BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN 4Q158: TECHNIQUES AND GENRE

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The term ‘Rewritten Bible’ has come to denote the many genres of Second Temple texts related to the Bible, ranging from compositions closely connected to the biblical text, to paraphrases, in which biblical terminology is present, all the way to expansions of stories which use the biblical narrative as a springboard for the creation of an essentially new story. Although this description may be accurate for the texts as a group, it is certainly insufficient when investigating individual compositions. Each text is unique in its approach to the biblical text both in the form of the new composition relative to the original text, and in the techniques employed by the author in his exegesis of the Bible. Careful study of these two aspects of each of the individual compositions within the larger group of texts as a whole can contribute to the analysis and classification of the various “rewritten” texts.

1Most of the material in this article represents a section of a seminar paper, “4QReworked Pentateuch: Text-Type and Biblical Exegesis” (Hebrew), written under the direction of Prof. E. Tov for the Department of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. I would like to thank Profs. Tov and A. Rofé for their guidance and helpful comments throughout this project, Dr. M. Bernstein for his critical comments, and Dr. E. Chazon for her remarks on a draft of this article.


4Q158 was published in 1968 by J. Allegro in the fifth volume of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert under the title “Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus.” The script of this scroll has been described as formal Herodian, or slightly pre-Herodian. This scroll contains fourteen fragments, some containing the biblical text (from a version different from MT), while others are exegetical in nature. According to Allegro’s notation, the preserved fragments of the scroll correspond to the following biblical passages: Gen 32:25-32; Exod 4:27-28; Gen 32:31(?); Exod 3:12, 24:4-6; Exod 19:17-23; Exod 20:19-22, Deut 5:29, 18:18-20,22; Exod 20:12, 16, 17, Deut 5:30-31, Exod 20:22 26, 21:1-22:13 (including lacunae); Exod 30:32,34. In addition, one fragment (Frg. 14) contains a long exegetical addition not as closely connected to an individual biblical passage as are the other sections just detailed.

More recently, E. Tov and S. White, in their publication of four scrolls, 4Q364-367, identified the composition found in 4Q158 as the same one as that contained in the newly published scrolls. To this group of scrolls, Tov and White assigned the new title “Reworked Pentateuch (RP),” and labelled 4Q158 as 4QRP. This appellation suggests a much closer connection to the text of the Pentateuch than the original title did. As they noted, “Biblical Paraphrase,” assigned by Allegro, is somewhat puzzling in this context, as this term usually represents a more thorough reworking of the biblical text than that found in this composition.


4J. Strugnell, “Notes en Marge Du Volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” RevQ 7 (1970) 168. Strugnell provided a commentary on the entire volume which is critical for the evaluation of any of the scrolls it contains. These notes supply necessary information missing in the original publication, including important discussions on a number of passages, and when necessary, corrected readings and reconstructions.

5E. Tov and S. White, “364-367. 4QRevised Pentateuch<sup>e</sup> and 365a. 4QTemple?” H. Attridge and others in consultation with J.C. VanderKam, Qumran Cave 4. VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part I (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187-352. Some of this material can also be found in E. Tov, “The Textual Status of 4Q364-367 (4QPP),” The Madrid Qumran Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March 1991 (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Madrid /Leiden: Universidad Complutense/Brill, 1992), 43-82. The question whether 4Q158 contains the same composition as the one found in the other four scrolls, and whether 4Q364-7 all contain the same composition, was investigated more fully in Segal, “4QRevised Pentateuch.”

6Tov-White, “4QRevised Pentateuch,” 187. In his earlier publication, Tov, “Textual Status,” 51, regarding 4Q364 367, similarly notes that the term “rewritten biblical texts” is
The purpose of this analysis is to determine the relationship between 4Q158 and
the biblical text. This will be addressed on two levels. First, the author’s techniques
and methods of exegesis of the Bible will be examined, questioning how the author
of 4Q158 read and interpreted the Pentateuch. Second, 4Q158 itself will be evaluated
to determine how the form of this new composition relates to the biblical text. This
investigation will attempt to place 4Q158 in its proper place within the spectrum of
the so-called “re-written” biblical texts of the Second Temple period.

I. Exegetical Features of 4Q158

This section will attempt to categorize the exegetical techniques of the author of
4Q158. For this purpose, the relevant fragments will be presented topically, allowing
for greater flexibility in their classification.

A. Thematic Association

Fragments 1-2 preserve Gen 32:25-32 and Exod 4:27-28. The following is a
transcription of the relevant part of this section:

much more appropriate than the original title “Pentateuchal Paraphrase” assigned by
Strugnell.

