Reconsidering the Distinction between the Pre-Samaritan and Samaritan Layers in the Samaritan Pentateuch

In our last meeting, we elaborated on the pre-Samaritan tradition, discussing the hermeneutical processes that the pre-Samaritan texts underwent. Our discussion was set in the broader context of other ancient Pentateuchal manuscripts, highlighting the fact that the pre-Samaritan texts and SP offer a fundamental source of evidence for early interpretation of the Pentateuch along with a comparative source for the study of the Rewritten Pentateuch manuscripts.

My talk today will focus on the so-called sectarian or Samaritan layer in SP. This layer consists of changes that pertained to the centralization of the cult site on Mount Gerizim. Until recently, there was widespread agreement among scholars that these changes were interpolated into the Jewish pre-Samaritan tradition. This model stems mainly from the presumption that the Torah is a Judaic work and that, therefore, the Samaritans must have been taken it at some point and modified it into a sectarian document that aligns with the sect’s ideology. However, archeological and epigraphic findings that shed new light on the origins of the Samaritans, as well as textual reconsideration of the so-called sectarian layer in SP, have eroded this consensus, and the accepted model for the textual development of SP must be reexamined.

This talk starts with a discussion on the origins of early Samaritanism in light of archeological and epigraphic evidence from the region of Samaria that dates to the Persian period. The evidence points to the existence of a Yahwistic group in the province of Samaria at that time that had significant religious and cultural ties with the Yahwists of Judea. The understanding that the Samaritans are descendants of the Yahwistic Samarians influences the answer to the question of how and why the pre-Samaritan tradition was transmitted by the Samaritans. In the second part of my talk, I will introduce the readings in SP associated with the Samaritan layer along with recent scholarly work that undermines the identification of these readings as being purely Samaritan. Then I will move to my research on the pre-Samaritan 4QpaleoExodm that suggests that this scroll included the Gerizim commandment, the most typical sectarian change in SP. I will then complete with a reflection on how blurring the boundaries between the pre-Samaritan and Samaritan layers in SP influences our conception of the SP’s history of development.

# 1 Early Samaritanism

The Samaritans are often called a “sect,” and therefore the variants that reflect the Samaritan ideology are classified as “sectarian.” Nonetheless, the use of the term “sect” with respect to the Samaritans is problematic, as it connotes a deviation from the Judaic community and its beliefs and practices. In other words, the term “Samaritan sect” implies that Samaritanism is an offshoot of Judaism. This position dominated for many years. However, the scholarly consensus has recently shifted toward the view that early Samaritanism was an independent form of YHWH worship. As I have mentioned, archeological and epigraphic findings point to the existence of Yahwists in the province of Samaria from the Persian period.[[1]](#footnote-1) The evidence for northern Yahwism includes the presence of the Yahwistic temple on Mount Gerizim as early as the mid-fifth century BCE.[[2]](#footnote-2) In addition, Yahwistic names have been found in the fourth-century Samaria papyri, as have Samarian coins dating to the late Persian and Hellenistic periods.[[3]](#footnote-3) The collective evidence suggests, therefore, that the majority of the population of the Samarian province in the Persian period was in fact Yahwistic.

The ties between the Samarian and Judean communities in the Persian period were not limited to the worship of the same God. The inscriptional evidence suggests that two groups used the same scripts and languages as well, that is, Hebrew and Aramaic.[[4]](#footnote-4) Moreover, the Elephantine documents from the fifth century BCE reveal that the community of Elephantine, located in southern Egypt, applied for assistance in building a temple from the leaders of both Judah and Samaria. The Samarians were an address for cultic issues, as were the Judeans. In addition, the Elephantine documents suggest ongoing ties between the leaders of the Judean and Samarian communities.[[5]](#footnote-5) The material culture of both provinces, therefore, reveals a mutual cultural-historical influence between the two communities. Thus, the Pentateuch shared by the Samarians and Judeans, and later by Jews and Samaritans, is part of a broader mutual influence system between the two communities.

