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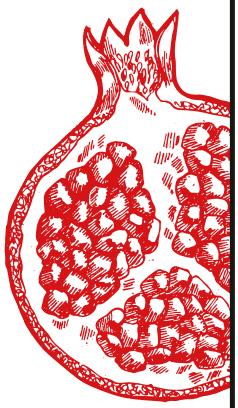

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MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF 4Q22 IN AID OF LITERARY CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS

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Abstract

The second tabernacle account (Exod 35–40) is found in four discrete versions, namely, in the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation documented in the Codex Monacensis. This paper seeks to shed light on which version of this account was included in 4Q22. The preserved text in 4Q22 ends at Exodus 37:16. Yet, by material reconstruction of the scroll, it is possible to estimate the amount of the missing text between the extant fragments in the last columns of the scroll (cols. XXXVIII–XLV) and between the last preserved column of 4Q22 and the end of the scroll. Thus, despite the complexity of the textual evidence and the fact that the findings are based on reconstruction, this paper suggests that 4Q22 included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to the account found in the SP. Finally, this paper discusses the implications of this suggestion for the textual history of the tabernacle materials in the book of Exodus.

Le second récit à propos du tabernacle (Exode 35-40) est transmis dans quatre versions distinctes, à savoir le TM, le Pentateuque samaritain, la LXX et la traduction Vieille Latine documentée dans le Codex Monacensis. Cet article cherche à déterminer quelle version de ce récit a été incluse dans 4Q22. Le texte conservé dans 4Q22 se termine en Exode 37,16. Cependant, grâce à la reconstruction matérielle du rouleau, il est possible d'estimer la quantité de texte manquant entre les fragments existants dans les dernières colonnes du rouleau (cols. XXXVIII-XLV) et entre la dernière colonne préservée de 4Q22 et la fin du rouleau. Ainsi, malgré la complexité des indices textuels et le fait que les résultats sont basés sur une reconstruction, cet article suggère que 4Q22 incluait une version du récit du second tabernacle similaire au récit trouvé dans le Pentateuque samaritain. Enfin, cet article analyse les implications de cette suggestion quant à l'histoire textuelle du matériel relatif au tabernacle dans le livre de l'Exode.

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MATERIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF 4Q22 IN AID OF LITERARY CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF EXODUS[1]

Hila Dayfani

Introduction

4Q22 (4QpaleoExod^{m}) is a copy of the book of Exodus from Qumran that is paleographically dated to the second or first century BCE.[2] This scroll is of great importance in studying the textual history of the

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the IOQS Congress, Zurich, in August 2022. I want to thank the participants for their valuable comments and questions. I am particularly indebted to George Brooke and Alison Salvesen for their insights and suggestions and to Drew Longacre, Nathan MacDonald, and Eibert Tigchelaar who generously shared pre-publication works with me. Finally, images in this paper are courtesy of the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library of the Israel Antiquities Authority; photographer: Shai Halevi.

[2] Following McLean 1982, 78; Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 61–62, date 4Q22 between 100 and 25 BCE. Cf. Perrot and Richelle 2022, 39–45, who date it to the second century BCE.

Pentateuch. Apart from being the most extensive manuscript to be found in Qumran Cave 4, it attests to an expansive version of Exodus that is similar to the one represented in the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). Thus, it reveals that an expansive version of Exodus existed already in the late Second Temple period alongside other textual traditions, among them the short tradition that later became the Masoretic Text (MT).

4Q22 preserves portions of Exodus 6:25–37:16, a text that occupied 45 columns in the original scroll.[3] Similar to other manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4, 4Q22 is poorly preserved. No column is entirely undamaged; many columns are represented solely by scattered fragments. Despite the great value of the scroll for understanding the textual history of the Pentateuch on the one hand and its fragmentary state on the other, an in-depth study of its material aspects has not hitherto been offered, nor has its complete material reconstruction been attempted.

My aim here is to fill in this gap. I utilize digital tools for material reconstruction of the DSS and offer a new material reconstruction of 21 columns of 4Q22 (cols. XXV–XLV).[4] The material reconstruction is used as a means to explore the compositional history of the book of Exodus and the stage in the literary growth of the book that is represented by 4Q22. In cases where there are variants between textual witnesses that include significant differences in the scope of the text, material reconstruction may be able to shed light on the text represented by the scroll, even though the latter preserves the original manuscript only partially. In these cases, after placing the fragments in their approximate pre-disintegration locations, one can estimate the quantity of text missing between them. This estimation can be instructive in determining the scope of the original text of the scroll.

Based on the reconstruction of columns XXV–XLV, which attest to Exodus 22:20–37:16, I ask which version of the second tabernacle account (Exod 35–40) was originally included in the scroll, given the four

[3] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 54–56.

[4] In a previous paper (Dayfani 2022), I suggested a reconstruction of cols. XVIII–XXI, which originally included the Sinai revelation. I demonstrated the implications of the reconstruction of these columns for the development of the expansive tradition of the Pentateuch (the so-called "pre-Samaritan tradition").

versions of this account that are preserved in the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation. Further, I consider the broader implications of the findings for the compositional growth and textual development of the book of Exodus.

Material Reconstruction of 4Q22 Cols. XXV–XLV

The material reconstruction uses a digital canvas to simulate the original scroll before its decay.[5] First, the securely located fragments are placed in their position in the canvas according to their material features, mainly the top and bottom margins (Fig. I). As evident from the preserved fragments at the furthest right and the furthest left (cols. XXV and XLV, respectively), these columns document the text of Exodus 22:20–37:16.

