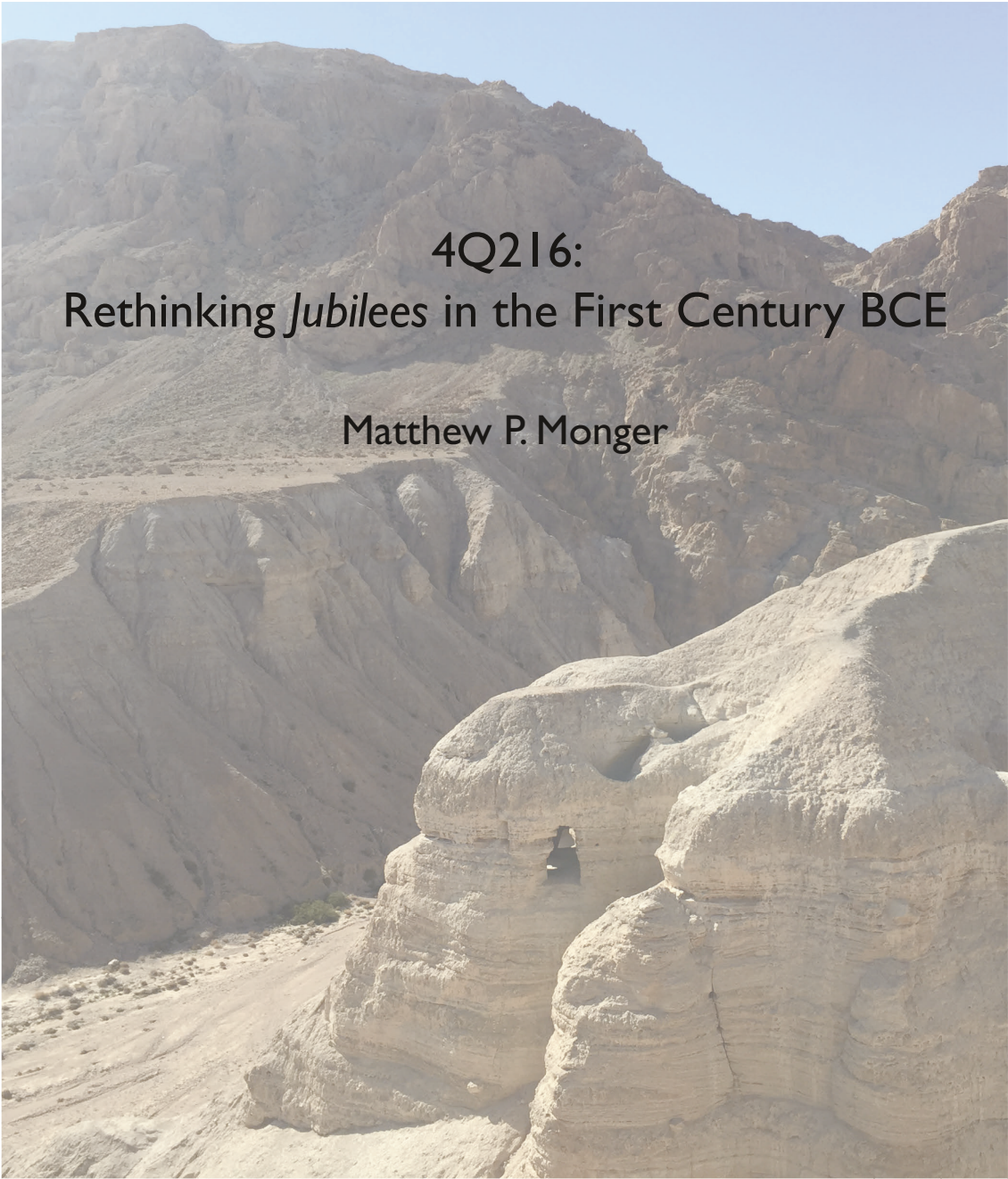


# 4Q216: Rethinking *Jubilees* in the First Century BCE

Matthew P. Monger



**This file contains the introduction and conclusion of Matthew P. Monger's 2018 dissertation. The four content articles are also cited here, but must be consulted in their original publications.**

**The Table of Contents reflects the original printing of the thesis in connection with the public defense.**

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Oslo, 5 February 2018

## 1. Introduction

4Q216, also known as 4QJubilees<sup>a</sup>, is the oldest extant manuscript containing text from what is today known as the Book of *Jubilees*. As the signum implies, this manuscript is among the manuscripts found in what has been labelled Qumran Cave 4, close to the ruins of Khirbet Qumran, on the Western shore of the Dead Sea.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this manuscript has been evident since its preliminary<sup>2</sup> and official publication,<sup>3</sup> where the antiquity of *Jubilees* as a work and its textual stability have been highlighted. These initial publications relied heavily on classical textual criticism and presented the text of the fragments of 4Q216 within the framework of a reconstructed and retroverted text, giving the impression of a stable text with few textual or literary differences from other extant manuscripts of *Jubilees*. This idea of a stable text has greatly influenced the perception of *Jubilees* and its history of composition and transmission. The extremely fragmentary nature of the manuscript itself, however, is at odds with the picture that is created in the editions. As the nature of the presentation of the fragments and reconstructed and retroverted text in the editions is not only a question of material but of methodology and philological paradigm,<sup>4</sup> an attempt at viewing 4Q216 from a different perspective than that of the traditional historical-critical paradigm<sup>5</sup> may lead to

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<sup>1</sup> See below, §1.3.1 for a discussion of the discovery and provenance of the fragments.

<sup>2</sup> James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript From Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110:2 (1991): 243–70.

<sup>3</sup> James C. VanderKam and J.T. Milik, "Jubilees," in *Qumran Cave 4, VII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge, *et al.*; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 1–186.

<sup>4</sup> See below, footnote 23 on my use of the term paradigm.

<sup>5</sup> For lack of a better term, I use the term *traditional historical-critical paradigm* to describe what underlies the theoretical and methodological framework that has influenced philology and editorial theory up until the present day. The main aspect of the historical-critical paradigm that comes into focus in this dissertation is way in which meaning and history are reconstructed and assigned within different paradigms. Here, the purpose of using such a term is to demarcate a division between the paradigm I describe here as material philological and its precursor.

different conclusions concerning the state of the text of *Jubilees* during the last century BCE.

This dissertation is an attempt to study this manuscript within a different paradigm, that of material philology.<sup>6</sup> In doing so, I will be framing this study of the manuscript not as an effort to recover the earliest text of *Jubilees* but as an analysis of a physical, text-bearing artifact that reflects the state of *Jubilees* in a specific historical and geographical context.<sup>7</sup> This allows us not only to focus on individual readings but also to connect the discussion to the material aspects of the manuscript itself and how the manuscript and its readings relate to the broader transmission of *Jubilees* and the place of *Jubilees* within the wider corpus of literature from the same historical period. The overriding argument of this study is that a material philological reading of 4Q216 provides the framework for different conclusions than previous studies of the manuscript. As a result, I will argue for the following points: 1) a material philological reading and reconstruction of 4Q216 suggests that the manuscript did not contain a complete copy of *Jubilees* but only *Jub.* 1–2; 2) in this manuscript, *Jub.* 1:15b–25 and 2:25–33 were lacking. Thus, the first two chapters of *Jubilees* were both transmitted in a shorter form than known from other later textual witnesses; and 3) the missing sections make sense as additions to *Jubilees* in the late Second Temple period, as parallels from texts found at Qumran will show. Taken together, these observations point toward a different understanding of *Jubilees* during first century BCE. While the composition of *Jubilees* material has a long and complicated history, the growth of the Jubilees traditions continues throughout the first century BCE. These main points have wider

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<sup>6</sup> I use the term material philology synonymously with new philology. For further details on the use of this term see §1.2, below. I discuss material philology, its theoretical framework and methodological implications below, footnote 8.

<sup>7</sup> See below, §1.2.2.1 for a discussion on my understanding of the term *manuscript* in this dissertation.

implications for our understanding of the relationship between *Jubilees* and other Second Temple period literature including that found at Qumran and the process of transmission of ancient texts in general. Furthermore, I hope to show through this study the importance of a material philological paradigm for the study of ancient manuscripts and their texts.

### ***1.1. Overview***

The form of this study is that of an article-based dissertation.<sup>8</sup> The four main chapters of the dissertation are four articles written to be published individually, but collected here.<sup>9</sup> The introduction and conclusion provide brief synopses, discuss the theoretical and methodological constraints of the study and expound on the findings of the individual articles. There are two research aims that tie together the entire study. The first major objective is to discuss a single manuscript of *Jubilees* from a material philological perspective. This analysis sheds light on key issues in the study of *Jubilees* in antiquity: the redaction of the text, the transmission of the text and the importance of the text in relation to other texts produced in the historical context of Second Temple Judaism. The second objective, which proceeds from the first, is to allow this study of a single manuscript of *Jubilees* to serve as a test case, and extract from it the potential value and importance of material philological investigations of other manuscripts containing texts from antiquity.

These two goals will be approached in slightly different ways. The bulk of this dissertation is the four articles that make up my material philological analysis of 4Q216.

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<sup>8</sup> Article based dissertations, also known as thesis by publication, is a type of doctoral dissertation that is comprised of articles that are published, in the process of publication or prepared for publication by the doctoral student. This is a common form in many academic fields in Europe. An overview can be found at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thesis\\_by\\_publication](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thesis_by_publication).

<sup>9</sup> A summary of the articles and publication information is presented in §1.6.

The articles discuss different material and textual elements of the manuscript, and suggest how these features can be interpreted as having great significance for our understanding of the development of *Jubilees*. Thus, the main body of this dissertation will focus on the first objective. It is in the introduction and conclusion that I will focus on the second goal. In the introduction, I will lay out the theoretical and methodological framework within which I situate my work, and discuss the basic need for moving the study of this specific manuscript of *Jubilees* into this framework. In the conclusion, I will expound on the findings discussed in the four articles and show the theoretical implications of these findings for the study of *Jubilees* and other texts that are known through ancient and medieval manuscripts.

The fact that I have chosen to place my research within the paradigm of material philology means that the theoretical framework, and therefore application of the methods, utilized here differs from most previous studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls. As such, I will begin this introductory chapter by discussing material philology from several perspectives: first by outlining the history of material philology (§1.2.1), then by discussing theoretical and methodological implications of it in general (§1.2.2–3) and through a discussion of the methods used in this dissertation in particular (§1.2.4). Following this, I will review previous scholarship on the cultural artifact that is the focus of the present study, namely 4Q216 (§1.3). In order to situate this study within the broader manuscript traditions of *Jubilees*, I will review the current state of the manuscript evidence for *Jubilees* in §1.4. I will discuss other pertinent themes related to previous scholarship that have bearing on the rest of this study, reviewing scholarship



relating both to *Jubilees* and to Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls (§1.5).<sup>10</sup> Finally, I will conclude this introductory chapter by summarizing the four articles that make up the main body of the dissertation, and outline the main arguments of these articles (§1.6).

## 1.2. *Material Philology*

This study is grounded in what is termed here material philology.<sup>11</sup> As this paradigm is still somewhat unfamiliar within the wider scholarly community, I want to outline here its historical background, ties to other fields of study, and current application in biblical studies and related fields, before discussing the way in which this paradigm affects the methods of this study.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> In this study, I use the term Qumran to refer to physical place Khirbet Qumran, whereas the Dead Sea Scrolls refers to the manuscripts found in locations adjacent to the Dead Sea, including the caves near Qumran.

<sup>11</sup> Early on, scholars seem to have used the terms material philology and New Philology to describe the same movement. Driscoll uses the terms new philology and material philology synonymously. Nichols also uses both terms synonymously, though in some of his works he prefers material philology over new philology. In the field of Latin philology, Westra uses the terms in different ways, and prefers new philology for the paradigm I am describing here. Very few scholars have explicitly written within this paradigm in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but in the few studies that have been published the growing consensus is to use the term material philology (see below, §1.2.3.3). Cf. M.J. Driscoll, "Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New," in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature* (ed. Lethbridge; Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 85–102; Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65, no. 1 (1990): 1–10; Stephen Nichols, "Why Material Philology? Some thoughts," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116, Sonderheft (1997): 10–30. I prefer the term material philology for several reasons. First, even though new philology is an established term in several fields, it can be seen as more polemic than helpful in my discussion. Second, work with manuscripts as artifacts is necessarily material, so the nomenclature fits better. Third, and most importantly in this connection, is the fact that many Dead Sea Scrolls scholars have used material methods and, though still working within a more historical-critical paradigm, they have often been forward-thinking when it comes to the combination of manuscript studies and philology.

<sup>12</sup> A good overview of the background and influence of material philology can be found in Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, "Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology," in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology* (ed. Lied and Lundhaug; TUGAL 175; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 1–19.

### 1.2.1. Background

Essentially, material philology focuses on reading texts within their material and historical context, instead of as abstract representations of an assumed older text. The new philological movement is often said to have had its catalyst in the 1989 publication by Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie*.<sup>13</sup> Cerquiglini argued that it is *variance*, not stability, which is the basic characteristic of texts transmitted in manuscript cultures. His criticism of traditional philology was warmly received in certain circles of medievalists, who quickly formulated a *New Philology*, which took into account the criticisms and ideas of Cerquiglini. The new movement was oriented toward philology, and by extension editorial theory, and the question of the way in which manuscripts and manuscript traditions should be edited and represented. The growing understanding among medievalists, so keenly addressed by Cerquiglini, was that there was a discrepancy between manuscript evidence, which shows pluriform texts and instability, and the presentation of the texts in critical editions.

In discussions of material philology, it has become common to contrast the thinking of scholars such as Cerquiglini with two emblematic figures who have influenced medievalists and biblical scholars alike in the field of textual criticism, namely the German philologist Karl Lachmann and the French historian Joseph Bédier.<sup>14</sup> The

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<sup>13</sup> Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), and the English translation: Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* (trans. Wing; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> The use of these two emblematic figures highlights the differences between what certain scholars have viewed as textual criticism on the one hand and material philology on the other. While this helpfully shows the orientation of material philology, it is admittedly problematic. Much work in textual criticism is not directly indebted to Lachmann or Bédier, but still their methods are representative of a wider paradigm of using scientific methods to search for the most pristine form of a work, which is the perspective to which material philology is reacting. On Lachmann, see Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The*

tradition connected to Lachmann highlights the importance of stemmatics in the process of uncovering the most pristine text. By establishing the oldest possible archetypes, Lachmann proposed, it would be possible to find the best readings and thereby come closer to the original intended meaning by the author. Bédier, however, criticized Lachmannian stemmatics, claiming that the efforts of the textual critic in many cases were subjective and sought to maximize the variance.<sup>15</sup> Against this background, Bédier proposed finding the one single manuscript that was most pristine, and following the readings of that manuscript as far as possible.<sup>16</sup>

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*Genesis of Lachmann's Method* (trans. Glen Most; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). Bédier's method comes to expression in his work on the *Le lai de l'ombre* [The lay of the Reflection], where he argues that the best way to address variance between manuscripts is to find the best, least corrupted manuscript and follow it closely, cf. Joseph Bedier, "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*," *Romania* 54 (1928): 161–96, Joseph Bedier, *Le Lai de l'Ombre par Jean Renart* (SATF 104; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1913). The method of Bédier has been refined and furthered in the Copy-text method promoted in the work of Walter W. Greg, Fredson Bowers, and more recently, G. Thomas Tanselle. They follow Bédier's principle of choosing the best manuscript and emending as little as possible, but promote the use of a scholarly apparatus to describe (some) of the variance encountered among the manuscripts of a given work. Cf. Walter W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950): 19–36; Fredson Bowers, "Some Principles for Scholarly Editions of Nineteenth-Century American Authors," *Studies in Bibliography* 17 (1964): 223–28; Fredson Bowers, "Multiple Authority: New Problems and Concepts of Copy-Text," *Library, Fifth Series* 27:2 (1972): 81–115; G. Thomas Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989). Note that the New Philology discussed in this dissertation is within the field of Mideaval Studies, though a similar movement also called New Philology exists in Latin American Studies.

<sup>15</sup> Bedier, "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*," 176.

<sup>16</sup> In the study of the Hebrew Bible, there seems to be a dichotomy when it comes to the idea of textual criticism. The standard edition of the Hebrew Bible is BHS (*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. [Ed. Elliger and Rudolph; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983]), a single edited manuscript in the Bédier tradition. From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, following the work of Paul de Lagarde (*Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, [Leipzig, 1863]) who focused on the notion of an archetype from to which all manuscripts could be traced, and Paul Kahle (*The Cairo Geniza* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959]) who showed pluriformity in the historical development of the text, there have been different attempts at understanding the textual traditions of the Hebrew Bible. The work of Lagarde and Kahle was reformulated after the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, most notably in the theory local recensions by Frank Moore Cross, cf. Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Cross and Talmon; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306–20. See the discussion of the developing understanding of textual history of the Hebrew

The editorial theories taught by Lachmann and Bédier are at two ends of a continuum, but are still essentially oriented toward the same goal, representing in an edition the most pristine form of an abstract text. The alternative articulated by Cerquiglini, and thus material philology, acknowledges the importance of the manuscript variance that is in fact the norm, not the exception. Building on this realization, a new direction in medieval studies began to take shape already in 1990 with the publication of an issue of *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* under the title “The New Philology.” Editor Stephen Nichols introduced the issue with a precise explanation as to why Cerquiglini’s critique was so timely in the field.<sup>17</sup> In 2010, Driscoll succinctly described the main principles of material philology in three points which can be summarized as follows: 1) a literary work must be understood in its material context and thus analyzed as a physical artifact; 2) these artifacts are the product of historically definable processes and were created in a historical context; and 3) these artifacts continue to exist and be used and affected over time, and the effects of this use may still be observed.<sup>18</sup> Thus, in the 20 years between the publication of *Speculum* and Driscoll’s article, we see a refinement of the understanding of a manuscript within the field of material philology, from viewing it as the bearer of the variant, to viewing it as the historical artifact which carries meaning and information both relevant to the text and to the context of production and use.

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Bible in Magne Sæbø, *On the Way to Canon*, (JSOTSS 191; Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 36–46. Note that many of the discussions of scholars of the Hebrew Bible cited here are concerned with textual history and not editorial theory or practice per se. The standard edition of the Hebrew Bible and most textbooks in textual criticism remain oriented toward reproducing or finding the best possible text.

<sup>17</sup> Stephen Nichols, “Philology in a Manuscript Culture,” *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 65:1 (1990): 1–10. Cf. also the other articles in the same issue of *Speculum*.

<sup>18</sup> Driscoll, “Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New,” 90–91.

Only in recent years has the material philological paradigm been introduced to biblical studies and the study of other ancient works.<sup>19</sup> The changing understanding of the shape and transmission of texts in antiquity is part of a movement toward material philology in a number of related disciplines, though the connection is not always explicit. Similar debates are now evident, and make up a growing part of the scholarly discussion within the fields of biblical studies,<sup>20</sup> rabbinics,<sup>21</sup> Coptic studies,<sup>22</sup> and the study of reception history,<sup>23</sup> to name a few. In the next section, I will detail the way I

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<sup>19</sup> Liv Ingeborg Lied, “Textual Transmission and Liturgical Transformation of 2 Baruch in Syriac Monasticism” (paper presented at The Rest is Commentary: New Work on Ancient Jewish Texts. Yale University, 2013). This has been further elaborated by Lied in Liv Ingeborg Lied, “Text - Work - Manuscript: What is an Old Testament Pseudepigraphon,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 25, no. 2 (2015): 150–65; and Lied and Lundhaug, “Studying Snapshots: On Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology.” Cf. Also the other chapters in Liv Ingeborg Lied and Hugo Lundhaug, *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*.

<sup>20</sup> See e.g. Phillip R. Davies, “Biblical Studies: Fifty Years of a Multi-Discipline,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 13:1 (2014): 34–66; Bart Ehrman, “The Text as Window: New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity,” in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (ed. Ehrman and Holmes; *New Testament Tools, Studies and Documents* 42; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 803–30; David C. Parker, *Textual Scholarship and the Making of the New Testament: the Lyell Lectures, Oxford: Trinity Term 2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Juan Hernández, *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse: The Singular Readings of Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Ephraemi* (WUNT 2 218; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Larry Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006); Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Carol Bakhos, ed., *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash* (SJSJ 106; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Lance Jenott, *The Gospel of Judas: Coptic Text, Translation, and History of Interpretation of “The Betrayer’s Gospel”* (STAC 64; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); Karen King, “Approaching the Variants of the Apocryphon of John,” in *The Nag Hammadi Library After Fifty Years: Proceedings of the 1995 Society of Biblical Literature Commemoration*. (ed. Turner and McGuire; *Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies* 44; Leiden: Brill, 1997); Hugo Lundhaug, “The Nag Hammadi Codices: Textual Fluidity in Coptic,” in *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (ed. Bausi; Hamburg: COMSt, 2015); Hugo Lundhaug and Lance Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (STAC 97; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015).

<sup>23</sup> Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014); John W. Lyons and Emma England, eds., *Reception History and Biblical Studies: Theory and Practice* (LHOTSST; London: T&T Clark, 2015).

understand the current state of material philology as a paradigm that provides a theoretical framework, and the way it influences the study of ancient manuscripts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

### 1.2.2. Theoretical Considerations

As can be seen from the discussion above, material philology has taken shape not only as a challenge to the methods and practices of the traditional textual criticism and editorial theory, but also implies a theoretical reorientation when it comes to the focus of research on texts in a manuscript culture in general. In the following, I want to outline the way material philology as a paradigm<sup>24</sup> affects the epistemological orientation of the scholar. Material philology is now a broad interdisciplinary movement that is developing in a variety of fields but does not simply consist of combining material methods with traditional philology. Instead, it represents a new way of contextualizing texts and manuscripts, and evaluating meaning.

At the outset, it is important to draw a clear distinction between the goals of textual criticism in particular and the historical-critical paradigm in general on the one side and material philology on the other.<sup>25</sup> Building on the three characteristics outlined

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<sup>24</sup> I define paradigm here as a fundamental worldview that underlies and influences both theory and methodology across related disciplines and fields of study, following Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, (3<sup>rd</sup> edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 175, who defines (one use of) the term paradigm as “the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community.” Paradigm influences not only the way material is analyzed, but also what questions are asked, how they are asked, how the results are collected and interpreted, etc. Material Philology should be seen as a paradigm because it encompasses more than simply new methods or ideas, but implies an epistemological reorientation in relation to the reading and analysis of ancient and medieval texts.

<sup>25</sup> See the discussion of this in Bernard Cerquiglini, “Une nouvelle philologie?” in *Towards a New Philology - Vers une nouvelle philologie* (Budapest, Hungary, 2000).



by Driscoll<sup>26</sup> and listed above, we can discern several ways in which the theoretical orientation of material philology differs from that of the historical-critical paradigm. First, it is important to note that material philology does not have the same goal as textual criticism. Instead of an attempt to find the best readings and reconstruct the work<sup>27</sup> at an earlier stage, material philology acknowledges that we do not have access to a work apart from the manuscripts, which themselves are artifacts of specific times and places. Given this, material philology studies the manuscript in its specific context and studies features of an individual manuscript as they fit into the socio-cultural context where the manuscript was copied and kept. This is where one of the most important theoretical observations comes to expression. In the historical critical paradigm, meaning is seen as being constituted in the earliest possible form of a text, or even in the original context of the composition of the text. As there are very few ancient texts which are available in their original manuscripts, the earliest form of a text is represented by a reconstruction or hypothetical earlier or original text. In other words, the actual representation on any given manuscript is not constitutive of meaning, but rather the sum of intended meaning as written by the original author. Within the material philological paradigm meaning is viewed as being constituted in the production of and engagement with the manuscript itself. That is to say that scribes, readers, and users of a text are “agents of textuality,” and are the principle providers of meaning to the text. Thus, analyzing the text as it appears on the pages of a manuscript is a primary focus of material philology, and the context for the analysis is the time and place of the production and use of the manuscript, not the abstract notion of the work. This point cannot be emphasized enough, as it is often a point of misunderstanding. The material

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<sup>26</sup> Driscoll, “Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New.”

