

IDAN DERSHOWITZ

The Dismembered Bible

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament*

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Herausgegeben von

Konrad Schmid (Zürich) · Mark S. Smith (Princeton)
Hermann Spieckermann (Göttingen) · Andrew Teeter (Harvard)

143



Idan Dershowitz

The Dismembered Bible

Cutting and Pasting Scripture
in Antiquity

Mohr Siebeck

Idan Dershowitz: born 1982; undergraduate and graduate training at the Hebrew University, following several years of yeshiva study; 2017 elected to the Harvard Society of Fellows; currently Chair of Hebrew Bible and Its Exegesis at the University of Potsdam.

ISBN 978 3-16-159860-9 / eISBN 978-3-16-159861-6

DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-159861-6

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data is available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2021 by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen, Germany. www.mohrsiebeck.com

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by Martin Fischer in Tübingen, printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the opportunity to acknowledge a few of the many people who have contributed to this work.

Yair Zakovitch, my MA advisor, was supportive and instrumental in the early stages of my research into this subject, and he had many keen suggestions on how to broaden and develop my research into this work.

Alexander Rofé helped me to better structure my arguments, and he had several insightful suggestions regarding the nitty-gritty as well. His unique approach and pioneering ideas regarding the materiality of redaction have influenced me greatly.

I first met Leeor Gottlieb when I started my undergraduate studies at Hebrew University. He taught me then how to utilize Accordance's most obscure functions, which I have been using ever since. His important work on an underappreciated category of parablepsis has been most helpful in my own research.

Orly Goldwasser has been a mentor and role model. Her work on Egyptian classifiers has shed light on a side of ancient Egyptian culture that seemed beyond reach. She achieved this not by discovering a new text or artifact, but by examining old data in a profoundly novel way. הלוואי על כולנו.

Konrad Schmid and David Carr read versions of this work and offered helpful comments.

I am deeply thankful for the patience and wise guidance of my doctoral supervisor, Shimon Gesundheit. Shimon was unfailingly supportive and forever generous with his time, and I feel incredibly fortunate to have had him as my *Doktorvater*. I hope some of Shimon's thoughtfulness, caution, and open-mindedness have rubbed off on me.

Savta and Saba, Chana and Uri Levy, gave me my first Tanach – a beautiful Breuer edition – which I loved and jealously guarded for many years. As the most openhearted and least cynical person I know, Savta is a constant inspiration. Saba ז"ל was the first to introduce me to statistics, which has impacted my research – method and results alike. He was also a crypto-text critic.

My grandmother, Netta Kohn Dor-Shav, has always encouraged me to think independently, even (or, perhaps, especially) in the face of authority. She herself embodies this ethos, and I am thankful to have inherited it; it underpins everything I do. Our many years as neighbors in Jerusalem have made the ocean between us seem that much vaster.

My grandfather, Zecharia Dor-Shav, and I have been arguing about the *pshat* of the *parasha* ever since I learned how to read. I still remember one of our first disagreements, regarding the identity of התנינם הגדולים (Dinosaurs, of course!) Our discussions are always enriching, and I still love trading the insights of his rebbe for those of modern Bible scholars. Toward the end of my dissertation writing, as I faced obstacles of my own making, he shared with me his similar experiences from half a century ago. These conversations were as effective as they were affecting.

I am indebted to my parents for their tireless support and enthusiastic encouragement. My mother, Schulamith Chava Halevy, is a poet and scholar. Her sensitivity to nuance is incomparable, and her perspective is invariably unique and thought provoking. My father, Nachum Dershowitz, instilled in me as a child so many of the skills and interests that now inform my work: a love of puzzles, the habit of reading like an editor, and a recognition of the vitality of methodological rigor. He has also been an invaluable sounding board as I've thought through many of the ideas here, and he is my best critic.

My sister, Erga, is an uncommonly insightful reader. Her penchant for succinctness and clarity has made this a more polished and better-argued piece of writing.

In my first conversation with my then-future father-in-law, Steven Praver, I shared with him my intention to study quantum physics at university. He was duly impressed. Mercifully, he has since forgiven my bait-and-switch maneuver. Steven's trenchant questions often catch me off guard, and they always lead me to think more deeply – and more clearly – about my ideas. Michelle Praver's endless energy and unbreakable discipline are astounding and inspiring in equal measure.

My regular meetings with my friend, Maria Metzler, were immensely productive, and they helped me maintain a semblance of consistency throughout much of my dissertation writing. Maria also masterfully edited the book version of this work.

I cannot express how lucky and grateful I feel to have Ronit Praver as my partner in life. She supported my reckless decision to major in Hebrew Bible all those years ago, and without her by my side, I could not possibly have made it to this point. We have been together for practically our entire adult lives – ויהי בימינו אחרים.

I dedicate this work to Ronit with all my love.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	V
1. Introduction	1
2. The Jumbled Bible: Established Causes	8
2.1. Misplaced Interlinear and Marginal Supplements	10
2.2. Dislocated Sheets	13
2.3. Deliberate Textual Arrangement	16
2.3.1. Genesis 35:22b–29	16
2.3.2. Joshua 8:30–35	17
2.3.3. Ezekiel 37	17
2.3.4. Transferral of Colophons	19
3. The Jumbled Bible: A New Hypothesis	21
3.1. Cut-and-Paste Errors: Textual Migrations	24
3.1.1. Genesis 7:7–16, Noah Enters the Ark	24
3.1.2. Genesis 8:10–14, Noah Exits the Ark	30
3.1.3. Genesis 30:25–28, Jacob Asks Laban for Leave	35
3.2. Cut-and-Paste Errors: Textual Transpositions	38
3.2.1. Genesis 48, The Blessings of Joseph and Sons	39
3.2.2. Exodus 16, Manna and Quail	46
3.2.3. Exodus 33–34, Moses and YHWH Go in Circles	59
3.2.4. 1 Samuel 28:3–30:31, The “Witch” of Endor	64
3.3. Cut-and-Paste Errors: Other Jumbling	68
4. Methodological Ramifications	74
4.1. A New Category of Parablepsis	74
4.2. Diagnosing Jumbling Causes	78
4.3. Conventional vs. Cut-and-Paste Redaction	79

5. Ancient Analogues	84
5.1. “All Souls Deuteronomy” (4Q41)	85
5.2. 4QJubilees ^a (4Q216)	87
5.3. <i>Tomoi Synkollēsimoī</i>	91
5.4. Papyrus of Ani	94
5.5. Patched Scrolls	101
5.5.1. 4QpaleoExodus ^m (4Q22)	102
5.5.2. Rhind Mathematical Papyrus	105
5.5.3. “Kahun” Gynaecological Papyrus	109
5.5.4. Sefer Abisha	109
5.6. Julius Africanus’s <i>Kestoi</i>	110
5.7. Marcus Tullius Cicero’s <i>On Glory</i>	113
6. Modern Analogues	114
6.1. The Little Gidding Concordances	116
6.2. The Jefferson Bible	118
6.3. Commonplace Books and Cut-Ups	131
7. Summary and Consequences	139
7.1. Summary	140
7.2. Consequences	141
7.2.1. Scribal Media	142
7.2.2. Conservative Redaction	145
7.2.3. Oral vs. Written Redaction	148
7.2.4. Material Redaction and the Historical-Critical Method	149
7.3. Conclusion	152
Bibliography	155
Index of Primary Sources	155
Index of Manuscripts	182
General Index	183

1. Introduction

“His errors ... are the portals of discovery.”
– James Joyce, *Ulysses*

In contemplating the composition history of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, scholars have focused a great deal of attention on theological and political motives for textual collation and intervention.¹ In particular, much has been written about the purpose and historical background of the Pentateuch’s redaction.²

Since the late twentieth century, there has been increasing interest in establishing the nature and scope of biblical editing on the basis of “empirical” bib-

¹ Theorization on the topic is nearly as old as the discipline of biblical studies itself. See, e.g., Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885), 495–97, et passim; Abraham Kuenen, *The Five Books of Moses*, trans. John Muir (London: Williams & Norgate, 1877), 27–33. More recently, Peter Frei and Erhard Blum have revived and augmented an influential theory according to which the Pentateuch received “imperial authorization” from the Achaemenid administration. For a critical review of this subject, see Konrad Schmid, “The Persian Imperial Authorization as a Historical Problem and as a Biblical Construct: A Plea for Distinctions in the Current Debate,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Bernard M. Levinson and Gary N. Knoppers (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 23–38. Cf. Jean-Louis Ska, “Persian Imperial Authorization: Some Question Marks,” in *Persia and Torah: The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch*, ed. James W. Watts (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2001), 161–82; Christophe Laurent Nihan, “The Emergence of the Pentateuch as ‘Torah,’” *Religion Compass* 4, no. 6 (2010): 353–64.

