# NEW IDENTIFICATIONS OF 4QPALEOGEN-EXOD<sup>L</sup> (4Q11) FRAGMENTS

### Summary

This article proposes new identifications of scroll fragments from 4Qpaleo-Gen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, some of which have been included in the official edition and others that have not been associated with the scroll so far. The fragments are transcribed, identified, and in some cases joined with further scroll fragments. The study is accompanied by a discussion on the implications of the new identifications.

#### Résumé

Cet article propose de nouvelles identifications de fragments appartenant à 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, certains étaient inclus dans l'édition officielle et d'autres n'étaient pas associés à ce rouleau jusqu'à présent. Les fragments sont transcrits, identifiés, et, dans certains cas, joints à d'autres fragments. Cette étude est accompagnée d'une discussion sur les implications de ces nouvelles identifications.

QPALEOGEN-EXOD<sup>L</sup>, also known as 4Q11, is a fragmentary manuscript that preserves text from the last verse of Genesis and portions of Exod 1:1 to 36:36. This study identifies several small fragments of the scroll. Some of these fragments were transcribed in the official edition of the scroll published in 1992 by Patrick Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith Sanderson, who, however, did not associate them with a specific text of Genesis or Exodus. Fortunately, we are now privileged to have access to new images that were not accessible to the editors.

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Patrick Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 4 IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*; DJD 9 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17–50. Images in this article are courtesy of the Leon Levi Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority; photographer: Shay Halevi. This article was partially funded by the www.paleohebrewdss.com project.

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Available from the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority, these images allow us to improve our readings and offer new identifications. Other fragments discussed in this study have not yet been published. Some were cataloged but not transcribed by the editors, while others were not assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> at all.

# 1. Material Evidence and the Official Edition of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>l</sup>

According to Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> consists of sixty-four fragments. It was written in the paleo-Hebrew script and has been dated paleographically to the second or first century BCE.<sup>2</sup> Due to the large size of the writing block, the large bottom margin, the skilled script, and the limited number of scribal interventions, Emanuel Toy classified 4OpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> as a *de luxe* edition.<sup>3</sup>

The recto surfaces of the fragments are extremely damaged. The upper layer of the skin has peeled away in several places, leaving the inner layer exposed. Another material feature of this scroll is the deterioration of the ink, probably due to its chemical composition. In some instances, the letters are legible, even though the ink has not been preserved. The letters have been engraved and may be recognized by their outlines. It should be noted that in the official edition of the scroll, as well as in this paper, outlined letters have been transcribed in the same way as those identified by the presence of ink.

Of the scroll's sixty-four fragments, only fragments 1–38 have been identified in the official edition. Fragments 39–50 were transcribed but not identified. As for fragments 51–64, they were not edited as "they have no decipherable letters or were identified only after the edition was completed."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mark David McLean, *The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Harvard University, 1982), 66, dated 4QpaleoGen-Exodletween 100–25 BCE. Antony Perrot and Matthieu Richelle, "The Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeo-Hebrew Script: Its Roots in Hebrew Scribal Tradition," in *The Hebrew Bible Manuscripts: A Millennium*, ed. Élodie Attia and Antony Perrot; Textual History of the Bible Supplement (Leiden: Brill, 2021), prefer a date in the second century BCE. Michael Langlois, "Dead Sea Scrolls Paleography and the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael Langlois (Leuven: Peeters 2019), 272, dates 4QpaleoGen-Exodl to the third century BCE, "though earlier and later dates are possible." In some important respects, Langlois' general typology seems a bit too early. For example, even the earliest of the Qumran paleo-Hebrew scripts were evidently written with reed pens, which only became common in Judea in the third century BCE; see Drew Longacre, "Comparative Hellenistic and Roman Manuscript Studies (CHRoMS): Script Interactions and Hebrew/Aramaic Writing Culture," *COMSt Bulletin* 7, no 1 (2021): 7–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Emanuel Tov, Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 50.