<sup>27</sup> See below, §1.2.2.3 on the definition of work used in this study.

philological paradigm constitutes an epistemological turn in relation to previous theoretical frameworks. Material philology is not modernist—attempting to find the intended meaning of the author, nor is it strictly post-modern—only finding meaning in the interaction of the modern reader and the text. Material philology is historical, as it seeks to find meaning in the interaction between the historical context and the actual text as it appears on the pages of the manuscript. It is also descriptive in nature, but describes meaning as being in the historical and material context, not only in the context of the modern reader.

A further theoretical implication of material philology is a focus on the reception of a text in its material and historical context. This means that certain questions are more pertinent than in the historical-critical paradigm. For example, many manuscripts contain excerpts or parts of other works, or may contain a certain collection of complete works. While the form of the text on the pages of such manuscripts may be interesting when compared with the texts of other manuscripts, there are also interesting questions that the material philological paradigm raises, such as the purpose of such manuscripts, how and why they were produced, used and circulated, how their texts influenced and created meaning for readers and users. Additionally, the value of such manuscripts for understanding the process of transmission of a given work must be considered. How often works were transmitted in their entirety in antiquity, in what forms they were known and the manner of transmission of these texts are all relevant discussions that come to light when the manuscript is seen as an artifact containing historical information.

Before moving on to a discussion of the methodological implications of the material philological paradigm, it is helpful to introduce some key terms that facilitate a

precise discussion of material artifacts from a material philological perspective: *manuscript*, *text*, and *work*.<sup>28</sup> It is at the level of the conception of a composition material philology most deeply challenges the historical-critical paradigm, and though these terms are not unique to the material philological paradigm, they are important here because making a distinction between them helps maintain focus on the different levels on which a composition might be conceived, and thus how we study ancient texts.<sup>29</sup>

### 1.2.2.1. Manuscript

A manuscript is a composite physical and cultural artifact, produced at a certain place at a certain point in time.<sup>30</sup> As the etymology implies, it is a hand-written document. More importantly, in material philology, a manuscript is an object that may be studied both with and without the text that it may contain. Material properties such as the size, shape, preparation, age and degree of damage/reparation are analyzable features that are comparable with other manuscripts.<sup>31</sup> Further, such material properties are the result of

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<sup>28</sup> These or similar terms are commonly used in the formative works on material philology, cf. Driscoll, “Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New,” 93–95; Judy Quinn, “Introduction,” in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature* (ed. Quinn and Lethbridge; Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark), 13–37. Similar discussions have been taking place in the field of textual criticism, cf. Tanselle, *A Rationale of Textual Criticism*; Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition With Introduction and Textual Commentary* (The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition 1; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015). Eibert Tigchelaar has also discussed the use of similar terminology in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of 4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman),” in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. Grossman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 26–47.

<sup>29</sup> As far as I know, these terms were first introduced into the study of the Pseudepigrapha in Lied, “Textual Transmission and Liturgical Transformation of 2 Baruch in Syriac Monasticism.” See also Driscoll, “Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New.”

<sup>30</sup> Thus, when I use the term artifact to describe a manuscript, my usage pertains to the composite object and many different elements which may be studied, including physical features and the text.

<sup>31</sup> See the definition and analysis of paratextual features in Gérard Genette, *Paratexts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

historical processes and can provide information on the context of the production and use of the manuscript. I also include here under the rubric of “material properties” the way in which a text is presented on the page, including the preparation of the manuscript (i.e. ruling, line spacing and number of lines on the page) and style of writing, and other scribal practices. These properties can help determine the purpose and use of a certain text, and though the measurements of these physical properties are absolute (i.e. size, age, etc.) their interpretation is not. Thus, the analysis of a manuscript should be seen on two axes, one material, and one textual. That is, the manuscript will have features that are both similar to and different from other manuscripts, at the same time, the manuscript can be analyzed as the bearer of a text. Likewise, the assessment of the text in its particular form should be shaped by the material attributes of the manuscript.

#### **1.2.2.2. Text**

The text is made up of the actual letters and words of writing that are physically present on the page. In this way, text cannot be seen as independent of the manuscript, but is materially bound to the medium on which it is communicated. Thus, when I describe the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts which contain words from *Jubilees*, I refer to them as “manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees*.” The text cannot be independent of the manuscript that bears it. The text of a manuscript may be organized in different ways, sometimes segmenting the text into different units, while other times presenting a running text. Sections of the text that are graphically or physically separated from other parts of the text by means of spacing, rubrics or other features can be called “layout

units.<sup>32</sup> Biblical books are often presented as individual layout units in biblical manuscripts, but not always.

In this study, I attempt to make the distinction between text and manuscript clear: when using the term manuscript, I am speaking of material details while when using the term text, I am talking about the words as they are found on the pages of the manuscript. Sometimes illegible or difficult sections will call for speculation or discussion, but generally the words that are on the page are observable and thus it is possible to extract and analyze them further. In two of the articles below, I call into question whether 4Q216 could have contained the entire text of what is known from Ethiopic Jubilees.<sup>33</sup> In other words, I am questioning whether parts of the text known from manuscripts of *Jubilees* in Ethiopic were included within the text of 4Q216.

### 1.2.2.3. Work

The term *work* is used here to describe the *conception* of a composition as a coherent unit.<sup>34</sup> In this way, the name of a work functions as a cognitive placeholder for the idea an individual has not only regarding the contents, but often the history and position of that given work. For the modern reader, the conception of the work is often based on

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<sup>32</sup> This may or may not coincide with literary units, which can be defined as sections of the text that belong together upon examination from a literary perspective. Layout units can differ in different manuscripts, and literary units are the result of the conception of the work by the scholar doing the analysis. Thus, there can be discrepancies between an ancient and a modern idea of the literary units of a work.

<sup>33</sup> See below in Articles 3 and 4.

<sup>34</sup> I use the term *work* in the same way as others use the term document, composition, or even book in the meaning “a biblical book.” This follows Lied, “Text - Work - Manuscript: What is an Old Testament Pseudepigraphon,” 2; and Driscoll, “Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New.” Parker uses a similar distinction, but chooses the term “document” where I follow Lied’s “manuscript,” cf., Parker, *Textual scholarship and the Making of the New Testament: the Lyell Lectures*, Oxford: Trinity Term 2011, 10–31.

the version or translation of the work one is most familiar with. This conception may differ from the conception an ancient reader or writer would have had of what we perceive as the same work. In other words, the conception of *Jubilees* is more or less formed by an intuition that is subjective, or specific to a cultural group or time period, and which takes place in the mind of each person who encounters the work, and in the collective mind of the field. In addition, the conception may change over time both in the mind of an individual and in the common perception and understanding of a group.

To connect this discussion of terminology to this dissertation, I believe that differing conceptions of *Jubilees* is at the heart of the differing opinions on the origin and composition of *Jubilees* by James VanderKam, James Kugel and Michael Segal, to name a few.<sup>35</sup> Each one conceives the work *Jubilees* in slightly different ways, and the aims and methods of analysis are influenced by this conception. This is certainly true in my case as well. As I am here primarily concerned with the *Jubilees* manuscripts from Qumran and am working from a material philological perspective, my conception of *Jubilees* has been greatly informed (some would say prejudiced) by the fragmentary nature of the Qumran *Jubilees* material and my material philological paradigm. In the present context, this means that I conceive of *Jubilees* material<sup>36</sup> as being circulated in different forms, and because of this, I talk about the work in a certain way. This also implies that I talk about the texts and manuscripts in a certain way, which is further reflected in my analyses.

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<sup>35</sup> See below, §1.5.1 on these positions.

<sup>36</sup> Within the term “Jubilees material,” I would include the so-called *Pseudo-Jubilees* manuscripts from Qumran, cf. §1.4.1, below.



#### 1.2.2.4. Further Terminological Challenges

Another issue which presents itself in this context is how to talk about differing examples of a work. For example, if we take the text of one of the Ethiopic manuscripts of *Jubilees* and compare it to another, we will find certain differences between them. In traditional textual criticism, the next step would be to evaluate them and decide which one was a better representative of the most pristine or earliest possible text. This, however, is not a necessary step. Most scholars would still consider the text of both manuscripts to be examples of the work *Jubilees*. Even relatively major differences could be allowed while still calling them the same work. The difficulty here is finding the boundaries. A helpful distinction known from textual criticism is the use of the terms *recension* and *version*: recensions are understood as different (groups of) revisions of a work, within a single linguistic tradition, while versions are translations to other languages. Thus, we may speak of different versions of the Hebrew Bible (i.e. LXX, Vulgate, Peshitta, etc.), and also different recensions within both the Hebrew Bible in Hebrew (Masoretic Text, Samaritan Pentateuch, etc.) or within the versions (i.e. the recensions of the LXX: Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion).

In the articles below, I will discuss the fact that I do not believe that 4Q216 ever included the entire text of the work *Jubilees*, as known through Ethiopic *Jubilees*. How then do we speak of the text of 4Q216, which includes parts of *Jub.* 1–2? Should this still be considered an (extracted) copy of *Jubilees*? Or should it be considered something else? The problem is that when reading the text, or a translation of the text, anyone familiar with *Jubilees* will know that the text is very similar to *Jubilees* and will assume that it should be included as a fragment of *Jubilees*. However, the purpose and use of this particular scroll may not have been to represent the whole *work* but simply one or

more literary units known from the work. Further, I will argue that 4Q216 does not contain the entire text of either chapter 1 or 2, so the manuscript reflects a different place in the development of the work than the later Ethiopic manuscripts.

Another difficult terminological discussion that needs to be touched upon here is how to describe resemblances between the texts of different manuscripts. I do not operate with a strict definition of influence in the study of 4Q216. In the articles, I have often chosen to use the term *affinities* when speaking of similarities between different texts. In a time when we are unsure of the nature, purpose, use and dates of texts, I find it prudent to avoid too many specific claims of directionality, but prefer to describe the fact that certain texts share a common idea and/or expression. Thus, I will as often as possible refrain from positing claims of directionality – for example claiming that a given text is a source for another – but would rather discuss the way in which the ideas communicated through a text are also communicated in other texts. This is a direct result of the theoretical discussion above. By viewing texts as found in the manuscripts as constituting meaning, we are ascribing them a function of representing ideas, but not abstractly from the context in which they communicate.<sup>37</sup>

### 1.2.3. The Methodological Framework of Material Philology

Building upon the observations in the previous section, this section serves to outline how a material philological method might function. In the following, I will outline the broader methodological trends that are important to, and incorporated into, a material philological analysis. In addition to the broader influences on material philological

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<sup>37</sup> In discussions of later texts, such as the Greek and Syriac chronologies, I use the terms citations and allusions along the same lines as other scholars working with those texts. The main argument for doing so is that many of the chronographers actually mention *Jubilees* as their source in certain places, and it seems most likely that *Jubilees* is being alluded to in others. Cf. the discussion in §1.4.2.1, below.

method, I will pay specific attention here to the challenges of working with texts that are known from translations but also attested with fragmentary evidence from a much earlier period. Put in terms specific to this study, the question is how to work with the manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* from the first century BCE, when the most extensive manuscripts are found in Ge'ez (i.e. a translation) from Ethiopia (i.e. far away) copied in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and onward (i.e. very late). The obvious methodological hurdle here is the distance, linguistically, geographically and historically between the most *developed* evidence and the *oldest* evidence.

### 1.2.3.1. The Manuscript

The theoretical groundwork presented in the previous section makes clear that the focus of a material philological study is first of all the manuscript itself. The perspective of material philology is that the manuscript is to be treated as a composite artifact, which may contain information about the context of its production and use. Material philology is not only concerned with the text or the manuscript, but treats both as integrated parts of a whole. In this study, and other material philological studies, the term *material analysis* or *material description* may be used to avoid using such terms as “papyrology”, “codicology” and “bibliographical analysis” which all problematically point toward a certain type of document or manuscript which is to be analyzed.<sup>38</sup>

Drawing on the methods of manuscript scholars and book historians,<sup>39</sup> the initial steps in material philology are physical description, paleographical analysis, discussion

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<sup>38</sup> This is especially difficult when working with the Dead Sea Scrolls, where the assumption is that the majority of the fragmentary manuscripts were once rolled as scrolls, but some of them were likely folded or even left open. In studies of codices or papyri, the terms *codicology* and *papyrology* are of course appropriate. Here, I am trying to find a blanket term that avoids confusion or misnomers in the wider methodological perspective.

<sup>39</sup> A recent overview of manuscript studies in different traditions can be found in Alessandro Bausi, General Editor, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (Electronic edition available at

of the scribal practices, and discussion of other post-production features of the manuscript.<sup>40</sup> The purpose of the discussion of the production of the manuscript and its physical properties is to situate the manuscript in a specific context, both historically and within the specific manuscript culture it comes from. It is from this initial work that the discussion of the text proceeds, as it relates to its material and historical context.

### 1.2.3.2. The Text

At the level of methodology, work with text in material philology is quite similar to that of traditional textual criticism, as there is continuity in the initial steps of the process. First comes a process of collecting and identifying variants, where possible. Theoretically, we can argue that at this stage all variants are considered equal from both the perspective of the historical-critical paradigm and material philology. Often, however, ideas of relationships between variants as described in scholarship already influence the way scholars interact with variants at this stage. Material philology seeks to free variants from models that describe them as being superior or inferior based on the assumed tradition of the manuscript. The next step is the analysis of the variance found between different witnesses by attempting to establish a relationship between the variants. To a certain extent, a material philological analysis will follow the methods of the historical-critical paradigm here as well, attempting to establish variants as the product of scribal error, simple grammatical differences, corrections, improvements to the text, or major revisions. But where the traditional philological discussion will here turn to assigning value to variants in relation to one another as concerns their proximity

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<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/comst/publications/handbook.html>; Hamburg: COMST, 2015). This volume is mainly focused on codices, but many of the practices are directly relevant to the study of scrolls. I will develop the discussion on the material description of scrolls in particular below, in section §1.2.3.4.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, 69–88. Readers familiar with the editions found in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series will be familiar with this process as applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls. For more on this, see below, §1.2.3.4.

to a hypothetical reconstructed text, or their place within text-types and families, material philology frames the analysis rather in the context of the production and use of the manuscript itself. Instead of discussing the best reading, a material philological analysis will treat the variant readings as constituting meaning in their contexts.

It is important here to note that while a material philological study may suggest that a given reading is the result of a mistake, that same reading is just as valuable for understanding how the text was read and understood in the context of the manuscript. In other words, while there may be good arguments for viewing a variant as being the result of a misreading, mistranslation or mistake on the part of the scribe, we should not automatically assume that the reader and user of this manuscript would have understood that to be the case. Further, mistakes in one manuscript may be copied as though they are correct when new copies are made. Similarly, the discovery of intentional or theologically motivated changes to the text should be read in the same way. By comparing the different variants, we can see where one manuscript may teach us something about the historical and theological setting it comes from, or was used in, that would otherwise not be understood.

### **1.2.3.3. Material Philology and the Dead Sea Scrolls**

The application of material philological method in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls is in some important ways different than its application in the study of medieval manuscripts, where the term material philology originated. In the following, I want to outline the development of material methods in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Materiality has always been important in the study of the fragmentary manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls, but, as I will show here, while the methods have been materially oriented, the

underlying paradigm has up until very recently, been that of the historical-critical paradigm.

After their discovery in the 1940's and 1950's, the scrolls have provided both confirmation and challenges to the traditional understanding of the development of the text of the Hebrew Bible. Many scrolls scholars have been adept at material and paleographical methods, and the publication of principal editions of many of the Dead Sea Scrolls show this focus on material description. There are three main factors that have contributed to the current state of affairs. First, the manuscripts found in the Judean desert are generally in such a poor state that material analysis has been necessary—and has been practiced—since the very beginning. In this case, it has often been the same scholars that have played both the role of the manuscript scholar<sup>41</sup> and the philologist.<sup>42</sup> Thus the *methods* of manuscript scholars are not unfamiliar to the philologists working with the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>43</sup> Second, many Dead Sea Scrolls

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<sup>41</sup> The term “manuscript scholar” is used here in lieu of a better term for the material analysis of scrolls as opposed to codices or books.

<sup>42</sup> From the very first editions in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series, there have been physical and material discussions of the manuscripts. Later, a method for material reconstruction was developed by Hartmut Stegemann, who demonstrated the value of material analysis for understanding the approximate size of individual scrolls. This was further developed and used by Anette Steudel and others. Cf. Hartmut Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, (ed. Schiffman; JSPSS 8, JSOT/ASOPR Monographs 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 181–220; Anette Steudel, “Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Flint and VanderKam; 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998–99), 1:516–34; Dirk Stoll, “Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer – mathematisch oder Wie kann man einer Rekonstruktion Gestalt verleihen?,” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. Fabry, et al.; SIJD 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 205–18.

<sup>43</sup> Some examples of analyses of individual texts using a material method are Anette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschata.b). Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditions-geschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1993); Tigchelaar, “Constructing, Deconstructing and Reconstructing Fragmentary Manuscripts: Illustrated by a Study of



manuscripts contain texts previously unknown to scholars. In working with new texts, scholars were dependent upon material methods of reconstructing the scroll without a good understanding of the text.<sup>44</sup> Third, the manuscripts found in the caves near Qumran contain the earliest known text of many biblical and related works. Seen in contrast with the previous point, it becomes apparent that the work on known texts was seen as somewhat easier, because the fragmented manuscripts could be situated in the known or reconstructed Hebrew text of a given work, allowing an easier process of reconstruction. The philological work on these manuscripts has been framed by the historical-critical paradigm, and despite the material orientation of the research and the wide range of variants, the idea of establishing the “best” reading has often been at the forefront of scholars’ mind. This has resulted in somewhat of a dichotomy in the way in which known and unknown texts were treated.

While the scholars working with the Dead Sea Scrolls have been methodologically in tune with the work of manuscript scholars, their theoretical orientation has often been that of traditional textual criticism. The editions of Dead Sea Scrolls have generally confirmed this orientation, by first giving a material and/or codicological analysis before turning to the textual discussion. It is important to note here that I am not criticizing the

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4Q184 (4QWiles of the Wicked Woman”); Torleif Elgvin, “How to Reconstruct a Fragmented Scroll: the Puzzle of 4Q422,” in *Norther Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Petersen, et al; STJD 80; Leiden: Brill), 223–36; Torleif Elgvin, *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs in the Hasmonean and early-Herodian Periods* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017); Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text in 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), George Brooke, “4QGen<sup>d</sup> Reconsidered,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Treballe Barrera: Florilegium Complutense* (ed. Otere and Morales; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 51–70. The results of the material analyses published in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series have been collated and processed in Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>44</sup> See especially Carol A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (HSS 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

general efforts of the DJD editions for their material analysis. On the contrary, I believe that the original editors and their successors have shown great insight in the ways in which manuscripts have been described, making Dead Sea Scrolls studies one of the fields where many of the commentators actually worked hands on with the manuscripts. My assertion here is that the presentation of the texts in the editions has still been framed by a histiocal-critical paradigm, which caused many texts to be conformed to models that did not necessarily fit the material.<sup>45</sup>

The understanding of the text of the Hebrew Bible and the development of the biblical text has shown a significant development since the first Qumran scrolls were found.<sup>46</sup> The background for this development is an important part of the changing understanding of how the scrolls should be read in their context. In the early years of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, the received understanding of the text of the Hebrew Bible led scholars to look for readings which would label a manuscript as being in the Masoretic text family, the Septuagint family or a non-aligned text.<sup>47</sup> As more and more evidence has come to light, it has become apparent that the number of manuscripts that do not fit the traditional categories is much too high to be able to maintain the categories of “Masoretic Text type” and “Septuagint Text type” as archetypical. In other

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<sup>45</sup> Cf. Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. Flint and Kim; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 51–66.

<sup>46</sup> A good example of this is to compare the three editions of Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.; Minneapolis, Fortress Press: 1992); idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Minneapolis, Fortress Press: 2001); idem, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Minneapolis, Fortress Press: 2012). Each new edition of the book shows his developing understanding of how the text of the Hebrew Bible took shape. See also Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (VTS 169; Leiden, Brill: 2015), 1–27; Frank Moore Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in Light of Discoveries from the Judaean Desert,” *Harvard Theological Review* 57 (1964): 281–99; Cross, “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts.”

<sup>47</sup> See the discussion in the references in the previous footnote on this point.

words, it seems that manuscripts are different from one another, and variant readings do not always lead to a better understanding of an earlier text of a work. The realization that the shape of many biblical works was still in flux during the Qumran period has led to a refinement of theories about the development of the text and what that means for the fields of textual criticism and exegesis. Because it has become apparent that the text was still developing and changing during the Qumran period, studies of the shape of individual works during this period are relevant and helpful.

Currently, there is a growing movement toward material philology in the study of ancient texts and manuscripts.<sup>48</sup> This movement toward a material philological paradigm can be seen as following a trend that aims at analyzing all the manuscripts related to a single work among the texts of the Judean Desert.<sup>49</sup> In many cases, it seems that while the methods and some of the questions are material philological, the analysis is still framed in terms of traditional philology. Turning toward a material philological paradigm in research on the ancient texts implies asking different questions, while

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<sup>48</sup> A paper given in 2012 by Liv Ingeborg Lied (“New (Material) Philology and Qumran Studies” [Paper, New Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, University of Agder, 21–23 August 2012]) at a conference organized for discussion of the new edition of DJD 1 being prepared by Torleif Elgvin, Årstein Justnes and Kipp Davis pointed out the need for connecting material philology and Qumran studies. This was followed up in 2014 by the “Material Philology and the Dead Sea Scrolls” conference that was arranged in Copenhagen, Denmark, which sought to investigate methods and ideas related to material philology, the proceedings from the conference are forthcoming.

<sup>49</sup> See Mika Pajunen, *Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (JAJSup 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Daniel Falk, “Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,” in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity* (ed. Löhr; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33–87; David Willgren, *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms* (FAT2 88; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016). See especially the works of Kipp Davis, who is the only scholar I am aware of who explicitly frames their work as being within New Philology: Kipp Davis, “There and Back Again’: Reconstruction and Reconciliation in the War Texts of 4QMilḥama<sup>a</sup> (4Q246a—c),” in *The War Scroll, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on hthe Occasion of His 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (ed. Kipp Davis et al.; STJD 115; Leiden: Brill, 2015), 125–46.

continuing to use, and also refine, both material and philological methods to analyze the manuscripts. Questions such as the following are valuable in a material philological investigation: How was the manuscript prepared? What materials were used and what was its size and shape? What were the (possible) contents of a particular scroll? Does any given manuscript represent an entire book of the Hebrew Bible or another work, or is it an excerpt or something else? What do different manuscripts teach us about the ways different books were being transmitted during the late Second Temple period? How does the variance found in the texts of different manuscripts affect the meaning of the texts for those who read and used those manuscripts?

Many of these questions concern the relationship of the manuscript to the work in question. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, Psalms manuscripts have provided an excellent case for examining the relationship between manuscripts and works in a framework that we can call material philological.<sup>50</sup> Texts from the book of Psalms are widely represented among Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts, but there is no single manuscript from Qumran that contained all 150 Psalms that are found in the Masoretic Text. In fact, there is wide variation in the contents, structure and style of the manuscripts containing Psalm texts. Further, there are often non-canonical Psalms found in the same manuscripts as canonical Psalms, raising questions to the state of the Psalter canon during the late Second Temple period. Scholars have only recently begun to evaluate what exactly this means for the understanding of individual manuscripts, and for the book of Psalms as a whole.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Cf. especially Willgren, *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms*; Pajunen, *Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*; Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity*.

<sup>51</sup> See Pajunen, *Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*; Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity*, 19–50.

This study of 4Q216, a manuscript containing text from *Jubilees*, fits into this growing movement of research. By grounding this study in material philology, I will allow these theoretical and methodological influences to develop in my research and shed light both on the material and on the way in which material philology can be used in a specific context. On the whole, I believe the theoretical and methodological orientation is fruitful for my analysis. However, material philology should not be seen as above criticism. The aspect of the study of ancient texts which comes most clearly in focus here is that of the context of the production and transmission of individual manuscripts, and questions of history of a text prior to the individual manuscripts falls into the background. Critics of material philology often ask what is to be done with editions of ancient texts, how they should be used and how new editions should be made, given ambivalence of material philologists to value readings and suggest hypothetical reconstructions. In this aspect material philology will never completely replace the need for editions that are produced within other paradigms. However, material philology can contribute to nuancing the way in which editions are understood and interpreted.

