹²¹ An opposing view might argue that “less canonical” books, e.g., Daniel and Esther, were more open to scribal freedom than the Pentateuch because of their lack of sacred character or the later time of their composition.¹²² A compromise might be to balance these two poles such that estimates about Deuteronomy, on the one hand, in conjunction with those concerning books such as Daniel and Esther, on the other, should be used to calibrate assumptions for what should be considered the extreme limits of possibility. In all cases, unless one images a text growing over time within a very

¹¹⁹ Compare Knohl’s similar reconstruction for the priestly literature. Knohl argues, following Haran, that the core of the priestly literature existed for a long time solely in the hands of the priesthood who did not disseminate it, and thus it was largely unknown until those affiliated with what Knohl terms the “Holiness School” (HS) redacted the Priestly Torah together with other sources of the Torah. See Israel Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994).

¹²⁰ Lohfink, “Was there a Deuteronomistic Movement?” 49, 51.

¹²¹ Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 176, “some authors go as far as positing the existence of seven or eight (or even more) redactional layers in a single text. This hardly seems plausible, because one would have had to rewrite the entire scroll in order to insert a lengthy addition”; Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible*, 145, “even the most complex documented cases rarely feature more than two or three stages of major revision of a given text, with ‘major’ being defined here as revision that goes beyond memory variants or minor scribal glosses and harmonizations/coordinations. . . most texts seems to have undergone at most two or three major stages of growth, with the remainder of revision happening in the form of minor glosses, harmonizations, and the like. Scholars who posit ten to twenty layers of revision in some biblical texts are advancing models that have no correlation in the documentation we have, limited as it is, of ancient revision.”

¹²² E.g., Tov, “Three Strange Books of the LXX,” 387, “One possible reason may be the similar milieu in which these translations were created. another possibility would be the assumption that the three translations were created at a later stage than most other Greek translations. At that time such rewritten Hebrew/Aramaic books were circulating, and less so in earlier periods.”

restricted readership such as Lohfink describes for Deuteronomy, the amount of significant redactional stages should be kept to a minimum.

Van der Toorn's proposed four-stage reconstruction of Deuteronomy is alluring in connecting identified rubrics and colophons with specific emphases, but in view of the present study its credibility is strained. The survival of multiple beginnings and endings is unattested in the evidence such that a progressive stack of four rubrics appears highly dubious. Consistent layers with distinct programs *are* found in Authorial Composition, but distinct traces of earlier levels are typically omitted. Textual development in four stages is plausible; survival of the details such that one could reconstruct it (especially so cleanly), is not. The investigations in chapters 4 and 5 did not find evidence of layers with consistent ideology except for those of Authorial Composition. The latter, almost by definition, omit major portions (esp. beginnings and endings) such that reconstructing stages behind them is nigh impossible without those earlier sources being extant themselves. If even this relatively small number of redactional stages is judged remotely possible only with special pleading for Deuteronomy as an exception to the norm, where does that leave us with other books where scholarly work has often run amok in positing redactional layers and activities that make van der Toorn's analysis look remarkably restrained?¹²³ It appears from these examples that the chances of a text having more than two major stages that can be reconstructed without external evidence are very very slim, though the diachronic realities of textual history need to be taken seriously.

¹²³ As but one example, K. H. Wynn, "The Sociohistorical Contexts of the Recensions of Esther," (Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1990), reconstructs 17 redactional stages for the book of Esther, each with an identifiable political or social ideology.

6.6 Rewriting Across Multiple Books

One issue that I have not been able to address in this study is that of textual growth across a corpus of books, such as DtrH, the book of the Twelve Prophets, the Pentateuch, or the Hebrew Bible as a whole. Although in many cases scribes may have restricted their work to the book at hand, there is ample reason to support the idea of a layer of additions across several books that were conceived of as a unit. One highly celebrated example involves the details of Joseph's bones in Gen 50:23-25, Exod 13:19, and Josh 24:32.¹²⁴ These three passages contain the command to bring up Joseph's bones, the notice that Moses did so, and the final notice that they were buried in Shechem. The Exodus and Joshua verses are undoubtedly dependent on the Genesis passage, and it is difficult to imagine Gen 50:23-25 being inserted into the text without some guarantee of fulfillment. Nevertheless, there is no manuscript evidence that any of these passages were ever lacking in these compositions. Even so, we have seen how within a single book there is a tendency for coordination or additions to progressively unite the components of the book, so one might argue from analogy that if such coordination occurred at the book-level, so too the same principle could have operated at higher levels such as a Pentateuch,