For a similar analysis on a different text, see M. J. Bernstein, “Re-arrangement, Anticipation
Lines 3-13 contain Gen 32:25-32, the story of the struggle at night between Jacob and the “man.” The following lines, 14-15, quote Exod 4:27-28, a description of the meeting between Moses and Aaron after Moses’ experience at the burning bush. The reason for the juxtaposition of these two stories is enigmatic, as there appears to be neither a linguistic nor a thematic connection between the two. It is important to note that the passage from 4Q158 is fragmentary, and that the passage immediately preceding these fragments is not preserved. Line 2 preserves one complete word which is related to the Jacob story, וַיַּעִשֶׁהוּ. But Lines 1-2 do not represent the biblical text itself, for this word does not appear until verse 29 (lines 6-7). What then was the text preceding line 1? Two logical options present themselves. First, the author of 4Q158 in his exegesis of Genesis saw a connection to the passage in Exodus 4. In this case, the unpreserved section was the passage in Gen 32 immediately prior to the story of Jacob’s struggle. However, the inexplicable juxtaposition of the Genesis and Exodus passages still remains. If, however, this passage of 4Q158 was created in the exegesis of Exodus, then the unpreserved section immediately prior to line 1 was the passage in Exodus immediately prior to Exodus 4:27, the beginning of the Exodus material preserved in fragments 1-2. Exodus 4:24-26 recounts the story of the bridegroom of blood. Scholars have already noted the thematic connections between this story and that of Jacob’s struggle with the man. Both stories describe a dangerous confrontation at night during which an individual travelling with his family is bodily injured. This scroll represents the earliest evidence of the connection between the two narratives.

Rabbinic exegesis often viewed the juxtaposition of two biblical passages as suggesting a thematic connection between the two sections. Conversely, the author of 4Q158 juxtaposed two narratives between which he believed such an association existed. This scroll, then, is both a precursor of a Rabbinic exegetical principle, and evidence of the use of this technique in the creation of texts in this earlier period.

8The root וַיַּעִשֶׁהוּ appears only three times in the Bible, Gen 32:29 and Hos 12:4,5, all in the context of the Jacob story.

9For example, see M. Greenberg, Understanding Exodus (New York: Berman House, 1969) 111.


Another example of this phenomenon is found in fragment 4:

In line 5, the preserved text continues until the end of Exod 24:6. Line 6 is a rewritten or paraphrased form of the beginning of Exod 6:2ff. Allegro read the second word in line 6 as רדסיי, but the photograph of the fragment seems to just as plausibly allow for the reading רדסיי. The verb רדס in conjunction with the phrase לא אברוח אלא ברך appears only in Exod 6:3. Allegro noted that the word ולא was followed by an erasure. Strugnell succeeded in reading the original word as ישמש and suggests that perhaps it was erased because it was mistakenly written in place of ישמש. Whether or not the author intended to write ישמש, the context of the line is certainly the appearance of God to the patriarchs, which occurs in this formulation in Exod 6:3. As Strugnell noted, line 7 is related to Gen 17:7, והפתי את בריי בנו יбра את אמריך. If each of the references in lines 5-7 has been correctly identified, what then is the reason for the juxtaposition? As Strugnell noted, the continuation of line 5 should be the verse following Exod 24:6, ויקח ספר תורה יקרא בּאֲנוּרָהּ הָעֵם יִרְאֶהוּ כְאֶפַר בָּרָךְ ה' נֶעַשֶּׁה. A reconstruction of the fragment allows for the inclusion of the first phrase in that verse at the end of line 5:

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12 This is Strugnell’s reading. Allegro read רדס.
15 Ibid.
16 The reconstruction was done according to the text of MT. The width of the column is
In each of these three verses, the concept of בְּרִית, “covenant,” plays a central role. Exod 6:4-5 describes the words of the Lord to Moses, “I also established My covenant with them... I now have heard the moaning of the Israelites... and I have remembered My covenant.”17 And as quoted above, Gen 17:7 states, “I will maintain My covenant between Me and you... as an everlasting covenant throughout the ages.” Strugnell noted that the word בְּרִית in Exod 24:7 appears to be the inspiration for the citation of Exod 6:2ff.18 However, it was not merely the inspiration of the term ס퍼 בְּרִית found in Exod 24:7 that led to the citation of Exod 6:2ff., but the identification of the covenant ceremony performed at Sinai with the covenant described in Gen 17 and Exod 6. In Gen 17 two promises are included in the covenant: God will (1) “be God to you and your offspring to come” (v. 7), and (2) “assign the land you sojourn in to you and your offspring to come, all the land of Canaan, as an everlasting holding” (v. 8). This covenant applies to Abraham and all of his offspring. In Exod 6 one finds the same terms for the covenant, but now it is limited to the Israelites: “I have now heard the moaning of the Israelite... and I have remembered my covenant. Say, therefore to the Israelite people: I am the Lord. I will free you...” (vv. 5-6). Exod 24:7 speaks of the “book of the covenant” without explicitly stating to what this term refers. 4Q158 identifies this term with Gen 17 and Exod 6, and through determined by the continuation from lines 3-4, the text of Exod 24:4-5. It is possible to reconstruct a wider column if one assumes a vacat in line 3, but neither the content of these verses, nor any manuscripts support such a claim. In line 4, we omitted the phrase וַיִּבָּאָה שָלֹם לְבָאָה פֹּרֶס, since the continuation of v. 6 in the beginning of line 5 does not leave enough room for its inclusion. The root כֹּבֵּד used twice in this phrase was already employed by 4Q158 in the additional לע המזון found in this line. Perhaps this suggests an exegetical shortening of this verse in which both halves are read as one. The continuation from lines 5-6 is difficult to reconstruct in any definitive way. The one offered here is merely intended to suggest the presence of the Book of the Covenant at the end of line 5 and should not be taken as the presumed original text. Ideally, there should be additional material in the connection between these two lines, but as noted in the previous paragraph the biblical passage in lines 3-4 prohibits the widening of the column.