² For a recent discussion of the concept of biblical redaction, see John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the “Editor” in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), especially chs. 6–7. Van Seters considers the terms “redactor” and “editor” to be anachronistic and inapt in biblical contexts, preferring “author” or “historian,” for instance. This is not the place to address all of Van Seters’s arguments; I will say only that although the modern editing profession has little in common with ancient activities that scholars often refer to as editing or redaction, the same is true of Van Seters’s preferred terms. Furthermore, leaving aside overarching questions regarding the composition histories of the Pentateuch and other biblical works, as long as there exist some passages that conflate multiple sources that were once separate – and even if those sources are not parts of cohesive documents – then there must be cases of biblical composition that differ greatly from traditional authorship. While I readily admit that the terms are imperfect, I use “redaction” and “editing” to refer to the conflation, supplementation, and reworking of existing texts – all well-established phenomena – reserving “authorship” for the initial production of a freestanding text. See Bernard M. Levinson, “*The Right Chorale*”: *Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 200.

lical and non-biblical data and their interpretation.³ These studies tend to focus on variance in content – whether on a textual or literary level – in manuscripts of ancient texts.

In addition, a paradigm commonly labeled “New Philology” has crystallized in the past several decades, aiming to bring the manuscripts themselves, and the scribes who produced them, into higher relief.⁴ Bernard Cerquiglini, a French linguist and scholar of medieval literature, is usually portrayed as the progenitor of this approach.⁵ Rejecting Lachmannian stemmatology, which is interested in manuscripts principally as tools for Urtext recovery,⁶ New Philologists embrace codicological tools and insights, highlighting the variants’ intrinsic values.⁷ Most importantly, according to this approach, a text’s meaning is inextricable from its material manifestations and those objects’ methods of production.

³ See Jeffrey H. Tigay, ed., *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Hans Jürgen Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994); Reinhard Müller, Juha Pakkala, and Bas ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014); Reinhard Müller and Juha Pakkala, eds., *Insights into Editing in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East: What Does Documented Evidence Tell Us about the Transmission of Authoritative Texts?* (Leuven: Peeters, 2017). For alternative perspectives, see, e.g., Raymond F. Person, Jr. and Robert Rezetko, eds., *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016); Seth Sanders, “What if There Aren’t Any Empirical Models for Pentateuchal Criticism?” in *Contextualizing Israel’s Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 281–304.

⁴ “Material Philology” is some scholars’ preferred designation, following Stephen G. Nichols, “Why Material Philology? Some Thoughts,” *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 116, Supplement (1997): 10–30.

⁵ Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1989); English edition: Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology*, trans. Betsy Wing (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

⁶ In the field of Hebrew Bible, this approach is often associated with Paul de Lagarde. See especially Paul A. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 1–4.

⁷ Indeed, this often goes hand in hand with a rejection of the notion that all textual witnesses of a work derive from a single progenitor. Paul Zumthor developed similar ideas some two decades before Cerquiglini, although his focus was on variance due to oral performance and transmission, which he termed *mouvance* (Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* [Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972]; I thank Jacqueline Vayntrub for this reference). Several decades earlier still, Paul Kahle proposed a similar thesis, according to which a literary work might previously have had disparate textual instantiations, which he termed *Vulgärtex*, that were later consolidated into synthetic versions, or in some cases suppressed. Kahle saw this as a pervasive and ongoing phenomenon, suggesting that extant manuscripts do not always have a single common ancestor. See Paul Kahle, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes,” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915): 436–37, et passim. The roots of this approach were already present in Kahle’s doctoral dissertation: Paul Kahle, “Textkritische und lexikalische Bemerkungen zum samaritanischen Pentateuch targum” (PhD diss., University of Halle, 1898). Cf. Soferim 6:4 on the purported textual consolidation of three Pentateuch scrolls in the Second Temple period.

In the introduction to her edited volume of essays on New Philology in a biblical context, Liv Ingeborg Lied writes:

[W]hen studying a text, it is important to also study the manuscript, the relationship between the text and for instance the form and layout of the manuscript, as well as other features of the material text carrier: other texts collected in the same manuscript, front-matter, colophons and marginal notes, bindings, and cartonnage, etc. Material artifacts come into being at particular times, in particular places, for particular purposes. [...] The emphasis is placed firmly on extant texts as they are found in actual manuscripts, with no intention of using them to reconstruct a hypothetical prior text, or to make them serve as stand-ins for such a text. Texts as they appear in manuscripts are not seen as mere stepping-stones, or obstacles to be overcome, on the way to the ideal text, but are instead the primary focus. By this shift in focus, texts can be studied in the context of the manuscripts containing them, taking seriously the various media cultures that shaped the way readers engaged with texts in their material context, and emphasizing the interpretation of texts in the context of their use.⁸

This newfound focus on the material aspect of ancient texts is a substantial development, and its currency within biblical studies is growing.⁹ It has opened the door to in-depth analyses of textual artifacts – manuscripts – that had previously been studied chiefly for their stemmatological value.

For instance, recent studies of Papyrus 967 and 4QJoshua^a (discussed in § 2.3.2–2.3.3, below) are interested in those manuscripts as examples of scribal creativity in specific times and places in history, and not just for the odd “original” variant they might contain. And the secondary additions to 4Q448 (see § 2.3.4, below) tell us something about the people and processes behind this textual artifact, much of which would be masked in any descended manuscript.

Notwithstanding these developments in biblical studies and beyond, the materiality of biblical *redaction* – that is, how the texts of the Bible were physically edited and compiled – seems as out of reach as ever. Despite the increased interest in materiality associated with the advent of New Philology, this paradigm – like its antecedents – is not well suited for assessing the material methods of biblical redaction, due to the meager material evidence from the pre-Hellenistic biblical era.¹⁰ Relevant archaeological artifacts, epigraphic material, and contemporary accounts relating to editorial activity are simply too scant.

⁸ Liv Ingeborg Lied, ed., *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*, TU 175 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 11–16.

⁹ Similar trends can be observed in kindred disciplines. A recent Assyriological article depicts a generational shift: “Understanding cuneiform tablets as archaeological objects is a practice that had few exponents for much of the twentieth century, when Assyriologists too often gave all their attention to the inscribed text as a self-contained intellectual resource disembodied from the medium on which it was written” (Farouk N. H. Al-Rawi and Andrew R. George, “Back to the Cedar Forest: The Beginning and End of Tablet V of the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 66 [2014]: 71).

¹⁰ Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 75–108, et passim.

The methods of biblical redaction have thus rarely been considered from a material perspective, much less so in any systematic manner. In the apparent absence of hard data, most scholars simply take for granted that redaction was a scribal endeavor. In an oft-cited passage, Susan Niditch depicts a common imagining of documentary redaction:

The work of combining sources takes place in some library work room or scriptorium where the sources can be laid out partially or fully side by side on tables or benches or on the floor; a third or fourth roll is also laid out for preparation of the new, revised edition.