In order to reconstruct the missing text between the placed fragments, we must ascertain the number of lines per column in 4Q22. This piece of data is known from the first preserved column (col. I). The fragments attached to this column attest to parts of all four margins.[6] All lines in the column are partially preserved, attesting that 4Q22 is a 32-line scroll. However, slight variations between columns may exist.[7]

Due to the textual proximity between 4Q22 and the SP, the missing text between the fragments that were already placed in the canvas was reconstructed according to the SP. Despite being associated with the same textual tradition, it is reasonable to presume that the text of 4Q22 was not completely identical to that of the SP, given the fluidity and plurality of the biblical text in Second Temple times.

[5] The digital tools for material reconstruction have been offered by Ben-Dov, Gayer, and Ratzon 2022.

[6] Apart from the unidentified fragments, 4Q22 fragments are not numbered in the critical edition. Instead, the fragments are grouped into columns according to their approximate location in the scroll. Despite this inconvenience, I here follow the method introduced by the critical edition and refer to the scroll's fragments according to the columns they belong to. For an image of column I, see http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298147 at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.

[7] Tov 2004, 88.

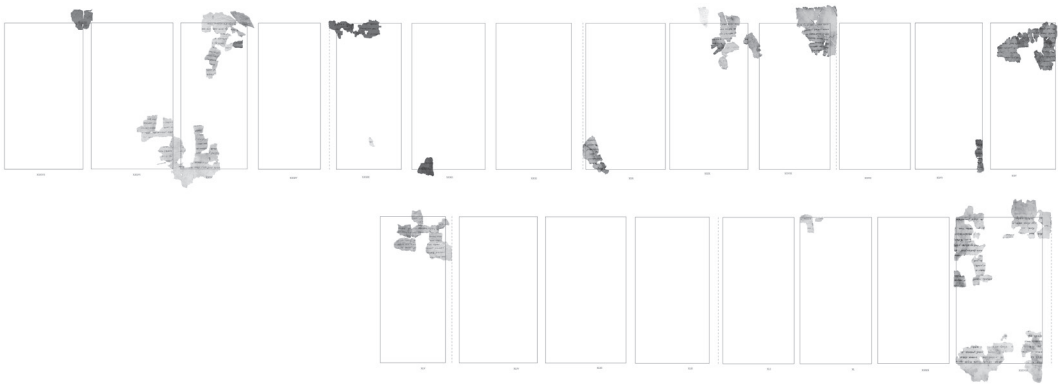

Figure I: Securely located fragments in 4Q22, cols. XXV–XLV[8]

Special attention should be given to the major variants. Due to their large-scale scope, these have had a significant influence on the reconstruction. As stated above, 4Q22 columns XXV–XLV comprise the text of Exodus 22:20–37:16. This text includes four major variants between the MT and the SP. Two variants involve differences in material organization, in the instructions for the incense altar (MT Exod 30:1–10; SP Exod 26:35a–35j) and instructions for the installation of the high priest (MT Exod 29:21; SP Exod 29:28). The remaining two major variants involve material duplication in the SP. First, in the description of making of the priestly vestments (Exod 27:19a), material from Exodus 39:1 is interpolated into Exodus 27:19. Second, in the golden calf episode, material from Deuteronomy 9:20 is interpolated into Exodus 32:10. Fortunately, there is sufficient evidence in the extant 4Q22 fragments to determine whether the scroll agrees with the MT or the SP in most cases. 4Q22 agrees with the SP in the location of the instruction for the incense altar in chapter 26 (col. XXX). It also documents the two duplications known from the SP in Exodus 27:19 and 32:10 (cols. XXXI and XXXVIII). In addition, the sprinkling on the priests' vestments does not occur in Exodus 29:21 as in the MT (col. XXXIV). However, since verse 28 has not preserved in the scroll, there is no certainty that it agrees with the SP.

[8] See the online figures (Figs. I–XI) at https://osf.io/q7hta/.

To achieve as precise a representation of the scroll layout as possible, the textual reconstruction utilizes a digital font that imitates the scribe's script. Completing the missing text between the fragmentary lines allows the columns' width and the positions of additional fragments to be determined. Figure II shows the reconstructed columns after the completion of the missing text between the fragments and the placement of the remaining fragments.[9]

[9] A total of 447 fragments of 4Q22 are unidentified in the critical edition. These fragments were associated with the scroll, but were not identified with a specific text of Exodus (Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, Plates XXIX–XXXIII). After the completion of the critical edition, Nathan Jastram 1998, 283–84 (henceforth Jas.) and Drew Longacre 2015, 115–16 (henceforth Lon.) proposed a new identification of hitherto unidentified fragments. The suggested reconstruction incorporates many of the new identifications, but for the sake of caution only certain or almost certain identifications were accepted. The new identified fragments incorporated in the reconstruction are the following: col. XVII: frg. 57 (Exod 16:35–17:1; Lon.); frg. 149 (Exod 16:35; Lon.); and frg. 242 (Exod 16:32; Lon.; this fragment was identified and transcribed in the critical edition but mistakenly listed as unidentified); col. XVIII: frg. 162 (Exod 18:17; Jas.), 163 (Exod 18:1; Jas.), and 168 (Exod 18:6–7; Lon.) (which were identified and transcribed in the critical edition but mistakenly listed as unidentified); frg. 118 (Exod 18:4–5; Lon.); frg. 259 (Exod 18:11–12; Lon.); and frg. 421 (Exod 18:12; Lon.); col. XIX: frg. 205 (Exod 18:21–22; Lon.); col. XX: frg. 173 (Exod 19:9–11; Jas.); frg. 213 (Exod 19:19–20; Lon.); and frg. 225 (Exod 19:23; Lon.); col. XXII: frg. 114 (Exod 20:20; Jas.); frg. 160 (Exod 20:24; Lon.); col. XXIII: frg. 167 (Exod 21:32–34; Jas.); frg. 294 (Exod 21:22–23; Lon.); and frg. 326 (Exod 21:22; Lon.); col. XXIV: frg. 86 (Exod 22:16–17; Lon.); and frg. 302 (Exod 22:4–5; Lon.); col XXV: frg. 127 (Exod 22:30–23:1; Lon.); col XXVI: frg. 282 (Exod 24:9–10; Jas.; this fragment is directly joined with the newly identified fragment documented at the bottom right of PAM 40.970. The PAM fragment was identified as Exod 24:9–10 by Eibert Tigchelaar in unpublished work); and frg. 334 (Exod 24:7–8; Lon.); col. XXXIII: frg. 113 (Exod 29:12–13; Lon.); col. XXXV: frg. 120 (Exod 29:37; Lon.); and frg. 320 (Exod 29:46+30:11; Lon.); col. XXXVI: frg. 111 (Exod 30:25–26; Lon.); and frg. 315 (Exod 31:6; Lon.); col. XXXVIII: frg. 88 (Exod 32:11; Lon.); frg. 288 (Exod 32: 11–12; Lon.); and frg 355 (Exod 32:27; Lon.); col. XXXIX: frg. 84 (Exod 33:9–10; Lon.); col. XL: frg. 206 (Exod 34:11–12; Lon.); and frg. 416 (Exod 33:16; Lon.); col. XLI: frg. 339 (Exod 34:22–23; Lon.).