17All translations of biblical passages are quoted from the NJPS edition.

18Strugnell, “Notes,” 170.
the citation of these verses in a paraphrased form, reminds the reader the content of the covenant.

B. Exegetical Citations

This category refers to instances in which the author of 4Q158 in the exegesis of one biblical passage refers to another section, either through direct quotation, or more likely through a paraphrasing of the referred section, in order to explain a difficult or unclear issue within the text under discussion. In this technique the passage referred to is inserted into the passage containing the reference so that the reader can easily understand the original allusion without the need to search for the referred to passage. By definition, the passage into which the paraphrase is inserted appears later in the biblical text, as such references are only made to earlier texts.

The first example of this phenomenon is the continuation of fragments 1-2, lines 14-17:

As mentioned previously, lines 14-15 preserve Exod 4:27-28. Verse 28 describes how “Moses told Aaron about all the things that the Lord had committed to him and all the signs about which He had instructed them” at the revelation at the burning bush. Presumably, “all the things that the Lord had committed to him” refer to the words of God in Exod 3, and the “signs” in the second half of the verse refer to those in Exod 4. However, in all the extant witnesses of the biblical text this information is not explicit. The reader is expected to understand the meaning of this verse on his own without a clear description of the exact content of Moses’s conversation with Aaron. Through the technique we term ‘exegetical citation,’ 4Q158 turns what is an implicit reference in the biblical text into an explicit description of the event. The last words preserved in line 16 are הבורזאַראָכָה אָלָה, apparently taken from Exod 3:12, “And when you have freed the people from Egypt, you shall worship God at the mountain.” By this citation, 4Q158 identifies this verse as

19There is only one other occurrence of this form in the Hebrew Bible, 1 Kgs 8:53, which also refers to the exodus from Egypt. However, the context of the Exodus passage is certainly more relevant in our context.
part of the content of Exod 4:28 contained in line 15. This citation is introduced by the words יִתְנַה יִלְעַם יִד [which indicate that what follows is an account of what God told Moses in chapter 3.

In line 17, Allegro reads: לְלַלְתָּא עָבְרָי יִרְמָיָה מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי [which is the following reconstruction: לְלַלְתָּא עָבְרָי יִרְמָיָה מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי תְנַה אָרָבָט מַאָט מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי and then this phrase represents the length of the enslavement in Egypt.20 However, neither the number 430 nor the period of bondage in Egypt is discussed in Exod 3. Therefore, an alternate reading of this line should be offered. Both Allegro and Strugnell read the final preserved word in this row as שָלֹמָי. From the photographs of 4Q158, it appears that what they read as the letter yod, the final preserved letter in the row, is actually only a very short line, which can also be the top right corner of a number of letters. This letter cannot be read as it is certain. In its place, we suggest the letter tav, which gives the word שָלֹמָי, “three.” In Exod 3:18 one finds both the word שָלֹמָי in the description of the distance to the place where sacrifices can be offered, and the root הָלָּא which is present at the beginning of line 17.21 If so, the line may be reconstructed as follows: לְלַלְתָּא עָבְרָי יִרְמָיָה מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי [which is the present as well, 4Q158 explains and specifies the information implicitly described in Exod 4:28 by the paraphrasing and inserting of that material into the later text.