[The redactor has] his various written sources laid out before him as he chooses this verse or that, includes this tale not that, edits, elaborates, all in a library setting.¹¹

Niditch herself finds the scene to be utterly far-fetched, leading her to reject the idea that documentary redaction took place at all:

Did the redactor need three colleagues to hold J, E, and P for him? Did each read the text out loud, and did he ask them to pause until he jotted down his selections, working like a secretary with three tapes dictated by the boss?¹²

It is important to note that this elaborate depiction – and its rejection – are not accompanied by internal biblical evidence, comparative data from the ancient Near East, or inferences from excavated artifacts. The only redactional technique that Niditch entertains is a scribal one, and she deems it an anachronistic projection of biblical scholars: “I suggest that the above imagining comes from our world and not from that of ancient Israel.”¹³

Some scholars have imagined a less scribal mode of redaction – specifically one involving razor and paste, rather than reed and papyrus or parchment. Here too, however, data and analysis are thin, and the elaborate depictions tend to be polemical. Just as Niditch dismisses scribal redaction, Albin Lesky argues that a cut-and-paste technique is surely an anachronism dreamed up by philologists:

Es ist ganz unvermeidlich, sich alle diese Redaktoren mit geschriebenen Texten in der Hand vorzustellen, da streichend, dort einsetzend und verschiedene Schnittstellen aneinanderpassend. Von Schreibtisch, Schere und Kleister zu sprechen, ist natürlich ein boshafter Anachronismus, aber die Richtung, in der alle Annahmen dieser Art liegen, scheint er mir treffend zu bezeichnen. Buchphilologen haben diese Theorien erdacht und Arbeit an Büchern und mit Büchern ist für sie die Voraussetzung geblieben.

It is quite irresistible to imagine all these redactors with written texts in their hands, deleting here, inserting there, and fitting together various passages they have snipped out. To speak of writing desk, scissors, and paste is, naturally, a blatant anachronism – but appropriate, it seems to me, to indicate the direction in which all suppositions of this kind

¹¹ Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 112–13.

¹² *Ibid.*, 113.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 112.

tend. Philology authors have thought up these theories, and for them work on books and with books has remained the basic assumption.¹⁴

But if texts were ever conflated or otherwise reworked in ancient times, this had to have been done somehow. Few scholars today – including those who have long abandoned the Documentary Hypothesis – would deny that *some* biblical passages contain multiple literary strands, and that these strands are not invariably interdependent.¹⁵ Likewise, there is wide consensus that many texts in the Hebrew Bible are the product of supplementation. I believe that the techniques of these ancient redactors have not been sufficiently explored, and that the existing philological tools used to analyze these techniques are inadequate. In this work, I endeavor to reconstruct material editorial processes, relying in part on an analysis of redactional error – a phenomenon whose forensic utility, as it were, has not been thoroughly appreciated.

This book focuses on disordered texts in the Hebrew Bible. In some cases, biblical authors chose to construct narratives that do not progress in chronological order, leading to intentional disorder. Other times, editors decided to reorganize texts for various reasons. Both of these phenomena will be addressed, but the focus will be on a third phenomenon: biblical passages that are jumbled due to error. In many of these cases, scholars agree on the error, as well as the assumed original order. What they typically neglect to consider is the practical matter of *how* the error occurred. When scholars do reflect on the real-world aspects of such errors, it can lead to an impasse. On the one hand, the existence of disordered texts is hard to deny. On the other hand, plausible mechanisms for accidental jumbling have not been forthcoming. Henry Smith's comments on a potential case of jumbling in 1 Samuel 24 are illustrative: "This is obviously an unnatural order [...] But it is difficult to see how the dislocation took place. It

¹⁴ Albin Lesky, "Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Homerischen Epos," in *Festschrift für Dietrich Kralik, dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. Albin Lesky, Walter Steinhäuser, et al. (Horn, South Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1954), 2. Translation by John Van Seters, *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the "Editor" in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 175. Lesky is referring here to the Homeric corpus.

¹⁵ For overviews of current approaches to Pentateuch criticism, see Konrad Schmid, "Has European Scholarship Abandoned the Documentary Hypothesis? Some Reminders on Its History and Remarks on Its Current Status," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz, FAT 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 17–30; David M. Carr, "Changes in Pentateuchal Criticism," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, ed. Magne Sæbø, vol. 3/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 433–66; Adele Reinhartz et al., "The JBL Forum," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133, no. 3 (2014): 647–81. See also Jakob Wöhrle, "There's No Master Key! The Literary Character of the Priestly Stratum and the Formation of the Pentateuch," in *The Formation of the Pentateuch; Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, ed. Jan C. Gertz et al., FAT III (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 391–403.

cannot be intentional, for there is no motive for it; the accidents of transmission do not generally work in this way.”¹⁶

I will argue that such accidents often *do* work this way, and the key to understanding their genesis lies in reimagining the material methods of redaction. Namely, editors sometimes worked by assembling inscribed snippets of text, rather than writing a fresh version on a blank scroll.

Several scholars have discussed ancient scribal technology, if not in connection with editorial activity *per se*.¹⁷ In particular, Emanuel Tov has written a number of articles on Judean scribal realia in which he considers the relevance of material constraints – the dimensions of margins, for instance – for biblical criticism.¹⁸ However, Tov’s studies pertain to a later era than the period in question, and his investigations are largely limited to leather scrolls, which make up the vast majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Given that the first redacted editions of the biblical works in question are more likely to have been written on papyrus, as discussed below,¹⁹ different considerations and constraints would have been at play. One must therefore turn to ancient Egypt and the Classical world for more pertinent data regarding the compilation of papyrus scrolls.²⁰

Vis-à-vis the impact of material factors on textual order, Haim Gevaryahu has argued that in antiquity colophons were frequently transferred from the ends of units to their beginnings.²¹ According to Gevaryahu, this phenomenon may have been born of material constraints. Appending material to the edges of scrolls, whether in the available space or by attaching additional sheets, would have been simpler than interpolating material in the heart of the unit. This observation is not limited to colophons and must be considered whenever the cause of a textual transposition is contemplated. To name one example, some have proposed on the basis of literary and epigraphic evidence that a sheet with new material was tacked onto the beginning of a pre-“canonical” incarnation of

¹⁶ Henry Preserved Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Samuel*, ICC 8 (New York: Scribner, 1904), 217.

¹⁷ An important collection of studies on the topic in an Egyptian context is Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁸ E. g., Emanuel Tov, “Copying of a Biblical Scroll,” *Journal of Religious History* 26, no. 2 (2002): 189–209; Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Leiden: Brill, 2004); and especially Emanuel Tov, “The Writing of Early Scrolls: Implications for the Literary Analysis of Hebrew Scripture,” in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran: Collected Essays*, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 206–20.

¹⁹ See § 7.2.1, below.

²⁰ See § 5.3–5.5, below.

²¹ See, e. g., Haim Moshe Itzhak Gevaryahu, “חומר קולופוני מסיומי,” *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* 2 (1977): 37–48; Haim Moshe Itzhak Gevaryahu, “Biblical Colophons,” in *Congress Volume: Edinburgh, 1974*, VTSup 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 42–59. See discussion below.

Jubilees, thus creating the present introductory chapter.²² Also pertinent to this study is Alexander Rofé's suggestion that the sheets of ancient scrolls sometimes came loose and were then accidentally transposed, leading to jumbled texts.²³ Given the multiplicity of factors that could lead to textual jumbling, an important element of my research will be the development of a systematized methodology to distinguish between various potential causes.²⁴

In chapter 2, I discuss known causes for textual jumbling in the Hebrew Bible. Chapter 3 contains a philological analysis of several passages that appear to exhibit unexplained jumbling errors. These mistakes, I argue, betray the modus operandi of the editors who formed them, revealing parts of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets to be literal cut-and-paste jobs – not the work of redactors-scribes. Chapter 4 covers the methodological ramifications of this conclusion. In chapter 5, I review several examples of patched scrolls in the ancient world and investigate instances of material – that is, non-scribal – redaction. Chapter 6 examines modern works produced by means of cut-and-paste compilation. These artifacts prove to be surprisingly useful comparanda, allowing us to observe the process “in action,” complete with concomitant errors. Insights relating to cognitive studies are also discussed here. Chapter 7 addresses several consequences of these findings for biblical research.

²² Charlotte Hempel, “The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 179–96. See below.

²³ See, for instance, Alexander Rofé, “שאלת חיבורה של פרשת 'וילך' (דברים לא) לאור השערה בדבר 'הילופי עמודות בנוסח המקרא',” *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1978): 59–76.