¹²⁴ E.g., Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 37; see also the various articles in Dozeman, Thomas B., and Konrad Schmid, eds. *A Farewell to the Yahwist?: The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (SBLSS 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006). See also Thomas C. Römer and Marc Z. Brettler, "Deuteronomy 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch" *JBL* 119 (2000): 401-19. A similar example is the "Day of YHWH" in the Book of the Twelve, see, e.g., James D. Nogalski and Marvin A. Sweeney, eds., *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (CRM 15; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000). Another example is the linking of Mal 3:22-4 with Josh 1:7 and other portions of the Enneateuch, see Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Growth of the Old Testament," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (eds., J.W. Rogerson and J. M. Lieu; OHRT; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 485. See also, Stephen B. Chapman, *The Law and the Prophets: A study in Old Testament canon formation* (FAT 27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

Hexateuch, or Deuteronomistic History. These too could be brought closer together by additions.¹²⁵ Perhaps Joseph's bones are one such example.

Some recent scholarship, however, sees the delimitation of "books" as a secondary development.¹²⁶ Christoph Levin, for example, explains the development of Gen-2 Kgs as a process in which the textual growth of the literature required that it be divided into books in order to meet the physical limitations of length imposed by scrolls.¹²⁷ This division, brought about by the gradual expansion of the text, allowed room for further expansion in a cyclical process such that expansion of the text fueled delimitation of it into multiple scrolls/books which in turn created the necessary space and opportunity for further expansion for those individual units.¹²⁸

In Levin's view, the beginnings and endings separating the books of Gen-2 Kgs are secondary to the originally shorter narratives of the tetrateuch and Deuteronomistic History, each of which was able to fit upon a single scroll.¹²⁹ Levin cites the well-known examples of Exod 1:1-7 which quotes Gen 35:22-6; 46:26-7; 47:27; and 50:22, 26; and Judges 1:1-2:9 which recapitulates Josh 11-24. Beginnings like these that reuse and

¹²⁵ E.g., Carr, *Formation*, 95, "Apparently harmonization and other forms of coordination, both micro-contextual...and across books...were wide-spread in the textual transmission of the Torah and other Hebrew Bible books."

¹²⁶ E.g., Schmid, *Literary History*, 37-40; Hendrik Jacob Koorevaar, "The Books of Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, and the Macro-Structural Problem of the Pentateuch," in *The Books of Leviticus and Numbers* (ed., Thomas Römer; BETL215; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 423-53; Kratz, "The Growth of the Old Testament," 482-3; Christoph Levin, "On the Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch," in *Pentateuch, Hexteuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (eds., T. B. Dozeman, T. Römer, and K. Schmid; AIL 8; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 127-54; *contra* the view of Haran, "Book-Scrolls at the Beginning of the Second Temple Period," that the book-shape is prior.

¹²⁷ Levin, "On the Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch," 130-32; note the opposite opinion in Thomas Römer, "How Many Books (teuchs): Pentateuch, Hexateuch, Deuteronomistic History, or Enneateuch?" in *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch*, 40-41.

¹²⁸ Levin, "On the Cohesion and Separation of Books within the Enneateuch," 131-54.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 150-54.

repeat earlier sections argue in favor of the fact that such beginnings and endings are not original to the book, but are a kind of recapitulating filler.

However, *contra* Levin, as Römer has pointed out, each of the books of the so-called Enneateuch has a distinct character and it is difficult for this reason to imagine a single original narrative—or even two—that could have (1) fit within the confines of a single scroll, (2) functioned as the framework for all the expansions required to fill out the narrative(s) into the current books of Gen-2 Kgs as we know them, and (3) made sense as literary works in their own right.¹³⁰ Instead of Levin's top-down approach of imagining large meta-narratives that are expanded over time and then divided, Ska is more likely to have it right that the general method of growth can be characterized as beginning with fragments (i.e., small units or episodes) that are made into documents which are themselves later supplemented.¹³¹

But this pattern of Fragments → Documents → Supplements need not be limited to the Pentateuch or traditional understandings of the related pentateuchal theories. The movement from “fragments” to “documents” is what I have called Authorial Composition—it is here that pieces of earlier texts are fashioned into new works. The supplementing of these works falls under what I have termed Continuing Composition. If this general outline is adopted, then the empirical data discussed thus far implies that if one is attempting to reconstruct stages of Authorial Composition one must reckon with selectivity and changes of literary setting or narrative voice, if not significant loss of text

¹³⁰ Römer, “How Many Books,” 41.