Another example of exegetical citation is found in fragment 4 quoted above. As Allegro noted, line 2 is a citation of Exod 3:12, בַּרְצֹאֵר אֵת עָבְרָי מַמַּאָט עָבְרִים עָבְרִים פַּדְתָּא שֶלֹאָמָי [which is the present as well. Lines 3-5, as noted above, contain Exod 24:4-6, recounting that after Moses built an altar “they offered burnt offerings... Moses took one part of the blood and put it in basins, and the other part of the blood he dashed against the altars” (vv. 5-6). As posited in the previous example in fragment 4, the text containing the reference to the other biblical passages is Exod 24. If so, the appearance of the


21 The syntax of the beginning of line 17, עָבְרִים, is unclear. Allegro read the second word as עָבְרִים עָבְרִים and translated “to go (as slaves).” Strugnell noted that one can read either עָבְרָי, עָבְרִים עָבְרִים, or לְלַלְתָּא עָבְרָי עָבְרִים, “to go from the house of slaves.” However, this usage is not attested elsewhere. According to our reading, in which the line is a paraphrase of Exod 3:18, perhaps this is a reference to עָבְרָי מַמַּאָט, and the author read the verse as follows: מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי רֵד עָבְרִים מַהְמָה שָלֹמָי [which is the present as well. Lines 3-5, as noted above, contain Exod 24:4-6, recounting that after Moses built an altar “they offered burnt offerings... Moses took one part of the blood and put it in basins, and the other part of the blood he dashed against the altars” (vv. 5-6). As posited in the previous example in fragment 4, the text containing the reference to the other biblical passages is Exod 24. If so, the appearance of the

22 The syntax of the beginning of this line is difficult, and it is unclear what might precede it at the end of line 16.
verse from Exod 3 must be a citation from that chapter into Exod 24. In Exod 3:12, God tells Moses that the Israelites “shall worship God at this mountain.” The fulfillment of this statement is described in Exod 24. 4Q158 reminds the reader that the worship being performed in Exod 24, was already known and planned in Exod 3. In this way, line 2, the citation from Exod 3, functions as an introduction to lines 3-6. Furthermore, in line 1 of this fragment, the preserved text is קָחָהּ לְךָ. If line 2 is an introduction indicating that the worship in Exod 24 was already predicted in Exod 3, then line 1 may be a prelude to this citation of Exod 3, by which 4Q158 indicates that this verse is cited from an earlier section in the Pentateuch. In the other two examples, the citations were paraphrased forms of the verses, showing that the verses were cited from elsewhere. Here the author apparently quoted the verse itself. 4Q158 therefore needed a different technique to indicate that this passage is quoted from an earlier narrative and this is the function of line 1. A possible reconstruction would then be:

1] נאָסָמָר קָחֶהָ לְךָ יְהוָה בָּמֵר לְאָמָרָה בָּהֲמָאָסָה אָת
2] הַעֲנִמָּוָאָמָר תַּעִבְּרֵא הָאָאֵלָוָהָא עַל הָוה הָו

A similar citation formula was noticed in the first example of ‘exegetical citation,’ fragments 1-2, line 16:

16] יְהוָה לְאָמָר בָּהֲמָאָסָה אָת

Interestingly, this citation formula is used in both cases regarding the same verse.

C. Paraphrase

From the few words preserved in fragment 3 it appears to contain a text similar to those found in the stories of Jacob in the Pentateuch, yet no group of verses corresponds exactly to the preserved material. It therefore seems more likely that these lines represent a “rewriting” of a biblical passage containing a story of Jacob:

23If one claims that Exod 3 is the main text, then the citation of Exod 24 would be an example of ‘anticipation,’ as defined by M. Bernstein, “Re-arrangement,” 44-46. The inclusion of Exod 24 would thus then be to foreshadow the fulfilment of the promise made in Exod 3. It appears from the previous example, however, that Exod 24 is the central text. Another theoretical possibility is that there is no primary or secondary text, but rather, 4Q158 orders the passages associatively. The connection between Exod 3 and 24 would then be similar to anticipation. In the other fragments, however, 4Q158 is composed according to the order found in the Pentateuch, and therefore one can talk of primary and secondary passages.
Allegro identified the passage as Gen 32:31(?), but other than the preserved portion of the first line, a somewhat generic phrase, there is no connection between these verses and this fragment. Strugnell suggests that this is perhaps from Jacob's discourse prior to his death. Although he does not specify to which specific verses he refers, presumably he is alluding to Gen 49 which also opens with the phrase יִקְרָא. However, the themes contained in lines 2-3, “this land” and “my fathers” are absent from this chapter as well.

Alternatively, this fragment may be based upon the biblical text of Gen 47:29-30, “And when the time approached for Israel to die, he summoned his son Joseph and said to him, ‘...please do not bury me in Egypt. When I lie down with my fathers, take me up from Egypt and bury me in their burial-place....’” As in line 1 of the fragment, Jacob calls or summons another individual — in this case Joseph. He requests to be buried with his fathers, perhaps the reference to fathers in line 3. Finally, he requests that he not be buried in the land in which he currently resides, Egypt. This seems to be the meaning of line 2, which can be reconstructed as:

This then, is the only passage from the scroll that can be identified as originating from Genesis, since it has been shown above that frgs. 1-2 are actually an Exodus text.