Another criticism that often arises against material philology is one of methodological consistency when dealing with fragmentary manuscripts which necessitate textual reconstructions in order to continue with material analysis. However, it is in these situations that the hybrid nature of material philology comes to light, it is both philological and material in nature, and uses different methods to analyze the material. In the following section, I will outline my specific understanding and implementation of material philological method on the material I have chosen as a focus for this study, 4Q216.

#### 1.2.4. Method: Material Philological Analysis

In the discussion above, I have tried to give a general idea of the theoretical and methodological framework that is implied by the material philological paradigm. Now, I will discuss the method that I have used in the research that has led to the four articles that are the bulk of this study. I will outline the process here, but refer to the individual articles for the specific findings.

##### 1.2.4.1. Selection of the Material

The subject of this dissertation is 4Q216, a fragmentary manuscript containing text from *Jubilees*. The selection of this manuscript is a result of my general interest in *Jubilees*, and the realization in reading 4Q216 that there was need for a discussion of the manuscript from a different perspective than that of the historical critical-paradigm.<sup>52</sup> Further, as the oldest extant manuscript containing text from *Jubilees*, this manuscript is most suited for a discussion of the state of *Jubilees* in as early a context as possible. My interest in the manuscript also developed as a result of my observation that had 4Q216 contained the entire text of *Jubilees*, it would have been far longer than the largest Qumran scrolls.<sup>53</sup> This observation should not be taken to mean that 4Q216 was uniquely long, but rather that it was something other than a complete copy of the work. This in turn made clear the need for further investigation of the scroll.

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<sup>52</sup> In the future, I plan to present the findings of the application of the same method on the other Qumran manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees*.

<sup>53</sup> Based on a comparison of the text of the manuscript and the corresponding passages in James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511, Eth. 87; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), which contains 48,337 words, cf. Todd R. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees* (EJL 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012). The percentage of the extant text compared to the entire Ethiopic Jubilees is then used to calculate approximately how many columns would be necessary to include the entire text. For further discussion, see below, Article 2.

### 1.2.4.2. Material Observations

The material philological method of describing the manuscript outlined above will be employed in the following. As 4Q216 is previously described and published, some of this presentation is repetitive in nature, but I have attempted to verify the findings of the editors of DJD 13. To do so, I visited the scrollerly of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Jerusalem in January and February 2016.<sup>54</sup> I have also spent much time using the most recent photographs available on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Library.<sup>55</sup> I have Adobe Photoshop, an important tool that aids in digitally positioning fragments in relation to one another, as well as measuring and describing the fragments.<sup>56</sup> I have attempted to describe all pertinent material features of the manuscript, and in this process have described several important finds that are not described in the principal edition.<sup>57</sup>

### 1.2.4.3. Placement of the Fragments

With the help of Photoshop, I was able to place the fragments and manipulate them in a properly scaled digital environment, in order to test different theories about their placement, and relation to the text of *Jubilees*.<sup>58</sup> The reconstructed text was entered

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<sup>54</sup> Many thanks to Torleif Elgvin for facilitating the visit, as well as spending several days examining the manuscript with me. Thanks also to the IAA, especially Pnina Shor and Beatriz Riestra for giving me access to this and other *Jubilees* manuscripts.

<sup>55</sup> [www.deadseascrolls.org.il](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il)

<sup>56</sup> A special thanks to Bendik Kråvik Schøien for his assistance with Photoshop, and Kipp Davis for his advice on several important issues.

<sup>57</sup> See below, Article 1.

<sup>58</sup> The text of the reconstructed context for the fragments follows the suggestions of DJD13, with emendations based my own readings and on Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar., "A Cave 4 Fragment of Divre Mosheh (4QDM) and the Text of 1Q22 1:7–10 and *Jub.* 1:9, 14," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 12:3 (2005): 303–12; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (vol. 2; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2013); Ben Zion Wacholder, "Jubilees as Super Canon: Torah-Admonition versus Torah-Commandment," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. Bernstein, et al.; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 195–211.

using fonts that were developed by extracting examples of the letters from the manuscript itself.<sup>59</sup> The use of images of the scribes' own letters allows for a more precise placement of the fragments based not only on letter counts, but the actual sizes of the letters used in the manuscript.<sup>60</sup> On the whole, the placement of the fragments found in DJD 13 seems to me the only convincing arrangement of the material, though I have made several minor adjustments. However, as we shall see, the reconstruction of the manuscript and the text that it may have contained is a different story.

#### **1.2.4.4. Material Reconstruction**

After establishing the placement of the fragments, I used the method of material reconstruction developed by Hartmut Stegemann, which uses an analysis of damage patterns to calculate original size of a scroll.<sup>61</sup> I observed three separate damage patterns that gave viable results as well as a possible fourth point of reference. The results of this are discussed in Article 1, below.

#### **1.2.4.5. Textual Variance: Philological and Historical Analysis**

The philological and historical analysis, framed by material philology, is the most important step in my methodology, as it is the step that is most interpretive in nature. In my discussion of variance, I have chosen to divide variants into two types, textual and literary variants. This is a somewhat superficial division, but serves to separate issues related to the interpretation of words on the one hand from discussions on larger literary units on the other. This step in the process involves describing the variance that is found

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<sup>59</sup> Thanks again to Bendik Kråvik Schøien for his assistance in the extraction of the images and construction of the fonts.

<sup>60</sup> It is important to note here that while this method seems more precise than simply counting letter spaces, its accuracy can be disputed, as any scribe is inconsistent in certain details, and some more so than others. Still, I believe the method of using the scribe's own hand to reconstruct the manuscript makes for a more precise representation.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the discussion above §1.2.3.3 and the references there.



between 4Q216 and the other witnesses to *Jub.* 1–2, as well as interpreting the possible meaning of the variance. These two foci make up the bulk of the discussion in articles 3 and 4 in this dissertation. In the discussions on variance, I note relevant manuscript evidence where extant.

Thus, the analysis follows two axes, one diachronic and one synchronic: the first is the development of the text and literary structure of the book over time, the second is the relation of the specific textual and literary variants found in 4Q216 to the historical context of the manuscript. In other words, I am attempting to look at ways in which variants may inform discussions of the composition and development of the text of *Jubilees* on the one hand, and the historical context of the manuscripts of *Jubilees* on the other.

The themes of *Jubilees*, and *Jubilees*' relation to Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls are widely discussed in previous scholarship, so before turning to a discussion of extant manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees*, I want to give an overview of scholarship related to these themes, as well as 4Q216 itself.

### **1.3. *Previous Research***

In this section, I will review the history of the manuscript, after it was found sometime in the 1950's to the present day. The main basis for this is the documentation and pictures in the archive of the Palestine Archaeological Museum (PAM).

#### **1.3.1. Provenance**

As far as can be gathered from the historical record, we do not know for sure where exactly the fragments of 4Q216 were found, nor by whom they were brought to the PAM. It is also unknown if any of the fragments of 4Q216 entered the collection of the PAM together, as very few of the fragments appear together on the earliest PAM

photographs. I have not been able to find fragments on PAM photos before July 1954, where we begin to find some of the fragments on plates containing fragments from “Qumran Cave 4.”<sup>62</sup>

Cave 4 was initially discovered in August or September 1952.<sup>63</sup> On September 20, 1952, the representatives of the Ta‘amireh<sup>64</sup> offered to sell approximately 15,000 fragments, which were subsequently purchased by the Jordanian authorities in early 1953.<sup>65</sup> Roland de Vaux and Gerald Lankester Harding began excavations of Cave 4 almost immediately after news of the discovery of 15,000 fragments came out, where they found more fragments to add to those purchased by the Jordanian government. Frank Moore Cross was able to examine these fragments before they were mixed with the other batches of fragments. However, the list of approximately 100 manuscripts that he claims to have identified has been lost,<sup>66</sup> and there is no record of which fragments the archaeologists found in Cave 4a, and which in 4b.<sup>67</sup> More fragments labelled as Qumran Cave 4 were purchased in February 1954, again by the Jordanian government.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Stephen J. Pfann, “Chronological List of the Negatives of the PAM, IAA, and Shrine of the Book,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche Companion Volume* (ed. Tov and Pfann; Leiden: Brill, 1993).

<sup>63</sup> Stephen Pfann states that it was found in the first half of September 1952. Weston Fields and John Trever claim that it was found in August 1952. Cf. Stephen J. Pfann, “History of the Judean Desert Discoveries,” in Tov and Pfann, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche Companion Volume*, 97–108; Weston W. Fields, “Discovery and Purchase,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Schiffman and VanderKam; 2 vols; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:208–12; John C. Trever, *The Untold Story of Qumran* (Westwood, NJ: F.H. Revell Co., 1965), 178.

<sup>64</sup> In literature on the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the term *Bedouin* is usually used to refer to the Ta‘amireh tribe, who discovered many of the caves and sold many of the fragments to the PAM.

<sup>65</sup> Pfann, “History of the Judean Desert Discoveries.”

<sup>66</sup> Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 32–34. Cf. Stephen A. Reed, “Find-Sites of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 14:2 (2007): 199–221.

<sup>67</sup> Such a list could possibly have confirmed that Bedouin-found fragments from the same manuscripts had indeed been found in Cave 4.

<sup>68</sup> Pfann, “History of the Judean Desert Discoveries.”

A final lot of Cave 4 fragments was purchased from antiquities dealer Khalil Eskander Shahin, better known as Kando, in July 1958.<sup>69</sup>

Despite the fact that the fragments entered the PAM in different batches that were subsequently combined, and the fact that very few manuscripts were found *in situ*, the primary researchers made it clear that there was virtually no chance that any of the fragments were mislabeled.<sup>70</sup> Recently, some scholars have challenged the notion that all the fragments labelled Qumran Cave 4 actually originated in Cave 4, or even at Qumran at all.<sup>71</sup> The earliest photographs with fragments from 4Q216 are from July 1954, so it is unlikely that the fragments of 4Q216 came from the excavation of Cave 4. Several plates of (partially) unsorted and uncategorized fragments contain fragments from 4Q216, i.e. PAM 41.210, 41.427, 41.665, and 41.914. Most of the fragments, however, appear first in photographs where they have already been identified as belonging together, i.e. PAM 41.352, 42.219, and 42.220. All of the plates where fragments from 4Q216 are found are labelled “Qumran Cave No 4,” in the log book.<sup>72</sup> Thus, while there seems to be wide agreement that these fragments come from Qumran Cave 4, they were likely not part of the excavated fragments, and thus cannot be provenanced with certainty. This does not greatly affect the analysis of the manuscript, as its antiquity has been established by

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> John Strugnell says “Did the Ta’amireh or their middlemen ever mix material from two caves, before it reached us? I have no clear example of this happening, and among such a vast number of fragments I can point to no clear or even plausible cases of joins to be made between fragments said by the excavators to have come from different caves. In sum, the ascriptions of fragments to caves should be treated as very reliable.” Cf. John Strugnell “On the History of the Photographing,” in Tov and Pfann eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 124.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Especially Reed, “Find-Sites of the Dead Sea Scrolls” and the references listed there.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Pfann, “Chronological List of the Negatives of the PAM, IAA, and Shrine of the Book.” Cf. Also Stephen Pfann, “Appendix 1: The Photographer’s Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 20.12.1947 and March 1961” in Tov and Pfann, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche Companion Volume*, 155–162.

other means,<sup>73</sup> but it is important to bear in mind the complexities of the transmission of the manuscript even after it was rediscovered in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.3.2. Photographs of the fragments

Several of the fragments that today seem to be one fragment on the plates at the IAA, are not connected in the earliest photographs.<sup>74</sup> The earliest photograph with fragments from 4Q216 is PAM 41.210 (figure 1), taken in July 1954.<sup>75</sup> Here, we find fragment 6, as well as fragment 3 i before it was joined to fragment 3 ii, which is not pictured on this plate.

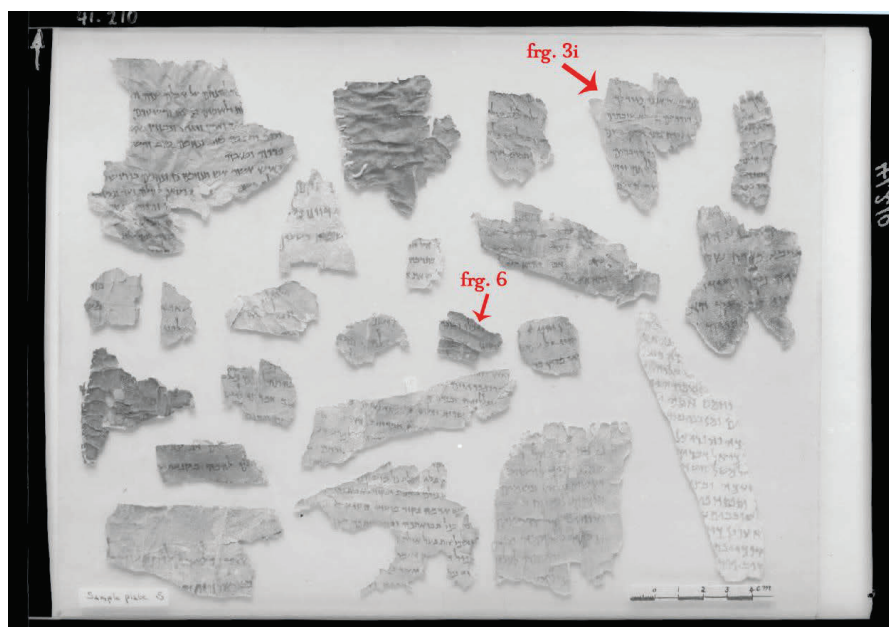


Figure 1<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> See below, Article 1.

<sup>74</sup> In this discussion and the following analysis, I retain the numbering as presented in DJD 13. I have chosen not to renumber the fragments in order to avoid confusion, but have added superscript letter to labels in the illustrations below to help direct the reader's attention to the specific fragment in my corresponding discussion.

<sup>75</sup> Tov and Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 82, 158.

<sup>76</sup> PAM 41.210: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA. I have edited this and the other photographs in this section, adding arrows and labels for the fragments discussed in the text. The

In PAM 41.352 (figure 2), taken in October 1954,<sup>77</sup> nearly the entire second sheet of 4Q216 is accounted for.<sup>78</sup> Fragment 12 is pictured with the stitching between the two sheets, with fragment 12 i on the right side, part of sheet one, and fragment 12 ii on the left, part of sheet 2. It is clear from the photograph that fragment 12 ii was once in two pieces, which are pictured here in close proximity to where they are placed in the final edition (fig. 12 ii<sup>a</sup> and fig. 12 ii<sup>b</sup> in figure 2). Fragment 13 is in three pieces in this picture (fig. 13<sup>a-c</sup> in figure 2), but have not been placed in relation to each other. Fragment 14 is pictured without part of the fragment that is connected to it in PAM 43.168, so must also be made up of at least two pieces. The bottom of fragment 15 is pictured without the top, so it too must be made up of more than one piece. Fragment 16 is not pictured, but fragments 17 and 18 appear completely intact.<sup>79</sup>

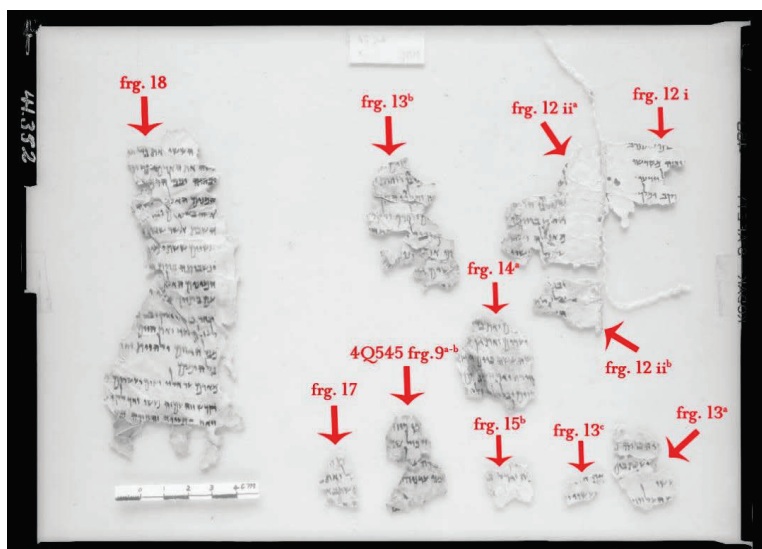
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PAM photographs are available online at the Leon Levi Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, [www.deadseascrolls.org.il](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il).

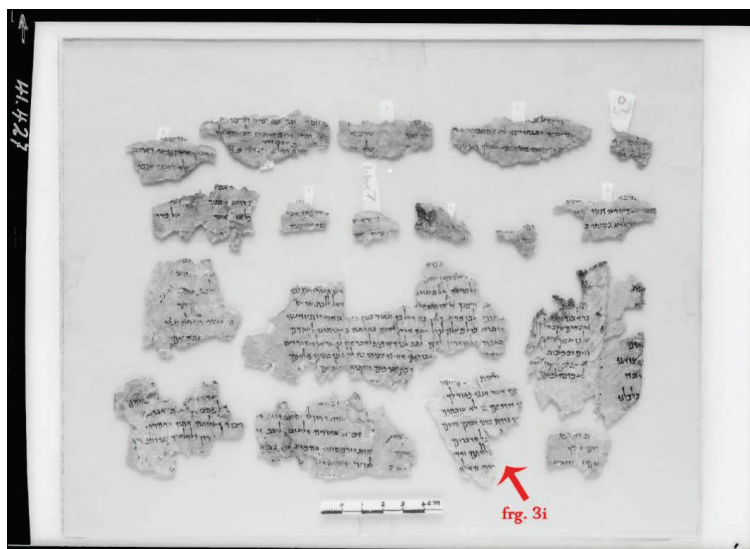
<sup>77</sup> Tov and Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 82, 158.

<sup>78</sup> Note the label at the top of the picture which reads “4QJub, 6. J.T.M.” It should also be noted that the fragments of this portion of the manuscript are identified as belonging to one manuscript of *Jubilees* at a relatively early date compared with other fragments photographed in late-1954. Thanks to Kipp Davis for pointing this out to me.

<sup>79</sup> The two other fragments (labelled 4Q545 frg. 9<sup>a-b</sup> in figure 2) on this plate are from 4Q545, and are not a part of any manuscript of *Jubilees*. Note that they are identified as a single fragment in DJD 31, cf. DJD 31: 347–8; plate XIX.

Figure 2<sup>80</sup>

On PAM 41.427 (figure 3), taken in January 1955,<sup>81</sup> fragment 3 i is found without fragment 3 ii.

Figure 3<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> PAM 41.352: Photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

<sup>81</sup> Tov and Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 82, 158.

<sup>82</sup> PAM 41.427: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

PAM 41.665 (figure 4), taken in May 1955,<sup>83</sup> contains fragments 1 and 5 as well as fragment 3 ii, which appears separate from 3 i (pictured here). Further, fragment 3 ii is lacking the upper left section which itself consists of two pieces.

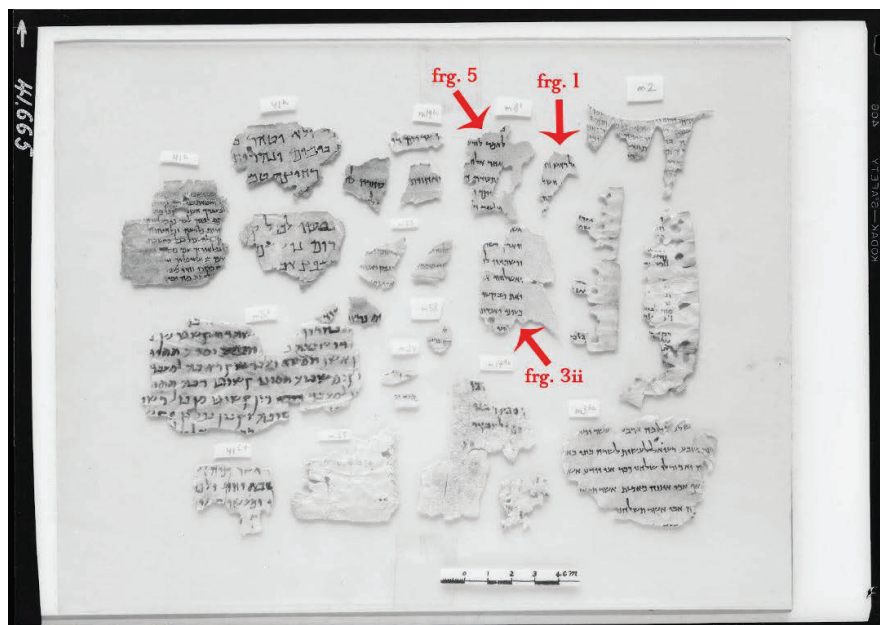


Figure 4<sup>84</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Tov and Pfann eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 84, 159. Note that the date on the IAA – Leon Levi webpage is incorrect.

<sup>84</sup> PAM 41.665: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.



PAM 41.914 (figure 5), taken December 1955,<sup>85</sup> is a collection of fragments in Józef Milik's allotment.<sup>86</sup> Here, we find fragment 7, which is ultimately placed adjacent to the right edge of fragment 5, labelled as "Jub-a". Fragment 6, is also found on this plate, labelled as "m9 a".



Figure 5<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Tov and Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 85, 159.

<sup>86</sup> Tov and Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 85, 159. According to Bearman, Pfann and Sprio, this should be the first plate arranged by the assigned editor, Józef Milik. However, PAM 41.352 (figure 2 above) is clearly labelled with "J.T.M.", meaning that Milik had sorted this manuscript at an earlier date. Cf. Gregory Bearman, Stephen J. Pfann and Sheila I. Spiro, "Imaging the Scrolls: Photographic and Direct Digital Acquisition," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Flint and VanderKam; 2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1999–2000), 1:475.

<sup>87</sup> PAM 41.914: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.



By July 1956<sup>88</sup> sheet one of 4Q216 was taking shape. PAM 42.219 (figure 6) is labelled “4Qm15, Jub<sup>a</sup>”, and is thus plate 15 in the Milik allotment, and has clearly been identified with *Jubilees*. Here, we find fragments 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, and 10 in roughly the same alignment as they do in DJD 13. Fragments 3 i and 3 ii have been joined together, and one of the two pieces of the upper left section of 3 ii (labelled 3 ii<sup>a</sup> in figure 6) has been attached. Fragment 7 appears on the photograph out of place, and fragment 9 is pictured in two pieces (labelled 9<sup>a-b</sup> in figure 6).

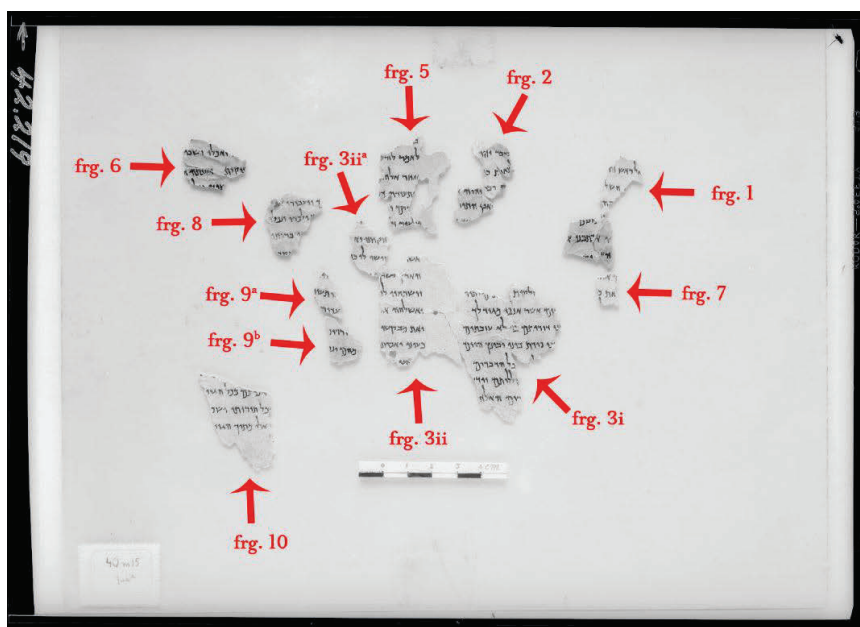


Figure 6<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> PAM 42.219–42.220 were taken in July 1956, cf. Tov and Pfann, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche*, 86, 160.