²⁴ See § 4.2, below.

2. The Jumbled Bible: Established Causes

“We call it cutting. It isn’t exactly that. Cutting implies severing something. It really should be called assembly. Mosaic is assembling something to create a whole.”

– Alfred Hitchcock

Numerous instances of apparent jumbling in the Hebrew Bible have been observed over the centuries, and various explanations have been proposed to explain them. One such category is the class of “dismembered scripture” (מקרא מסורס).¹ Talmudic and medieval scholars would occasionally “dismember” (מסריס/מסרס) biblical texts in various ways – typically through textual rearrangement – as an exegetical tool.

Pesiqta de Rab Kahana 10:2:

בטח בי”י ועשה טוב שכן ארץ ורעה אמונה ר’ חגי בשם ר’ יצחק מסריס הדין קרייא עשה טוב ובטח בי”י להגרנימוס שיצא לשער את המידות וראה אותו אחד והתחיל מיטמן מלפניו אמ’ לו מה לך מיטמן מלפני שער מדותיך ואל תתירא הד”ה דכת’ עשה טוב ובטח בי”י.

“Trust in the LORD, and do good; so you will live in the land, and enjoy security” (Ps 37:3). Rabbi Haggai, citing Rabbi Isaac, dismembers it, reading: “Do good, and trust in the LORD.” There was once a marketplace commissioner who set out to evaluate measures. He was spotted by someone who tried to hide from him. [The commissioner] said to

¹ The root סרס is multivalent and its history is convoluted. In this context, I prefer the translation “dismembered,” rather than “transposed,” “reversed,” etc. (For the more common rendition, see, e.g., Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, vol. 2 [New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1903], 1029; William G. [Gershon Zev] Braude and Israel J. Kapstein, eds., *Pesiqta dē-Rab Kahana: R. Kahana’s Compilation of Discourses for Sabbaths and Festal Days*, 2nd ed. [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society Press, 2002], 251.) What began as the phrase *ša rēši* (“the one who is the head”) in Akkadian became a common noun meaning “chief,” which was then sometimes used in the specialized sense of “chief of harem,” leading to the sense of “eunuch” (see *HALOT* 2:769–70; *BDB* 710). Once this definition developed, it was only natural for there to be a corresponding verb meaning “to make a eunuch” or “castrate.” That verb apparently evolved into the more abstract “mangle” or “dismember,” which could then be applied metaphorically, as in the cases discussed here.

him, “Why are you hiding from me? Evaluate your measures and fear not. This is what is written: ‘Do good, and trust in the LORD.’”²

This idea of scriptural dismemberment was not always applied to scholarly exegesis, as in the example above, but could even describe the state of the biblical passage *prior* to the scholar’s rearrangement. According to this view, some biblical texts are jumbled in the extant manuscripts and must be read out of sequence for their original meaning to become clear.

B. Sotah 38a:

רבי יאשיה אומר אינו צריך הרי הוא אומר בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך בכל מקום סלקא דעתך אלא מקרא זה מסורס הוא בכל מקום אשר אבוא אליך וברכתך שם אזכיר את שמי והיכן אבוא אליך וברכתך בבית הבחירה שם אזכיר את שמי בבית הבחירה.

Rabbi Josiah says: “This is not necessary. For it says, ‘in every place where I cause my name to be mentioned I will come to you [and bless you]’ (Exod 20:24). Would you truly entertain the idea that [God causes his name to be mentioned] ‘in every place?’ Rather, this is a [case of] dismembered scripture: ‘in every place where I come to you and bless you, there I will cause my name to be mentioned.’ And where will I come to you and bless you? In the chosen temple. There, in the chosen temple, I will cause my name to be mentioned.”³

In this example, Rabbi Josiah argues that the text of Exod 20:24, in its familiar form, resulted from a transposition and is therefore in need of repair. Whether or not these talmudic examples attest to genuine lost variants, they – and the many other examples of dismembered scripture⁴ – clearly reflect an acceptance of the idea that the text of the Hebrew Bible is sometimes jumbled.⁵ More speculatively, it is conceivable that the rabbis were familiar with redactional techniques that made texts more susceptible to dismemberment.⁶

² My translation. Braude glosses over the fact that the market commissioner’s “dismembered” version is cited as scripture, substituting “this is what is written” with “hence” (Braude, *Pēsikta dē-Rab Kahana*, 251).

³ My translation. Cf. Sifre 39:1 on Num 6:23; Numbers Rabbah 11:4; Yalqut Shimoni (Pentateuch) 305:2, 710:5.

⁴ See, e.g., Genesis Rabbah 58; Leviticus Rabbah 22; y. Berakhot 9:5, 68a; y. Rosh Hashanah 2:8, 14a; y. Ta’anit 4:1, 18a; y. Nazir 7:2, 35b; Sifra Shemini Mekilta de-Milu’im 2:29 on Lev 9:22 and 2:41 on Lev 10:6; Mekilta de-Rabbi Yishma’el *Vayyissa’* 4; Yalqut Shimoni (Pentateuch) 260:6, 524:2, 526:3.

⁵ That “there is no early or late in the Torah” (אין מוקדם ומאוחר בתורה) is a related, if wholly exegetical, rabbinic notion. See, e.g., b. Pesahim 6b; b. Sanhedrin 49b; Mekilta de-Rabbi Yishma’el *Shira* 7; Sifre 64:1 on Num 9:1.

⁶ See discussion of Africanus’s *Kestoi* in § 5.6, below.

2.1. *Misplaced Interlinear and Marginal Supplements*

The phenomena of marginal and interlinear insertions are very well attested and are indeed present in a substantial portion of manuscripts, biblical and otherwise.

Insertions are sometimes self-corrections: an accidentally omitted word might be inserted between the lines of a manuscript, for instance. More often, though, they represent an addition by a later scribe. Some secondary insertions are explanatory glosses, some are corrections based on other manuscripts or on memories of divergent versions, and some are creative additions. What all these examples of insertions have in common is that they generate fertile ground for future error. A word or phrase written between lines in one manuscript might be incorporated by a later scribe in any number of different positions in the new copy, and the same is true of marginal insertions.

The following images of 1QIsaiah^a (the Great Isaiah Scroll from Qumran) and 4QDibHam^a (Words of the Luminaries) illustrate the problem.



Fig. 1. Section from 1QIsaiah^a (columns XXXI–XXXIII) displaying interlinear, marginal, and hybrid insertions. (Photo: Courtesy of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

Index of Primary Sources

Hebrew Bible

Genesis

2	148	18	148
3	148	18:3	35n25
6:7	143n20	19	79, 81, 148
6:14	27n9	19:12–17	81
6:16	27n9	19:13	81
6:18	26n6	19:14–30	79–83
6:19	26n6	19:15	82
6:20	26n8	19:16	81n16, 82, 147n49
7	29 <i>fig.</i>	19:17	81n17
7:1–5	25	19:18	82, 82n17, 83n19
7:4	143n20	19:19–22	81n17
7:6–16	24–28	19:21	82n17
7:7–9	26	19:24	81
7:11–16	30	19:24–28	81
7:12	25, 27	19:26	82
7:13	26n6	19:29	81
7:13–16	26–27	19:30–38	82, 82n17
7:16	25	28:4	26n6
7:23	143n20	29:19	36
8	30–34, 34 <i>fig.</i>	30	17, 35–38, 38 <i>fig.</i>
8:3–4	33	30:25–28	35–38, 38 <i>fig.</i>
8:5	33	30:26	36
8:7	31n16, 33	30:27	35nn25–26
8:8–9	31n16	31	17
8:10–14	30–34	33:10	35n25
8:11	33	35:16–18	17
8:12	33	35:22–26	78n8
8:13	27n9, 31–32, 32n19, 33	35:22–29	16–17
8:14	31–33	35:26	16
8:16	26n6	46:6	26n6
8:18	26n6	46:7	26n6
8:18–19	26n8	47:29	35n25, 37n31
9:8	26n6	47:31	37n31
10:12	12	48	39–46, 45 <i>fig.</i>
10:14	12	48:1	41
17:26–27	26	48:2	45
		48:3–7	41, 45–46