Another variation of this exegetical technique is present in fragment 14. Here too, one can identify the biblical source of a number of phrases within the fragment. The word מָשָׂרָה occurs three times (lines 4, 5, 6), presumably a reference to the bondage or exodus from Egypt. Line 7 contains two phrases from Exod 15, the Song of the Sea. The first, יֵלָדַבְּכֵּם, is reminiscent of Exod 15:8, “The deeps froze in the heart of the sea (יֵלָדַבְּכֵּם).” The second, יְנַעֲמָה, is a reference to Exod 15:5.

24Strugnell, “Notes,” 170.
25There is no way to know the width of this column. The demarcation of the end of line 1 is merely representative of the final phrase of the line, and not its location.
26For the complete text of this passage, see Strugnell, “Notes,” 176, in which he assigns additional material to this fragment that was not presented by Allegro in the original publication.
"They went down into the depths (בַּכְסֵיָּה) like a stone."27 The final word in line 5, וְנָלָתָם, presumably alludes to Exod 6:6. "I will redeem you (נָלָתָם) with an outstretched arm." Finally, the continuation of this last phrase at the beginning of line 6, וּרְאָשָׁי יִלְּךָ, is also seemingly taken from Exod 6, “And I will take you to be my people” (v. 7). In light of the final two parallels, it can be suggested that this passage is a paraphrase of the revelation of God to Moses at the beginning of Exod 6. The elements from Exod 15 were added by 4Q158 to this passage so that they become part of God’s promise of redemption from Egypt found in the earlier chapter.

As Tov and White have noted, this passage contains no running biblical text and therefore they raise the question of whether it should be included in 4Q158.28 Although this passage is not as close to the biblical text as is fragment 3, the presence of several identifiable biblical elements leads us to include this example in the same category. While they are certainly not identical forms of ‘paraphrase,’ a variation of the technique of fragment 3 within fragment 14 supports the inclusion of this fragment in this scroll.

D. Rearrangement

The term rearrangement is used here to denote the presentation of biblical material in an order differing from the original narrative without altering the content of the text itself.29 An example of this phenomenon occurs in fragments 6, and 7-8, the section on the Decalogue. The version of this passage found in 4Q158 is very similar to that found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. This version is unique in this section in that the editor combined the narrative of Deut 5 with that of Exod 20 to create a harmonistic account of the theophany at Sinai.30 The following chart

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27 In 1 Jon 2:4, both of these elements are present in the same verse in asyndetic apposition, וְנָלָתָם בַּכְסֵיָּה מְשָׁל לָכֶנָּה יִשַׁע.


29 The term was thus used by Bernstein, “Re-arrangement,” 39-44. In his examples the purpose of these exegetical manipulations was “directed at making the biblical narrative flow more smoothly.” As we shall suggest, 4Q158 had other reasons for employing this technique.

30 In addition, Deut 18:18-22 is attached to Deut 5:28-29 and this too entered the Exodus text. This juxtaposition is a product of Deut 18:16-17, “This is just when you asked of the Lord your God at Horeb, on the day of Assembly, saying, ‘Let me not hear the voice of the Lord...’,” and is also found in 4Q175 (4QTestimonia), lines 1-8.
compares the contents of the Samaritan Pentateuch and 4Q158:\textsuperscript{31}

\textbf{Samaritan Pentateuch} & \textbf{4Q158}
\hline
Decalogue & Fragment 6
Exod 20:18-19a & not preserved
Deut 5:24-27 & not preserved
Exod 20:19b-21 & Deut 5:24-] 27
Deut 5:28-29 & Exod 20:19b-21
Deut 18:18-22 & Deut 5:28-29
\hline
--- & 
Deut 5:30-31 & Fragments 7-8
Exod 20:22-26 & Deut 5:30-31
\hline

Except for the passages not preserved both versions are identical in their order except for the location of the Decalogue.\textsuperscript{32} If so, one of the two texts used the other, or a version similar to it, as its source, and re-arranged the narrative so that the Decalogue appeared in a place differing from its original location, presumably in an effort to more explicitly present the order of events at Sinai. In Exod 20 it is unclear whether vv. 18-21 appear chronologically before or after the Decalogue.\textsuperscript{33} But in Deut 5 it is clear already by v. 24, “and we have heard His voice out of the fire; we have seen this day that man may live though God has spoken to him,” that there was communication through speech between God and the Israelites. If the location of the Decalogue in 4Q158 in Exod 20 is the earlier of the versions, and the text from Deut 5 was subsequently inserted into Exod 20, it would not make sense