Figure II: Textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXV–XLV (Exod 22:20–37:16)[10]

[10] See the online figure at https://osf.io/q7hta/. The font design is by Einat Tamir. For the text in each column, see the Appendix below.

Quite naturally, the shorter the distance between securely placed fragments, the greater the accuracy of the reconstruction. Moreover, the higher the number of fragments that is preserved in a given column, the more certain the reconstruction can be.[11] To be sure, although the new digital tools allowed me to make a good estimation of the original state of the scroll, I do not claim that the proposed material reconstruction precisely represents the layout of the scroll. Complete accuracy in any reconstruction is impossible due to minor textual variants and different methods of paragraph division. Moreover, a slight deviation is possible in the width of the columns, which, as stated above, is determined by the completion of the missing text between the fragments using the digital font. Although the estimation that the font provides is good, the font cannot immaculately imitate the scribe's sporadic inconsistencies.

The material reconstruction may be a helpful tool in determining whether the scroll agrees with the known textual tradition(s) of the Pentateuch in cases where there are textual variants that involve a significant difference in the scope of the text. A method suggested by Hartmut Stegemann enables us to estimate the amount of missing text between the extant fragments and to estimate the scope of the original text of the scroll.[12] The Stegemann method is based on the observation that the scrolls were damaged and deteriorated when they were in a rolled state. Therefore, it suggests searching for a recurring damage

[11] Note that there is a recognizable difference in spacing between lines in col. XXXVIII that attests to Exod 31:7–32:9 (the rightmost column in the second line in Fig. II). Most of the lines in this column were partially preserved. Thus, the height of these lines is determined by their location in the extant fragments. The density between the lines in the center of the column, where no fragments have been preserved, may be due to (1) the stretching of the leather of the extant fragments (which is less probable since there are several fragments in this column that attest to the relatively wide spacing between lines); (2) shorter text in the original scroll that is different from the known textual traditions; or (3) scribal inconsistency. Since the borders of the text originally included in this column are well determined by fragments that are placed at the top and bottom, the doubts regarding the text at the column center have no significant effect on how one should see the larger picture.

[12] Stegemann 1990; Stegemann 1998.

pattern in the fragments, which may indicate that the fragments were in successive layers in the rolled scroll; the distance between corresponding points of damage would equal the circumference of the scroll at that point. The circumference constantly increases or decreases from layer to layer, depending on the direction in which the scroll was rolled. Thus, the reconstruction has to demonstrate a series of circumferences with an incremental growth or decrease between corresponding points of damage.

In 1986, Stegemann investigated the fragments of 4Q22 and identified a recurring pattern of damage. Based on this identification, he concluded that at least seven columns preceded the first preserved column and that five columns would have followed the last preserved column to complete the text of Exodus. In addition, he excluded the possibility that Exodus was followed by Leviticus, but not the possibility that Genesis preceded Exodus. Stegemann's investigation is briefly reported in the preface to the critical edition of the scroll, but, unfortunately, a detailed description of this investigation and a record of the fragments that exhibited a damage pattern were never published.[13]

A damage pattern can be identified in three relatively large fragments that preserve bottom margins in columns XXXV and XXXVIII (Fig. III). A representation of the fragments' borders when they are laid on top of each other (Fig. IV) reveals a common protrusion on the left-hand side of the fragments, all of them exhibiting a banana-shaped form. The damage pattern probably indicates that the fragments may have deteriorated when they were in successive layers within the rolled scroll.

Indeed, the distances between corresponding points of damage, marked in by the letters A to C, indicate that it is possible to display a series of four circumferences of the scroll, ranging from 11.2 to 12.1 cm, with an incremental growth of 0.3 cm (Fig. V).[14] In other words, the

[13] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 56.