The parting of the ways of the two communities likely only took place in the second century BCE, after the destruction of the Gerizim temple by the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus, in 111 or 128 BCE, who was the leader of Judah and also served as the high priest of the temple in Jerusalem.[[6]](#footnote-6)

The question that arises is how best to explain the affinity between Judah and Samaria during the period from the fifth to the second century BCE. Gary Knoppers highlighted that the destruction of the northern kingdom of Israel was not as traumatic as the fall of the southern kingdom of Judah 150 years later. Knoppers mediates between what he calls the “maximalist” position, which claimed that the destruction of the northern kingdom was so devastating that one cannot assume any continuity after 722 BCE, and the “minimalist” position, which claimed that only a small group from the higher strata of society was deported and replaced by a small group of imported inhabitants.[[7]](#footnote-7) Knoppers, based on archeological excavations conducted up to the beginning of the current century, emphasized that although there is evidence of some destruction in the region of Samaria, there are also signs of continuity of settlement and growth in population. In this view, the remaining significant Israelite population, along with a small group of imported foreigners, was the population from which the Yahwistic group in the province of Samaria developed in the Persian period. Thus, in the words of Pummer, “The Samaritans are not a sect that broke off from Judaism, but rather a branch of Yahwistic Israel in the same sense as the Jews.”[[8]](#footnote-8) This acknowledgment of the origins of the Samaritans gives us a helpful framework for understanding the textual development of the pre-Samaritan tradition and SP.

# 2 The So-Called Sectarian Layer

As stated, many scholars share the view that the Samaritans choose one exemplar of the Pentateuch and interpolated into it ideological changes concerned with the veneration of Mount Gerizim as the sacred place of worship.[[9]](#footnote-9) Three prominent readings are identified with the so-called sectarian layer:

(1) The first is the reading “Mount Gerizim” rather than “Mount Ebal” in Deut 27:4, where the Israelites are instructed to build an altar of stones and to start bringing offerings after crossing the Jordan. MT’s reading seems dubious, as the instruction to participate in cultic worshipping on the Mount of the course makes no sense. Moreover, SP’s reading is supported by a Greek papyrus (Pap. Giessen 19) that unfortunately was lost in the Second World War and only its image is available, as well as a manuscript of *Vetus Latina.* Thus, on both internal and external grounds, the Samaritan reading is most likely the preferred one.[[10]](#footnote-10) The subsequent change to “Ebal” in MT can be explained as anti-Samaritan polemic.

(2) The second reading is the use of the perfect form בחר, “has chosen,” rather than the imperfect יבחר, “will choose,” in the cult centralization formula of MT-Deut: הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה, “the place where the Lord will choose.” Neither in MT nor in SP does the book of Deuteronomy specify where the chosen place lies. MT-Deut consistently uses the imperfect form יבחר in the cult centralization, possibly because the Israelites had not yet arrived in the Land of Canaan.[[11]](#footnote-11) Yet, Deuteronomy significantly contains a section that might be read as an implicit reference to Mount Gerizim as the chosen place. If the reading “Mount Gerizim” in SP-Deut 27:4 is indeed preferable, then Mount Gerizim is the first place where the centralized cult should be conducted after the Israelites have crossed the Jordan. Therefore, the centralization cult formula in SP-Deut that uses the past tense, “the place that the Lord has chosen,” might be referring to Mount Gerizim.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Adrian Schenker demonstrated that the use of the form בחר is not limited to SP. He observed that manuscripts of the Septuagint, the *Vetus Latina*, the Bohairic, and the Coptic support the use of the past tense in the centralization formula.[[13]](#footnote-13) Because it is highly unlikely that these manuscripts were influenced by the Samaritan tradition, one may conclude that the reading בחר is not a Samaritan ideological change.

(3) The most significant reading that is considered sectarian is the Gerizim commandment. This commandment, also known as the Samaritan tenth commandment, is a composite text that incorporates material from Deuteronomy 11 and 27 and includes the command to build an altar on Mount Gerizim. This passage is repeated in both versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch’s Decalogue and establishes the veneration of Mount Gerizim as an integral part of the laws revealed on Mount Sinai.

The accordance of this section with the Samaritan ideology on the one hand and its absence from the pre-Samaritan texts, on the other hand, have led scholars to conclude that the Gerizim commandment belongs to a layer of Samaritan ideological changes. However, even this conclusion has recently come under question.

Several scholars have observed that the redactional process that resulted in the composition of the Gerizim commandment shares many textual characteristics with the scribal tradition that produced the major editorial changes in the pre-Samaritan texts.[[14]](#footnote-14) Like all major pre-Samaritan editorial changes, the Gerizim commandment includes only material found elsewhere in the Pentateuch, forming a composite text that aims to create an explicit text.