\textsuperscript{31}This chart differs slightly from that presented by Tov, “The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts,” ISOT 31 (1985) 28, n. 44. Our chart is according to the reconstruction of fragment 6 suggested by Strugnell, “Notes,” 171. There, he reconstructs Deut 5:26-27 within lines 1-2. As a result: (1) similarly to the Samaritan Pentateuch, these verses are inserted into the Exodus passage; and (2) only Exod 20:19b appears in frg. 6 (in the same location as in the Samaritan Pentateuch) and not the entire verse. This similarity between the texts does not allow for the placement of frgs. 7-8 before frg. 6. The term Decalogue in the Samaritan Pentateuch includes the extra commandment unique to that text. The absence of such a commandment in 4Q158 supports the theory of a ‘pre-Samaritan’ stage of the biblical texts similar to the Samaritan Pentateuch.

\textsuperscript{32}One may raise the possibility, as does Tov, that the Decalogue appeared twice in 4Q158 and only the second was preserved. However, the close proximity of the two appearances negates this option.

\textsuperscript{33}For each position, see the commentaries of Ibn Ezra and Nachmanides on these verses.
to insert Deut 5:24 before the Decalogue when it must logically follow it. On the other hand, if the Deuteronomy material was combined with Exod 20 before the relocation of the Decalogue, it is difficult to justify the presence of the commandments after Deut 5:24, as presented in 4Q158. Therefore, one must assume that the Samaritan Pentateuch represents the earlier of the two versions.

Two possibilities present themselves for the solution to this problem: (1) the fragments are actually from different scrolls; or (2) the narrative was re-arranged for exegetical reasons. Concerning the first option, the script in both fragments is the same. Furthermore, as has been noted, other than the placement of the Decalogue the fragments are identical to the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is thus safe to assume that these fragments belong to the same composition, and it becomes necessary to justify the order of this section on exegetical grounds.

In reality, the presentation until this point has not described 4Q158 accurately. While the term Decalogue has been used in reference to this scroll, what is preserved in the first lines of fragments 7-8 is not the entire passage, but rather only its latter part:

[1] אַתָּה אֲדֹנָי אַחֲרֵי מָלָכָּךְ
[2] בְּרוּחַ הַלֵּוֶט שֵׁקֶר לֹא תִמָּשֵׂר אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם

The text begins from the fifth commandment, and therefore it is unclear whether the entire Decalogue was ever placed here. The midrash found in *b. Mak.* 24a is well known, אָנֵכּוּ אֲלֵא הָיוּ לָךְ מִפִּי הָגוֹיָם שְׁמָעוּנִים, "'I am' and 'Thou shalt have no' we heard from the mouth of the Mighty [Divine]." According to this approach, only the first two commandments were communicated by God while the rest were related by Moses. In light of this midrashic tradition, perhaps a new solution to

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34This tradition is also found in *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.* 24 and *Songs Rab.* 1:2. I. Kislev has suggested (in an oral communication) that an earlier witness to this tradition might be found in Ps. 81:9-11, “Hear, My people, and I will admonish you.../You shall have no foreign god, you shall not bow down to an alien god/I the Lord am your God who brought you out of Egypt...,” in which only the first two commandments are quoted as the word of God. However, since the context in that passage is foreign worship it is possible that for this reason that only those two are quoted.

35Presumably, Nachmanides (on Exod 20:6) is correct in his explanation of the origin of this tradition. The first two commandments are written in first person form, “I the Lord am your God.../You shall have no other gods beside me.” The rest speak of God in the third person, as if Moses is talking: “You shall not swear falsely by the name of the Lord your God/... but the seventh day is a sabbath of the Lord your God...”
the order of events in 4Q158 can be offered: the first two commandments, אונכיה וּלְאַלָּמָה לְןִבּלֶיהָיִית לְן, are not preserved at the beginning of frgs. 7-8. Therefore, they could also have come before fragment 6, as in MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Perhaps 4Q158 left these commandments in their original place, since according to the tradition they were heard directly from God. Only the rest of the commandments were moved to the beginning of frgs. 7-8, for according to the same tradition, they were related by Moses. While this approach will always be left open to question since there is no way to prove that the first two commandments were kept in their original location, it is only by dividing the Decalogue in two that the need for communication between God and the people before frg. 6, as necessitated by the inclusion of the verses from Deut 5, and the clear presence of the latter part of the Decalogue at the beginning of frgs. 7-8, can be justified.