[14] As seen in Fig. V, the distances between corresponding points of damage are measured according to the width of the columns and the intercolumnar margins between them. The width of the columns is determined by the textual reconstruction of the missing text between fragmentary lines. The width of the

Figure III: Fragments in cols. XXXV and XXXVIII of 4Q22 that exhibit a damage pattern

Figure IV: The corresponding point of damage in fragments located at the bottom of 4Q22 cols. XXV and XXXVIII

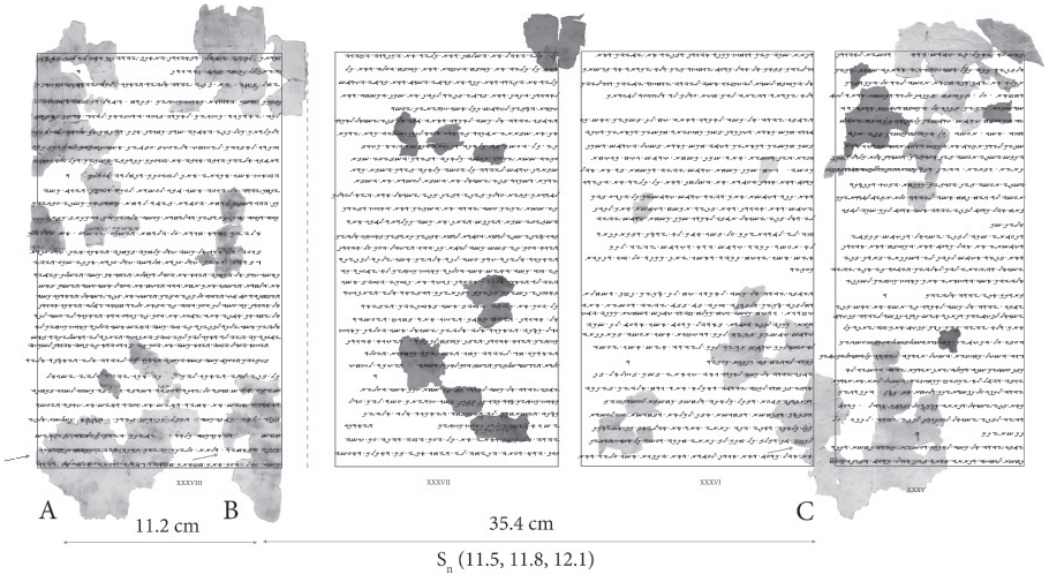

Figure V: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22 cols. XXXV–XXXVIII

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corresponding points of damage reflect four consecutive layers in the rolled-up scroll. Moreover, the incremental growth between layers indicates that the scroll was rolled with the end of Exodus inside and the beginning of the text outside. The suggested reconstruction is in line with Stegemann's conclusion that Exodus was not followed by Leviticus because there is not enough space to include the text of the latter according to the estimated length of the scroll.

Fragments that are located at the top of column XXXVIII, as seen in Figure VI, support the suggested material reconstruction. At first glance, no damage pattern is discernible in these fragments. However, an in-depth look at the fragments when they are located in the appropriate horizontal axis, which is determined by the top margins preserved in the fragments, reveals that they may reflect a recurring damage pattern on their right-hand side. Figure VII illustrates the corresponding points of damage according to this pattern. Indeed, the distance between these points equals 11.2 cm. This is the expected circumference of the scroll between consecutive layers at this point according to the fragments at the bottom of the same column that comprise corresponding points of damage (Fig. VIII).

The estimated distances between the fragments at the top of column XXXVIII and further fragments that preserve top margins strengthen the material reconstruction.[15] According to the reconstruction, the

intercolumnar margins is estimated according to the evidence in the extant fragments. The intercolumnar margins have been fully preserved between cols. XXXV and XXXVI, and partially preserved between cols. XXXVI–XXXVII and XXXVII–XXXVIII. According to the suggested model, the intercolumnar margins' width between cols. XXXVI and XXXVII is 1.4 cm, which is close to the average of 1.6 cm according to the preserved intercolumnar margins in the scroll (cols. VI–VII: 1.8 cm; cols. IX–X: 1.5 cm; cols. XXVIII–XXIX: 1.9 cm; cols. XXXI–XXXII: 1.8 cm; and cols. XXXV–XXXVI: 1.3 cm). The margins between columns XXXVII and XXXVIII include the seam of two separate sheets (Fig. V). According to the suggested model, the width of these margins is 2.8 cm. For comparison, the only entirely preserved margins that include a seam in 4Q22, between columns I and II, include a seam of 2.5 cm.

[15] Although they preserve the top margins, the fragments at cols. XXXV and XXXVII probably do not belong to the same wad of fragments because the