The number of fragments that belong to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> is, in fact, even greater. We recently found a small fragment that belongs to 4Q11—but was not published in the edition—in the plates of the unidentified fragments published in DJD 33. The association of the fragment with 4Q11 is based on the similarity of the script of the legible letters and on the typical peeling of the upper skin layer.

Moreover, IAA plate 395, whose fragments were assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, consists of twenty-eight fragments.<sup>5</sup> Of these, only six fragments are assigned to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> in the official edition.<sup>6</sup> However, the other twenty-two belong to 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> as well, because they share material features. The surface of these fragments and the deterioration of the ink in cases where traces of letters have been preserved correspond to the materiality of the other 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> fragments. Moreover, although most of the plate 395 fragments are barely legible, sporadically preserved letters do appear in some. These letters correspond to the script of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, indicating that the fragments derive from the same manuscript. Consequently, we posit that 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> comprises at least eighty-seven fragments.

This study proposes new identifications for fragments in four categories: (1) those transcribed, but not identified in the official edition (§2.1); (2) those included, but not transcribed or identified in the official edition (§2.2); (3) an unidentified fragment that was not associated with the scroll so far (we numbered this fragment 65) (§2.3); (4) unpublished fragments from IAA plate 395 (§2.4). Unfortunately, of the unpublished fragments, only two are identifiable. We number these fragments 66–67, based on their association with the text of Exodus.

## 2. New Identifications

### 2.1 Fragments transcribed, but not identified in the official edition

## 2.1.1 Frag. 41: Exod 18:19-21 (IAA 398.8; PAM 42.803)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 25. Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371331.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Fragments 51 (IAA 395.17); 52 (IAA 395.26); 53 (IAA 395.11); 56 (IAA 395.15); 59 (IAA 395.12); 62 (IAA 395.22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475354.
The scribe consistently used dots for word division, but we do not transcribe them in our transcriptions.

Fragment 41 was left unidentified in the official edition, with the possible identification with Exod 40:15.8 The editors' conclusion is based on the faulty transcription of line 2: אוֹם בּלוֹם. The letter traces cannot be read in this way, however. Conversely, the proposed identification with Exod 18:19–21 matches the legible letters, as well as the remaining traces.

Moreover, fragment 41 has physical joins with fragment 20 on three sides. The traces on all three lines fit the text missing in fragment 20 perfectly (fig. 1). As such, we consider this fragment certainly identified, yielding the following transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> 20+41 lines 5–7:

5 האלה וֹם וֹה [בא] יתה אֹת הדברים אל האלה ים וֹהוֹה [ר]ת [ה אתה]ם אֹת החֹק המלה ים וֹאֹת התורות והוֹדעת להם את הדרך אשר ילכו בה וֹאֹת המעשה
 7 אשר יעשון ואתה [תחו] הל [ך] מכל העם אנשי חיל ירא יהוה



Figure 1: Fragment 20 and fragment 41; join of fragment 20 with fragment 41

## 2.1.2 Frag. 44: Exod 12:5-8 (IAA 398.23; PAM 42.011, 42.803)<sup>9</sup>

1 ]ממן 2 ]רש 1 ]חור 3 יסר 1 סרר 5

Fragment 44 preserves traces of a seam on its left side, indicating that it belongs to the last column on the sheet. As only isolated letters are preserved on each line, the identification is based on the successful combination of all legible letters in the attested lines of the fragment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475414.

The fragment is left unidentified in the official edition, in part because of a faulty transcription.<sup>10</sup>

Based on the new identification, fragment 44 should be joined with fragment 7 ii, on which Exod 11:4–12:12 is preserved.<sup>11</sup> The join yields the following transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> 7 ii+44 lines 19–23:

19 [על השה שה תמים זכ]ר בן שנה יהיה לכם מן הכשב[י]ם מן 20 [העזים תקחו והיה לכם למש]מרת עד ארבעה עשר יום לחדש 21 [הזה ושחטו אתו ]כל עדת[ בני ]ישראל בין הערבים ולקחו 22 [מן הדם ונתנו ע]ל שתי המזווות ועל המשקוף על הבתי[ם א]שר 23 [יאכלו אתו בה]ם ואכ[לו] את הבשר בלילה הוה צלי אן שומןצות



Figure 2: Join of fragment 7 ii with fragment 44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus!," 49, read the first legible letter in line 2 as *ayin*. In addition, they do not offer readings for the letters *het*, *resh*, and *vav* in lines 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-499664.
For the transcription, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 31–32.