48:7	41n33	33:12	61–62
48:8	41, 43	33:12–16	61
48:10	43	33:13	35n25, 36, 60, 62
48:10–12	41, 44	33:14–17	61–62
48:13–14	41–43	33:17	60
48:15	41, 42n40, 43–46	33:18	60
48:15–17	42	33:19	60
48:16	41, 42n40, 44	33:20	60
48:17–20	43–44	34	59–63, 63fig.
48:20	41–42, 42n40, 45–46	34:9	35n25, 61–62
48:21–22	42		
48:23–33	41	<i>Leviticus</i>	
50:4	35n25	8:2	26n6
		8:30	26n6
<i>Exodus</i>		9:22	9n4
2:3–6	27n9	10:6	9n4
6:2–3	147	10:9	26n6
12:51	26	10:14	26n6
14:13	57n81	10:15	26n6
16	46–58, 58fig.		
16:1–3	50–51	<i>Numbers</i>	
16:4–5	51, 56	6:23	9n3
16:6	56–57	9:1	9n5
16:6–7	55–57, 57–58n83	10:33–37	13
16:6–8	50, 50n55, 51, 56	10:34–36	12–13
16:6–9	53	10:35	12
16:6–12	51	11	52n60
16:7	57	11:15	35n25
16:7–8	53	13:8	147
16:8	50n54, 54n69, 55, 57, 57–58n83	14	50n53, 52
16:9	56	14:22	57n81
16:9–10	50n55	16	52
16:9–12	50, 50n55, 51, 53, 56	16:10	26n6
16:10	57	18:1	26n6
16:11	53	18:2	26n6
16:11–12	50, 50n55, 51, 55	18:7	26n6
16:12	51n56, 57	18:11	26n6
16:13	50	18:19	26n6
16:13–15	55	20	50n53, 52
16:23	51	27:21	26n6
20:24	9	32:5	35n25
28:1	26n6	32:12	147
28:41	26n6		
29:21	26n6	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
32	147	2:31	77fig.
33	59–63, 63fig.	5:1–6:1	85, 87n10
33:11	147	6:9	75
		8:5–10	85, 87n10

11:20	75	29:1-5	64-68, 68fig.
11:21	75	29:11	66
13:1-2	13	30	66
15:12-14	36n28	30:8	66n91
16:22-17:7	13	30:26-31	64-68, 68fig.
18:10-12	66n92	30:31	65, 67
24:1	37	31	66n92
31	13-16	31:1-13	66
31:7-8	13-14		
31:9-13	13-14	<i>2 Samuel</i>	
31:14-15	13-14	1:1	66
31:23	13-14	6	19n28
31:24-27	13-14	15:25	36
		24:13	70n101
<i>Joshua</i>			
2:10	32n20	<i>1 Kings</i>	
5	18fig.	8:16	76
5:2	17		
8:30-35	17	<i>2 Kings</i>	
8:35	18fig.	7:13	76
9:2	17		
9:3	17	<i>Isaiah</i>	
21:34	74n3	17:12-13	75n3
21:35	74n3	19:5	32n20
		42:15	32n20
<i>Judges</i>		44:22	143n20
6:17	35n25	44:27	32n20
13-21	70	52:10	57n81
17:1-4	68-73, 72fig., 73fig., 78	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
		36:23	142
<i>1 Samuel</i>		47:4	12
4-6	19n28	51:36	32n20
20:29	35n25		
24	5-6, 13n12	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
24:5-6	13n12	36	18
24:8	13n12	37	17-18
24:12	13n12	39	18
27:1-28:2	66	40-48	18
27:5	35n25		
28-30	124	<i>Amos</i>	
28:3	66-67, 67n95	9:7	12
28:3-25	64-68, 68fig.		
28:4	66-67	<i>Jonah</i>	
28:6	66n91	1:2	12
28:9	67n95	3:2	12
28:18	66-67	4:11	12
29:1	66		

<i>Nahum</i>		<i>Esther</i>	
1:4	32n20	5:8	35n25
		7:3	35n25
<i>Zechariah</i>		8:5	35n25
4:6–10	13	<i>Ezra</i>	
11:17	13	7:5	109n55
13:7	13	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
<i>Psalms</i>		6:4–5	109n55
37:3	8	6:50	109n55
91:16	57n81	21:12	70n101
98:3	57n81	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
106:9	32n20	6:5–6	76
<i>Job</i>		20:17	57n81
14:11	32n20		

Jewish Apocrypha

<i>Jubilees</i>		2:33	90
1–2	87–88, 89fig., 90	3:14	90
1:4	90	23:9–32	90
1:8	90	<i>Judith</i>	
1:26	90	1:1	12
1:29	90		
2:24	90		

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Luke</i>	
1	113n71	3	113n71
4:19	124, 125fig.	5:36–39	121n17
24:38	130fig.	5:38	128fig.
26	124, 126fig., 127fig.	5:39	128fig.
26:57	124n19	6:12	129fig.
<i>Mark</i>		14:4	121, 124, 125fig.
14	124, 126fig., 127fig., 128fig.	14:5	121, 124, 125fig.
14:53	124, 124n19, 128fig.	22	124, 126fig., 127fig.
14:55	124, 128fig.	<i>John</i>	
		18	124, 126fig., 127fig.
		18:23	124

Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah

Avot

2:16 153

Jerusalem Talmud (= y.)

Berakhot

9:5 9n4

68a 9n4

Nazir

7:2 9n4

35b 9n4

Rosh Hashanah

2:8 9n4

14a 9n4

Ta'anit

4:1 9n4

18a 9n4

Babylonian Talmud (= b.)

Bava Metzi'a

20b 91, 93

Berakhot

16a 75

Gittin

60a 21

Pesahim

6b 9n5

Sanhedrin

49b 9n5

Shabbat

55b 13n11

115b–116a 12n10

Sotah

38a 9

Minor Tractates

Sefer Torah

2:12 101–2, 101–2n38

Soferim

6:4 2n7

Midrash Collections

Genesis Rabbah

11:4 9n4

33:7 32, 32n17

*Mekilta de-Rabbi Yishma'el**Shira* 7 9n5*Vayyisa' 4* 9n4*Leviticus Rabbah*

22 9n4

Sifra Shemini Mekilta de-Milu'im

2:29 9n4

2:41 9n4

Numbers Rabbah

11:4 9n3

Sifre Numbers

39:1 9n3

64:1 9n5

84:1 12

Midrash Proverbs

26:24 12

Pesiqta de Rab Kahana

10:2 8–9

Yalqut Shimoni

260:6 9n4

305:2 9n3

524:2 9n4

526:3 9n4

710:5 9n3

Index of Manuscripts

Berlin

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

P 1329 93fig.
P 3029 144n35
P 13443 145n36

Cambridge

Cambridge University Library

MS Or. 233 (Nash Papyrus) 85n6, 144
Taylor-Schechter (T-S) A29.112 77fig.