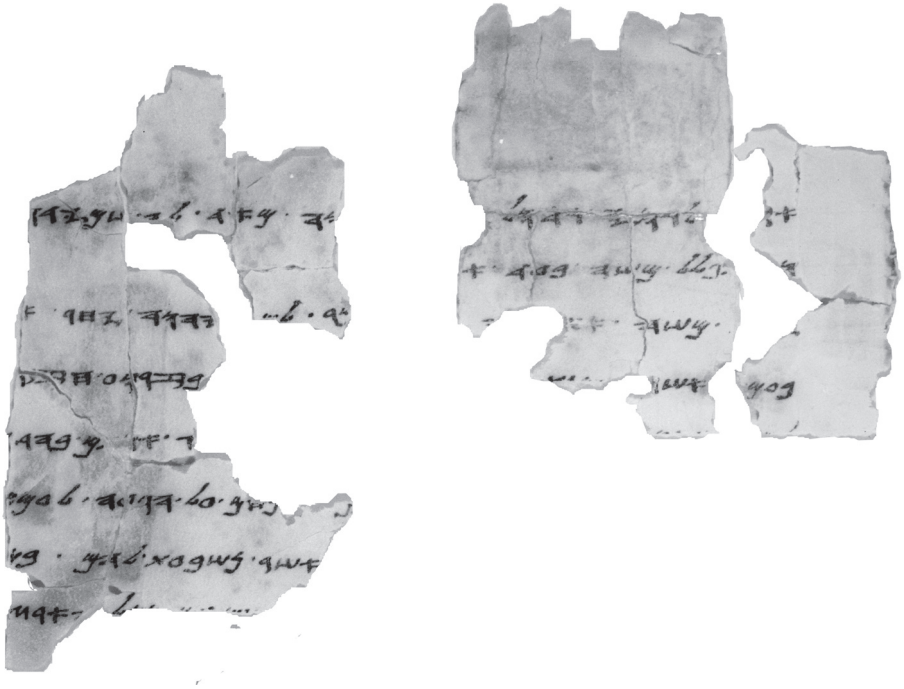

Figure VI: Fragments located at the top of col. XXXVIII

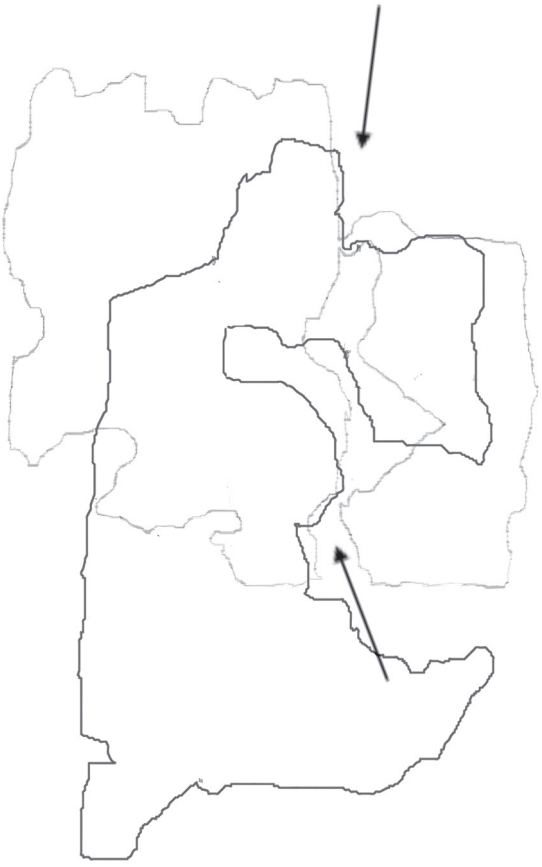

Figure VII: Corresponding points of damage in fragments located at the top of col. XXXVIII

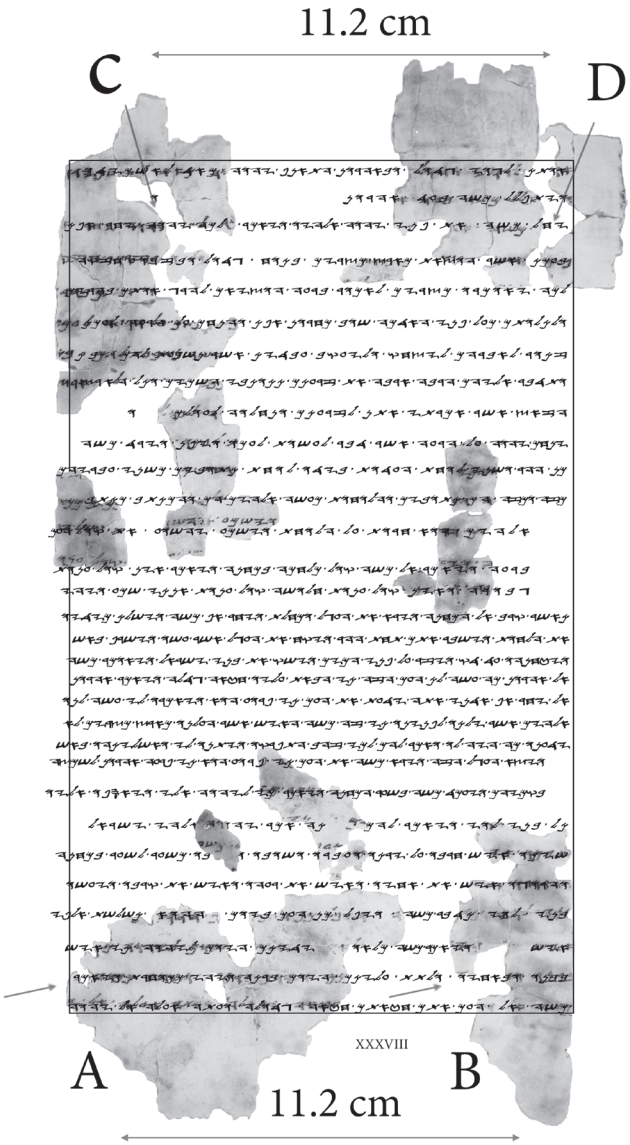

Figure VIII: 4Q22 Col. XXXVIII

distance between the right fragment at the top of column XXXVIII and the fragment at the top of column XXXIII equals 60.5 cm. Remarkably, this is the expected distance according to the application of the Stegemann method if one assumes that there were five rolls of the scroll between the two fragments.[16] Similarly, the distance between the left fragment at the top of column XXXVIII and the extant fragment in col.

distances between the fragments do not fit with the distances according to the model being suggested.

[16] S_n (11.5, 11.8, 12.1, 12.4, 12.7).

XLV equals 95.5 cm, which equals the cumulative circumference of 10 rolls of the scroll according to the suggested reconstruction.[17] Although the distances between the extant fragments are considerable and the data is less certain, they provide additional indicators that tighten the reconstruction proposal.