Importantly, the traces in fragment 7 ii perfectly fit the expected text and position based on our reconstruction. The only potential problem is that we must suppose a variant, where ס on the first legible line lacks a conjunction found in MT and SP.<sup>12</sup>

2.1.3 Frag. 46: Exod 19:22–23 (IAA 398.13; PAM 42.011, 42.803)<sup>13</sup>

Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson did not read the letter *aleph* at the end of both line 2 and 3 and, therefore, did not identify this fragment.<sup>14</sup> Yet, though these letters are broken, their reading is probable. The only possible identification of such a combination is Exod 19:22–23:<sup>15</sup>

```
וֹיּ[] ∘[] יֹ[
2 א]ל יֹהוֹה לאֹ[ יוכל העם
3 הג]בֿל אָׁ[ת העם
```

Fragment 21 attests to Exod 19:24–20:2. According to the new identification of fragment 46, we may conclude that fragments 21 and 46 were close to each other in the original scroll, prior to its deterioration.

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2.1.4 Frag. 47: Exod 23:9-11 (IAA 398.3; PAM 42.011, 42.802)<sup>16</sup>
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Fragment 47 is poorly preserved. It attests to the remains of four lines of text, only two of which are legible. The reading of the hitherto indecipherable letters *tsade* and *samech* in lines 2 and 3, respectively, enables the identification of the text preserved in fragment 47 as Exod 23:9–11.<sup>17</sup>

- 12 LXX is in agreement with MT/SP (καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων).
- <sup>13</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475374.
- <sup>14</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 49.
- <sup>15</sup> Note that it is a bit difficult to figure out which *yod* in the context is represented in line 1.
- <sup>16</sup> The fragment is not available on the website of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. However, it appears on the plate image of 398, http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496252. For the PAM image, see http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284767. The Fragment appears on the top of the image, the third from the left.
- 17 Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 49. The editors incorrectly read the second word in line 2 as two words: מֹס יִּלֹכן. In addition, they

The textual identification of fragment 47 is supported by material considerations. According to the proposed identification, fragment 47 should be directly joined to fragment 23, which preserves the text of Exod 23:5–16. Indeed, when the fragments are aligned according to the preserved text, their physical protrusions fit well together (fig. 3). Consequently, the new identification of fragment 47 as Exod 23:9–11 is certain.

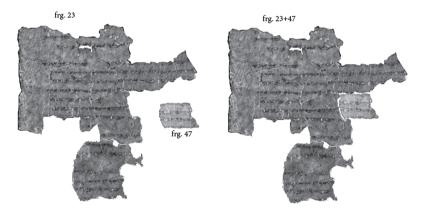


Figure 3: Fragment 23; fragment 47; join of fragment 47 with fragment 23

Given this new join, one may propose readings for the indecipherable letters of lines 1 and 4 of fragment 47. This could result in the transcription of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> 47+23 lines 8–11 as:

```
    וג]ר לא תלחצו ואתם ידעתם נפש הגר (כי גרים הייתם בא]רץ מצרים וששש שנים תזרע
    [את ארצך ו]אספת את תבואתה והשביעית תשמטנה
    [ונטשתה ואכ]לו אביוני עמך ויתרם תאכל חית השבים
```

2.1.5 Frag. 48: Exod 15:2-4 (IAA 398.14; PAM 41.387, 42.803)<sup>18</sup>

```
0 ∘ 0 |
2 יהוה 0 |
3 מבח ⁰ שׁל 0 |
1 ∘ 0 |
```

read the first word in line 3 as במס. Therefore, they are not able to offer an identification of this fragment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475378.