¹³¹ Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 191-92.

including the beginning and ending of literary works.¹³² Multiple layers or stages of Continuing Composition doubtlessly occurred in many of the books (even complexes) of the Bible, but such stages do not typically match the assumptions of redactional layers—namely, consistent ideological or theological views that span a composition. Rather we have found such aspects only in examples of Authorial Composition, which, ironically, omit many of the portions of their sources, greatly complicating if not prohibiting reconstruction of their own composite nature except in the extremely rare cases, e.g., where we have recourse to sources for synoptic comparison.¹³³

6.7 Mice and Icebergs: Adjusting Expectations for what is Unseen

There is an old adage that for every mouse one sees, there are several more that one does not. The sighting of a mouse in the house is not simply evidence of that single mouse, it is rather evidence of a nest of mice. Similarly the appearance of the tip of an iceberg offers warning of more than merely what is visible above the surface. The observation of textual growth within manuscripts and from the creation of one book out of another should similarly be taken as a sign of more than meets the eye. The evidence of the Greek versions of Exodus, Samuel, Joshua, Judges, Jeremiah, Esther, Daniel, and others, especially in light of the manuscript discoveries in the Judean desert, have progressively demonstrated that scribal intervention was a widespread occurrence. This is a certain fact. Moreover, given the fact that on the one hand we are limited by the

¹³² On the issue of omissions and how they related to general assumptions of *Literarkritik* see also the forthcoming work of Juha Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (FRLANT 251; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2013); see also, Carr, *Formation*, 89.

¹³³ David Carr addresses the issue of partial preservation and the problems it creates for many recent approaches but he does not lay out a means to differentiate stages or to expect either partial or more complete preservation of reused texts. See, Carr, *Formation*, 111-17.

accidents of survival—and the majority of ancient manuscripts have not survived—and on the other hand, the fact that what little does survive testifies to significant textual diversity and scribal intervention, it therefore compels us to consider the extant evidence akin to the tip of the iceberg or the sighting of a mouse in the kitchen—there is likely much more of this sort of thing that has happened than we are able to see.

And yet, we must reckon with the likelihood that cases where variation has been preserved are the exception and that most textual growth has left no trace in the manuscript witnesses. The metaphorical iceberg is thus bigger than many typically imagine, but also properly speaking *unimaginable*. There is more under the surface—that is certain, but we cannot say what it is. Textual features such as awkward syntax, abrupt changes, and so forth that may have resulted from scribal intervention can also be used to support the idea that the text has been significantly altered, but simply because these textual features can result from scribal intervention, it does not follow that they necessarily did. Again, we can know that the iceberg is there below the water, but we, at present at least, simply do not have the tools to accurately measure or describe its shape, form, or mass. Extreme caution is called for in theoretical reconstruction, and it will be difficult but necessary to content ourselves with modest and limited reconstructions rather than to attempt to trace every detail in a matter that exceeds realistic expectations and almost guarantees inaccuracy. As David Carr has stated, it is far easier to ascertain the fact that something happened to the text than to be able to reconstruct exactly what has happened.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Carr, *Formation*, 40.

Positively, the data examined here gives a glimpse of the origins of biblical literature. Earlier texts were used to create new texts, and these in turn were expanded, often in ways that deepened the connections between parts of a single book or between books. Works grew by expansion (Continuing Composition), were utilized to create new works (Authorial Composition) which in turn were further developed (Continuing Composition). While we will never know all the details, these scribal techniques that we can observe in the extant evidence show us the major contours of how many parts of the Hebrew Bible came to be.

6.8 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have revisited once again the criteria established in chapter three, namely that Authorial Composition that creates a new work alters the base-text either by using it selectively, changing its narrative setting, or changing its narrative voice. Neither the six major additions, nor other pluses, found in LXX Esther involved any of these changes. The point was made once again that the addition of a given ideology or *Tendenz*, though it may motivate the creation of a new work and often accompanies it, does not necessitate it. The present chapter affirmed this point again and further showed that new compositions did not replace their sources in terms of transmission. Variant Literary Editions (VLEs), differing copies of the same work, can replace one another as they are, by definition, interchangeable and thus a VLE may *replace* its predecessor being copied in its stead. New compositions based upon earlier texts do not present themselves as interchangeable copies and thus can only displace the position or claims of their sources by redirecting the interpretation of them. Such