4Q22 and the Second Tabernacle Account

The material reconstruction of 4Q22 has implications for the question of the version of the second tabernacle account that was originally included in the scroll and the literary growth of this account (Exod 35–40). As stated above, the second tabernacle account is preserved in four versions, those of the MT, the SP, the LXX, and the Old Latin translation. These versions may represent four different stages in its development.

Unlike the first account in chapters 25–31, the second account in the MT and the LXX differ in content, length, and the arrangement of the material. The text of LXX is significantly shorter. It does not mention the making of the frame and bars (MT 36:20–34). In addition, the making of the tent curtains (MT 36:8–19; LXX 37:1–2), as well as the ark, table, and lampstand, and the altar for burnt offerings (MT 37:1–24, LXX 38:1–17; MT 38:1–7, LXX 38:22–24) are reported much more briefly, lacking measurements and further details. A prominent feature of the LXX account is the absence of a report on making the incense altar (MT 37:25–28). Notably, the incense altar is mentioned in LXX chapter 40. On the other hand, the account of small metalwork in this account (LXX 38:18–21) does not have an equivalent in the MT. The arrangement of the material in the MT and the LXX is also different. While the LXX begins with making the priestly vestments, the MT ends with this section. In addition, the tabernacle courtyard appears in the MT between the tabernacle items and the priestly vestments, while in the LXX it appears between the veils and the items.[18]

[17] S_n (10.9, 10.6, 10.3, … , 8.2).

[18] For a fuller overview and discussion, see Aejmelaeus 2007; MacDonald 2023, 38–40, 58–59.

Several attempts have been made to attribute the differences between the MT and the LXX accounts to the Greek translator, whether he is the same one as for chapters 25–31, to another one, or even to a later editor.[19] However, the two-translator hypothesis struggles to explain why the translator of the second account, even if it was not the same person as the translator of the first account, uses an extraordinary free translational approach that is significantly distinct from the rest of the LXX Pentateuchal translations. Anneli Aejmelaeus further points to a difficulty with the later Greek editor hypothesis, according to which the editor moves the text away from the developing MT: the general tendency of LXX editorial activity was usually in the opposite direction.[20]

Therefore, recent scholars cautiously propose that the LXX second tabernacle account goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed from the MT.[21] This *Vorlage* represents a typologically earlier text than the MT. The MT reflects a more developed text that evinces a revision of the tabernacle construction toward the instructions given to Moses in chapters 25–31, particularly MT Exodus 37–38, which bring the construction of the tabernacle furniture closer to the instructions previously given to Moses.

In 1996, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert drew attention to the significance of the Old Latin (OL) Pentateuch in the Codex Monacensis for the textual history of the second tabernacle account.[22] The Codex Monacensis is a fragmentary palimpsest dated to the late fifth or early sixth century CE. It preserves portions of the Pentateuch, including the text of LXX

[19] Finn 1915, 466, argues that LXX version is corrupted, while the MT is "consistent and natural." McNeile 1908, 126; Wevers 1992, 143–46; and Propp 2006, 636, suggest that LXX Exod 25–31 and 35–40 were translated by different hands. See also Wade 2003, 243, 245. Gooding 1959, 21, 26, 40, 41, explains the differences between the MT and LXX versions by changes attributed to a later editor of the Greek version.

[20] Aejmelaeus 2007, 121.

[21] Aejmelaeus 2007, 120; Nihan 2009, 87–88; Zahn 2011, 74; Salvesen 2013, 48–49; Ulrich 2015, 9; MacDonald 2023, 61–62.

[22] Bogaert 1996.

Exodus 36:13–40:32.[23] Although the Monacensis text is naturally closer in content and structure to the LXX than to the MT and the SP, it differs significantly from any known Greek or Latin text. The LXX and OL Monacensis differ, *inter alia*, in (1) the description of the tabernacle's interior; and (2) the equal division of labor between Beseel and Eliab in Monacensis, in contrast to the prominence of Beseel in LXX (where he is qualified as expressly commanded by God) and MT/SP (where Bezalel has the prominent role, being accompanied by Oholiab).[24] Moreover, similar to the LXX, the making of the incense altar is absent in the OL, but significantly it lacks some other mentions of this altar in the second tabernacle account that do appear in the LXX. Bogaert concludes that the Monacensis text reflects a Greek translation that is shorter and older than the Greek version preserved in the Codex Vaticanus. The latter is a translation of a more developed Hebrew text that brings the second tabernacle account closer to the first account.[25]

Although the SP is textually close to the MT, the tabernacle materials in the former reflect an additional stage of textual development. The major variants between the MT and the SP involve two differences in the arrangement of the content in the first tabernacle account—in the instructions for the incense altar (MT 30:1–10; SP 26:35a–35j) and sprinkling on the priestly vestments (MT 29:21; SP 29:28). In both, the SP provides a clearer text in terms of logical sequence.[26] In the second tabernacle account, the SP mentions the making of the Urim and

[23] The palimpsest, which originally included the Old Latin Pentateuch, was reused in the ninth century CE for the text of the Latin Job, Tobit, Judith, 1 and 2 Ezra, and Esther. Since the layout of the earlier text was larger than the later, the manuscript was cut and many passages of the Pentateuchal text were damaged. Dold 1956 reconstructs the lost text in Exod 36–40 based on further evidence from Old Greek and Latin texts. However, since the text preserved in Monacensis significantly differs from the known Greek and Latin texts, the textual reconstruction is not entirely certain.

[24] For a detailed overview of the similarities and differences between the OL Monacensis and LXX, see MacDonald 2023, 40–49.

[25] Bogaert 1996; Bogaert 2005. Cf. MacDonald 2023, 71–74, who argues that parts of the Latin text are later than the LXX, aiming to fill in gaps in the Greek text.