Fragment 48 preserves a wide intercolumnar margin, whose width is 2 cm. <sup>19</sup> Despite the paucity of evidence, the fragmentary text can be identified. The only place where יהוה and a word beginning מב occur in such proximity is Exod 15:2–4, yielding the following partial reconstruction:20

```
יֹה [ויהי
   יהוה גובור 2
מבחור שׁלשׁויו
```

The ink traces in line 1 seem to spell out the word זיה. Such a reading is also in line with the expected distance between lines 1 and 2, as determined by the textual reconstruction of lines 2 and 3 (fig. 4).



Figure 4: Textual reconstruction of fragment 48 (Exod 15:2-4)<sup>21</sup>

The traces of the last legible letter in line 2 cannot come from an aleph, but nicely match gimel.<sup>22</sup> The new identification of fragment 48 then reveals a probable agreement between 4QpaleoGen-Exod1 and SP-Exod 15:3 (גבור) against MT (איש). The reading reflected in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> and SP seems to be motivated by the wish to avoid anthropomorphic references to God, and it may also be related to the Old Greek reading συντρίβων and/or the Syriac Peshitta reading . کندنی

4QpaleoGen-Exod <sup>1</sup>	SP	MT	NRSV
יהוה גُ[בור	יהוה גיבור במלחמה	יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה	The Lord is a warrior;
	יהוה שמו	יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ	the Lord is his name

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4OpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 50, suggest that ink from the letters of the preceding column survived on the right edge of the fragment, but traces of it are not evident in the PAM and IAA images.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 50. The editors do not propose an identification for fragment 48, as they read line 3 incorrectly: בב[ ] בב[ ]. בנ[ Font design: Hila Dayfani and Einat Tamir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The letter is transcribed as a probable *resh* in the official edition.

Moreover, fragment 48 provides some insight into the layout of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15) in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>. The song was clearly not arranged in an overlapping brick/non-brick format as in the medieval Jewish tradition, since all three lines are right-justified. Yet, the reconstructed lines in fragment 48 are somewhat shorter than the average for the column based on fragment 11, which preserves Exod 16:2–6 and belongs to the same column.<sup>23</sup> This raises the possibility that there were small blank intervals at points in the song, but it is impossible to prove this definitively.<sup>24</sup>

# 2.2 Fragment included but not transcribed or identified in the official edition

Frag. 52: Exod 25:14-15 (IAA 395.26; PAM 42.976)<sup>25</sup>

Fragment 52 preserves two lines of text. The third line shows a blank space, which may represent a *vacat* or a bottom margin. The identification of the fragment has been enabled due to the reading of line 2. The last letter in this line is represented by ink marks that appear above the line. The only two possible readings of these marks are the letters *lamed* or *samech*. While the reading of *lamed* does not produce any possible text, the reading of *samech* produces only one possible identification: Exod 25:15. Fortunately, the other traces on the line match this identification. The first letter is represented by remnants of a letter base, which can correspond to a *bet*. The traces of the next letter fit with a downstroke and head of *dalet*. Thus, the new identification yields the following transcription:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-363099. For a detailed material reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, see Dayfani, "Rethinking the Textual Value of 4Q11," *Textus* 30 (2021): 105–129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. the similar situation in 4Q365 and 4Q14, the latter of which may be textually related to 4Q11, according to Drew Longacre, "A Contextualized Approach to the Dead Sea Scrolls Containing Exodus" (PhD diss.: University of Birmingham, 2015), 223. The reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod¹ based on fragment 48 may also be compatible with the two-column layout known in medieval Samaritan manuscripts, e.g., MS London, Or. 6461 (copied in 1339 CE), which can be seen at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or 6461 fs001r (folio 65r).