<sup>89</sup> PAM 42.219: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

The fragments of 4Q216 sheet two were rearranged again by July 1956, as can be seen on PAM 42.220 (figure 7), which is labeled as “4Qm16–17, Jub<sup>a</sup>”. At this point the connection between the two sheets is evident, as Milik has assigned the label “Jub<sup>a</sup>” to both this and plate 42.219 (above). Fragments 12 ii<sup>a-b</sup> are now connected, as are fragments 13<sup>a-c</sup>. A new small fragment has been attached to right edge of fragment 14<sup>a</sup>, and is labeled frg. 14<sup>b</sup> in figure 7. Fragment 15<sup>b</sup> still appears without other parts that are pictured together in later photographs. Fragment 16, which was lacking from PAM 41.352 has been placed in its correct position, and fragments 17 and 18 maintain their previous positions.

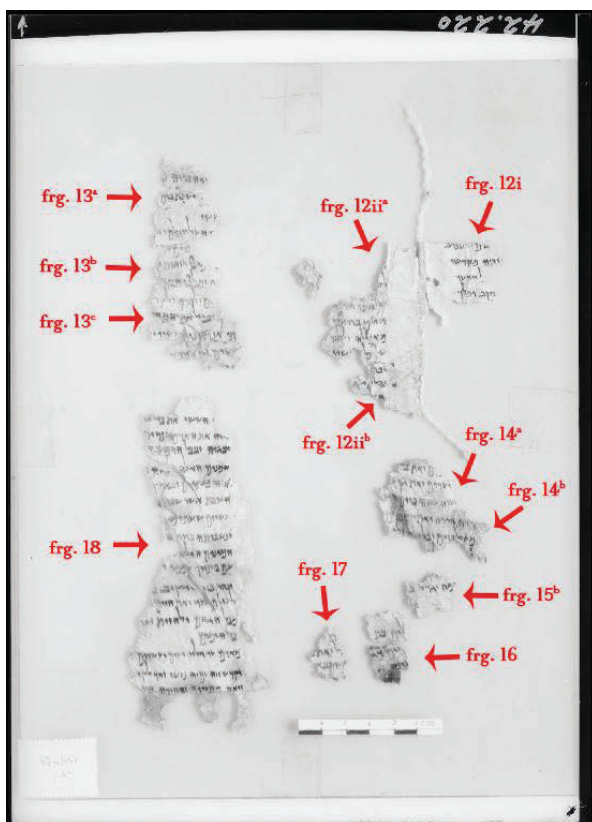


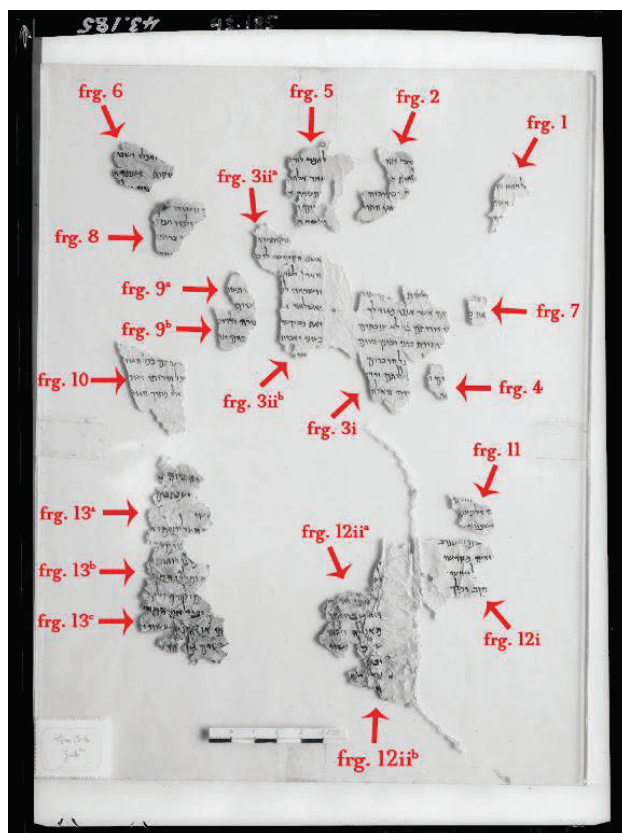
Figure 7<sup>90</sup>

<sup>90</sup> PAM 42.220: photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

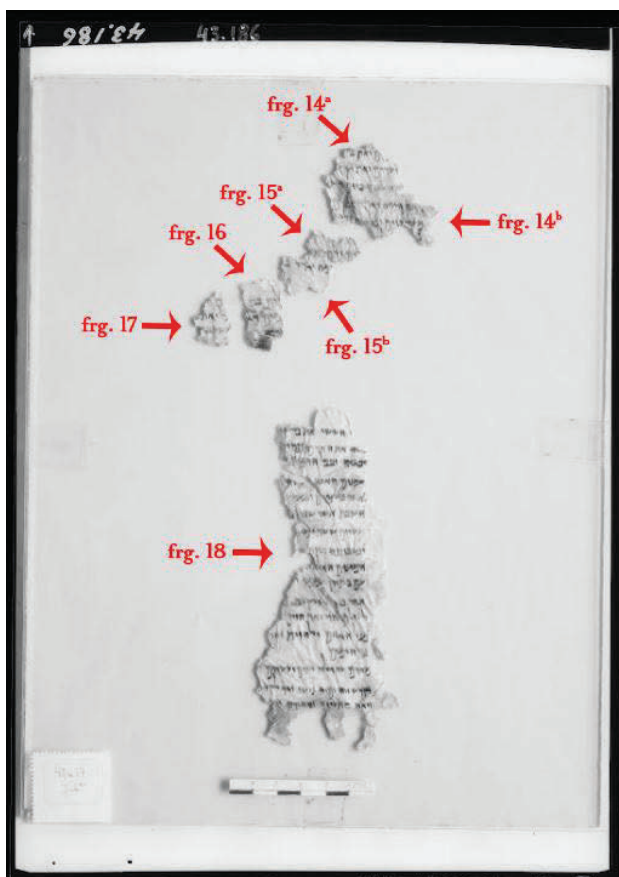
The fragments of 4Q216 were placed in their current positions by January 1960 when PAM 43.185 (Mus. Inv. 385; figure 8) and PAM 43.186 (Mus. Inv. 384; figure 9) were taken. On PAM 43.185 we find fragments 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 roughly in the same configuration as in PAM 42.219. Fragments 12 and 13, which appeared separately, on PAM 42.220, are now pictured on the same plate as fragments 1–11, though they are positioned in the same way as they appeared on PAM 42.220. Fragment 4 is now in its final position, adjacent to fragment 3 i. Fragments 9<sup>a-b</sup> have been joined together and fragment 11 is now placed just above fragment 12 i. In PAM 43.186, fragments 14, 16, 17, and 18 are aligned similarly to how they were in PAM 42.220. Fragment 15<sup>a</sup> has now been attached to fragment 15<sup>b</sup>. The plates in DJD 13 show a slightly different arrangement of the fragments, with fragment 7 being placed in its position adjacent to fragment 5 and fragments 14–17 realigned.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> DJD 13, 3; Plates 1–2. VanderKam notes that after PAM 43.185–186 were taken, Milik added small fragments to left of fragments 13 and 18. Fragments 14–17 are arranged differently in the DJD 13 plates than in PAM 43.185–186, though the fragments were not physically moved for the publication and remain as they are pictured in PAM43.186.

Figure 8<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> PAM 43.185, Mus. Inv 385; photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

Figure 9<sup>93</sup>

<sup>93</sup> PAM 43.186; Mus. Inv. 384; photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA.

Since the publication of DJD 13, the only observable changes to the plates are where parts of the manuscript have been removed for C-14 analysis by Magen Broshi in 2003–2004.<sup>94</sup> 3 samples were taken, two from the margins and one from the thread that was used to stitch sheets 1 and 2 together. In figure 10, the tab of skin in the left margin of fragment 12 i has been removed. An outline of the section that was removed is visible, with a note reading “Maggen [sic] Broshi 20/10/03 Carbon.” Figure 11 shows the same portion of the fragment as pictured on PAM 43.185.

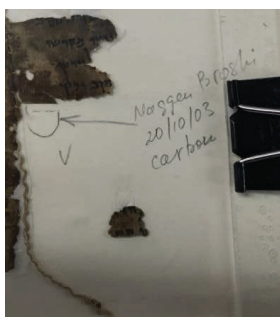


Figure 10<sup>95</sup>

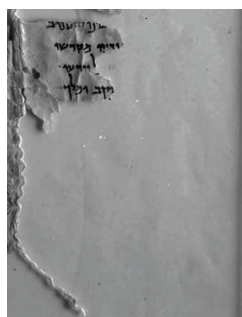


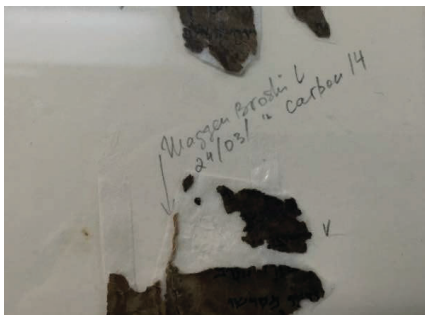
Figure 11<sup>96</sup>

In figure 12, we see where the thread has been cut, and the plate is marked with “Maggen [sic] Broshi 24/03/04 Carbon 14”. Compare with figure 13, where the thread continues nearly to the bottom of fragment 3 i, which is positioned above fragment 12 on the plate.

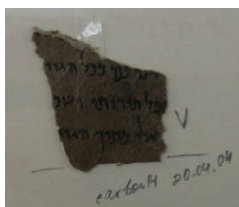
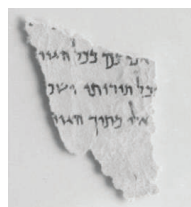
<sup>94</sup> For a full discussion of this, see Article 1, below.

<sup>95</sup> Photograph Matthew P. Monger, used by permission of the IAA.

<sup>96</sup> From PAM 43.185 photograph Najib Anton Albina. Used by permission of the IAA I have digitally adjusted the contrast levels in order to make the edges of the fragment more visible.

Figure 12<sup>97</sup>Figure 13<sup>98</sup>

The third sample was taken from the bottom of fragment 10, as can be seen in figure 14. On the plate, a line is drawn where the fragment previously continued downward into the bottom margin and a note reads “Carbon 14 20.04.04.” Compare with PAM 43.185 (figure 15) where the bottom margin is clearly visible

Figure 14<sup>99</sup>Figure 15<sup>100</sup>

In my analysis of 4Q216, I have maneuvered the fragments, so as to produce slight adjustments to their relative placement. These adjustments do not affect the ordering of the fragments, but make slight adjustments to the vertical and horizontal spacing. The results can be seen in figures 16 (sheet 1) and 17 (sheet 2).

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Photograph Matthew P. Monger, used by permission of the IAA.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>98</sup> From PAM 43.185, edited by Matthew P. Monger, used by permission of the IAA.

<sup>99</sup> Photograph Matthew P. Monger, used by permission of the IAA.

<sup>100</sup> From PAM 43.185, edited by Matthew P. Monger, used by permission of the IAA.

Figure 16<sup>101</sup>Figure 17<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> 4Q216 Sheet 1, comprised of IAA photographs, B-361544, B-361546, B-361548, B-361550, B-361552, B-361554, B-361556, B-361558, B-361560, B-361564, and B-361566. Edited by Matthew P. Monger, photographs used by permission of the IAA.

<sup>102</sup> 4Q216 Sheet 2, comprised of photographs B-361534, B-361536, B-361538, B-361540, B-361542, B-361562, and B-361564. Edited by Matthew P. Monger, photographs used by permission of the IAA.



### 1.3.3. Publication and Reception

After Milik completed the initial placement of the fragments ca. 1960, the manuscript remained unpublished until a preliminary edition appeared in an article by Milik and VanderKam in 1991.<sup>103</sup> This was followed by the official publication in DJD 13 in 1994, where there were no significant changes to the presentation of the material from the preliminary publication. The presentation of the *Jubilees* fragments in DJD 13 is within the context of full retroversions of Ethiopic Jubilees, based on VanderKam's 1988 edition of the Ethiopic text.<sup>104</sup> This practice deserves more discussion here.

The editions of the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts in DJD 13 are maximalistic in their use of reconstruction and retroversion. The fragments are not individually presented with only their readings, but are incorporated into the larger reconstruction of *Jub.* 1–2 in Hebrew. This practice, while certainly an impressive and time-consuming endeavor on the part of the editors, gives the impression that the text of *Jubilees* is much more stable than the fragments of 4Q216 can confirm.<sup>105</sup>

Several editions have been published using the transliteration, reconstruction, and translation of DJD 13 with little or no emendation.<sup>106</sup> Recently, Elisha Qimron has

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<sup>103</sup> VanderKam and Milik, "The First *Jubilees* Manuscript From Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication." VanderKam also utilizes much of the material that later appears in the DJD edition in James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (*Harvard Semitic monographs*; Missoula, MT: Published by Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1977).

<sup>104</sup> DJD 13:5, 7. cf. James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 510; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989), James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 511; Lovanii: Peeters, 1989).

<sup>105</sup> This has been noted by *inter alia* Michael A. Knibb, *Translating The Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85–86, Edward Ullendorff, "Dead Sea Texts and Lacunae," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 47, no. 2 (1996): 322–36. I address this issue more fully below, §3.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. Donald W. Perry and Emanuel Tov eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Second Edition, Revised and Expanded ed.; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 551–8, Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:459–64; Martin G. Abegg, Jr., "Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts, Logos Edition" (Bellingham, WA: Logos Bible Software, 2003). As well as other versions of Abegg's electronic resource.

published an edition with slightly different reconstructions in some places,<sup>107</sup> and Cana Werman has published a translation and edition of *Jubilees* in Hebrew, using the texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts where extant.<sup>108</sup> Her edition also contains some differences from DJD 13, most notably a translation into Hebrew from the Ethiopic where there are no extant Hebrew manuscripts, rather than a retroverted (Biblical) Hebrew text designed to fill the gaps in the manuscript, as is found in DJD 13. Additionally, a few minor changes to the reconstruction or retroversion of certain passages have been proposed by others who do not attempt to edit or translate the entire manuscript.<sup>109</sup>

#### 1.4. *The Manuscript Traditions of Jubilees*

This dissertation aims to contribute to the study of manuscripts of *Jubilees* among the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular, and the wider discussion of the manuscript traditions of *Jubilees* in general, thus a discussion of the manuscript traditions of *Jubilees* is relevant here.<sup>110</sup> Despite the fact that *Jubilees* seems to have influenced many other works in the

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<sup>107</sup> Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*.

<sup>108</sup> Cana Werman, *The Book of Jubilees: Introduction, Translation and Interpretation* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 2015).

<sup>109</sup> Tigchelaar, "A Cave 4 Fragment of Divre Mosheh (4QDM) and the Text of 1Q22 1:7–10 and *Jub.* 1:9, 14"; James L. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (SJSJ 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012). 4Q216 has also been used in various studies looking at different issues, such as exegetical/rewriting strategies, cf. George J. Brooke, "Exegetical Strategies in *Jubilees* 1–2: New Light from 4QJubilees<sup>a</sup>," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Albani, et al.; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 39–57; J. van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted: the Rewriting of Genesis I–II in the Book of Jubilees* (Boston: Brill, 2000); Lutz Doering, "The Concept of Sabbath in the Book of Jubilees," in Albani et al., eds, *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 179–205; Lutz Doering, "Jub 2,24 nach 4QJub a VII,17 und der Aufbau von Jub 2,17–33," *Biblische Notizen* 84 (1996): 23–28; Wacholder, "Jubilees as Super Canon: Torah-Admonition versus Torah-Commandment."

<sup>110</sup> The most recent overview of this is found in James C. VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: the Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Boccaccini and Ibba; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 3–21.



There is also an interesting tradition that does not seem to be bound by linguistic categories—many of the names of the matriarchs of Israel who are unnamed in Genesis are given in *Jubilees*,<sup>117</sup> and show up independently from the text of *Jubilees* in a variety of contexts.<sup>118</sup> The name tradition is sometimes explicitly connected to *Jubilees*, as in the list found in the Syriac manuscript British Library Add. 12.154, in a section titled *The Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs According to the Book which Among the Hebrews is Called Jubilees*,<sup>119</sup> and in the Greek Chronicles,<sup>120</sup> but is also attested without

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<sup>117</sup> This is discussed in many contexts, but summarized well in J. Rook, “The Names of the Wives from Adam to Abraham in the Book of Jubilees,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 7 (1990): 105–17.

<sup>118</sup> There is a common tradition for giving names to the unnamed in the Bible, and various traditions have preserved different names for the matriarchs. The sources described here are all related to *Jubilees*. For an overview of the range of sources both in *Jubilees* and elsewhere, see Tal Ilan, “Biblical Women's Names in the Apocryphal Traditions,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 11 (1993): 3–67; and W. Lowndes Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 29 (1978): 149–63.

<sup>119</sup> BL Add 12,154 f. 180 r–v. Cf. Antonio Maria Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (vol. 2; Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1863), ix–x; R.H. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees (Anecdota Oxoniensia)*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 183. BL Add 12.154 is in total 294 folios, and the list of names is the only reference to *Jubilees* that I am aware of. Thus, this is clearly not a manuscript or fragment of *Jubilees*, but attributes the content of the list to *Jubilees*. In cooperation with Oslo Syriac Society, I am currently preparing an edition and translation of the larger section of which f. 180 is part, ff. 175v–184r.

<sup>120</sup> For a discussion of the names of the matriarchs in this material, see Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian.”

attribution to *Jubilees* in Hebrew,<sup>121</sup> Greek,<sup>122</sup> Armenian,<sup>123</sup> Arabic<sup>124</sup> and, to a certain extent in Coptic.<sup>125</sup> These sources are all very interesting, but they should not be seen as manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees*, but rather as evidence of an independent tradition of naming the matriarchs of Israel that was transmitted independently of *Jubilees*.<sup>126</sup> Again, it is important to note that the only manuscripts containing *Jubilees* as such are the Hebrew manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Latin palimpsest and the Ethiopic manuscripts. All other evidence is from indirect sources, often incorporated into larger chronicles.<sup>127</sup> In the following, I give a brief overview of the different manuscript traditions of *Jubilees*, and note especially where it is relevant for this study of 4Q216.

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<sup>121</sup> The Hebrew material comes from three sources: the manuscript known as the Fahri Bible (Sassoon Collection ms. 368), which was copied between 1366 and 1383 includes a list of names in the front matter, cf. A. A. Harkavy, “Things Old and New: Memories from My Trip to Jerusalem” [Hebrew], *haPisgah* 1 (1895): 58; a 14–15<sup>th</sup> Century commentary on Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod.Hebr. 391 (*olim* 421) f. 91v, includes a list of the names of the matriarchs on the back of the final folio of the manuscript; cf. J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebraischen und aramäischen Studien* (München: T. Ackermann, 1884), 90; and Samuel Algazi, *Toledot Adam* (Venice, 1585).

<sup>122</sup> Universitätsbibliothek Basel AN III 13. On this see Matthew P. Monger, “The Names of the Matriarchs: A Case of the Transmission of Jubilees, or Not?” Forthcoming. Cf. also Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian.”

<sup>123</sup> Lipscomb, “A Tradition from the Book of Jubilees in Armenian.”

<sup>124</sup> The material in al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīk al-rusul wa’l-mulūk* [The History of the Prophets and Kings] shares many of the names with the *Jubilees* tradition, but also deviates in certain aspects. See Franz Rosenthal translator, *The History of al-Ṭabarī vol. 1: General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood* (New York: SUNY Press, 1989), 317, 335–38, 343, 346; c.f. also the discussion in Tal Ilan, “Biblical Women’s Names in the Apocryphal Traditions.”

<sup>125</sup> The Coptic fragment contains a passage that contains the names of the wives of the sons of Noah. For more on this fragment see below, §1.4.2.2.

<sup>126</sup> This is further discussed in Monger, “The Names of the Matriarchs.”

<sup>127</sup> This is not the place for a full discussion of the difficulties of using material from premodern chronicles to establish the existence of a work, or its textual form. Briefly stated, my view on this issue is that all manuscripts should be read within their material and historical context, which implies that the genre of the work will influence the value of a reading within the transmission history of a work. Whenever we find citations from one work in another we should not simply focus on the form of the text, but should also be aware of the rhetorical value of the citation in its new context.

### 1.4.1. Hebrew Manuscripts

*Jubilees* was first written in Hebrew, though very little of the text is extant in Hebrew.

All of the manuscripts containing Hebrew text from *Jubilees* are found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and date to the Second Temple period. That is to say that there are no later extant Hebrew witnesses to *Jubilees*. The Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts are by far the earliest witnesses to the text of *Jubilees*, and though many of the manuscripts are quite fragmentary they still give a picture of the texts as they were in the first centuries BCE and CE.

In total, there are nineteen manuscripts that will be considered as manuscripts from the *Jubilees* tradition in this study.<sup>128</sup> The text of fifteen of these manuscripts resembles the text of Ethiopic *Jubilees*. A further four manuscripts are labeled “Pseudo-*Jubilees*” by the editors of the principal editions, and should be considered among the manuscripts in the *Jubilees* tradition.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, there are four very fragmentary manuscripts that may be connected to *Jubilees* in some way, though it is not clear whether or not they should be considered manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees*.

The following table lists the nineteen Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts that appear to belong to the *Jubilees* tradition, with the manuscript number in column 1, the name assigned by the editor(s) in column 2, the content range in column 3, the date of the manuscript according to the editor(s) in column 4, and information about the principal edition in column 5.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> I do not include here manuscripts which may refer to the title of *Jubilees*, such as the partially extant references of CD 16:3–4 in 4Q270 6 ii.17 and 4Q271 4 ii.5 and 4Q228 1 i.2; nor do I discuss 4Q482–484, 3 very fragmentary manuscripts of uncertain identification, cf. VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*,” 4–8,

<sup>129</sup> I return to the question of the place of the so-called Pseudo-*Jubilees* manuscripts below.

<sup>130</sup> For an exhaustive list of the Hebrew words found in the *Jubilees* manuscripts from Qumran cf. Jonathan Stökl, “A List of the Extant Hebrew Text of the Book of *Jubilees*, Their Relation to the Hebrew Bible and Some Preliminary Comments,” *Henoah* 28:1 (2006): 97–124. Further, some of the manuscripts

Number	Name	Content Range in <i>Jubilees</i>	Date Copied	Principal Edition
1Q17	1QJubilees <sup>a</sup>	27:19–20	Early Herodian <sup>131</sup>	DJD 1, 82–84 <sup>132</sup>
1Q18	1QJubilees <sup>b</sup>	35:8–10	Late Hasmonean <sup>133</sup>	DJD 1, 83–84 <sup>134</sup>
2Q19	2QJubilees <sup>a</sup>	23:7–8	Herodian	DJD 3, 77–78 <sup>135</sup>
2Q20	2QJubilees <sup>b</sup>	46:1–3	First century CE	DJD 3, 78–79
3Q5	3QJubilees	23:6–7, 12–13	First century CE	DJD 3, 96–98 <sup>136</sup>
4Q176	<i>4QTanhûmim</i> frgs. 19–21	23:21 to 23:31	Herodian	DJD 5, 60–67 <sup>137</sup>
4Q216	4QJubilees <sup>a</sup>	Prologue, 1:1–2, 4–7, 7–15, 26–28; 2:1–4, 7–12, 13–24.	Sheet 2: 100–75 BCE Sheet 1: 50–30 BCE or 160–1 BCE <sup>138</sup>	DJD 13, 1–22
4Q217	4QpapJubilees <sup>b</sup> (?)	1:29?	50 BCE or earlier	DJD 13, 23–34
4Q218	4QJubilees <sup>c</sup>	2:26–27	Ca. 30 BCE–20 CE	DJD 13, 35–38
4Q219	4QJubilees <sup>d</sup>	21:1–2, 7–10, 12–16, 18–22:1	Late Hasmonean	DJD 13, 39–54
4Q220	4QJubilees <sup>e</sup>	21:5–10	Early Herodian	DJD 13, 55–62

are discussed by VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* and all of them are discussed in VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees.”