London

British Library

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (P. Oxy.) III 412
(PGMXXIII) 112

British Museum

BM 10057 (Rhind Mathematical Papyrus)
105, 105nn46–49, 106fig., 106, 108fig.
BM 10058 (Rhind Mathematical Papyrus)
105, 105nn46–49, 106, 107figs.
BM 10250 144n35
BM EA10470 (Papyrus of Ani) 94–95,
96figs., 97figs., 98figs., 99figs., 100–101

*Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology
(University College London)*

UC32057 (“Kahun” Gynaecological
Papyrus) 109, 109nn53–54

Nablus

Abisha Scroll (Sefer Abisha) 109,
109nn55–56, 110, 111fig., 145

Oxford

Bodleian Library

Arsames letters (Arshama letters) 145n36
Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (P. Oxy.) I 34 93–94

Princeton

Princeton University Library

Princeton Pharaonic Roll 7 144n35

Princeton, Dublin, Cologne, and Madrid

*Princeton University Library, Chester
Beatty Library, Cologne University Library,
and Fundación Pastor de Estudios Clásicos*
Papyrus 967 3, 17, 17n26, 18–19

Würzburg

Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg

Mp.th.fol.64a (Codex Wirceburgensis;
W; La^w; VL 177) 18n26

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QIsaiah^a (Great Isaiah Scroll) 10, 10fig.,
11fig.
4QApocr. Psalm and Prayer (4Q448) 3,
19n28, 20fig.
4QDeut^j (4Q37) 85
4QDeut^{kl} (4Q38–39) 85
4QDeutⁿ (4Q41; All Souls Deuteronomy
scroll) 85, 85n4, 86fig., 87, 87n10, 90
4QDeut^q (4Q44) 85
4QDibHam^a (4Q504; Words of the
Luminaries) 10, 11fig.
4QJoshua^a (4Q47) 3, 17, 18fig.
4QJubilees^a (4Q216) 87–88, 89fig., 90,
139
4QpaleoDeuteronomy^r (4Q45) 103n44
4QpaleoExodus^m (4Q22; 4QExodus^a)
102–3, 103fig.
5/6HevPs (5/6Hev 1b 888) 104n44
8HevXXIIgr (8Hev1) 145n36
11QPsalms^a (11Q5) 20fig.
Jer 1 (Jericho papList of Loans ar;
Mus. Inv. K10215; IAA 700184–5) 144

General Index

- Aaron 46–55, 55n74, 56–58, 109, 109n55, 147
Achaemenid empire 1n1, 140, 144.
 See also Persian period
Adams, Dickinson W. 124n19
Africanus, Julius 110, 113n71, 132, 140
– *Kestoi* 9n6, 110, 112–13
Agnon, S.Y.: *Shira* 138fig.
Akkadian 8n1, 27n9, 36n26
Albertz, Rainer 49
Alter, Robert 146
anachronisms 1n2, 4–5, 17, 30, 147
antigrams. *See* inverted *nunim*
archaeological evidence 3, 3n9, 4, 109n53, 144
Assyriology 3n9, 27n9, 145n36
authorship 1n2, 51–54, 134, 141n15, 146, 148–51

Ball, Charles 36
Bekor Shor 50, 50n55, 51
biblical harmonies 116–18, 119fig., 120fig., 121, 124, 128, 132
bindings 3, 90
Blair, Ann 116, 134
Book of the Dead 94–101
borders of manuscripts 95n32, 149.
 See also margins
British Museum 94, 96figs., 97figs., 98figs., 99figs., 105–6, 106n50, 144n35
Bronze Age 144n35
Budde, Karl 27, 66, 66n92, 67, 69, 70, 70nn100–101, 71
Budge, Sir E.A. Wallis 95–95
bullae 144, 144n34
Burney, Charles Fox 69, 71
Burns, Cliff: *G-Man* 135fig.
Burroughs, William S. 134

Cairo Genizah 76, 77fig.
Carr, David 146, 148–49
Černý, Jaroslav 104
Cerquiglini, Bernard 2, 2n7
Charles I 117
Childs, Brevard S. 51–52, 52n60, 53, 55–56
chronological sequence 5, 16, 33, 50–53, 57, 60, 66–67, 70n101, 72, 78, 121.
 See also narrative progression
Cicero, Marcus Tullius: *On Glory* 113
colophons 3, 6, 19, 78n8, 109, 149
columns of text 10fig., 11fig., 78, 87, 102n39, 103fig., 111fig., 112, 145n36
– additions to 152, 152n67
– dislocated 13, 15, 15nn15,17
– height of 15n17, 95
– as patches 87n9
– polyglot 121, 121n17, 124
– width of 85, 88
commonplace books 131–32, 132fig., 133fig., 134
Complementary Hypothesis 150
conciliation theory of Pentateuchal redaction 145–46, 146n44, 147
conflation 1n2, 5, 14, 16, 26, 49, 52, 87, 139, 149–51
confusion: authorial 53
– of characters 70n100
– of similar words 29, 34, 37
– of units 14, 21–22, 30, 33, 44–45, 52, 56, 62, 67, 72, 78. *See also* *parablepsis*
conservative redaction 145–47
contradictions 16, 26, 35n24, 57, 70n101, 82, 101, 121, 146–47
Coppens, Joseph 53–55, 55nn70–73
copying, scribal 13, 26n6, 27–29, 38, 42n40, 51, 56, 62, 67, 70n101, 72, 75n5, 79, 88, 91, 95n32, 100, 134, 140, 142n15

- corrections 10, 16, 55, 57, 82–83, 83n19,
 93, 106n50, 121n17, 128fig., 141–42,
 152, 152n67
 Cran, Rona 134
 creation narratives 87–88, 110, 148
 criteria for cut-and-paste error 78–79
 Cross, Frank Moore, Jr. 85, 85n4
 cryptogram, colophonic (*tasqil*), 109,
 109n55
 cuneiform tablets 3n9
 cutting of source texts 8, 28–29, 34, 44,
 44n47, 56, 67, 79n12, 100, 103–4, 112–
 13, 116–18, 120–21, 130figs., 131, 134–
 35, 140, 142, 151, 153. *See also* splicing
 cut-ups 114, 131, 134, 135fig.
- Dead Sea Scrolls 3, 6, 20fig., 85, 85n4,
 86fig., 87, 87n9, 88, 89fig., 90, 102–
 3, 103fig., 103n44, 144, 145n36, 152.
See also under Index of Manuscripts
 Decalogue 85n6
 deletion 4, 55, 114, 124, 124n19, 126fig.,
 127fig. *See also* erasure of text
 Deuteronomistic source 146
 Dillmann, August 42n40, 61–62
 Diodorus of Sicily 144n36
 dismembered scripture (מקרא מסורס) 8,
 8n1, 9
 dittography 27, 75n5, 76, 76n6
 divination 35–36, 36n27, 37, 64–65,
 66n91, 67n95
 Documentary Hypothesis 4–5, 44, 51,
 53–54, 139, 148–50, 150n61, 151–52
 documentary redaction 4, 44, 139–40,
 146n42, 148–52
 doublets 13–16
 Driver, Samuel R. 27, 50, 66–67, 67n96
 Duke, Robert 143
 Durham, John I. 52n60, 53–54
- eclectic editions 121
 Egypt 110, 144n35
 – scribal practice in 6, 91, 91n21,
 92fig., 93fig., 94–95, 96–99figs., 100–
 101, 101n37, 104fig., 104–6, 106fig.,
 107–8figs., 109, 109nn53–54, 142–43,
 143n22, 144, 145n36
 Eliot, T.S. 116
- Elohist source 55n74, 146, 148, 151
 “empirical” models for biblical interpre-
 tation 1–2, 2n3
 epigraphic material 3, 6, 84, 143
 erasure of text 95, 143, 152n67. *See also*
 deletion
 excerpted texts 85, 85n8, 87, 87n9
- Faulkner, William 114
 Ferrar, Nicholas 117–18
 Finkel, Irving 27n9
 First Temple period 143–44, 144n35.
See also pre-Exilic period
 Flanagan, John 18
 Flood Narrative (biblical) 24–34, 87
 Flood Narrative (Mesopotamian), 27n9
 folios, blank 84, 106fig., 106, 117, 121, 152
 form-critical analysis 52
 Former Prophets: composition history of
 1, 7, 139
Fortschreibung 44, 49, 90, 149, 149n56
 Fragmentary Hypothesis 139, 150
 Frankel, David 56
 Friedman, Richard Elliott 146, 151
- Galbiati, Enrico 53, 55–56
 Garthwait, Henry: *Monotessaron* 117
 Gemara 75
 Genizah (Cairo) 76, 77fig.
 Gesner, Conrad 115fig., 116
 Gevaryahu, Haim 6, 19
 glosses 10, 13n12, 43, 49, 50n55, 54,
 57n83, 71, 73fig., 80n13, 82–83, 110
 – migrating 12, 43n44
 glue 91n24, 102fig., 102n39, 106, 113, 132,
 145n36. *See also* paste
 Goelet, Ogden 95
 Gospels 117–18, 119fig., 120fig., 120–
 21, 122fig., 123fig., 124, 125fig., 126fig.,
 127fig., 128, 129fig., 130figs., 131, 147
 graphical similarity 56, 67, 78, 141
 Greek language 12, 17, 32, 69n97, 91, 93,
 112, 120–21, 124, 140, 142, 144n36.
See also Septuagint
 Griffith, Francis Llewellyn 106
 Gunkel, Hermann 41n39, 146–48,
 148n51
 Gysin, Brion 114, 134