<sup>25</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362173.

```
]\circ \circ \circ [ 1 ] ]\circ \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} \ddot{\circ} 2 vacat = 3
```

According to the new identification, fragment 52 is directly joined with fragment 28, which preserves Exod 25:13–15.<sup>26</sup> As seen in figure 5, the physical protrusion of the fragments fits well. In addition, the blank space at the bottom of fragment 28 is in accordance with the blank space in fragment 52. Based on the textual reconstruction proposed by Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, this space is a *vacat*, rather than bottom margin.<sup>27</sup>



Figure 5: Join of fragment 52 with fragment 28

# 2.3 Unidentified fragment that was not associated with the scroll so far

Frag. 65: Exod 8:12 (IAA 95.109; PAM 43.699)<sup>28</sup>

```
vacat (top margin?) 1
]ה' האר 2
]∘[ 3
```

This fragment has not been previously identified. It was catalogued in the unidentified plates and published as fragment 107 in DJD 33. It is catalogued as Manuscript 4Q9999 in the Leon Levy Digital Library, a catalogue number that does not represent an original manuscript, but rather includes all the unidentified fragments in Cave 4 that have not been assigned to specific manuscripts.

The fragment is relatively small, with only very poorly preserved text written in paleo-Hebrew script. We have associated this fragment with 4Q11 based on both paleographical and material considerations. Paleographically, the clearly visible letters *aleph* and *he* in the second line match perfectly with 4Q11's script. Moreover, the fragment shows

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475374.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-504411.

a shared material feature with other 4Q11 fragments in the peeling of the upper skin layer.

A top margin or a blank interval is seen in the first line. The second line is the only legible line in this fragment. The letters *he* and *aleph* are clear. Furthermore, at the right edge of the second line, one may observe the remains of a sharp letter's head, probably representing *dalet* or *resh*. Similarly, the letter after *aleph* is probably *dalet* or *resh*, represented by the remains of its head and downstroke. At the end of the line, one may observe a small ink remnant of the next letter. A curved letter's head is seen in the third line.

A query of these readings in the Book of Exodus indicates that there are only three possible identifications of this fragment, all in Exod 8:12–13, that contain the phrase עפר הארץ. Since fragment 5 i preserves portions of Exod 8:13, the possible identifications place this fragment in proximity to fragment 5.

The identification of the fragment with Ex 8:12 seems preferable, due to the following considerations:

- (1) This identification places the new fragment closer to fragment 5.
- (2) As no fragment of 4Q11 preserves a top margin, it is most likely that the blank space at the top is a *vacat*. MT places a *parasha setuma* after verse 11, while SP attests there a *qiṣṣa*. This identification would suggest that 4Q11 also divides verses 11 and 12 by the *vacat* seen in the first line.
- (3) The round letter at the bottom fits better here. It matches with the letter *tet* in the word במטהו that appears in the next verse.

The join of fragment 65 with fragment 5 i yields the following transcription:

```
vacat 1
עפ]ר הארץ 2
במ[טמ[הו] 3
במנים
```

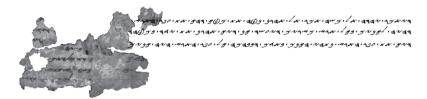


Figure 6: Join of fragment 65 with fragment 5 i

## 2.4 Unpublished fragments from IAA plate 395

2.4.1 Frag. 66: Exod 25:21–22 (IAA 395.25; PAM 41.388, 42.803)<sup>29</sup>

```
] • • [ 1
] • • • • • [ 2
] • • • [ ] • ] • 3
```

Fragment 66 contains three lines. Lines 1 and 3 are poorly preserved and barely legible. Nonetheless, the identification of the fragment is possible due to the reading of line 2. Traces of the oblique stroke of the *aleph* are best seen in the PAM image. Moreover, the ink of the letters *resh* and *vav* have been degraded. These letters, however, can be recognized by their outlines. Based on these readings, fragment 66 can only be identified as Exod 25:21–22.