<sup>131</sup> The date is suggested in VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 75.

<sup>132</sup> DJD 1 = D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955).

<sup>133</sup> The date is suggested in VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 81.

<sup>134</sup> We cannot rule out that 1Q17–18 came from the same manuscript, even though they appear to be written by two different hands. This possibility is mentioned in DJD 1: 82, but considered unlikely.

<sup>135</sup> DJD 3 = M. Baillet, et al., *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

<sup>136</sup> Originally labelled “Une prophétique apocryphe” by Baillet in DJD 3, fragments 1 and 3 were later shown to contain text from *Jubilees*. Cf. R. Deichgräber, “Fragmente einer Jubiläen-Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran,” *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1964–66): 415–22; A. Rofé, “Fragments from an Additional Manuscript of the Book of Jubilees in Qumran Cave 3 [Hebrew],” *Tarbiz* 34 (1965): 333–36; M. Baillet, “Remarques sur le manuscrit du Livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran,” *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1964–66): 423–33.

<sup>137</sup> DJD 5 = J. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4 I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968). In DJD 5, Allegro labelled the manuscript *4QTanhûmim*, but Kister has shown that fragments 19–21 contain text from *Jubilees*, cf. Menahem Kister, “Newly-Identified Fragments of the Book of Jubilees: Jub 23:21–23, 30–31,” *Revue de Qumran* 48 (1987): 529–36.

<sup>138</sup> Sheet one has been dated by paleographical analysis (50 – 30 BCE) and by Carbon 14 analysis (160–1 BCE). See article 2, below, for further discussion of this dating.

4Q221	4QJubilees <sup>f</sup>	21:22–24; 22:22, 30; 23:10–13; 33:12–15; 37:11–15; 38:6–8; 39:4–9	First century BCE	DJD 13, 63–87
4Q222	4QJubilees <sup>g</sup>	25:9–12; 27:6–9 <sup>139</sup>	Late Hasmonean	DJD 13, 87–94
4Q223–24	4QPapJubilees <sup>h</sup>	32:18–21; 34:4–5; 35:7– 12,12–22; 36:7–10,10–23; 37:17 – 38:13; 39:9 – 40:7; 41:7–10.	ca. 75–50 BCE	DJD 13, 95– 140
4Q225	4QPseudo-Jubilees <sup>a</sup>		Herodian	DJD 13, 141– 155 <sup>140</sup>
4Q226	4QPseudo-Jubilees <sup>b</sup>		50–25 BCE	DJD 13, 157– 169 <sup>141</sup>
4Q227	4QPseudo-Jubilees <sup>c</sup>		30 BCE – 20 CE	DJD 13, 171– 175 <sup>142</sup>
11Q12	11QJub	4:6–11,13–14,16–17, 22– 30, 31; 5:1–2; 12:15–17, 28–29	Ca. 50 CE	DJD23, 207– 220 <sup>143</sup>
Mas 1 j; 1276–1786	MasJub or MaspsJub		Early Herodian	Masada VI <sup>144</sup>

I have included here the three manuscripts labelled Pseudo-Jubilees, even though they are clearly quite different from Ethiopic Jubilees in many details.<sup>145</sup> My argument for

<sup>139</sup> 4Q222 fragment 3 is very likely not a part of this manuscript. The color, thickness, line spacing and letter sizes all point toward this fragment not being a part of the same manuscript as the other fragments, cf. DJD 13, 93–94.

<sup>140</sup> DJD 13, 141–56.

<sup>141</sup> DJD 13, 157–70.

<sup>142</sup> DJD 13, 171–76.

<sup>143</sup> DJD 23 = Florentino Garcia Martinez, et al., eds, *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

<sup>144</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon, *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports* (The Masada Reports vol. VI; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 117–19. See also Esther Eshel, “Mastema's attempt on Moses' Life in the “Pseudo-Jubilees” Text from Masada,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 10:3 (2003): 359–64.

<sup>145</sup> For further description of these manuscripts and discussion of important issues related to them, Michael Segal, “The Dynamics of Composition and Rewriting in Jubilees and Pseudo-Jubilees,” *Revue de Qumran* 104 (2014): 555–77; James L. Kugel, “Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 “Pseudo-Jubilees,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13:1 (2006): 73–98, Atar Livneh, “The Composition Pseudo-Jubilees from Qumran (4Q225; 4Q226; 4Q227): A New Edition, Introduction, and Commentary” [Hebrew], (PhD diss, University of



considering them part of the group of manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* is that they are so similar to *Jubilees* that we should posit some sort of relationship between them. Further, the fact that there is so little extant text from *Jubilees* in the fifteen manuscripts certainly containing text from *Jubilees* means that we must consider the possibility that what we see here is in fact one of the multiple forms of *Jubilees as it was in one or more of the other extant Jubilees manuscripts*. Given the evidence of 4Q216, where we see two sheets copied by two different scribes physically bound together in one manuscript, we simply cannot rule out that the fragments of Pseudo-Jubilees were actually part of a *Jubilees* manuscript. Even if they are separate compositions building on the same or similar material, it seems likely that they belong to the tradition of a *Jubilees*-like text (or *Jubilees*-like texts) still developing during this period, of which the texts of the other Qumran manuscripts also are part. If Ethiopic *Jubilees* is the lens through which we view the Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts, then of course they don't match, but as there is no direct overlap with the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts, we cannot preclude the Pseudo-Jubilees manuscripts from belonging to the same general developing composition, and part of the process of transmission of the work *Jubilees*.

There are three other manuscripts that have been suggested as possibly containing text from *Jubilees*: 4Q482–484, which were published in DJD 7 by Maurice Baillet.<sup>146</sup> These manuscripts are all very fragmentary, and it is difficult to discern whether they might contain texts from *Jubilees*, Genesis, or some other work in variant forms.

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Haifa). Mas 1 j: 1276–1786 is so fragmentary that it is difficult to assign, and thus is not discussed further here, cf. Esther Eshel, “Mastema's attempt on Moses' Life in the ‘Pseudo-Jubilees’ Text from Masada.”

<sup>146</sup> DJD 7 = M. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4iii (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982). Cf. Also VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*,” 7–8.

In addition to 4Q216, which I will be discussing in detail in the remainder of this dissertation, one other manuscript on the list above deserves a few comments here, namely 4Q217. The fragmentary remains of this manuscript contain very little text, but what is extant can be connected to *Jub.* 1–2. I want to give a brief description of the content here as I will be returning to them in the conclusion (§5).

4Q217 was originally identified by Milik as a manuscript of *Jubilees*, but VanderKam did not agree with this assessment, due the “substantial differences between the Hebrew and Ethiopic texts of *Jubilees* at this point.”<sup>147</sup> Interestingly in this context, 4Q217 is also a manuscript containing text from *Jub.* 1–2. Further, the extant fragments are not simply from *Jub.* 1–2, but they are from two sections that are pertinent to the current discussion. The fragment that appears to be similar to *Jub.* 1:26–29 is different enough to indicate that if it is in fact *Jubilees*, then the text must have undergone substantial revision before reaching the form known from Ethiopic *Jubilees*. R.H. Charles and many later scholars have seen that the text of precisely this verse is corrupt in the Ethiopic version.<sup>148</sup> It is thus a possibility that we see in 4Q217 the text of an earlier stage in the development of *Jub.* 1–2.<sup>149</sup> I find it telling that the resemblances with *Jubilees* are rejected by VanderKam because of the generally high level of variance between this manuscript and the text of Ethiopic *Jubilees*. I believe that the framing of the analysis in the retroversion from Ethiopic has influenced the reading of these fragments. In my analysis of 4Q216 below, I will argue that both *Jubilees* 1 and *Jubilees*

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<sup>147</sup> VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*,” 6.

<sup>148</sup> R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 9; cf. Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–86.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Eibert Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book,” *Revue de Qumran* 104 (2014): 579–94. It is also worth noting that 4Q217 is a papyrus manuscript.

2 were still developing during the first century BCE, which would be confirmed by the high degree of variance between 4Q217 and Ethiopic Jubilees. I will come back to this discussion in the relevant articles and in the conclusion below.

#### 1.4.2. Further Manuscript Traditions

In addition to the Dead Sea Scrolls, manuscripts of *Jubilees* are extant in Latin (a single palimpsest) and Ethiopic. A series of short citations or allusions is also attested in a number of texts in Greek and Syriac, Coptic.<sup>150</sup> As discussed above, *Jubilees* was first written in Hebrew. It was then translated into Greek before being translated from Greek into Latin and Ethiopic.<sup>151</sup> I will briefly comment on these other traditions of the reception of *Jubilees*, but will not go into a detailed discussion, except where relevant for the rest of this study of 4Q216.

##### 1.4.2.1. Greek

*Jubilees* is cited, alluded to or is in some other way recognizable in a number of Greek texts,<sup>152</sup> including some works by church fathers in addition to many historiographical works or chronicles.<sup>153</sup> It is widely accepted that there was at some point an entire Greek

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<sup>150</sup> Many of these Greek works were translated into other languages such as Armenian and Georgian.

<sup>151</sup> Ceriani discussed the fact that the Latin version must have come from a Greek intermediary already in his edition of 1861. Rönsch argued for the same situation, and further suggested that the Latin version was translated in Egypt by a Palestinian Jew in the fifth century CE. Charles strengthens these arguments, which are repeated and developed by VanderKam. Cf. Antonius Maria Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* (vol. 1; Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1861); H. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues, 1874), 459–60; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*, xxvii–xxx; VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 10–11.

<sup>152</sup> As my primary goal here is not the way in which *Jubilees* material is incorporated into the Greek and Syriac sources, I will not enter into a discussion of the nature of allusion, citation or other types of using and reusing texts. In the works of the Greek and Syriac chronographers, it can be helpful to distinguish where the *Jubilees* is specifically identified as the source in the chronicle itself from passages where material known only from *Jubilees* is included by not attributed.

<sup>153</sup> The first presentation of the Greek material dates back to Fabricius in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cf. J Fabricius, *Pseudepigraphus Beteris Testamenti* (2 vols.; Hamburg: T.C. Felginer, 1722–23). This is expanded by

version, as discussed above, but there are no extant Greek manuscripts that were copies of *Jubilees*. The Greek name for *Jubilees* appears most often as ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις, but also as τὰ λεπτὰ Γένεσις.<sup>154</sup> Material from *Jubilees* has made its way into different works of many of the church fathers and chronicles, but many of these references should not be understood as citations *per se* because they do not seem to quote directly from *Jubilees*, but are reworked in some way into the new context. Thus, it is uncertain whether we can consider them citations of *Jubilees* or if the author was simply knowledgeable of the traditions in *Jubilees* by other means than access to manuscripts of *Jubilees*.<sup>155</sup> In any case, manuscripts containing these references should by no means be considered *manuscripts of Jubilees*.

As there is no manuscript evidence for Greek *Jubilees*, it is difficult to be certain of the date of the translation of the work. Textually, the citations that are closest to the text of *Jubilees* are found in Epiphanius' *Treatise on Weights and Measures*, written in

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Rönsch in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis*, 252–382. Charles includes much of the Greek material in his work on *Jubilees*, does not seem to contribute anything new to the discussion, cf. Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*. More recently, the much of the Greek material is reprinted in Albert-Marie Denis, “Liber Jubilaeorum,” in *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Quae Supersunt Graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102. VanderKam also included a limited discussion of the Greek and Latin material in his critical edition of the Ethiopic as well as his translation of *Jubilees*. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XII–XIV, VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*.

<sup>154</sup> *Jubilees* is longer than Genesis, so the name *Little Genesis* makes little sense. It seems more likely that λεπτὰ here means ‘details’ and not ‘little,’ and “detailed” when in the singular, and “details” when in the plural. On this, cf. Simon Franklin, “A Note on a Pseudepigraphal Allusion in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus No. 4365,” *Vetus Testamentum* 48:1 (1998): 95–6. The earliest extant reference to *Jubilees* in Greek is in P.Oxy 4365 which dates to the late third or early fourth century CE, and reads: χρῆσον τὸν Εσδραν, ἐπεὶ ἔχρησά σοι τὴν λεπτὴν Γένεσιν. *Lend the Ezra, since I lent you the Detailed Genesis*. Text from Dieter Hagedorn, “DIE „KLEINE GENESIS“ IN P.OXY. LXIII 4365,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 116(1997): 147–48. Many thanks to Anastasia Maravela for this reference. My translation differs slightly from Hagedorn's, in that I translate τὴν λεπτὴν Γένεσιν as ‘the Detailed Genesis’, as argued above.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. the discussion above in §1.2.2.4

392, so we can assume that the Greek translation was in circulation by then.<sup>156</sup> Further, many of the allusions to *Jubilees* in the Byzantine Greek and Syriac chronicles have been shown to ultimately be dependent on the works of Sextus Julius Africanus in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, so it is likely that the Greek translation was available to him in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, CE.<sup>157</sup>

Not surprisingly, the material related to *Jubilees* found in the Greek and Syriac sources are citations from and allusions to passages where *Jubilees* elaborate on, or differ from, Genesis. Other parts where *Jubilees* is either very close to Genesis, or more explanatory in nature, such as *Jub.* 1–2, did not play a major role in the Greek chronicles. In the context of this study, this means that there is a certain amount of material from *Jubilees* 2 to be found most notably in Epiphanius, but nothing corresponding to *Jub.* 1. Epiphanius seems to depend on *Jub.* 2:2–5, 7–8, 10–16, while alluding to 2:17, 19, 20, 23.

#### 1.4.2.2. Coptic

There is a single papyrus fragment in Coptic from the fourth or early fifth century that contains text from *Jubilees*, P.CtYBR inv. 4995.<sup>158</sup> This small fragment contains a short

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<sup>156</sup> On Epiphanius' work, and the dating cf. James E. Dean ed, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 6.

<sup>157</sup> Cf. William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Primordial History in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989). Cf. also the discussion of the Syriac Anonymous Chronicle up to the Year 1234 in Andy Hilken, "The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle up to the Year 1234 and its Sources" (PhD diss.; Ghent University, 2014).

<sup>158</sup> See Andrew Clisp, "The *Book of Jubilees* in Coptic (P. CtYBR inv. 4995)," in *Old Books, New Learning: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Books at Yale* (ed. Babcock and Patterson; Yale University Library Gazette Occasional Supplement 4; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 3–9; Andrew Clisp, "The *Book of Jubilees* in Coptic: An Early Christian *Florilegium* on the Family of Noah," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 40 (2003): 27–44; and Lorenzo DiTommaso, "Pseudepigrapha Notes III:

letter and several short passages from *Jubilees* or a related tradition. The passages represented are (in this order): *Jub.* 8:28b–30; 7:14–16; a passage on Abraham that seems to be related to *Jubilees*; part of Gen. 9:27; part of *Jub.* 15:3; and an allusion to *Jub.* 4:33. It is clear that this fragmentary manuscript did not comprise a complete copy of *Jubilees*. It is more difficult to discern what exactly the manuscript is. It is possible that the manuscript contains the work of someone interested in the family of Noah and the division of the lands, as suggested by Clisp.<sup>159</sup> However, we may have here another example of the wider *Jubilees* tradition that was circulating in many different forms at different times and places.<sup>160</sup>

#### 1.4.2.3. Latin

The Latin palimpsest, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana C 73 inf*, is the only extant manuscript not in Hebrew or Ethiopic that we can consider a copy of *Jubilees*, and it is also considerably older than the Ethiopic tradition.<sup>161</sup> This manuscript of *Jubilees* was likely copied in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE along with *The Assumption of Moses*,<sup>162</sup> but was unbound, erased, and reused, possibly in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>163</sup> Approximately one third of the text is extant compared with Ethiopic *Jubilees*, though it is not always legible. There is currently a

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4. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in the Yale University Manuscript Collection,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 20:1 (2010): 3–80.

<sup>159</sup> Clisp, “The *Book of Jubilees* in Coptic.”

<sup>160</sup> For further discussion of the implications of this, see §6.

<sup>161</sup> The most up to date discussion of the palimpsest, its character, contents and history can be found in Todd R. Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees in Latin,” *The Textual History of the Bible 2, DeuteroCanonical Writings* (ed. Lange and Henze; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). Cf. also Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, 15–62; Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis*; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XVII–XVIII; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*. There is also a translation of the Latin to English in VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 328–68.

<sup>162</sup> On *The Assumption of Moses*, c.f. Johannes Tromp, *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

<sup>163</sup> C.f. Hanneken, “The Book of Jubilees in Latin.”

project underway that is attempting to recover more of the text.<sup>164</sup> The extant passages cover text corresponding to *Jub.* 13:10 – 49:22, with many gaps throughout. According to a recent reconstruction of the manuscript, the manuscript was laid out to have the text fit onto 128 folios.<sup>165</sup> The final folio is missing, but it is highly unlikely that it would have had enough space for the entire text of *Jub.* 49:23–50:13. The last extant folio, f. 127, does not show any signs of the scribe attempting to press more text into the available space, so we cannot be certain as to whether or not the intended layout was exceeded. It may be that the manuscript contained one or more extra folios exceeding the 128-folio layout, but it seems just as likely that the text was shorter here.<sup>166</sup> Thus, the layout makes it likely that the manuscript once contained a text of similar extent as copies of Ethiopic Jubilees, though the text may reflect important literary differences from Ethiopic Jubilees. The text of this manuscript shows a good deal of variance with the Ethiopic tradition, not only on minor textual details, but also issues of wider importance for the understanding of the work itself.<sup>167</sup> As the text of *Jub.* 1–2 is not extant in the Latin, it is of limited value to the discussions in this dissertation. For reference, I have included a table of the extant passages here:<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> The Jubilees Palimpsest Project is led by Todd Hanneken of St. Mary's University. See the project webpage and links there for more information: <http://palimpsest.stmarytx.edu>.

<sup>165</sup> The Jubilees Palimpsest Project: <http://palimpsest.stmarytx.edu>.

<sup>166</sup> Ravid took this to mean that the original ending was shorter, as the final 8 verses could be seen as an addition that took place only in the (pre-)Ethiopic recension, cf. Liora Ravid, "Sabbath Laws in Jubilees 50:6–13," *Tarbiz* 69 (2000): 161–66 [Heb]; James C. VanderKam, "The End of the Matter? Jubilees 50:6–13 and the Unity of the Book.," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lidonnici and Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 267–84.

<sup>167</sup> For further discussion, cf. Rönsch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis*; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*, xxviii–xxx; Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees in Latin."

<sup>168</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XVIII.

Content Range in <i>Jubilees</i>		
13:10–21	27:11–24	36:20–37:5
15:20–31	28:16–27	38:1–16
16:5–17:6	29:8–31:1	39:9–40:8
18:10–19:26	31:9–18	41:6–19
20:5–21:10	31:29–32:8	42:2–14
22:2–19	32:18–33:9	45:8–46:1
23:8–23	33:18–34:5	46:12–48:5
24:12–25:1	35:3–12	49:7–22
26:8–23		

#### 1.4.2.4. Syriac

The same situation holds for the text of *Jubilees* in Syriac as in Greek. In Syriac, *Jubilees* is known from citations and allusions, but not from any manuscript containing a copy of *Jubilees*. In addition to the list of the names of the matriarchs discussed above,<sup>169</sup> the three principal sources in Syriac are Epiphanius' *Treatise on Weights and Measures*, a translation from Greek,<sup>170</sup> an account similar to *Jub.* 11–12 in a letter written by Jacob of Edessa from the late 7<sup>th</sup> or early 8<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>171</sup> and the so-called *Anonymous Chronicle of 1234*.<sup>172</sup> The Syriac material is of a similar nature, and partially from the same work as the Greek material discussed above. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish between citations and allusions within the Syriac texts, and difficult to discern whether *Jubilees* serves as a source or if the traditions are known to the authors in various ways. The *Anonymous Chronicle* is the most important source pertaining to *Jubilees* in general, and *Jub.* 2 in particular. It seems that the details of *Jubilees* played an important role in the

<sup>169</sup> See section §1.4.

<sup>170</sup> C.f. the discussion above, §1.4.1.1.

<sup>171</sup> S.P. Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979): 212–32.

<sup>172</sup> An edition of the text can be found in Jean Baptiste Chabot, *Chronicon ad Annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (Paris: E Typographaeo Reipublicae, 1920). Cf. also the discussions of the manuscript and its text in Eugene Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *Revue Biblique* 30 (1921): 55–86, 206–232; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XV–XVI; Hilken, *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle up to the Year 1234 and its sources*.



chronicler's understanding of creation, whatever his actual source was. The following table<sup>173</sup> shows references to *Jubilees* in the Syriac Chronicle:

Location in the Syriac Chronicle	Content Range in Jubilees
27.14 – 28.22	2:2–8, 10–14
29.9 – 30.1	2:15–16
30.3–7	2:25
31.9–11	3:28
39.1–8	4:17–19,21
38.26 – 39.1	4:25–26
32.24–26	4:29
33.12–16	4:30
36.29 – 37.1	5:1
40.19–24	5:2,9
42.22–31	6:1–3,7
46.5–12	8:2–4
43.17 – 44.15	8:11–12,22–27,29–30
47.28 – 48.1	10:29
51.14 – 42.30	11:16,18–21,23; 12:1–7,12,14–23,28–29
53.4–15	13:17,21–23,25,28–29
55.24 – 56.10	33:2–10,16
56.11 – 58.25	37:1–9, 11–22, 24–25; 38:1–5,8–9
59.2 – 60.11	41:4–21,23–24

#### 1.4.2.5. Ethiopic

The manuscript evidence for *Jubilees* is most prevalent in the Ethiopic tradition. It is only through Ethiopic manuscripts that the work as it is known today is extant in its entirety. Critical editions of the Ethiopic text have been available since 1859, each reflecting the growing number of extant manuscripts. Dillmann had access to two manuscripts,<sup>174</sup> Charles had access to four manuscripts,<sup>175</sup> and Vanderkam is aware of 27 at the time of the publication of his critical edition.<sup>176</sup> Vanderkam reaffirmed his awareness of 27 manuscripts in 2009,<sup>177</sup> but since then Ted Erho has shown that both before and after the publication of Vanderkam's essay at least 30 additional Ethiopic

<sup>173</sup> This table is based on Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XIV–XVI, though I have checked all references in the manuscript.

<sup>174</sup> Dillmann, *መጽሐፍ ጳውሎስ ስፍራ* sive *Liber Jubilaeorum*.

<sup>175</sup> Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>176</sup> Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XIX; Cf. James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text* (CSCO 510, Eth. 88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

<sup>177</sup> Vanderkam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees."

manuscripts of *Jubilees* are extant.<sup>178</sup> The current number of manuscripts that scholars are aware of is 57.<sup>179</sup>

The Ethiopic manuscripts are relatively late, dating from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century and later,<sup>180</sup> but there is still considerable variance between individual and groups of manuscripts.<sup>181</sup> VanderKam, building on the work of Baars and Zuurmond,<sup>182</sup> classifies manuscripts into families according to their textual character.<sup>183</sup>

Our idea of what *Jub.* 1–2 looks like is the result of our knowledge of the shape of those chapters in the Ethiopic tradition, as Ethiopic *Jubilees* has the most extensive text here. Thus, the Ethiopic is an important reference point for this dissertation, as it has been throughout the research history of this 4Q216. In my study of the text of 4Q216, I have consulted the editions of Ethiopic *Jubilees*, looked for variants among the manuscripts, and included the discussion of important variants in the material philological discussion.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Ted Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76:1 (2013): 75–97.