[26] Dayfani Forthcoming.

Thummim, which are absent in the MT (SP 39:21a), emphasizing that Moses did precisely everything that he was instructed to in the first account. The MT, therefore, stands between the LXX and the SP in the command-fulfillment pattern.

As an interim summary, we have seen that the four versions of the second tabernacle account are assessed as possible evidence for its literary development. The versions represent different stages in the development of this account: the OL Monacensis reflects the oldest text, and the SP reflects the latest and most developed text. How, then, may the evidence of these chapters in 4Q22 improve our understanding of the textual history of the second tabernacle account?

Due to its poor preservation, the extant text of the second tabernacle account in 4Q22 sheds little light on which version the scroll represents. In her seminal study of the text of the scroll, Judith Sanderson states that "the contribution of 4QpaleoExod^{m} is not in chapters 35–40 but rather in chapters 6–32, and particularly to the question of the status of SP."[27] Indeed, 4Q22 is of great importance in understanding the textual history of the SP and its origins. However, it seems that taking a step forward in exploring the materiality of the scroll allows us to validate presuppositions regarding its original text and to draw new conclusions about the complex compositional and textual development of chapters 35–40.

Although chapters 35–40 are scarcely preserved in 4Q22, the fragmentary text that does survive agrees with the MT and the SP. Column XLIV attests to MT/SP Exod 36:21–24.[28] This section records the making of the wooden frames, their bases, and their bars, which is absent from the LXX. This, along with further agreements of 4Q22 with the SP in the tabernacle materials, particularly the location of the incense altar in chapter 26, and the general textual proximity between 4Q22 and the SP, has led many scholars to presume that the scroll originally included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to that found in the SP.

[27] Sanderson 1986, 27.

[28] Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992b, 129.

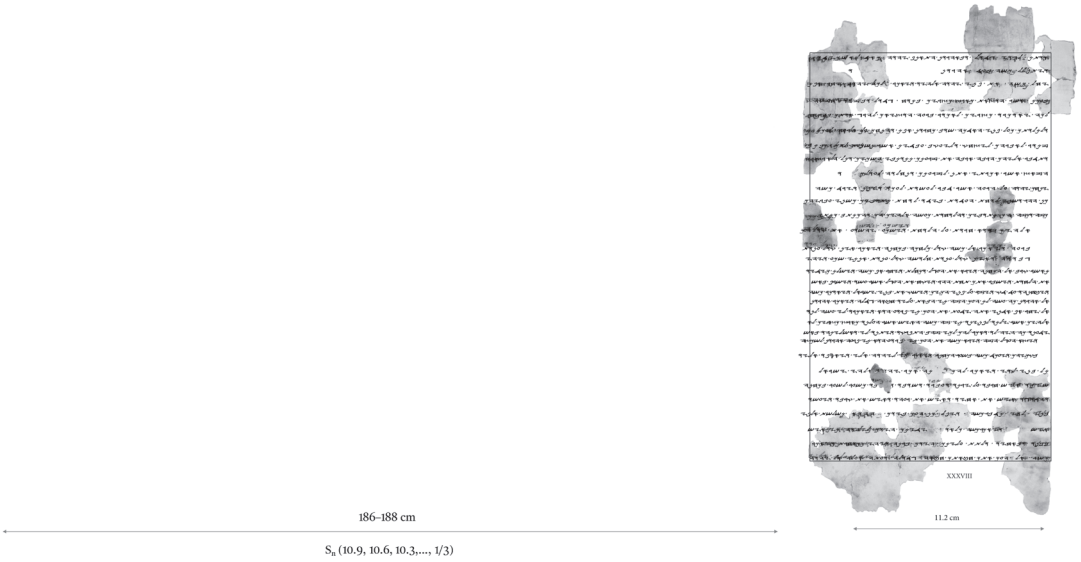

Figure IX: Estimated length of 4Q22 (from col. XXXVIII to the end of the scroll)

The proposed material reconstruction of the scroll strengthens this conclusion. It enables us to estimate the original length of the scroll and particularly the length of its part that included the second tabernacle account. According to the reconstruction, the distance between the fragment furthest to the left that exhibits a corresponding point of damage and the end of the scroll is approximately 186–188 cm. This estimation stems from the summary of the decreasing circumferences of the scroll, from the first identified circumference in the reconstruction (11.2 cm) until the smallest circumference of the rolled scroll, which may vary between 1 and 3 cm, when there is an incremental decrease of 0.3 cm from layer to layer, as proposed above (Fig. IX).[29]

The suggested length according to the reconstruction seems to accord with the longer MT and SP versions of chapters 35–40, rather than the shorter Monacensis and LXX versions. Figure X demonstrates the textual reconstruction of the relevant columns according to the SP version of chapters 35–40. A "zoom out" of the reconstruction reveals that the SP version fits well with the estimated scroll length, presuming that the final column was followed by an uninscribed area of a width of ca.

[29] S_n (10.9, 10.6, 10.3, 10, 9.7, 9.4, 9.1, 8.8, 8.5, … , 1) = 188.

Figure X: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXXVIII–XLV

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Figure XI: Material and textual reconstruction of 4Q22, cols. XXXVIII–XLV ("zoom out")

10 cm (Fig. XI). Uninscribed areas often appear at the end of scrolls.[30] This is the case, for instance, in 11Q5 (11QPs[a]), 11Q1 (11QpaleoLev[a]), 1QpHab, and 11Q17 (11QShirShabb).