According to this identification, fragment 66 should be joined with fragment 29, which preserves Exod 25:19–21.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, the physical protrusion of the fragment fits perfectly (fig. 7). The joined lines yield the transcription:

```
אן אל אחד\{\circ\} אל הֿ[כפרת א]ל הֿארון תתן את הערנות עון הארון מון הארון הערנות 2 [מן ען ל הֿכ [פרת 3
```

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362171. The traces of fragment 66 are more legible in PAM 42.803 image, which can be found at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475422.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus<sup>1</sup>," 43. The editors read אוֹשׁ אל אחוֹ However, the first two letters were not easily legible before the join, and the last letter is clearly *dalet*, rather than *vav*. Note that the *dalet* is part of a scribal correction, since it seems to have been written over another letter. Perhaps the scribe originally wrote אחד as in MT and then corrected it to אחד.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The identification of the Cherubim as winged children appears in *b. Ḥag.* 13b; *Suk 5b.* This identification is documented also in medieval sources. For discussion and



Figure 7: Join of fragment 66 with fragment 29

2.4.2 Frag. 67: Exod 28:28? (IAA 395.9; PAM 42.803)<sup>33</sup>

1 ]∘[ 2 ]מעל הֿאפּוْדُ[ 3 ]∘[ ]ל]

Fragment 67 is tiny and amounts to three fragmentary lines. Of these, only line 2 is legible. The ink marks in line 1 are probably remnants of the base of a letter, possibly *bet*, *kaf*, *mem*, *nun*, or *pe*. Given the secure reading of line 2, it can be identified in two possible ways, namely, as: (1) Exod 28:28; or (2) Exod 39:21. Both may fit the additional traces on the fragment. 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> does not preserve any text from Exod 36:36 onwards, but two other fragments preserve the text of Exod 28.<sup>34</sup> The identification of fragment 67 as Exod 28:28 thus seems most probable.

### 3. IMPLICATIONS

In this study, we have proposed new identifications for eight hitherto unidentified fragments of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>: fragments 41, 44, 46–48, 52, 65–67. These new identifications first and foremost contribute to our understanding of the state of the scroll before its deterioration and of its content.

The proposed identifications also provide insight on the textual and material analysis of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>. Textually speaking, the new fragments and readings provide more affinities of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> with SP (fragments 48, 66). Given the fragmentary state of the scroll and the inconclusive situation regarding its textual classification, these

references, see Raanan Eichler, "Cherub: A History of Interpretation," *Biblica* 96 (2015): 26–38. For further discussion of such literalizing tendencies, see Longacre, "Contextualized Approach," 188–190. For the presence of interpretative readings in 4QpaleoGen-Exod, see Dayfani, "Rethinking," 122–129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Image at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-362139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Fragments 36, 37. See images at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475382 at https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-475350, respectively. For the transcription, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "11. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodusl," 46–47.

agreements may prove valuable to the analysis of the scroll's text and its relation to other copies of Exodus from Qumran.<sup>35</sup>

The new identifications also shed light on the materiality of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>. In some cases, they reveal direct or distant joins of the fragments discussed and other preserved fragments. The new joins might reveal repeated damage patterns in the fragments that were caused when the scroll was rolled up. These, as well as material features in particular fragments, such as seam remains (fragment 44), may contribute to the material reconstruction of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>.

An additional implication of the new identifications is related to the arrangement of Exod 15. Even though only one small fragment preserves the Song of the Sea in 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup> (fragment 48), it indicates that the layout of the song in the scroll was different from that of medieval Jewish manuscripts, though there may have been space for some small blank intervals in the reconstructed lines.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> For discussions of the textual classification of 4QpaleoGen-Exod<sup>1</sup>, see e.g. Emanuel Tov, "The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert: An Overview and Analysis of Published Texts," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 154; Armin Lange, "2.2.1 Ancient, Late Ancient, and Early Medieval Manuscript Evidence," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, consulted online on 11 March 2021 at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107\_thb\_COM\_0002020100; Longacre, "Contextualized Approach," 188–189.