In light of this suggestion, it appears that the author of 4Q158 allowed himself to re-arrange and re-order a text for exegetical reasons. Through this exegetical technique 4Q158 was able to insert its interpretation into the biblical passage itself, creating a new narrative that reflects its understanding. If our suggestion to explain the nature of this exegesis is correct, this fragment presents us with evidence of another example of the early development of a midrashic tradition or tendency and its influence on biblical texts of this period.36

E. Harmonistic Additions

As noted above, fragments 7-8 contain Deut 5:30-31:

3 אִמְרוּ יְהוָה אֵלֶּה אִמְרֵיהֶם לְךָ אָמֹרָם לְהָנָה שִׁבְעּוֹת לְכָּם

4 וּמְפַסְּדֵהוּ אָשֶׁר תָּלְמַדּוּ וּפָשֲׁרוּ בֵּאָרָם אָשֶׁר

5 יְשָׁבֵר הָעֹלֶם אֶשֶּׁר לְאָבֹתָלִים מָשָׁה לְפָנָּיו

Line 3 represents v. 30, and v. 31 is found in line 4. As opposed to the previous two lines, line 5 does not reflect the text found in any other witnesses. This addition, the return of the people to their tents, supplies the fulfillment of the commandment given to Moses in v. 30, “Go, say to them, ‘Return to your tents.’” As Tov has noted, in this addition the technique of 4Q158 is similar to the harmonistic additions

found in the Samaritan Pentateuch, even though this specific interpolation is not present there.  

The following category contains an example whose relevance to this study is left open to question.

F. Literary Expansions

Literary expansions are instances in which a later author expands the biblical text through an addition which may consist of biblical or post-biblical elements, in addition to original material. These expansions are the result of the author’s attempt to more broadly explicate a word or phrase from the Pentateuch which, in his opinion, was not explicit or developed enough in his source.

As described above frgs. 1-2 contain a passage from Gen 32 describing Jacob’s struggle with the “man.” Within this citation an expansion of a few lines is added:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{אנושו ותוכל וה]ל תכנב [א]viar רה ומי \text{7} & \\
\text{ויהי]ל אות שמש ורמאר} \text{8} & \\
\text{ועית בזחא וריצלמה} \text{9} & \\
\text{וכוות חות והד]ל הדות עעלם} & \\
\text{יילך לזרוכי בכרו אות שמש ו} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

After Jacob’s struggle he requests a blessing from his opponent (v. 27). The man then proceeds to ask Jacob his name and offer him a new one, Israel, “for you have striven with beings divine and human, and have prevailed” (vv. 28-29). Verse 30 ends with the phrase יברך את שמש. As has been noted in the NJPS translation, this does not refer to a blessing, but rather is translated as “And he took leave of him there.”

Jacob already received his blessing in vv. 28-29 and logically should not receive another. However, the addition in 4Q158 is clearly based on an understanding of this phrase as referring to a blessing, a sign of the secondary nature of the addition. Moreover, the expansion is delimited by resumptive repetition in line 10, another indication of its being an insertion into the text.

Each of the preserved elements can be identified with elements known to us from the Hebrew Bible. The phrase יפרכו תלב וידבר represent a pair of verbs.


38See the commentary of E. Speiser, Genesis. (AB 1: New York: Doubleday, 1964) on Gen 32:1; 47:10 for a similar translation.
known as a standard blessing formula in the Bible. Perhaps the most significant parallel is Gen 35:11. In this passage there is another story of the changing of Jacob's name. Here too there is a blessing for Jacob, "I am El Shaddai. Be fertile and increase; A nation, yea an assembly of nations shall descend from you...." Similarly, נָפֹל and בִּנְיָמִין are found together in the Bible. The collocation of נָפֹל and בִּנְיָמִין appears in 2 Sam 22:49 (and its parallel in Ps 18:49), and מַאתָשָׂא תִּשָּׂא תְּרֵי לָךְ in 4Q364, frg. 5b col. ii:

Although it is impossible to know with certainty whether the text that follows line 13 is identical with the addition in the fragment from 4Q158, they probably are identical. As explained above, the addition comes to explain the phrase נָפֹל אֲחָר at the end of v. 30. Verse 31 describes the naming of the location of Jacob's struggle as Peniel. This act of naming employs the Hebrew verb נָפֹל and not the root נָפָל. Therefore, the continuation of line 13 in this fragment is material other than v. 31. The similarity to the beginning of the addition in 4Q158, which does not appear in any other textual witness, suggests that it is in fact the same material. As argued elsewhere, this agreement suggests a common textual basis for the two compositions but does not prove that they both contain the same composition. If so, it is unclear whether this is the product of the author of 4Q158 or 4Q364 or possibly even another, unpreserved composition. The possibility that its appearance in 4Q158 is not identical with and perhaps secondary to that of 4Q364 is supported by the fact that in the latter, it is found in its original position in

Gen 1:22,28,29; 8:17; 9:7; 35:11; Jer 23:3.

For the pair נָפֹל/נהר, see Exod 31:3; 35:31; Is 44:19; Prov 2:6. The form בִּנְיָמִין does not appear together with נָפֹל, but one does find the combination נָפֹל/בִּנְיָמִין in three places: 1 Chr 12:33 (32); 22:12 (11); 2 Chr 2:11.