Molly Zahn demonstrated that the text of the Gerizim commandment shares content and linguistic elements with the last two verses of Exod 20 that concern an altar law. On the semantic level, one should mention the recurrence of עולות, “burnt offerings,” and שלמים, “salutation offerings,” ברכה, “bless,” מזבח אבנים, “altar of stones,” and the roots בנה, “to build,” and נופ, “to wave.” These similarities between the Gerizim commandment and the altar law raise the possibility that the scribes saw a connection between the two sections. Nonetheless, the fact that the altar law does not provide a specific location for the altar, and probably refers to altars in general, contradicts the instruction in Deuteronomy to build an altar at a specific place. Hence, the insertion of the Gerizim commandment before the altar law clarifies that the latter refers to one specific altar that, according to SP-Deut 27:4, should be built on Mount Gerizim.[[15]](#footnote-15)

In this view, the Gerizim commandment seems less sectarian than scholars often describe it.[[16]](#footnote-16) Indeed, based on the similar scribal practices reflected in the Gerizim commandment and the pre-Samaritan editorial changes, Stefan Schorch recently argued that the Gerizim commandment was penned by the same scribal circles responsible for the pre-Samaritan major expansions in Exod 20.[[17]](#footnote-17) Put differently, this commandment is not a Samaritan ideological change but rather belongs to the pre-Samaritan tradition.

# 3 The Gerizim Commandment and 4Q22

A study of the material philology of 4QpaleoExodm supports the association of the Gerizim commandment to the pre-Samaritan tradition. 4QpaleoExodm (4Q22) is a copy of Exodus from Qumran, dated paleographically to the second or first century BCE, which attests to most of the major editorial changes known from SP-Exod.[[18]](#footnote-18) Consequently, 4QpaleoExodm was classified as a pre-Samaritan scroll, that is, a scroll that belongs to the textual tradition on which SP is based.[[19]](#footnote-19)

The question of whether the Gerizim commandment is a Samaritan addition would be answered if it appeared in 4QpaleoExodm. This question cannot be explicitly resolved, because the Gerizim commandment is not documented in the extant fragments. However, the presence or absence of this section in 4QpaleoExodm cannot be established because the columns that consist of the Decalogue in the scrollare highly damaged, and only fragmentary lines of text have been preserved.

Based on the material reconstruction of 4QpaleoExodm, Patrick Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith Sanderson, the editors of the scroll in the DJD series, proposed that the Gerizim commandment was not a part of the scroll’s text.[[20]](#footnote-20) They placed the fragments that are securely located due to material signs, primarily at the top and bottom margins, and estimated the amount of missing text between them. The editors concluded that there is too much room between the fragments for the text of Exod 20:1–21:6 as in MT, but too little room for the expanded text of SP, a text that includes the Gerizim commandment and two additional major editorial changes that deal with the people’s request that Moses act as a mediator at Sinai (drawn from Deut 5:24–27) and God’s response to the people’s request (drawn from Deut 5:28–31). Therefore, the editors suggest that 4QpaleoExodm originally included only the two insertions that relate to the people’s request, but not the Gerizim commandment itself.

Although the editors did not attempt a fully detailed reconstruction, their assertion greatly influenced many scholars, who for the most part used the editors’ conclusion without reevaluating the material reconstruction. The exceptional absence of the Gerizim commandment from 4QpaleoExodm was explained by its classification as a sectarian reading. This explanation led to a general consensus, until recently, that there are two distinct layers in SP, namely, the pre-Samaritan layer and a thin so-called sectarian layer of variants concerning the veneration of Mount Gerizim. This layer was interpolated into the pre-Samaritan text when the Samaritans adopted it as their authoritative text.

In a recent paper, I demonstrated that the editors’ conclusion that the Gerizim commandment could not have fit into the space left by the missing text is based on an inaccurate approximation of the missing text between the fragments in the relevant columns in 4QpaleoExodm (cols. XX–XXII).[[21]](#footnote-21) I proceeded with a full reconstruction of these columns, using advanced digital tools. The initial step of the reconstruction entailed placing the closest extant fragments that preserve top or bottom margins in a digital canvas that simulates the scroll prior to its deterioration (fig. 1). Afterward, I reconstructed the missing text between the fragments using a font that simulates the scribe’s script. The textual reconstruction allows additional fragments to be located. Surprisingly, this process revealed that there is room for the Gerizim commandment in 4QpaleoExodm. Figure 2 shows the full material and textual reconstruction of columns XIX–XXII. The three major SP editorial changes in Exod 20 appear in red. One may see that the long text of SP fits well between the extant fragments, *including all three major expansions in SP-Exod 20.*[[22]](#footnote-22)Hence,the reconstruction indicates that 4QpaleoExodm did originally include the Gerizim commandment and that it should therefore not be classified as a Samaritan reading.

Despite the fact that slight changes in the reconstruction are inevitable and due to minor textual variants and different techniques of paragraph division and orthography, the fact that the Gerizim section includes a significant amount of text enables us to conclude with a high level of certainty that it was originally a part of 4QpaleoExodm.