<sup>179</sup> There are certainly more manuscripts to be found in different institutions, monasteries and private collections in the Horn of Africa and abroad. This discussion is not meant to be exhaustive in relation to the absolute number of manuscripts, but describes what is available at present. Cf. Ted Erho and James R. Hamrick, “Jubilees: Ethiopic,” in Lange and Henze, eds., *The Textual History of the Bible Vol. 2: Deutero-Canonical Scriptures*.

<sup>180</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 79.

<sup>181</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, XIX–XXXI.

<sup>182</sup> W. Baars and R. Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 9 (1964): 67–74, R. Zuurmond, “Oefeningen i Kufale” (PhD diss. Amsterdam, 1981).

<sup>183</sup> The method and results of the classification has been criticized in Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 81, n 21.

<sup>184</sup> For example, a comparison of *Jub.* 1–2 in the editions of Charles and VanderKam and British Library Oriental Manuscript 485 (Charles’ manuscript B and VanderKam’s 25). I found no textual variants between them, only minor details of spacing and alignment. In other words, both Charles and VanderKam follow BL Orient. 485 very closely, at least in this section.

As quite a number of new manuscripts have come to light since VanderKam's most recent list, I include here a list over all of the Ethiopic Jubilees manuscripts that I am aware of at the time of publication. The current count is 57, but this will almost certainly grow in the future as more manuscripts are identified in Ethiopia and elsewhere. In this list, I include 1) the shelf mark, with the manuscript number in VanderKam's edition in parenthesis where applicable and publication/catalogue information in the footnotes; 2) the location of the manuscript; 3) the date of the manuscript either based on a colophon or paleographical analysis; and 4) information on the number of folios in the manuscript, where *Jubilees* appears, and what other books are included in the manuscript.<sup>185</sup>

BAV, P.I.B. 21 (*olim* PIB A.2.12) (9)<sup>186</sup>

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

14<sup>th</sup> Century

76 folios containing *Jub.* 1:1–46:1. The final folios are missing from this once complete copy.

Gunda Gunde 162<sup>187</sup>

Monastery of Gunda Gundē, Tigray

Late 14<sup>th</sup> Century

105 folios containing *Jubilees* though some folios are out of order.

EMML 9001<sup>188</sup>

Church of Gešan Māryām, Wallo

Early 15<sup>th</sup> Century

171 folios with the Octateuch followed by *Jubilees* (ff. 139r–148r), *Daniel*, *4 Ezra*, *Zechariah*.

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<sup>185</sup> Most of this information is gleaned from VanderKam, *Jubilees*; Baars and Zuurmond, "The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees"; and Erho, "New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha." For further catalogue information, see the references to these publications in the footnotes of this section. I have consulted the catalogues and viewed manuscripts where possible to verify the information. Special thanks to Ted Erho who kindly provided me with information on several manuscripts of which he is aware that have not been included in previous publications.

<sup>186</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, "The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees," 72, VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XIX. This manuscript was previously held at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico, but is now kept at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and thus has a new shelf mark.

<sup>187</sup> Erho, "New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha," 79–80.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 80–81.

BnF Ethiopien 51 (12)<sup>189</sup>  
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris  
 Late 14<sup>th</sup>/Early 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 110 folios containing a complete copy of *Jubilees*.

EMIP 654 (Mekane Yesus Seminary 54)<sup>190</sup>  
 Mekane Yesus Seminary, Addis Ababa  
 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 55 folios containing text from *Jub.* 15:3–19, 21:4–13, 23:11–20, 26:27–29:2, 30:17–32:21, 34:7–36:4, 37:19–50:13; in addition to sections of Hosea, Amos and Micah.

IES 392<sup>191</sup>  
 Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa  
 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 94 folios containing *Jub.* 1:1–39:16 (ff. 41r–94v) and *I En.* 32:2–108:15 (ff. 1r–40v).

C1–IV–14 (DA-005 = EAP704/1/5)<sup>192</sup>  
 Monastery of Dabra Abbāy, Tigray  
 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 312 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–6v, 8r–15v, 17r–43v, 312r),<sup>193</sup> followed by 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees,<sup>194</sup> Isaiah, 1 Esdras, Song of Songs, 2 Esdras, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, 4 *Baruch*, Job, Susanna, Daniel, Bel and the Dragon, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Ezekiel, Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Judith, Esther, and Tobit.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” 70, VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XIX–XX.

<sup>190</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 81–82; idem, “The Textual Character of Jubilees in Mekane Yesus Seminary 54,” in *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project: Volume 7–Codices 601–654: The Meseret Sebhat Le-Ab Collection of Mekane Yesus Seminary, Addis Ababa* (ed. Terefe, et al.; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), lxxv–lxxiv.

<sup>191</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 82–83.

<sup>192</sup> This manuscript was digitalized through the Endangered Archives Project of the British Library, Project EAP704. The manuscript number in the project is DA (Däbrä Abbay)-005, but the manuscript itself is marked as C1-IV-14. Thanks to Ted Erho (personal communication) who made me aware of this manuscript and kindly provided me with the content listing that he prepared for it.

<sup>193</sup> The folios on which *Jubilees* is written are in disarray, with many sections out of order and folios of other texts inserted in two places. The text of *Jubilees* 50:9–13 is found at the very end of the codex.

<sup>194</sup> 1–3 Maccabees, called *Meqabyan* in Ethiopic, have different content in the Ethiopic tradition than the homonymous works in other traditions. These books are often found together and labelled *Ethiopic Maccabees* in English. Here, I list the books individually in order to distinguish where all or only one or two of the books are present in a manuscript, and in which order they appear.

<sup>195</sup> Folio 307 is displaced from a different manuscript and contains Judges 14:11–16:3.

Kebrān (Tana) 9/EMML 8292 (17)<sup>196</sup>  
 Monastery of Kebrān Gabre'ēl, Goḡḡām  
 Mid-15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 186 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 2r–70r.) followed by *1 Enoch*, Ezekiel and Daniel.

C3-IV-188

Dabra Ṣeyon Māryām, Tigray  
 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 One quire and one leaf of *Jubilees* displaced in a manuscript of a homiliary from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, containing *Jubilees* 8:21–11:23 and 47:1–12.

Ms. or. fol. 3068 (20)<sup>197</sup>  
 Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin<sup>198</sup>  
 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Century  
*Jubilees* (ff. 1r–65v) followed by 1–3 Maccabees.<sup>199</sup>

Gunda Gunde 146 (Schneider Gunda Gunde 10) (23)<sup>200</sup>  
 Monastery of Gunda Gundē, Tigray  
 Late 15<sup>th</sup>/Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century  
 100 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–71v), Tobit (ff. 72r–81v) and Judith (ff. 82r–100v).

Gunda Gunde 95<sup>201</sup>  
 Monastery of Gunda Gundē, Tigray  
 Late 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
 88 folios containing 1–2 Chronicles and *Jubilees* 2:8–3:17, 7:39–8:14 (ff. 80r–83v).

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<sup>196</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XX. This manuscript, number 17 in VanderKam 1989, has been re-photographed as EMML 8292, cf. Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 89. On the history of this manuscript, see Ted Erho and Loren Stuckenbruck, “A Manuscript History of Ethiopic Enoch,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 23:2 (2013): 110–11.

<sup>197</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” 71–72, VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XX.

<sup>198</sup> According to VanderKam and Baars and Zuumond, this manuscript is held at the Marburg University Library, though it is still listed in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

<sup>199</sup> Johannes Flemming, “Die neue Sammlung abessinischer Handschriften auf der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 23:1 (1906): 7–21.

<sup>200</sup> Ted Erho has shown that this manuscript, which VanderKam believed to end after *Jub.* 41:25, is not incomplete, but was most likely mistaken as such because of an incomplete series of photographs. Cf. Ted Erho, “The Library and Old Testament Manuscripts of Gundä Gunde,” in *Studies in Ethiopian Languages, Literature, and History: Festschrift for Getatchew Haile Presented by his Friends and Colleagues* (ed. McCollum; vol. 83 of *Aethiopistische Forschungen*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 297–319; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXI; Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 89.

<sup>201</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 84–85.

IES 436<sup>202</sup>

Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa

Late 15<sup>th</sup>/Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century

69 folios containing *Jubilees* 41:5–42:1, 45:13–46:16, 48:7–49:6 followed by a nearly complete copy of the Twelve Prophets.<sup>203</sup>

Gunda Gunde 101/Schneider Gunda Gunde 74 (22)<sup>204</sup>

Monastery of Gunda Gundē, Tigray

Late 15<sup>th</sup>/Early 16<sup>th</sup> Century

100 folios containing *Jub.* 1:1–13, 4:20–33, 7:31–8:8, 13:4–50:13 (ff. 1r–54v) and Deuteronomy (ff. 55r–100v).

EMML 3 (1510)/IES 439 (21)<sup>205</sup>

Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa

1505–1506

85 folios containing a complete copy of *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–85v)

Dabra Bizan 1 (Donald Davies collection)<sup>206</sup>

Monastery of Dabra Bizan, Eritrea

1530

Unknown total number of folios, 288 folios have been microfilmed, but this is apparently not the complete manuscript. The microfilmed folios contain Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, *Jubilees*, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles and 2 Chronicles.

BL Or. 485 (25)<sup>207</sup>

British Library, London

Mid-16<sup>th</sup> Century

190 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–101v) and *1 Enoch*.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>203</sup> Erho notes that affinities with EMML 207 and IES 392 could mean that these leaves of *Jubilees* belong to IES 392, *ibid.*, 89.

<sup>204</sup> VanderKam identifies this as Gunda Gundie 74, but Ted Erho has recently provided updated catalogue information and the correct shelf mark, cf. Erho, “The Library and Old Testament Manuscripts of Gundā Gunde.”

<sup>205</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XX; Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 89.

<sup>206</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 85–86.

<sup>207</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXI; Charles, *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, XII; Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees.”

ACTC 17<sup>208</sup>

Addigrat Catholic Theological College, Tigray

16<sup>th</sup> Century

163 folios containing *Jubilees* and a displaced bifolio from Daniel.<sup>209</sup>

C1-IV-291 (MK-006 = EAP704/2/6)<sup>210</sup>

Monastery of Ša'adā Embā, Tigray

16<sup>th</sup> Century

210 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–46r) followed by Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah 1:1–6:11, Ezekiel, Susanna, Daniel, Bel and the Dragon, 4 *Ezra*, 1 Esdras, Judith, Esther, and Tobit.

EMML 8671

Monastery of Kebrān Gabre'ēl, Goḡḡām

16<sup>th</sup> Century

Incomplete sections of two manuscripts of *Jubilees* with portions of Isaiah, and the Jeremiah-cycle.

BAV P.I.B. 23 (*olim* PIB A.2.10) (35)<sup>211</sup>

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

Mid-17<sup>th</sup> Century

*Jubilees* (ff. 1r–36v) followed by Chronicles, 1 Maccabees, 3 *Ezra*, Ezra and Nehemiah.

BnF Éthiopien d'Abb. 117 (38)<sup>212</sup>

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

1684

161 + 2 folios containing the Octateuch with *Jubilees* at the end (ff. 128r–161v)

EMML 7862

Private Collection

17<sup>th</sup> Century

187 folios containing the Octateuch followed by *Jubilees* (ff. 152r–187r).

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<sup>208</sup> Rafał Zarzeczny, “Inventario dei manoscritti etiopici conservati presso la biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore ad Adigrat (Etiopica)” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 80 (2014): 199–260. Thanks to Ted Erho for making me aware of this manuscript and the reference.

<sup>209</sup> Erho and Hamrick, “Jubilees: Ethiopic.”

<sup>210</sup> This manuscript was digitalized through the Endangered Archives Project of the British Library, Project EAP704, available online at [http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview\\_item.a4d?catId=323023](http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=323023). The manuscript number in the project is MK (Marawe Krestos)-005, but the manuscript itself is marked as C1-IV-291. Thanks to Ted Erho (personal communication) who made me aware of this manuscript and kindly provided me with the content listing that he prepared for it.

<sup>211</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” 72; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXI. This manuscript was previously held at the Pontificio Istituto Biblico, but is now kept at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, hence the new shelf mark.

<sup>212</sup> Antoine d'Abbadie, “Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie” (Paris: impr. impériale, 1859), 132–33; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXI–XXII.

EMML 1163/UNESCO 5.3 (39)<sup>213</sup>  
 Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa  
 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century  
*Jubilees* is found on folios 129r–159r.<sup>214</sup>

EMML 4437 (40)<sup>215</sup>  
 Church of Sallā Dengāy, Shoa  
 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century  
 189 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 143r–169v) in a codex that contains *I Enoch*, Job, the Octateuch, *Jubilees*, and Isaiah.

EMML 6974<sup>216</sup>  
 Monastery of Zammadu Māryām, Wallo  
 Late 17<sup>th</sup>/Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century  
 151 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 120r–151r) as the final book in a codex also containing *I Enoch*, Job, Proverbs, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

EMIP 743 (Çalaqot Sellasē 2)/EMDL 470<sup>217</sup>  
 Church of Çalaqot Sellasē, Tigray  
 Late 17<sup>th</sup>/Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century  
 i + 198 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 155r–186r) as the second to last book, between Ruth and Job. The codex contains *I Enoch*, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, *Jubilees*, and Job.

EMML 101 (42)<sup>218</sup>  
 Church of St. Rāguʾel, Addis Ababa  
 1700–1750  
 76 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 2r–74v) with an introduction (f. 1v) and some short notes at the end.

EMML 8768<sup>219</sup>  
 Church of Gind Atemen Mikāʾel, Gondar  
 18<sup>th</sup> Century  
 186 folios containing *Jubilees* as the second-to-last book, between Job and *I Enoch*. The codex contains Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Job, *Jubilees*, and *I Enoch*.

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<sup>213</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 89, VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXII.

<sup>214</sup> The rest of the contents of this manuscript are unknown to me at present.

<sup>215</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXII.

<sup>216</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 86.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXII.

<sup>219</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 86–87.



EMML1945 (44)<sup>220</sup>

Monastery of Ḥayq Estifānos, Wallo

Mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century

135+1 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 55r–133a) preceded by a commentary on *Jubilees*, *The Testament of Our Lord*, *On the Ordering of the Church*, *The Revelation of the Future by our Lord to his Disciples in Galilee*, and *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel*. Following *Jubilees* there are some notes of commentary.

JER NLI Or. 37 (*olim* HU Or. Var. 8-37) (45)<sup>221</sup>

National Library of Israel, Jerusalem

Mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century

217 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 4r–62v) along with *The Death of Moses*, 1–3 Maccabees, Sirach, *4 Ezra*, Judith and Esther.

EMML 2532 (47)<sup>222</sup>

Church of Ankobarr Giyorgis, Shoa

1755–69

188 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 160r–188v) following the Octateuch.

EMML 4750 (48)<sup>223</sup>

Church of Boru (Mēdā) Śellāsē, Wallo

1750–1800

217 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 178r–216v) following *1 Enoch* and the Octateuch, with a glossary of some words from *Jubilees* at the end (ff. 216v–217r).

EMDA 84<sup>224</sup>

Church of Moṭa Giyorgis, Goḡḡām

18<sup>th</sup> Century

ii + 115 + i folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–36v) followed by 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles and 1 Ezra.

UNESCO 10.48<sup>225</sup>

Monastery of Dimā Giyorgis, Goḡḡām

18<sup>th</sup>/Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century

ii + 127 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 2r–38v) as the second book, between Tobit and *2 Ezra*. The codex contains Tobit, *Jubilees*, *2 Ezra*, *3 Ezra*, 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, *Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashur*, and *4 Baruch*.

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<sup>220</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXII.

<sup>221</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” 72–73; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXII–XXIII.

<sup>222</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIII.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 87. (ADD TED THB)

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

Tübingen M.a. IX.4 (51)<sup>226</sup>  
 Tübingen University Library, Tübingen  
 1800–1840  
 80 folios with a complete copy of *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–80v)

UNESCO 2.13<sup>227</sup>  
 National Archives and Library of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa  
 19<sup>th</sup> Century  
 133 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 15v–98v) as the second book, between Esther and Judith.  
 The codex contains: Esther, *Jubilees*, Judith and Tobit.

MM-003 (EAP526/1/3)<sup>228</sup>  
 Monastery of Māy Wayni, Tigray  
 19<sup>th</sup> Century  
 170 folios containing the Octateuch followed by *Jub.* 1:1–39:18 (ff. 140r–170v).

BAV Cerulli.et. 199 (57)  
 Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome  
 1850–1900  
 256 folios with the *Jubilees* (ff. 209r–256v) following the Octateuch.

British and Foreign Bible Society ms. 200 (58)<sup>229</sup>  
 Cambridge University Library, Cambridge  
 1850–1900  
*Jubilees* (ff. 1r–69v) followed by 1–3 Maccabees.

JE4E (50)<sup>230</sup>  
 Ethiopian Archbishopric, Jerusalem  
 19<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>231</sup>  
 108 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 5r–51r) followed by 1–2 Ezra and Ezekiel.

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<sup>226</sup> This is the manuscript first seen by Ewald, and which represents the beginning of Western research on Ethiopic Jubilees. It is a paper copy of a lost original, cf. the discussion of the provenance above, §1.4.

<sup>227</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 87.

<sup>228</sup> This manuscript was digitalized through the Endangered Archives Project of the British Library, Project EAP526, cf. [http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview\\_item.a4d?catId=117775](http://eap.bl.uk/database/overview_item.a4d?catId=117775). Thanks to Ted Erho (personal communication) who made me aware of this manuscript.

<sup>229</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, “The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees,” 73; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIV.

<sup>230</sup> Ephraim Isaac, “Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem,” *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 30 (1984–1986): 53–80.

<sup>231</sup> Similarities between this manuscript and Dillmann’s critical edition (1859) point toward a date after 1859 for this manuscript, cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIII.

Yad Ben Zvi Ms. 6001<sup>232</sup>

Yad Ben Zvi Institute, Jerusalem

19<sup>th</sup> Century

This manuscript contains a mutilous copy of *Jubilees* following the Octateuch.

EMML 6557 (59)

Church of Enṭoto Māryām

1894

*Jubilees* is found on folios 149r–186v.<sup>233</sup>

EMML 5592/EMIP 1120 (60)<sup>234</sup>

Private Library, Addis Ababa

19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Century

315 folios containing *Jubilees* (5r–103v) followed by 1–2 Chronicles and 1–3 Maccabees.

BAV Cerulli.et. 51 (61)<sup>235</sup>

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

1900–1950

*Jubilees* is found on folios 5r–98v.

EMML 6333 (62)<sup>236</sup>

Parish Church, Walmarā

19<sup>th</sup> Century/1915<sup>237</sup>

151 folios containing the Octateuch followed by leafs containing *Jub.* 1:1–5:16, 50:12–18 (ff. 141r–146r).

EMML 207 (63)<sup>238</sup>

Ba’atā Church, Addis Ababa

1919–20

180+3 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–100r) and *1 Enoch*

EMIP 947 (Maqallē Mikā’ēl 170)/EMDL 669 (Abuna Yoḥannes Museum 46)<sup>239</sup>

Church of Maqallē Mikā’ēl, Tigray

Dated 1919 in the Ethiopian calendar (1926–27 CE.)

iv + 166 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–32r) followed by Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth.

<sup>232</sup> Thanks to Ted Erho for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

<sup>233</sup> The rest of the contents of this manuscript are unknown to me at present.

<sup>234</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIV; Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 89.

<sup>235</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIV.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> VanderKam says the date is 1915, while the online catalogue of the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library dates the manuscript to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 85.

UNESCO 10.77<sup>240</sup>

Monastarey of Dimā Giyorgis, Gojjam

Dated 1922 in the Ethiopian Calendar (1929–30 CE.)

104 + i folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–44v) followed by 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, 3 Maccabees, Tobit and Judith.

BAV Cerulli.et. 75 (64)<sup>241</sup>

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome

1930

558 folios containing a complete Bible, with the the Octateuch, followed by *Jubilees* (ff. 108r–131r) and *1 Enoch*, then the rest of the Old Testament, 1–3 Maccabees, and the New Testament.

IES Ms. 77

Institute of Ethiopian Studeies, Addis Ababa

1934/5

A bilingual Amharic – Ge‘ez Bible with *Jubilees* (ff. 214r–241v)

EMDA 219 (G<sub>4</sub>-IV-12)<sup>242</sup>

Church of Dabra Ḍaḥay, Goḡḡām

*Jubilees* with *1 Enoch*, *The Death of Moses*, 1–3 Maccabees and Ezekiel.

UNESCO 2.26<sup>243</sup>

National Library, Addis Ababa

20<sup>th</sup> Century

99 folios containing *Jubilees* (ff. 3r–56v) followed by 1–2 Chronicles.

IES 2480<sup>244</sup>

Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa

20<sup>th</sup> Century

170 folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 137v–168r) at the very end. The codex contains: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and *Jubilees*.

EMML 7399<sup>245</sup>

National Library, Addis Ababa

20<sup>th</sup> Century

iv + 280 + iii folios of parallel Ge‘ez and Amharic text with *Jubilees* (ff. 1r–71v) followed by 1–3 Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Daniel and the Twelve Prophets.

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>241</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*, XXIV; Pictures (of poor quality) of this manuscript are now available online at [digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Cerulli.et.75](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Cerulli.et.75).

<sup>242</sup> Erho and Hamrick, “Jubilees: Ethiopic.”

<sup>243</sup> Erho, “New Ethiopic Witnesses to some Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,” 88.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

EMML 1200<sup>246</sup>

Holy Trinity Cathedral, Addis Ababa

1950s

396 + viii folios with *Jubilees* (ff. 284r–337r) between *Fetha Nagašt* and an Amharic commentary on Revelation. The codex contains: 2 Ezra, *Fetha nagašt*, *Jubilees*, an Amharic commentary of Revelation, and an Amharic commentary on Enoch.

NALA 362 (EMML 7385)<sup>247</sup>

National Library and Archives Agency of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa

1973–74

An Old Testament pandect with *Jubilees* (ff. 187r–213r).

### **1.5. Issues in Jubilees Research**

While the primary focus of this study is 4Q216 and thus *Jub.* 1–2, my work touches on other issues related to our understanding of the text, redaction and transmission of *Jubilees*. Also pertinent is the way *Jubilees* and other Dead Sea Scrolls texts relate to each other and to the community that presumably resided at Qumran. In the following, I will discuss some of these issues, and clarify my understanding of important themes that have bearing on my research.

#### **1.5.1. The Composition of Jubilees**

The history of research on the composition of *Jubilees* reflects in large the history of western knowledge of the text of *Jubilees*.<sup>248</sup> Before Ewald's announcement of the presence of the manuscript in Tübingen and Dillmann's edition, there was little scholarly discussion of the book as a whole in the West.<sup>249</sup> However, *Jubilees* was known in Ethiopia where it remained a part of the canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. During the course of the next hundred years, several theories were developed concerning the provenance of *Jubilees*, with the prevailing opinion that the book belonged in a late

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<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 88–89.

<sup>247</sup> Thanks to Ted Erho who made me aware of this manuscript. Cf. also Erho and Hamrick, "Jubilees: Ethiopic."

<sup>248</sup> Cf. the discussion above in §1.4.

<sup>249</sup> Ewald, "Ueber die Aethiopischen Handschriften zu Tübingen;" Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die kleine Genesis, aus dem Äthiopischen übersetzt."

Second Temple context in Judea, originally written in Hebrew (or Aramaic).<sup>250</sup> R.H.