There are other similar combinations in the Bible; cf. Ps 140:2,5; 2 Sam 22:3.

See BDB, 896, def. 6a., "call = name, call one's name (ָשָׂא) so and so."

Tov-White, "4Q Reworked Pentateuch," 189-191 use this overlap as a support for their claim that 4Q364 and 4Q158 preserve fragments of the same composition.

M. Segal, "4Q Reworked Pentateuch or 4Q Pentateuch?" The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery (ed. L. Schiffman, E. Tov, J. C. VanderKam; forthcoming).
Genesis 32,\textsuperscript{45} while in the former it is located in an Exodus passage, as noted above.

II. The Relationship Between 4Q158 and the Biblical Text

Most of the exegetical features in this scroll occur in fragments 1-4, 14. That is to say, the additions contained in these fragments characterize and define the nature of these fragments. Even if one can discern biblical passages within these sections, the exegesis in these passage is so central that they are worthy of this description. In fragments 6-8 two exegetical features have been described, harmonistic additions and rearrangement. The first is characteristic of biblical texts of this period, specifically the pre-Samaritan texts from Qumran, and later, the Samaritan Pentateuch itself.\textsuperscript{46} The second, rearrangement, does not change the nature of the passage itself but rather presents a different view of the chronology of events at Sinai. None of the passage is paraphrased or rewritten; only the order of the verses is altered. The rest of fragments 6-8, in addition to 5, 9-13 present the biblical text from a version similar to the Samaritan Pentateuch.\textsuperscript{47} This conflation of exegetical and biblical fragments is puzzling. Fragments 7-8, 9-12 preserve parts of the Book of the Covenant, Exod 21-23. Perhaps the legal nature of this section prevented the author of 4Q158 from adding or changing these passages because of the religious implications of such an action. This suggestion does not explain why fragment 5, Exod 19:17-23, and fragment 13, Exod 30:32-34, were not affected. In reality, these two fragments are very small and it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding whether there is exegetical material in these passages or not. The scarcity of preserved fragments likewise makes the classification of the composition as a whole difficult. However, it is difficult to ignore the impression that the exegesis contained in 4Q158 is an integral part of the text, and perhaps the reason for its creation.

The relationship between fragments 1-4, 14 and other fragments of scroll is still unclear. Is there a reason why the author of this scroll rewrote some passages and others were left in their original form? In contrast to compositions such as 4Q422, 4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus, in which the author rewrote selected passages

\textsuperscript{45}The first column of this fragment is the biblical text of Gen 31:47-53.

\textsuperscript{46}For a discussion of the harmonizing tendency in these texts, cf. E. Tov. Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992) 85-89, 97-100.

from the biblical narrative, and 4Q252 whose author/editor collected commentary and interpretation of selected biblical passages, 4Q158 seems to have quoted those passages on which it does not comment. The sections in which it does offer an interpretation are rewritten or paraphrased. In this aspect, this scroll is more similar to a composition such as the Book of Jubilees. Although from the extant Hebrew fragments the textual relationship between Jubilees and the Pentateuch is still unclear, from the full Ethiopic translation in our possession it appears that certain sections are very close to the text of the Hebrew Bible found in the extant witnesses. In other sections, however, the passages from the Pentateuch are rewritten, albeit not in the same way as in 4Q158. In this fashion, both these compositions preserve the continuity of the biblical narrative while simultaneously offering commentary.

Caution, however, must be exercised when attempting to fit each new composition into pre-determined categories. The modern attempt at classification may overlook the possible uniqueness of each literary creation whose authors did not necessarily feel bound by such conventions.

It is now accepted among scholars that scribes in the Second Temple period allowed themselves to add material to biblical texts they copied, as known for some time from both the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX. The publication of the biblical texts from Qumran confirms this analysis, as the extant material demonstrates extensive scribal intervention into the texts. Elsewhere, I suggested that the scribe responsible for 4Q364 extended the amount of intervention performed on biblical texts, as he included new material not found elsewhere in the Bible, yet at the same time preserved the general character of the source which he expanded. The author of 4Q158 increased this intervention, as the nature of his expansions no longer resemble those found in his source. The passages in which exegesis is present are completely reworked, no longer restricted to the order or framework of their sources. The style and language in these sections is not identical to that of the Bible. At the same time, this work is still close enough to its biblical source to include long passages of unaltered material. This composition therefore represents the boundary between biblical and parabiblical compositions, between text and explicit exegesis. The name Tov and White have assigned to this composition, Reworked Pentateuch, accurately describes this work as being closely affiliated with and bound to a biblical source, yet combined with new material freed from such constraints.

46See above, n. 44.