- halakha* 75, 90
 handwriting 29–30, 79, 85, 88, 105n49,
 111*fig.*, 123*fig.*
 haplography 27, 75n5, 76, 77*fig.*
 See also parablepsis
 Haran, Menahem 142–44
 harmonization 26, 32, 82, 113n71, 146,
 153. *See also* biblical harmonies
 Hearne, Thomas 117–18
 Hellenistic period 112, 145n36
 Hempel, Charlotte 88
 hieratic script 105
 hieroglyphs 95, 96*figs.*, 97*figs.*, 98*figs.*,
 99*figs.*, 100–101
 historical-critical method 149–52
 Hitchcock, Alfred 8
 Holiness Code 150
 homoeoarcton 22, 24, 62, 67, 74,
 74n2, 75n3, 79, 101n37, 124.
 See also parablepsis
 homoeomeson 74n2, 79. *See also*
 parablepsis
 homoeoteleuton 22, 24, 34, 34n22,
 74, 74n2, 75n3, 76n6, 79. *See also*
 parablepsis
 Hooke, Robert 131–32
 Hyksos (Second Intermediate) period
 105
hysteron proteron 70n101. *See also*
 chronological sequence

 Ibn Ezra 50–51, 51n56, 57, 63
 illustrated manuscripts 94–101
 initial letter 111*fig.*
 ink 29, 38, 79, 117, 143, 143n22
 insertions 4, 16, 24, 150, 152
 – marginal and interlinear 10,
 10*fig.*, 11*figs.*, 12–13, 22, 43, 45,
 57n83, 66n92, 72, 77*fig.*, 78–79,
 82–83, 121, 122*fig.*, 123*fig.*, 124,
 125*fig.*
 intentional redaction 5–6, 16–20, 27,
 49, 51–52, 56, 60, 67, 70n101, 78,
 78n8
 interpolation 6, 22, 67
 inverted *nunim* 12–13
 Iron Age 143

 J. *See* Yahwist source
 Jefferson, Thomas: Jefferson Bible 118,
 120–21, 122*fig.*, 123*fig.*, 124, 125*fig.*,
 126*fig.*, 127*fig.*, 128, 129*fig.*, 130*figs.*,
 131–32, 141, 147
 – “Literary Commonplace Book,” 131,
 132*fig.*
 – “Table of Texts,” 124, 124n18, 128*figs.*
 Jesus 113n71, 117–18, 120–21, 124
 joins 91, 99*fig.*, 105n48
 Joshua 17, 52, 147
 – appointment of 13–14
 Joyce, James 1
 Jubilees 6–7, 87–90
 Juyi, Bai: *Bai shi liu tie* 116

 Kahle, Paul 2n7
kavod (glory) of YHWH 46, 48, 50–51,
 51n56, 54, 56–57, 57n81, 60–61, 109n55
 Kenyon, Frederic 142
Kestoi 9n6, 110, 112–13
 Kilian, Rudolf 81
 Kimchi, David 32n17
 Kister, Menahem 88, 90
 knives: of scribes 38, 104*fig.*, 104, 114,
 117–18, 142
 Kuenen, Abraham 50

 Latin language 18n26, 113, 115*fig.*,
 120–21, 124, 143
 Law, transferral of 13–14, 59–63
 leather 6, 38, 84, 94, 101–3, 110, 140,
 142–44, 144nn35–36, 145, 145n36,
 151–52, 152n67. *See also* parchment
lectio difficilior 42n40
leishu compendia 116, 134
 Lesky, Albin 4–5
 Letter of Aristeas 145n36
 Levenson, Jon D. 36
 Lieberman, Saul 93
 Lied, Liv Ingeborg 3
 Lilly, Ingrid 18
 linen 144n35
 lines, blank 85
 Little Gidding concordances 116–18,
 119*fig.*, 120*fig.*, 128, 131–32, 153n68
 Locke, John 131

- lost texts 9, 44–45, 87. *See also*
 haplography
 LXX. *See* Septuagint
- Maimonides: *Guide for the Perplexed* 60
 Malina, Bruce 53–55, 54nn67–69
 margins: dimensions of 6, 95, 152
 – insertions in 10, 10*fig.*, 11*fig.*, 12–13, 22, 45, 57n83, 62, 66n92, 72, 76, 77*fig.*, 78–79, 83, 121, 122*fig.*, 123*fig.*, 124, 125*fig.*
 – notes in 3, 10, 12, 13n12, 43, 93–94, 110
 – redrawn 95, 96–99*figs.* *See also under* insertions
- Masoretic Text (MT) 12–14, 17–18, 19n28, 41–42, 42n40, 69n97, 70n100, 76, 80n14, 85n6
- material constraints 6, 22, 83, 134, 147, 152
- Material Philology 2, 2n4, 3. *See also* physical attributes of manuscripts
 material vs. conventional scribal redaction 4–7, 21, 34, 38, 44–45, 56, 62–63, 72, 78–84, 87, 87n9, 90, 113, 139–41, 141–42n15, 147, 149, 151–53
- McCarter, P. Kyle, Jr. 13n12, 65–67, 66n92
- Mesopotamia 17, 27n9, 35
- Middleton, Francesca 112
- migration: of colophons 19, 20*fig.*
 – of glosses 12, 43n44
 – of texts 21–22, 22*fig.*, 23*fig.*, 24–27, 27n12, 28–29, 29*fig.*, 30–34, 34*fig.*, 35–38, 38*fig.*, 40, 44, 66n92, 68, 71, 78–79
- Mildenhall, Dallas 139
- Milik, Józef 87–88
- mnemonic models 75, 148, 148n51, 149
- Moore, George Foot 70n101, 71–72
- Moses 13–14, 27n9, 46–58, 50n55, 51n56, 55n74, 59–63
- motives for redaction 5–6, 44, 51, 70n101
 – aesthetic 16, 19, 27
 – literary 19, 19n28, 27, 52, 66–67, 70n101, 82, 124, 147
 – political 1, 147
 – theological 1, 16, 66n92, 124, 147
- Mueller, E. Aydeet 69–70n100
- Nachmanides 51n56
 narrative progression 5, 16–17, 25, 27–30, 33, 36–37, 42–44, 49–50, 53, 60, 63
 needles 90, 103
 Neo-Documentarians 149–50
 New Philology 2–3. *See also* physical attributes of manuscripts
 New Testament 113n71. *See also* Gospels
 Niditch, Susan 4–5, 151
 non-Masoretic midrashim 13
 non-Priestly source 16–17, 24–34, 42, 44, 49–50, 80–83, 81–82n17, 146
 non sequiturs 35, 62
 number switching. *See* pronouns
- Odyssey* (Homeric) 5n14, 112–13, 132, 140
 Old Greek versions 17
On Glory 113
 oral redaction 2n7, 139, 147–49
 out-of-sequence passages 9, 18, 27, 50–53, 70n101, 78, 85, 112
- Paleo-Hebrew script 102, 103*fig.*, 103
 palimpsests 140n6, 145n36
 papyrus 4, 6, 18, 38, 79, 84, 84n1, 91, 91nn21,24, 92*fig.*, 93*fig.*, 94–95, 96–99*figs.*, 100–102, 104–6, 106*fig.*, 107–8*figs.*, 109, 109n54, 112, 140, 142–43, 143n22, 144–45, 151–52, 152n67
- parablepsis 22, 24, 28–29, 29*fig.*, 30, 33–34, 34*fig.*, 34n22, 37–38, 38*fig.*, 56, 62, 67, 68*fig.*, 74, 74nn2–3, 75, 75nn3,5, 76, 77*fig.*, 78–79, 101n37, 124, 126*fig.*, 127*fig.*, 131, 141, 141n12
- parallelism 57
 parallel traditions 19, 28, 31, 34, 41, 84, 87, 131
 parchment 4, 87. *See also* leather
 parenthetical notes 43
 paste 4, 38, 91, 91n24, 114, 132. *See also* glue
 pasting segments of text 21, 28, 79, 84, 84n1, 91, 92*fig.*, 94–95, 100–101, 102*fig.*, 102, 104, 106, 113, 117, 121, 140
 patched scrolls 7, 101–2, 102*fig.*, 103*fig.*, 103, 103–4n44, 104–6, 106*fig.*, 107–8*figs.*, 109–10, 140, 145