Charles argued that *Jubilees* was written by a Pharisee in Palestine, and saw references to events during the reign of Hyrcanus I in the text. Thus, he was of the opinion that the book was composed in Palestine sometime during the reign of Hyrcanus I, between 135 and 105 BCE.<sup>251</sup> Louis Finkelstein noted that *Jubilees* shows no clear reference to the decrees of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 BCE and suggested that the date of the composition should be earlier than that, in the 170s BCE.<sup>252</sup>

With the discovery of the manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the general theory of the origin and language of writing were more or less confirmed, but further questions about dating arose.<sup>253</sup> The announcement of the finds, and the eventual publication of more and more of the fragments, sparked a renewed interest in the text and development of *Jubilees*. In addition to the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls, more Ethiopic manuscripts had also come to light since Charles' edition, and already in the 1960s the idea of the need for a new edition of Ethiopic *Jubilees* was launched.<sup>254</sup> Thus, the work of VanderKam in the 1970s–1990s was the result of, and the answer to, demands of the field in general. His 1977 *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, established for many the reliability of the Ethiopic translation of *Jubilees*.<sup>255</sup> Further, the publication of VanderKam's critical edition of the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*,<sup>256</sup> his translation of that text,<sup>257</sup> and the

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<sup>250</sup> Cf. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or The Little Genesis*, xxxi–xxxiii.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*, lxiii–lxvi.

<sup>252</sup> Louis Finkelstein, "The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *Harvard Theological Review* 36 (1943): 19–24.

<sup>253</sup> VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>254</sup> Baars and Zuurmond, "The Project for a New Edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees."

<sup>255</sup> VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>256</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*.

<sup>257</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees*.

subsequent publication of the Qumran Cave 4 manuscripts, also by VanderKam,<sup>258</sup> filled the gap of knowledge in the field. VanderKam contended that *Jubilees* was the product of a single author, working between 161 and 152 BCE.<sup>259</sup> Further, he has extensively argued that the book more or less reached its current form by the hand of that original author. The implication of all this was that the *text* of *Jubilees* could be used to discuss the historical period to which it was dated based on the Qumran fragments. Many scholars working with literary and theological issues related to *Jubilees* follow VanderKam's understanding of the composition of *Jubilees*.

Two different opinions of the date of composition, while still apparently supporting the one author hypothesis, propose dates based on finding the historical context for a polemic in *Jub.* 23:9–32. Several scholars, most notably George Nickelsburg, consider this passage a polemic against Hellenizers, and find the lack of reference to Antiochus IV surprising, arguing that it fits into the historical setting

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<sup>258</sup> DJD 13.

<sup>259</sup> VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 214–85. VanderKam elsewhere argues that the purported reference to the title of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4, supported by 4Q270–271 from Qumran, proves that *Jubilees* must have been written prior to the composition of CD. The earliest manuscript with text from CD from Qumran is dated paleographically to the first half of the first century BCE, thus, argues VanderKam, proving a second century composition of *Jubilees* (James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 19–29). Deborah Dimant has argued that the identification of *Jubilees* here is dubious, as the reference does not precisely reflect the Hebrew title of *Jubilees* (Deborah Dimant, “Two “Scientific” Fictions: The So-called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4,” in Flint, Tov and VanderKam, eds., *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* [SupVT 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 230–49.) I am inclined to agree with Dimant to a certain degree, as we do not know specifically to what CD is referring, whether it be *Jubilees*, something similar to *Jubilees*, or another work altogether. Additionally, I do not accept the premise that a reference to the title of *Jubilees* as an authority implies that the whole work as known from Ethiopic *Jubilees* was complete prior to the reference. Certainly, *Jubilees* could have undergone further redaction or literary growth after a title was known.

around the Hellenistic reform of 175 BCE in Jerusalem, that is, prior to Antiochus IV.<sup>260</sup> Using the same argument about the polemic and lack of reference to Antiochus IV, Menahem Kister argues for a date in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>261</sup> He is followed by Werman, who further argued for a strong connection between *Jubilees* and the sectarian literature from Qumran.<sup>262</sup>

Until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, there were few attempts at analyzing parts of *Jubilees* as being secondary in nature. Michel Testuz argued that three passages were added to the otherwise complete *Jubilees* during the first century BCE (*Jub.* 1:7–25, 28; 23:11–32; 24:28b–30), based on the fact that they were eschatological in nature.<sup>263</sup> Ernest Wiesenberg argued for there being different sources or strata in *Jubilees* based on difficulties in the chronological framework.<sup>264</sup> Gene Davenport expanded on the eschatological analysis of Testuz and argued for a comprehensive redaction of *Jubilees*.<sup>265</sup> More recently, Christoph Berner has argued along the same lines.<sup>266</sup> None of these theories has gained wide currency in research, although the underlying inconsistencies they point to have inspired others.

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<sup>260</sup> Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Stone; CRINT II; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 89–156.

<sup>261</sup> Menahem Kister, “Concerning the History of the Essenes: A Study of the *Animal Apocalypse*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and the *Damascus Covenant*,” *Tarbiz* 56 (1986): 1–18.

<sup>262</sup> Cana Werman, “The *Book of Jubilees* and the Qumran Community,” *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 37–55.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Michel Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Paris: Minard, 1960).

<sup>264</sup> Ernest Wiesenberg, “The Jubilee of Jubilees,” *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961): 3–40.

<sup>265</sup> Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Studia post-Biblica; Leiden: Brill, 1971).

<sup>266</sup> Christoph Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum* (BZAW 363; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 239–54.



Ravid has suggested that the Sabbath laws at end of *Jubilees* 50 were a later addition.<sup>267</sup> Devorah Dimant has shown that there are problems with the understanding of the length of period of the jubilees (49 or 50 years) in certain passages, suggesting that *Jubilees* draws on different sources.<sup>268</sup> Menahem Kister proposed that certain legal passages were at odds with the rewritten story with which they were juxtaposed in the text.<sup>269</sup> The two latter proposals seem to be the inspiration for Michael Segal, who has proposed one of the two most comprehensive theories of redaction to date.<sup>270</sup> He argues extensively for *Jubilees* being made up of two layers: a base layer with rewritten stories, and a legal, halakhic redaction. Upon the addition of the halakhic layer certain irreconcilable contradictions arose, which are still discernable in the text of *Jubilees*. His theory implies that the book did not take its final form until the legal passages had been added. While he is hesitant to date the rewritten stories, he dates this redactional layer to a time “following the formation of the Essene sect or stream, and it reflects the beginnings of the internal rift in the nation, which reached its full expression in the sectarian literature preserved at Qumran.”<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> Ravid, “Sabbath Laws in Jubilees 50:6–13.” Cf. Doerings’s response, and Kister’s analysis in favor of Ravid: Doering, “Jub 2,24 nach 4QJub a VII,17 und der Aufbau von Jub 2,17–33.”, Menahem Kister, “Two Formulae in the Book of Jubilees,” *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 289–300. Cf. also the discussion of the Latin palimpsest above, §1.4.2.3.

<sup>268</sup> Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch,” *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983): 14–29.

<sup>269</sup> Menahem Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakhah,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (ed. Barrera and Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 571–88.

<sup>270</sup> Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

James Kugel has also suggested a comprehensive redaction of *Jubilees*.<sup>272</sup> His theory differs from Segal's in several respects. Kugel calls his redactor an interpolator, and views him as intervening into the text at points where he:

sought to correct what he considered an objectionable element in the original, the implication that some of the Torah's laws had originated in practices adopted by Israel's ancestors on their own initiative.<sup>273</sup>

Thus, Kugel sees the interpolator not as putting the entire legal framework on the work, but simply correcting where the story seemed to go against his theological convictions.

My view on the subject will unfold throughout this dissertation and is summarized in the conclusion. For the time being, it should suffice to note that my research points toward a redactional process throughout the first century BCE. Thus, I would not subscribe to a single author theory, nor would I consider *Jubilees* as having been "completed" earlier than this redaction, as it is also difficult to define when exactly a work should be considered "finished." It is clear that some forms of *Jubilees* were in circulation during the first century BCE, but beyond that it is difficult to know when the adaptation of the rewritten stories to the legal and calendrical framework that characterizes *Jubilees* took place.

### 1.5.2. The Reliability of the Ethiopic Version of Jubilees

The reliability of the text of Ethiopic *Jubilees* has been a key presupposition in studies of *Jubilees* from the perspective of Rewritten Scripture.<sup>274</sup> Framed as such, *Jubilees* research

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<sup>272</sup> Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*; James L. Kugel, "The Compositional History of The Book of Jubilees," *Revue de Qumrân* 104 (2014): 517–37.

<sup>273</sup> Kugel, "The Compositional History of The Book of Jubilees," 517.

<sup>274</sup> I will not enter into a discussion as to the genre of *Jubilees* here. The term Rewritten Bible was proposed by Vermes, and has been much debated in recent years. Cf. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 95; Daniel K. Falk, *The*

has focused on how the *shape* of the text in *Jubilees* compares with the *shape* of the text found in the Hebrew Bible, as witnessed by the ancient witnesses including the MT.<sup>275</sup> While interesting from the interpretive perspective, there is an underlying idea of the reliability of the Ethiopic version of *Jubilees* which is taken to the extreme in such studies. Not only do these approaches assume the literary stability of the book, i.e. that larger sections of the text are not missing/added, they also assume textual stability, i.e. that words and phrases seldom changed. The background for this assumption is the work of VanderKam, who has done extensive work on the shape of the text in the different witnesses.<sup>276</sup> His conclusion that the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* is reliable heavily influences how recent studies view the methodological hurdle of studying Second Temple Jewish thinking through Ethiopic manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and later.<sup>277</sup> VanderKam's opinion on the text of *Jubilees* as a whole is that:

A reader familiar with the Bible will feel at home in *Jubilees* because in large part it is a representation, often in the same words, of the biblical storyline, starting with the creation of the world in Genesis 1 and ending with the covenant at Mt Sinai in Exodus 19–24.<sup>278</sup>

Concerning the stability of the text, VanderKam claims that

My studies of the individual Ethiopic manuscripts and comparisons of their readings with the versional evidence led me to the conclusion that,

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*Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS, 8; LSTT, 63; London: T&T Clark, 2007); Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDDSRJ; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STJD 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011).

<sup>275</sup> Cf. especially the work of Jacques van Ruiten, e.g. van Ruiten, *Primaeval history interpreted: the rewriting of Genesis I–II in the Book of Jubilees*, idem, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: the Rewriting of Genesis 11:26–25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14–23:8* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>276</sup> VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*; VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Critical Text*; VanderKam, *Jubilees*.

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*, 120.

<sup>278</sup> VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2001), 11. Also quoted in Stökl "A List of the Extant Hebrew Text of the Book of Jubilees, Their Relation to the Hebrew Bible and Some Preliminary Comments," 98.

despite a long history of copying and multiple translations, the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees* is in surprisingly good shape—in contrast to some other Jewish works such as 1 Enoch.<sup>279</sup>

Jonathan Stökl published a study on the Qumran *Jubilees* fragments in which he states quite frankly that the above statement “goes against the – Hebrew – data as far as it is available to us today.”<sup>280</sup> Stökl’s work, along with that of George Brooke, is some of the only recent scholarship to focus on the shape of the text itself, and not merely the significance of the existence of *Jubilees* among the Qumran manuscripts.<sup>281</sup> Their work shows that the fragments contain only a small percentage of the text of *Jubilees*, as compared with Ethiopic *Jubilees* but what is extant can be evaluated for its own intrinsic value. The lack of further studies on the fragments from this perspective is likely due to two related factors: the fragmentary nature of the *Jubilees* manuscripts at Qumran and the relatively lengthy delay in their publication. The fragments that were identified and placed correctly already in the early 1960s remained unpublished until 1994, when they eventually appeared in the maximalistic DJD 13 edition. It seems to me that this long wait followed by such extensive reconstruction created an image of conformity to the text of Ethiopic *Jubilees* and resulted in a view that further study was not necessary. Thus, the scholarly discourse centered on other issues than the reliability of the text, as this was taken for granted on the basis of the DJD 13 editions.

Recent studies deal differently with this lack of detailed compositional analysis. Most studies that do not focus on the form of the text but rather on the content

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<sup>279</sup> VanderKam, “The Manuscript Tradition of *Jubilees*,” 21.

<sup>280</sup> Stökl, “A List of the Extant Hebrew Text of the Book of *Jubilees*, Their Relation to the Hebrew Bible and Some Preliminary Comments.”

<sup>281</sup> See Brooke, “Exegetical Strategies in *Jubilees* 1–2: New Light from 4Q*Jubilees*4;” Stökl, “A List of the Extant Hebrew Text of the Book of *Jubilees*, Their Relation to the Hebrew Bible and Some Preliminary Comments.”

highlight the stability of the text or do not acknowledge the problem at all.<sup>282</sup> Both Todd Hanneken and Michael Segal address the issue of the challenge of interpreting the text in the absence of any assurance of its reliability, but conclude that the text is reliable enough to be used in their studies.<sup>283</sup> This view is best summed up by Segal who concludes that:

Although the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of this [Ethiopic] translation presents its own methodological challenges, the completeness of the composition makes a particularly well-suited object of study, and moreover, provides a solid basis for a comprehensive analysis.<sup>284</sup>

In other words, the nature of the composition is used as an argument for the reliability of the text.<sup>285</sup> In this dissertation, I am not arguing that the findings of the studies above are necessarily wrong due to their reliance on an assumed stable text, but I am questioning the validity of the assumption of the stability of *Jubilees* both at a textual and literary level, and would argue for a rethinking of what an *unstable* text may mean for our understanding of *Jubilees*.

### 1.5.3. Qumran

At the present time, there is no scholarly consensus on many important issues related to the purpose, use and interpretation of both the texts from the Judean Desert and the site

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<sup>282</sup> E.g. John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees* (The Catholic Biblical Quarterly; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1987), van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted: the Rewriting of Genesis I–II in the Book of Jubilees*; 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*; Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (SJSJ 77; Atlanta: SBL, 2003); Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*.

<sup>283</sup> Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*; Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*.

<sup>284</sup> Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.

<sup>285</sup> This is not meant to imply that all scholars begin with the text for such reasons. Many are simply more interested in textual and theological issues and bypass the issue of materiality out of convenience.

of Qumran itself. In this section, I will address some of the issues that have bearing on my research.<sup>286</sup>

Roland de Vaux excavated Khirbet Qumran, and concluded that while the site had been constructed as a military outpost in the Iron Age, it was inhabited from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE by a religious group, more specifically, (a group of) Essenes.<sup>287</sup> With the exception of a brief period in the late first century BCE, the group inhabited the site until 68 CE when the Romans destroyed, and subsequently partially reoccupied it.<sup>288</sup> Jodi Magness follows de Vaux's conclusions in many aspects, but suggests that Qumran was not occupied by a religious group until the early first century BCE.<sup>289</sup> There are, however, some currents in recent research that challenge the established view. Torleif Elgvin and John Collins have both argued convincingly that if the inhabitants of Qumran are to be identified with the Essenes, Qumran was not the only site they inhabited.<sup>290</sup> Recently, Joan Taylor has written the most comprehensive review of Greco-Roman sources about the Essenes, and concludes that while there are certain difficulties, there really is no alternative to the Essenes that fits the description

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<sup>286</sup> I will not review here the history of research on Qumran, the Dead Sea Scrolls or other issues related to the finds from the Judean desert, as this is outside the scope of this dissertation.

<sup>287</sup> On the Essenes, cf. the early formulation by Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (trans. Strugnell; Naperville, Ill: A. R. Allenson, 1959). Later revised and argued for by Joan E. Taylor, *The Essenes, The Scrolls, and The Dead Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). See also the more radical interpretation in Gabriele Boccacini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998).

<sup>288</sup> Roland de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>289</sup> Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

<sup>290</sup> Torleif Elgvin, "The Yahad Is More Than Qumran," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins. New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Boccacini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 273–9; John J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. P.M. Shalom et al.; SupVT 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111.

and the archaeological record.<sup>291</sup> She argues further that a Hasmonean fort that was built sometime around 100 BCE was subsequently taken over by Essenes in the early years of Herod's reign.

Norman Golb argued extensively against the Essene hypothesis. He argued that the scrolls found in the caves near Qumran did not have any connection with the ruins themselves, and posited that they were deposited by fleeing residents of Jerusalem on the eve of the destruction of Herod's temple in 70 CE. Accordingly, Golb believed that the site served as a military fort much longer than de Vaux had posited.<sup>292</sup> Following this, several other scholars have also argued that the archaeological evidence points to Qumran functioning as a fort throughout the Hasmonean period.<sup>293</sup> Different theories have been developed as to the function of the site in Herodian and Post-Herodian times, including a manor house,<sup>294</sup> a pottery workshop,<sup>295</sup> and a religious settlement.<sup>296</sup> The

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<sup>291</sup> Taylor, *The Essenes, The Scrolls, and The Dead Sea*.

<sup>292</sup> Norman Golb, "Who Hid the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 48:2 (1985): 68–82.

<sup>293</sup> Yizhar Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004); Yizhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993–2004," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of the Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19*. (ed. Galor, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–113; Taylor, *The Essenes, The Scrolls, and The Dead Sea*; Robert R. Cargill, *Qumran through [Real] Time, A Virtual Reconstruction of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias, 2009). Against this view, cf. Jodi Magness, "Was Qumran a Fort in the Hasmonean Period?" *Journal of Jewish Studies* 64, no. 2 (2013): 228–41.

<sup>294</sup> Jean-Baptiste Humbert, "Some Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran" in Galor, et al., eds., *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, 19–39; Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*, 241–43. In a recent lecture, Humbert argued that the site was founded as a royal villa, most probably sometime during the reign of Salome Alexandra (76–67 BCE): "L'architecture de Qumrân avant les esséniens," Lausanne University, 26 April 2017; available online at <https://www.unil.ch/irsb/home/menuinst/multimedias/multimedias-actualites--even.html>.

<sup>295</sup> Magen and Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavation and Research, 1993–2004."

<sup>296</sup> Cargill, *Qumran through [Real] Time, A Virtual Reconstruction of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*; Taylor, *The Essenes, The Scrolls, and The Dead Sea*.

theories that separate the scrolls entirely from the settlement do not seem to have established themselves among scholars, though the final word is not out.<sup>297</sup>

Taylor, who argues for an Essene connection with Qumran, agrees that the archaeological evidence is best interpreted to say that Qumran was inhabited by the sect only from the 30s BCE until 68 CE. Magness has argued strongly against this position, and at the moment it remains unclear where the scholarly consensus will fall.<sup>298</sup>

There are several points of this discussion that need to be commented on here. First, I am not convinced by theories that entirely separate the scrolls and fragments found in the caves and the site at Qumran. Four main arguments seem strongest to me at this point: 1) The proximity of some of the caves to the site points to a connection: Caves 4 and 5 are located below the terrace, visible from the settlement, and access to Caves 7–10 is through, or in close proximity to, the settlement;<sup>299</sup> 2) The presences of cylindrical archive jars of the same type at Khirbet Qumran and in the caves suggests that the locations were in use by the same group;<sup>300</sup> 3) the presence of inkwells<sup>301</sup> and

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<sup>297</sup> Cf. the discussion in Eric Meyers, “Khirbet Qumran and its Environs,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lim and Collins; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 21–45.

<sup>298</sup> Cf. Magness’ review of Taylor, *The Essenes, The Scrolls, and The Dead Sea*, in the *Marginalia Review of Books*, and Joan Taylor’s response to Magness’ review: Jodi Magness, “The Essenes and the Qumran Settlement” in *Marginalia Review of Books* (2014) [<http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/the-essenes-and-the-qumran-settlement-by-jodi-magness>]; Joan E. Taylor, “Joan Taylor Responds to Jodi Magness” in *Marginalia Review of Books* (2014) [<http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/mrblog-joan-taylor-responds-jodi-magness>].

<sup>299</sup> Note also that of the caves near Qumran where scrolls were found, only caves 4, 5 and 7–10 are manmade. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20, 29.

<sup>300</sup> This type of jar has few parallels outside of the area around Qumran, with some evidence from the Herodian period at Jericho. Cf. Torleif Elgvin, “Archive Jars and Storage Jars in Context. MS 1655/1, MS 16553abcd,” in *Gleanings From the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from The Schøyen Collection* (ed. Elgvin, Davis and Langlois; Library of Second Temple Studies 71; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016), 427–38; Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 73–89.

<sup>301</sup> Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 74.



likely scriptorium in the settlement (L30),<sup>302</sup> as well as blank skins (for writing)<sup>303</sup> in some of the caves, points to the production of scrolls at the settlement; and 4) the large number of *miqva'oth* points to the religious significance of the site.<sup>304</sup> Altogether, these facts taken together with the textual evidence seem to me too strong to ignore. It follows from this that I do believe there was some sort of a religious settlement at Qumran, and though I find it difficult to put a label on this settlement, many shared ideas and theology in certain texts produced during the late second temple period suggest the existence of movements different from the better known (temple-related) Sadducean and the (more lay-oriented) Pharisaic groupings. As the term Essenes, for instance, is not used in the manuscripts found in the caves at Qumran, it is difficult to know what label to put on the group.

When it comes to the date of the inhabitation of the settlement by the religious group, I do not have a strong opinion as to whether the evidence is stronger in favor of an earlier date, as defended by Magness, or a later date, as defended by Taylor. In either case it is highly likely that at least some scrolls that were found at Qumran were produced elsewhere.<sup>305</sup> Further, following the conclusions of Elgvin and Collins that the inhabitants of Qumran were part of a larger movement, I do not assume that all of the scrolls are necessarily the product of the group residing at Qumran, though I am also not arguing that the group did not copy or produce texts. Quite to the contrary, I believe

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<sup>302</sup> Ibid., 60–61.

<sup>303</sup> Weston W. Fields, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History, 1947–1960* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 153 n. 31.

<sup>304</sup> Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 134–58.

<sup>305</sup> Scrolls copied before the Qumran period, i.e. those dated to the late second century BCE and earlier, are necessarily copied somewhere other than at Qumran. Further, concerning scrolls contemporary with the existence of Qumran, there is material evidence supporting the production of some scrolls at different sites, as discussed in Ira Rabin, “Material Analysis of the Fragments,” in Elgvin, Davis, and Langlois, eds., *Gleanings from the Caves*, 61–77.

that the evidence points to the production of manuscripts at Qumran. In addition, it is important to note that while I do believe that many of the caves—especially those in close proximity to the site—contained manuscripts in use at Qumran, I do not necessarily believe that all of the scrolls must have belonged to those who resided in and around Qumran in 68 CE when the Roman legions sacked the settlement. It is quite possible that in addition to serving as a hiding place or storage facility for the scrolls from Qumran, some of the caves also served to protect scrolls brought from other places.<sup>306</sup>

One further point bears mentioning here: with regards to the question of textual history and reception in Second Temple Judaism more broadly, I do not consider Qumran a terminus for the streams of transmission of the manuscripts found there. The physical presence of the scrolls in the caves only shows that they were left there, likely sometime around 68 CE, but they may have been widely read prior to being left in the caves.<sup>307</sup> The manuscripts that were found at Qumran could also be copies of manuscripts that continued to be circulated elsewhere, or they themselves could have been copied at some point. Further, we must remember that the manuscripts are physical representations of the ideas found in, but not necessarily limited to, the texts they contain. The ideas of any given manuscript could have spread independently of the manuscript itself. In other words, the fact that manuscripts were found buried in caves near Qumran does not mean those manuscripts could not have influenced the

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<sup>306</sup> Note especially the late C14 date of the Temple Scroll wrapper, which may suggest a post-70 deposit in Cave 11, cf. Joan E. Taylor and Johannes van der Plicht, “Radiocarbon Dating of the *Temple Scroll* Wrapper and Cave 11Q,” in Elgvin, Davis and Langlois, eds. *Gleanings*, 351–55.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. Daniel K. Falk, “In the Margins of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in Lied and Maniaci, eds., *Bible as Notepad: Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, (Manuscripta Biblica 1, Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

transmission of the works they contained. Additionally, as we know that there was knowledge of manuscripts in caves in the Dead Sea region in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is possible that there were other, similar scrolls which were removed and read prior to the re-discovery of the scrolls in 1946/7.<sup>308</sup>

The manuscripts of *Jubilees* found in the caves near Qumran can thus be studied not only as witnesses to the small amount of text they contain, but should be seen as a genuine part of the transmission history of the book of *Jubilees*. In the four articles that follow, I assume that the text of 4Q216 can be analyzed to give us a better understanding of the state of *Jubilees* during the first century BCE, and the way in which the text and ideas of *Jubilees* were transmitted during that time. The fragmentary material available to us does not paint a picture of the unity and singularity of the Ethiopic Jubilees tradition during the Second Temple period, but rather points toward a more fragmented transmission of *Jubilees* and a wider range of strands of *Jubilees* tradition still being transmitted.