The reconstruction of the final columns (cols. XLII–L) probably has a larger margin of error due to the paucity of evidence in these columns. The relatively more certain data has to do with the width of the columns that include preserved fragments (cols. XLII, XLIV, and XLV). In the remaining columns, I assumed that the width equals the average of 12.5 cm. Similarly, I assumed that the width of intercolumnar margins equals 1.5 cm.[31] Despite the margin of error, the existing evidence is sufficient to draw a conclusion regarding the scope of the missing text, since the number of columns in which the reconstruction is less certain is limited.

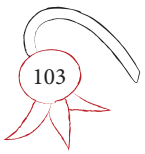
In a rough estimate, the difference in the scope of the text between the MT (and the SP) and the LXX is at least 35 verses. The LXX description of the tent curtains is shorter than the MT description in 10 verses (LXX 37:1–2; MT 36:8–19). Moreover, the LXX lacks the descriptions of the tabernacle frame and bars and the making of the incense altar, which occupy 15 verses and 4 verses in the MT, respectively (MT 36:20–34; MT 37:25–28). Measurements and further details that are unrecorded in the making of the ark, table, and lampstand (MT 37:1–24; LXX 38:1–17) and the altar for burnt offerings (MT 38:1–7; LXX 38:22–24) occupy approximately 10 verses in the MT. On the other hand, the LXX contains a detailed accounting of the metal (LXX 39:1–12; MT 38:24–31) and has a recording of a small amount of metalwork that does not exist in the MT (LXX 38:18–21). In sum, the MT and the SP attest to 39 verses that do not have equivalents in the LXX, while the LXX attests to 4 verses that are unrecorded in the MT and

[30] Tov 2004, 109–110.

[31] Based on the preserved fragments, the average intercolumnar margin width in the scroll equals 1.6 cm (see above, note 13). Since the extant fragment in column XLV preserves seam remnants (Fig. XI), we may conclude that this column is the first column in the sheet. I assume, therefore, that all five reconstructed columns originally belonged to a single sheet.

the SP. Thus, the MT and the SP second tabernacle account versions include approximately 35 verses more than the LXX version.

According to the suggested reconstruction, 35 verses would occupy two columns in the layout of 4Q22. Put differently, a Hebrew text that is similar in length to the LXX version would occupy two columns fewer than the reconstruction seen in Figure X, which leaves too much space in the reconstructed scroll after the end of Exodus. This is in contrast to the texts of the MT and the SP, both of which fit well. We may conclude that 4Q22 originally included a version of the second tabernacle account that is similar to the MT version, or, most probably, to the SP version. The material reconstruction, therefore, which offers insight into the scope of the unpreserved text of 4Q22 indicates that the most developed version of the second tabernacle account already existed in the second or the first century BCE.



4Q22 in View of Further Qumran Evidence

Signs for the existence of a developed version of the second tabernacle account in Second Temple times may be found in 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev^{f}), an additional manuscript of Exodus from Qumran.[32] 4Q17 is one of the most ancient Qumran scrolls, paleographically dated to the middle of the third century BCE.[33] The scroll is highly damaged, attesting to portions of Exodus 38:18–Leviticus 2:1. Significantly, 4Q17 agrees with the SP in its description of the making of the Urim and Thummim in Exodus

[32] Three additional Qumran manuscripts provide evidence for the existence of other versions of the second tabernacle account in Second Temple times: 4Q11 (4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}), 4Q365 (4QRP^{c}), and 11Q19 (11QT^{a}). 4Q11 and 4Q365 have textual affinities with the MT (for a textual characterization of 4Q11, see Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson 1992a, 23–25; and, more recently, Dayfani 2021). For 4Q365, see, Kim 2002. Although not a scriptural text, 11Q19, a manuscript of the Temple Scroll, includes tabernacle materials as well. Brooke 1990 cautiously pointed to textual proximity between 11Q19 and portions of LXX Exod 36–40.

[33] Cross 1994, 134.

39:21. Therefore, Frank Cross classifies it as a pre-Samaritan scroll.[34] While the original text of 4Q17 was probably not in full agreement with the SP version, the scroll indicates that editorial activity that aimed to record both the command and its fulfillment, which is also reflected in the SP, had already existed at a relatively early stage of the account's development.

The claim I am making in this paper is in line with the textual evidence provided by 4Q17, as the material reconstruction of 4Q22 suggests additional signs for the existence of the developed version of the second tabernacle account in the Second Temple period. Although it is based on a reconstruction rather than on extant evidence, my claim provides insight into the entire version of the relevant chapters rather than evidence that is restricted to a specific preserved reading. Thus, it establishes the second or first century BCE as the *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the most developed version of the second tabernacle account.

Appendix: The Content of 4Q22, Columns XXV–XLV

Column	Verses
XXV	Exod 20:20–23:20
XXVI	Exod 23:20–24:11
XXVII	Exod 24:11–25:22
XXVIII	Exod 25:22–26:8
XIX	Exod 26:8–26:34
XXX	Exod 26:34–27:14 (+MT Exod 30:1–10)
XXXI	Exod 27:14–28:15
XXXII	Exod 28:15–28:39
XXXIII	Exod 28:39–29:17
XXXIV	Exod 29:17–29:34
XXXV	Exod 29:34–30:18

[34] Cross 1994, 136. This is against Lange 2016, 40, who classifies 4Q17 as a non-aligned scroll due to the relatively high number of non-aligned readings that it preserves.

Column	Verses
XXXVI	Exod 30:18–31:7
XXXVII	Exod 31:7–32:10
XXXVIII	Exod 32:10–32:30
XXXIX	Exod 32:30–33:16
XL	Exod 33:16–34:14
XLI	Exod 34:14–34:35
XLII	Exod 34:35–35:26
XLIII	Exod 35:26–36:15
XLIV	Exod 36:15–37:9
XLV	Exod 37:9–37:29

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