- patches of text 28–30, 34, 38, 44, 56, 72, 87n9, 100–101, 111*fig.*, 117–18, 121, 122*fig.*, 123*fig.*, 125*fig.*, 137*fig.*, 138*fig.*, 145
- misplaced 124, 126*fig.*, 127*fig.*
 - for repairs (*see* patched scrolls). *See also* snippets of text
- patchwork composition 121, 131–36, 136*fig.*
- Pentateuch 57n81, 109
- composition history of 1, 1nn1–2, 5, 5n15, 7, 26, 29–30, 38, 54, 139, 145–50, 150n61, 151
 - scrolls 2n7
- Persia 144n36
- Persian period 140, 144–46
- imperial authorization in 1n1, 146n44
- Petrie, Flinders 109n53
- physical attributes of manuscripts 2–3, 6, 29–30, 79, 142
- Pliny: *Natural History* 91n24
- polyglot Bible 118, 120–21, 122*fig.*, 123*fig.*, 124, 125*fig.*, 126*fig.*, 127*fig.*, 128, 129*fig.*, 130*figs.*, 131
- post-Exilic period 146–47. *See also* Second Temple period
- pre-Exilic period 143–44. *See also* First Temple period
- Priestly source (P) 4, 5n15, 16–17, 24–34, 39–46, 49, 49n52, 50, 50nn53–54, 51–52, 52n60, 53–55, 55n74, 56–58, 78n8, 80–83, 146–47, 151
- narrative pattern in 52–53
 - preference for Moses in 55
- printed Bibles 117, 120–21, 130*fig.*
- privilege, editorial 42n40, 52
- pronouns: singular vs. plural in biblical text 41, 41n39, 42, 42n40, 55, 79, 80, 80nn13–14, 81, 81nn16–17, 82, 82n17, 83, 83n19
- proposed reconstructions of jumbled texts: by Dershowitz 28, 29*fig.*, 33, 34*fig.*, 37, 38*fig.*, 42–43, 45*fig.*, 45–46, 58*fig.*, 62, 63*fig.*, 68*fig.*, 72*fig.*, 73*fig.*
- by other scholars 15*fig.*, 36, 54, 55, 61, 70–71
- Propp, William H. C. 53, 57
- Proust, Marcel: “Sodom et Gomorrhe” 136*fig.*
- Quintilian 16
- Qumran. *See* Dead Sea Scrolls
- Rashi 32n17, 57, 81n16
- Reed, Stephen 87n9
- repaired scrolls. *See* patched scrolls
- repetition 26, 32, 44, 51, 56, 67n95, 69, 75nn3,5, 76, 90, 100–101, 121, 124, 124n19
- Robertson, Edward 110
- Rofé, Alexander 7, 13–15, 15*fig.*, 16, 61–63
- ruled lines 87, 117
- Sabbath 47–49, 51, 85n6, 124
- Samaritan Pentateuch 109, 109n55, 110
- scissors 114, 117–18, 131
- scribal error 21, 27–28, 34, 34n22, 38, 42n40, 45, 52, 56, 58n83, 63, 67, 72, 74–76, 78, 87n9. *See also* parablepsis
- seals 94, 144
- secondary additions 3, 10, 13, 39, 45, 50n55, 67, 71, 82, 87n9, 88, 90, 98*fig.*, 105n49, 113. *See also* insertions
- Second Temple period 2n7, 90, 143, 146. *See also* post-Exilic period
- Segal, Michael 88, 90
- Septuagint (LXX) 12–13, 17–18, 19n28, 32, 41n39, 42n40, 69n97, 80n14, 134–35, 145n36
- sewing 84, 87–88, 101–3, 104n44, 112–13, 145. *See also* stitching
- Sforno, Obadja 32n17, 36n27
- Shakespeare, William 134
- *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 137*fig.*
- sheets 6, 84–85, 87, 87n9, 88, 90–91, 100–101, 104, 110, 140, 145n36
- blank 106*fig.*, 106, 117, 121, 152
 - damaged 88
 - loose 7, 13–15, 15n15, 78, 84
 - papyrus 84, 92*fig.*, 95, 105, 105nn48–49
 - stitched 89*fig.*, 145
 - with supplements 19n33, 20*figs.*
- Small, Jocelyn Penny 74
- Smith, Henry 5–6

- Smyth, Adam 153
- snippets of text 6, 33, 44, 44n47, 56, 62, 66n92, 67, 71–72, 78, 84, 101, 116–18, 121, 134, 139–41
- dimensions of 79
 - unused 130fig. *See also* patches of text
- Song of the Ark 12–13
- source analysis 4, 53–54, 67, 79, 81, 83–84, 150–51. *See also* Documentary Hypothesis
- spaces, blank 16, 19, 20fig., 94–95, 152
- Speiser, Ephraim Avigdor 32
- splicing 29, 34, 84, 87, 101, 118, 124.
- See also* cutting of source texts
- Steck, Odil Hannes 148
- Steinschneider, Moritz 60–61n85
- Stern, David 139
- stitching 88, 89fig., 104n44, 112–13, 140, 145n36. *See also* sewing
- structural analysis 16, 50, 50n54, 52–53, 55
- Strugnell, John 87n9
- style 26, 78, 88, 95
- supplementation 1n2, 5, 10, 13–14, 16, 19n33, 20figs., 24, 26, 41, 44, 79, 82, 82n18, 83fig., 87n10, 90, 137fig., 139–40, 149–52. *See also* insertions
- Tabernacle 49, 109n55, 147
- Talmud 8–9, 75, 91, 93, 113n70. *See also under Index of Primary Sources*
- Tanḥum ben Joseph ha-Yerushalmi 70, 70n101, 71
- Targum 42n40
- Tatian: Diatessaron 117
- thread 85, 90
- tomoi synkollēsimoī* (composite scrolls) 84n1, 91, 92fig., 93fig., 93–94
- tools for editing 4, 74. *See also specific tools*
- Tov, Emanuel 6, 87, 141n13, 151–52, 152n67
- translations, English biblical: King James Version (KJV) 36n27
- New Jewish Publication Society (NJPS) 32
 - New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) 25n3, 32, 80n13
- transposition of texts 6–7, 8n1, 9, 17, 19, 21, 21fig., 22, 23fig., 27n12, 38–45, 45fig., 46–58, 58fig., 59–67, 68fig., 71, 78–79, 101n37, 132
- Tzara, Tristan 131
- Urtext recovery 2, 2n7, 3, 18
- VanderKam, James 87–88
- Van der Toorn, Karel 146
- Van Seters, John 1n2
- Vetus Latina 18n26
- vocalization of Hebrew (pointing) 67, 70n100, 80n14
- Volz, Paul 151
- Vorlage* 18, 37, 69n97
- Watts, James 141
- Weiss, Raphael 76
- Wellhausen, Julius 57–58n83
- Westermann, Claus 32, 35n24, 44
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig 79n11
- word-skipping 37, 37n32, 56n79, 75n3.
- See also* parablepsis
- workshops, scribal 4, 84, 100, 104, 139
- writing media 3, 3n9, 22, 29, 76, 84, 104, 140, 142–44, 144n35, 144–45n36, 145, 152. *See also* leather; papyrus
- Yahwist source (J) 4, 24–25, 25n5, 26, 26nn6,8, 27n9, 27–34, 35n24, 148, 151
- Yi, Yang: *Tanyuan* 116
- Yun, Ji 116, 132, 134
- Zumthor, Paul 2n7