### **1.6. *Outline of Four Articles on 4Q216***

Before moving on to the body of this dissertation which is made up of four individual articles, I will here give a brief summary of the purpose and findings of these articles. The purpose of dividing this study into several articles is twofold. On the one hand, the material itself is well suited for multiple lines of investigation. The manuscript itself is presented in article 1, and the initial implications and thoughts on the manuscript from the perspective of material philology are discussed in article 2. Finally, the two sheets

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<sup>308</sup> These sources are discussed in James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 1–3.

that made up 4Q216 come from different scribes working at different times, so each sheet is analyzed individually from a material philological perspective in articles 3 and 4.

In the first article, “4Q216: A New Material Analysis,”<sup>309</sup> I discuss material features of the manuscript that are not previously discussed in scholarship. I describe here aspects of the manuscript, scribal features, and orthographic variants that had not been previously addressed, and which potentially affect our understanding of the manuscript as a whole and also with regards to the relationship between its two sheets. Further, I propose a model for the material reconstruction of the manuscript based on this analysis, arguing that 4Q216 was comprised of only two sheets of writing, containing exclusively parts of the first two chapters of *Jubilees*. The results of this study show that both chapters were significantly shorter in 4Q216 than in Ethiopic *Jubilees*, with *Jub.* 1:15b–25 and 2:25–33 lacking in the former.

In the second article, “4Q216 and the State of *Jubilees* at Qumran,”<sup>310</sup> I challenge the notion that the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts all contain the entire text of *Jubilees*, and then discuss the value of reading the manuscripts as artifacts, not merely as sources for textual criticism. First, I show that 4Q216 contained only a small portion of *Jubilees*, as was also the case with many other manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* found at Qumran. Drawing from the fact that the first of the two sheets of 4Q216 was written by a different, later hand than the second, I argue that the first sheet was most likely added to an already complete, small manuscript and not simply a recopied replacement sheet of a damaged portion of the original manuscript. This article was the result of my initial quest to better understand 4Q216 as an artifact, and it has already contributed to

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<sup>309</sup> Matthew P. Monger, “4Q216: A New Material Analysis” *Semitica* 60 (Forthcoming).

<sup>310</sup> Matthew P. Monger, “4Q216 and the State of *Jubilees* at Qumran,” *Revue de Qumrân* 26, no. 104 (2014), 595-612.

scholarly debate about the growth and development of *Jubilees* in the late Second Temple Period.<sup>311</sup>

In the third article, “The Development of *Jub.* 1 in the Late Second Temple Period,”<sup>312</sup> I discuss the significance of one of the findings in my material reconstruction, namely that 4Q216 did not contain *Jub.* 1:15b–25. This text is part of a larger unit that was previously identified by Davenport as being a redactional addition to *Jub.* 1. *Jub.* 1:15b–25 is made up of three sections: 1:15b–18 is a repetition of God’s plan to restore the Israelites; 1:19–21 is Moses’ penitentiary prayer; 1:22–25 is God’s response to Moses. All three sections contain themes that connect the whole passage to the wider body of Dead Sea Scrolls literature. I go on to argue that one of the perplexities of *Jubilees* research, the mention of Belial in this section, can be resolved by viewing the passage as an addition that quite likely originated in a milieu similar to that witnessed by the Dead Sea Scrolls. This is one of only two places where the word Belial is used in *Jubilees* which otherwise prefers the name Mastemah for the demonic figure. As the other reflects the biblical usage of the word, i.e. not as a proper noun, the occurrence in 1:20 is an anomaly which has sparked much discussion in *Jubilees* research. However, by viewing this section as part of an addition to the text this problem is no longer a theological question of the understandings of the author, but rather a result of redaction-critical issues. Thus, viewing *Jub.* 1:15b–25 as redactional addition is not only

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<sup>311</sup> Tigchelaar, “The Qumran Jubilees Manuscripts as Evidence for the Literary Growth of the Book;” Lutz Doering, “Fort- Und Neuschreibung Autoritativer Texte Und Identitätsbildung Im Jubiläenbuch Sowie in Texten Aus Qumran,” in *Identität und Schrift: Fortschreibungsprozesse als Mittel religiöser Identitätsbildung*, ed. M. Grohmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017).

<sup>312</sup> Matthew P. Monger, “The Development of *Jub.* 1–2 in the Late Second Temple Period” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* (Forthcoming).

materially likely, it also contributes to a better understanding of the development of the text of *Jubilees*.

In the fourth and final article, “4Q216 and the Jubilees Creation Account,”<sup>313</sup> I discuss the second sheet of 4Q216 which contains text from *Jub.* 2:1–24. This article was prepared as a contribution to the European Association for Jewish Studies Laboratory Workshop entitled “Research Approaches in Hebrew Bible Manuscript Studies. A Critical Overview Based on Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Cairo Genizah and European Genizah.” As such, the article not only addresses issues related to the manuscript, but also argues for understanding *Jubilees* manuscripts as “biblical” and focuses more clearly on material philology as a method of research.

In the article, I further the discussion of the end of 4Q216, and discuss the likely absence of *Jub.* 2:25–33 from the version of *Jub.* 2 in 4Q216. Additionally, I discuss ways in which the text itself is important not only for understanding how creation was imagined during the late Second Temple period, but also for how it contributes to our understanding of other texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. As such, the transmission of *Jub.* 2 independently of the rest of the book provides important insights into the importance of the *Jubilees* Creation account in the late Second Temple period in general and in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls in particular.

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<sup>313</sup> Matthew P. Monger “4Q216 and the Jubilees Creation Account” in *Research Approaches in Hebrew Bible Manuscripts*. (ed. Attia, Blapp and Perrot; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

## Article 1

Monger, Matthew P. “4Q216 – A New Material Analysis.” *Semitica* 60: forthcoming.

## Article 2

Monger, Matthew P. “4Q216 and the State of *Jubilees* at Qumran.” *Revue de Qumrân* 104 (2014): 595–612.



### Article 3

Monger, Matthew P. "The Development of Jubilees 1 in the Late Second Temple Period." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*. Forthcoming.

## Article 4

Monger, Matthew P. “4Q216 and the Jubilees Creation

Account: A Material Philological Analysis.”

Forthcoming in *Research Approaches in Hebrew Bible*

*Manuscripts*. Edited by Élodie Attia, Samuel Blapp

and Anthony Perrot. Leiden: Brill.

## 6. Summary and Conclusion

In the preceding, I have argued for a new understanding of *Jub.* 1–2 based on a material philological analysis of 4Q216. In this conclusion, I want to look at some of the broader implications of the finds of the articles included in this study. These implications are touched on in the articles, but deserve further treatment here. The discussion will focus on four important themes, the place of material philology in the study of ancient texts, the composition and literary growth of *Jubilees*, the relationship between *Jubilees* and Qumran, and the history of the transmission of *Jubilees*. I address each of these issues in turn.

### **6.1. *Paradigm, Editorial Theory and Material Philology***

The theoretical and methodological framework of the present study is material philology. I have attempted here to show that working within the paradigm of material philology has direct impact on the way in which the scholar approaches the study of manuscripts, the results of such studies, and the interpretation of those results. Put differently, reflecting on paradigm and the way in which texts of manuscripts are edited and published (editorial theory) is just as important as the philological work that seeks to understand the meanings of the texts. Meaning is construed not only in the discussion of words and phrases, but also in the manner in which the material is presented in the edition, and in the choices the scholar makes as to the theoretical starting point. The theoretical and methodological background for this way of reading manuscripts was discussed in the introduction (§1.2), so here I will focus on two implications specifically related to *Jubilees*.

First, the discussions in this study have made clear that the prevailing paradigm of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which I here term the historical-critical paradigm, has

led to a way of viewing and understanding manuscripts as witnesses to an abstract text, which in turn has led to an understanding of manuscript fragments as witnessing entire works. However, a large number of manuscripts from Antiquity and the Middle Ages are quite simply not entire copies of any given work. In the case of the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts, there are actually only a few that may have been complete copies of the work *Jubilees*.<sup>1</sup> There has not been a comprehensive study of the possible contents of all of the *Jubilees* manuscripts found at Qumran, but of the manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* only 4QJubilees<sup>h</sup> seems to be large enough to contain the entire text of a work of this size.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Caves 1 and 2 each contained fragments of *Jubilees* copied by two different hands, which have been grouped into a total of four manuscripts: 1Q17, 1Q18, 2Q19, and 2Q20. The size of the letters and the line spacing make it possible that three of these manuscripts contained large portions or possibly the entire book of *Jubilees*, 1Q17 (early Herodian), 1Q18 (late Hasmonean) and 2Q19 (Herodian). The fragments are inventoried as coming from different manuscripts on paleographic grounds, though we can't rule out the possibility that Caves 1 only had one manuscript containing text from *Jubilees*, with different sections copied by different scribes. The rest of the manuscripts, one from cave 3, eight from cave 4 and one from cave 11, are either too small to have been complete copies, or are too fragmentary to allow us to draw firm

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<sup>1</sup> To be abundantly clear, I envisage those manuscripts that may have contained complete copies of *Jubilees* to have been at times substantially different from Ethiopic *Jubilees* both on the literary and textual level. By suggesting that some manuscripts may have been complete copies I am not arguing that they were identical to, or even very similar to Ethiopic *Jubilees* in all aspects.

<sup>2</sup> 4QJubilees<sup>h</sup> is also labelled 4Q223-224 due to the original identification of the fragments as coming from two different manuscripts. My argument here is not that the manuscript did contain the entire text of *Jubilees*, but that the tentative reconstruction of the dimensions of the scroll would make it a possibility.

conclusions.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the manuscript record shows a rather fragmented transmission of *Jubilees* during the late Second Temple period. By accepting this as the norm instead of the exception, we can view the manuscripts not as identifying a complete work in each case, but as witnesses to the transmission of certain parts of the text. The material philological approach of viewing each manuscript as an artifact in its historical context brings this variation in form of transmission to the foreground, and raises questions which lead to reflection on the function of a particular manuscript. Further, a material philological paradigm does not seek to relativize variation between different means of the transmission of the text, but looks for meaning in precisely these differences. In the case of 4Q216, a material philological approach has opened for the discussion of the manuscript as a form of the transmission of *Jub.* 1–2 independent from the rest of the work, instead of simply as a textual witness to a literary work.

Second, the manner in which the texts of the manuscripts of *Jubilees* have been edited within the traditional philological paradigm has focused on continuity, and created the widespread impression that *Jubilees* changed little over the period from its assumed composition in the middle of the second century BCE to the earliest Ethiopic manuscripts. This understanding has also influenced scholarship, which has generally accepted the opinion of the editors of DJD 13. Again, here, the assumption of stability has influenced both the study and the presentation of the material, and the result is an edition that gives the impression that there is little significant difference between the text of the Hebrew manuscripts found at Qumran and Ethiopic *Jubilees*. The results of the present study point in a different direction.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tigchelaar, “The Qumran *Jubilees* Manuscripts as Evidence,” 582.

The major finds presented here show that not only is there a large degree of variance between 4Q216 and Ethiopic Jubilees at the textual level, but also variance of a literary character. This variance should not simply be understood as the result of corrupted processes of transmission, but rather as the result of a natural development in an evolving text tradition.

My goal with this discussion is not to challenge the paradigm of earlier editions *per se*, but to stress the need to view the manuscripts from more than one perspective. The philological paradigm of the editors of DJD 13 has shaped the presentation and analysis of the *Jubilees* material found at Qumran, and the maximalistic style of the edition has been criticized here. The assumption of continuity both at a textual and a literary level leads to untenable conclusions as to the state of the text of *Jubilees* during the first century BCE. The material philological perspective of this study has shown that new avenues of investigation provide not only critical remarks, but also constructive contributions. In the next section, I will discuss how the constructive findings of this study impact the larger question of the composition and transmission of *Jubilees*.

## **6.2.     *The Composition of Jubilees***

Building on the reflections related to paradigm and methodology in the preceding section, let us now look at some of the implications the findings of this study have on the understanding of the composition of *Jubilees*.

First, if we look at the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts from a material philological perspective, it seems evident that *Jubilees* should not be seen as a singular composition that reached its completion by the middle of the second century BCE. The manuscript evidence points toward a variety of textual and literary

forms in circulation during the late Second Temple period. The specific literary form that was later transmitted into Ethiopic should be seen as one of the expressions of *Jubilees*, but should not define our understanding of earlier or different expressions.

If 4Q216 did not contain *Jub.* 1:15b-25 and 2:25-33, as argued in this study, then the manuscript is historical evidence of the transmission of these chapters of *Jubilees* in a form that did not contain these passages, both of which should be understood as later, redactional additions to the *Jubilees* tradition, reflecting the literary development of *Jubilees*. Thus, earlier conceptions of the work *Jubilees* are questioned at the same time as the lines of transmission become somewhat clearer. Given the fact that *Jub.* 1 and 2 can both be shown to contain redactional additions, the most reasonable explanation of the material discussed in this dissertation is that *Jubilees* is not the work of a single author, but has undergone a certain degree of literary growth during the first century BCE.<sup>4</sup> The dates of the manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* show that there was a large amount of scribal activity connected to *Jubilees* around the middle of the first century BCE. It seems likely that it is in connection with this scribal activity that these redactions took place. It is important here to note that while many scholars believe *Jubilees* to be the product of a single hand, several attempts at finding redactional seams in *Jubilees* have included the two sections that have been found to be absent from 4Q216, *Jub.* 1:15b-25 and 2:25-33.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Torleif Elgvin has demonstrated a similar literary growth of Canticles, which ended up as a Solomonic book, throughout the first century BCE, cf. Torleif Elgvin, *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs in the Hasmonean and early-Herodian Periods*. (Leuven: Peeters, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> The present study has not addressed issues related to the possible redaction of other passages that have been identified as redactional additions by literary critics. Future work may be able to shed further light on the other examples of redaction or literary growth.

In the case of *Jubilees* 1, the suggestions of Testuz and Davenport, that sections of the chapter were later additions are partially supported here.<sup>6</sup> The version of *Jub.* 1 that we have in 4Q216 includes *Jub.* 1:1<sup>PRO</sup> – 1:15a, 26-29. This shows that the text here was transmitted without a section of text found in the Ethiopic manuscripts. *Jubilees* 1:15b–25 is part of the larger section which both Testuz (1:7–25) and Davenport (1:4b–25, 29) regarded as later additions on literary grounds. This is especially interesting when taken in combination with the text of 4Q217, which seems to come from a different stage of the development of *Jub.* 1:1–4, 29. Thus I believe that the theories of Testuz and Davenport to a certain extent are confirmed here, though we cannot be certain on material grounds. It seems likely that *Jub.* 1:1–4a, possibly with a different form of 1:29, makes up a short coherent introduction to the work, which was later expanded with the addition of *Jub.* 1:4b–15a, 26-29. This second editorial stage is reflected in the first sheet of 4Q216. Subsequently, *Jub.* 1:15b–25 was added.<sup>7</sup>

As regards *Jubilees* 2, Kugel has argued that *Jub.* 2:25-33 is added by the Interpolator as a redactional addition to the existing text.<sup>8</sup> He sees the addition as beginning with the words “This is the first testimony and law;” the final words of 4Q216. However, it seems just as likely that *Jub.* 2:25 functions better as the end of the already lengthy discussion of the Sabbath beginning in *Jub.* 2:17. In fact, *Jub.* 2:33 ends with a statement that is similar to *Jub.* 2:25, but takes it one step further:

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<sup>6</sup> Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés*; Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*. For more on these theories and their relationship to the present study, see §1.5.1 and article 2:

Monger, “The Development of *Jubilees* 1 in the Late Second Temple Period.”

<sup>7</sup> Each of these stages should be seen as an introduction to the *Jubilees* as a work that extends beyond the *Jubilees* creation account that is found in *Jub.* 2. Thus, the attachment of sheet 1 to sheet 2 in 4Q216 must have taken place in a situation where *Jub.* 2 was identified with the larger work.

<sup>8</sup> Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees*, 35-37.



“This law and testimony were given to the Israelites as an eternal law throughout their history.” Assuming that Kugel is right in his assertion that the interpolation here is an attempt to correct what was in his base text concerning the Sabbath in *Jub.* 2:17-24, then the closing statement may also be seen as an attempt to go one step further than the statement in *Jub.* 2:24: this isn’t just the first law – it’s an eternal law.

The passages of 4Q216 that are here identified as later additions concur well with other so-called sectarian texts known from among the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts. At present, I cannot see features that suggest that the insertion of the passages in question took place in the context of the translation into Greek or Ethiopic. On the contrary, it seems that the literary growth of these chapters of *Jubilees* took place in the same context as the production of certain works found only among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Viewing the literary growth of *Jubilees* within the context of the Second Temple period suggests that some sort of redaction took place subsequent to the composition of parts of the *Jubilees* material, but prior to the translation into Greek. Thus, before moving on to a broader discussion of transmission of *Jubilees*, I want to discuss the way these connections with the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran may be explained.

### **6.3. *Jubilees and Qumran Revisited***

A connection between *Jubilees* and Qumran has been suggested since nearly the beginning of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Kister, Werman, Segal and Kugel, among others, have all made connections between the two in different ways.<sup>9</sup> The growing number of connections from a variety of perspectives calls for further

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<sup>9</sup> See §1.5.1 and the references there.

discussion. My analysis does not presuppose scribal activity specifically at Qumran, or necessarily imply that *Jubilees* was actively redacted there. The literary growth of *Jubilees* could be the result of processes taking place at one or many places, but the discussion here is based on the fact that the evidence we have available to us was found in the caves adjacent to the Qumran settlement.

In the previous section, and in the bulk of this study, I have argued that secondary passages added to *Jubilees* during the first century BCE should be seen as coming from the same milieu as other works traditionally considered Qumran sectarian texts. There are important connections between the content of the additions and other Dead Sea Scrolls that have been outlined in this study. I propose that the most reasonable explanation of this is that there in fact was a connection between certain individuals who wrote or read the Qumran sectarian texts and those who were responsible for the redaction of *Jubilees* as documented in this study.

The fact that manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* were found in Caves 1, 2, 3, 4, and 11 suggests that the work was known to those who collected the manuscripts. The Cave 4 manuscripts provide interesting information about the literary growth of *Jubilees*. In Cave 4, nine manuscripts containing text from *Jubilees* were found, in addition to three Pseudo-*Jubilees* manuscripts, which also reflect the *Jubilees* tradition. Of these manuscripts only one, 4QJubilees<sup>h</sup>, paleographically dated to the late Hasmonean period, has dimensions that suggest that a complete copy of the work could possibly have been present. Several of the manuscripts appear to have been quite small (4Q176, 4Q217, 4Q218, 4Q219, and 4Q220) and could evince the process of redaction of certain passages, that is, they could be evidence of scribal notes of sections of *Jubilees* undergoing revision, or at least evidence of the existence

of other entities that are part of a group of texts related to *Jubilees*, but not transmitted as the complete work.

However, there is an interesting correlation between the status of *Jubilees* at Qumran and the biblical texts found there. We have seen over the past 70 years that the texts of the biblical manuscripts are much harder to categorize and analyze according to models of textual criticism that were made prior to the finding of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some theories have been confirmed, such as the presence of Hebrew texts closer to the *Vorlagen* of the Septuagint and Old Greek versions of many of the books of the Hebrew Bible. In other cases, our understanding of the text of the Bible has been radically changed.<sup>10</sup> My point here is to emphasize that the texts of many biblical books *did* have other forms prior to their standardization. We don't know enough about the reason for, or process of, standardization,<sup>11</sup> but the fact that some of those different forms of texts show up in the translations we have of the biblical books into other languages shows that such processes were taking place. Further, there has not been enough work done on the correlation between types of manuscripts, i.e. small or large, excerpted or complete, professional or novice, as these factors relate to text-type. In the case of *Jubilees*, these factors raise the question of how the work was transmitted from the Hebrew into the different

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*.

<sup>11</sup> On the standardization of the biblical texts, see Emanuel Tov, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, (TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 128–154, 175–184; Ian Young, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada: a Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?” *DSD* 9/3 (2002), 364–390. On the existence of non-Masoretic biblical references during the post-Bar-Kokhba period, see Victor Aptowitz, *Das Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur* (New York: Ktav, 1970). Further, textual variants in the Peshitta testify to non-Masoretic readings in Hebrew manuscripts in the late second and third centuries CE.

traditions from which we have direct or indirect evidence of *Jubilees*. It is to this issue I turn in the final section.

#### **6.4.     *The Transmission of Jubilees***

I have argued here that one specific manuscript, 4Q216—where sheet 2 is the oldest extant manuscript containing text from *Jubilees*—was not a complete copy of *Jubilees*, but rather a shorter manuscript, containing only *Jub.* 1-2. This means that at least some of the text of *Jubilees* was being copied and circulated during the Second Temple period in a different form than the work as a whole. *Jubilees* does not enjoy a wide reception in Jewish or Christian contexts compared to the canonical biblical books, so it is likely that the streams of transmission were not as widespread. However, a few passages from *Jubilees* do find their way into the works of the Greek and Syriac chronographers. It has long been argued that *Jubilees* was transmitted to the chronographers not in the form of the entire book, but that the chronicles that are known to us depend on information from *Jubilees* from earlier chronographic sources that are not extant today.<sup>12</sup> In other words, the transmission is of fragments of the text of *Jubilees*, not of the entire work. I suggest here that this might be due to an early collection of materials that were part of the book of *Jubilees* in one stream of transmission, but which also were transmitted as a collection of passages in another stream. The chronographers were not aware of the wide range of passages that they could choose from to amend their chronicles quite simply because the line of

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<sup>12</sup> See the discussion in §1.4.2.1 and §1.4.2.4.

transmission was not of the entire work, but rather a small collection of some *details of Genesis*.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, seen from the perspective of the Greek and Syriac material containing information likely sourced from *Jubilees*, we may question why certain passages from *Jubilees* were included and others excluded. In this context, it is interesting to note that the fragmentary nature of the *Jubilees* material found at Qumran is paralleled by a fragmentary transmission of only some passages into the Greek and Syriac chronicles. This transmission seems to have taken place separate from, but parallel with, the transmission of the complete work of *Jubilees*.

Thus, I envisage a situation where one stream of transmission carried the book of *Jubilees* as a complete work, eventually to Ethiopia, while other streams of transmission carried an assortment of passages that became important in a very select group of texts during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. These passages were likely transmitted in a format different from the complete work—as smaller manuscripts or as collections of passages, which may be precisely what we see in the Qumran material.

In conclusion, let us return to the initial discussion of this dissertation. The way we conceive of *Jubilees* as a work greatly influences the way in which we read the texts of the manuscripts in all of the versions and editions in which they appear. However, the editor of each manuscript has great power over the way readers perceive the relationship between the text of the manuscript and the work. Through the pages of this dissertation, I hope to have conveyed a different view of the text of

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. the discussion of the name of the work in Greek in §1.4.2.1. This stream of transmission of material in a form different from that of complete copies of *Jubilees* is discussed in William Adler, *Time Immemorial*.

4Q216 which allows future readers and interpreters of the manuscript and of *Jubilees* to pause and reflect on the textual and literary shape of *Jub.* 1 and 2 in the first century BCE. *Jubilees* may have its fullest expression in the Ethiopic tradition, but the Qumran material should neither be overlooked or relativized based on the Ethiopic text of *Jubilees*, but should be studied as legitimate expressions of *Jubilees* in the context of late Second Temple Judaism. *Jubilees* is perhaps better described as a constellation of writings all relating to each other, but with distinctive expressions and histories of transmission. Each manuscript is thus a witness to a specific point within the *Jubilees* constellation, and can be studied for its uniqueness in relation to the other manuscripts. As such, the manuscripts can be freed from the constraints imposed on them by being read from the perspective of the complete work, yet still maintain the connection to the whole, opening for more fruitful and constructive study of the different forms of expression of *Jubilees*.

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