redirection can also be found in VLEs, but to a less frequent extent and much reduced sense. Finally, we explored how this typological distinction of rewriting that creates a new work (Authorial Composition) and that creates a new copy (Continuing Composition) can aid in the evaluation of diachronic models. The main focus was on the book of Deuteronomy as divided up by Karel van der Toorn. Van der Toorn's analysis brings together many past and current observations and thus functions as an example not only of his specific views, but of more widespread assumptions and approaches. We concluded that a textual history such as the one van der Toorn outlines is possible only with special pleading for its validity in the case of Deuteronomy. The major point of contention is that, while such a history is entirely plausible, the survival of beginnings and endings or other indicators of such a history in the text itself is not. We saw further, drawing on the investigations of chapters four and five, that not only are the use of beginnings and endings an unreliable criterion for diachronic reconstruction, but the hypothesis of multiple stages, each with a distinct and recognizable ideology is without parallel in the evidence examined here. Furthermore, my analysis of Deuteronomy and Esther can be used to gauge expectations more broadly: If Deuteronomy is unlikely to bear the marks of as many as four stages without being considered highly exceptional, and one could not reconstruct precisely even two or three stages of Esther, a text which shows great textual fluidity, then in the majority of biblical literature evidence of more than two or three major stages is highly suspect. It remains for future studies to weigh these claims and criteria in light of other texts not studied here, such as Samuel, Proverbs, and Job, but it is hoped that the conclusions reached here will call not only for more reservation in the far off and speculative reaches of Redaction Criticism, but also

stimulate a search for new or refined methods of approaching biblical literature that can take its complicated origins and development seriously without feeling driven to account for details beyond our evidence, the “deep things” (עמקות), that lie beyond human knowledge.

Appendix: Synopsis of Genesis 22 and Jubilees

Reference	Genesis 22	Jubilees 17 & 18
Gen 22:1 Jub 17:15	ויהי אחר הדברים האלה והאלהים נסה את־אברהם	ויהי בשבוע השביעית בשנה הרשונה בחדש הרשונה ביובל ההוא בעשר ושנים לחדש הזה ויהי דברים בשמים על אברהם כי הוא נאמן בכל אשר דברו ואהב אלהים ובכל צרה היה נאמן
Jub 17:16		ויבא שר מסטמה ויאמר לפניו יהוה הגה אברהם אהב יצחק ילדו וחפץ אתו מכל דבר לעלהו על מזבח ואז תרא אם יעשה דבר הזה ותדע אם הוא נאמן בכל אשר תסהו
Jub 17:17		ואלהים ידע כי נאמן אברהם בכל צרה אשר דבר אתו כי נסה אתו בארץ וברהב ונסה אתו בעשר מלכים ונסה אתו שנית באשתו אז נגנבה ובמולת ונסה אתו בישמעאל ובהגר אמתו בעת ישלחם
Jub 17:18		ובכל אשר נסה אתו מצא אתו נאמן ולא קצר רוחו ולא יתמהמה לעשות כי נאמן ואהב אלהים
Gen 22:2 Jub 18:1	(He)	אלהים
Jub 18:2		Δόδατ (גבה)?
Gen 22:4 Jub 18:4		ויבא לבאר מים
Gen 22:8 Jub 18:5		ωσαυτη (ומאכלת)
Gen 22:9 Jub 18:8	אל־המקום אשר אמר־לו האלהים	אל המקום הוא הר אלהים Hē-nē, hēh-nēh
Gen 22:11 Jub. 18:9-10	ויקרא אליו מלאך יהוה מן־השמים ויאמר	ואעמד לפני שר מסטמה ויאמר יהוה דבר לו אל־ישלח ידך אל הנער ואל יעש לו מאומה כי יידעתי כי ירא אלהים ואקרא לו משמים ואמר לו
Gen 22:11 Jub. 18:11	ויאמר	ואמר
Gen 22:12 Jub. 18:11	(ידידך → LXX) יחידך	בכורך (hēh)
Jub 18:12		ויחסד שר מסטמה
Gen 22:14 Jub 18:13		הוא הר ציון
Gen 22:16 Jub 18:14	ויקרא מלאך יהוה אל־אברהם שנית מן־השמים	ויקרא יהוה אברהם בשם שנית מן שמים כן יריאנו עליכן נדברו לו בשם יהוה
Gen 22:18 Jub. 18:16		ואודיע לכל כי אתה אמונה לי בכל

		אשר דברתי לך לך בשלם
Gen 22:19 Jub 18:18		וישמר החג הזה כל שנה בשמחה ויקרא אתו חג יהוה על שבע שנים אשר יבוא וישוב בשלום וכי... כתוב בלוחות השמים על ישראל וזרעו לשמר החג הזה שבע שנים בשמחה

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