# 4 Implications for the Textual Development of SP

Based on the attribution of the Gerizim commandment to the pre-Samaritan layer, as well as previous claims regarding the non-Samaritan nature of other so-called sectarian readings, this study undermines the claim that there is a Samaritan layer in SP. Blurring the boundaries between the pre-Samaritan and the Samaritan layers bears implications for both the origins of the pre-Samaritan tradition and the history of the textual development of SP.

As is well known, the major editorial changes in the pre-Samaritan texts are not accidental. Instead, these are the product of scribal circles active in the late Second Temple period.[[23]](#footnote-23) If the Gerizim commandment was indeed penned by the same scribes responsible for other pre-Samaritan major editorial changes, it may reveal the physical location and social affiliation of these scribes.

Sidnie Crawford identifies the base, or one of the bases, for the pre-Samaritan tradition in the temple on Mount Gerizim.[[24]](#footnote-24) As stated, this temple can be traced back to the fifth century BCE and probably, like the temple in Jerusalem, was a center for the activity of scribes and priests. Crawford suggests that the Samaritans, who are descenders of the Yahwists Samarians, inherited the pre-Samaritan tradition from their predecessors. Crawford also raises the possibility that the pre-Samaritan tradition might have been generated in the temple in Jerusalem as well.

This study provides evidence for the origins of the pre-Samaritan tradition in the scribal circles associated with the Gerizim temple. It is likely that a textual tradition that interpolated into the Decalogue a command to build an altar on Mount Gerizim was generated among the scribes and priests of the temple found at the same location. Therefore, the view that the Samaritans adopted a Judean textual tradition is misleading. Instead, the Samaritans inherited a textual tradition they were already familiar with and took part in its development, rather than passively transmitted it.[[25]](#footnote-25)

Finally, this study has implications for terminology, and specifically on the use of the term “pre-Samaritan.” The use of this term is problematic in light of the new findings presented above because it connotes the two-layer model of the textual development of SP. Instead, my claim is that SP is one exemplar of a *Samarian* textual tradition of the Pentateuch in the same way that the “pre-Samaritan” manuscripts from Qumran are exemplars of this tradition. Put differently, SP, as well as 4QpaleoExodm, 4QNumb, and 4QExod-Levf, are all texts that belong to a group or family of texts, which I call the Samarian textual tradition. Northern scribes, and subsequently Samaritans as well, developed and transmitted this tradition. SP and the Qumranic manuscripts do not represent different stages in the growth of the text but rather different copies of the same textual tradition. These copies show a high degree of overlap but are not identical to one other.

1. Gary N. Knoppers, “Revisiting the Samarian Question in the Persian Period,” in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 265–290; Mary J. W. Leith, “Religious Continuity in Israel/ Samaria: Numismatic Evidence,” in *A “Religious Revolution” in Yehud: The Material Culture of the Persian Period as a Test Case*, ed. Christian Frevel, Katharine Pyschny, Izak Cornelius (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2014), 267–304; Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans: A Profile* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 22–29; Benedikt Hensel, “On the Relationship of Judah and Samaria in Post-Excilic Times: A Farewell to the Conflict Paradigm,” *JSOT* 44 (2019): 19–42. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Yitzhak Magen, “The Dating of the First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim in Light of the Archaeological Evidence,” in *Judah and Judeans in the Fourth Century BCE*, ed. Oded Lipschits et al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 157–212, here 158. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. For a study of the Samaria papyri, see Joseph Zsengeller, “Personal Names in the *Wadi ed-Daliyeh* Papyri,” *ZAH* 9 (1996): 181–189; Hanan Eshel, “Israelite Names from Samaria in the Persian Period,” in *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, ed. Aaron Demsky et al. (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1997), 181–189 [Hebrew]; Israel Eph’al, “Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources,” *IEJ* 48 (1998): 106–119. For the study of the Samarian coins, see Meshorer Yaakov and Qedar Shraga, *Samarian Coinage*, Numismatics Studies and Researches 9 (Jerusalem: Israel Numismatics Society, 1999), 20–28. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. See discussion and references in Hila Dayfani, “The Relationship between Paleography and Textual Criticism: Textual Variants Due to Graphic Similarity between the Masoretic Text and the Samaritan Pentateuch as a Test Case,” *Textus* 27 (2018): 3–21, esp. 4–6. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. TAD 4.5–4.10. Vincent Albert, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d’Éléphantine* (Paris: Geuthner, 1937), 235–255; Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 278–298. See also discussion in Gard Granerød, *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period: Studies in the Religion and Society of Judaean Community at Elephantine*, BZAW 488 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 41–44. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Frank M. Cross, “Samaria and Jerusalem in the Era of Restoration,” in *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 173-202, esp. 201 and Reinhard Pummer, *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism: Texts, Translations and Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002) date the destruction of Mount Gerizim temple to 111 BCE. Josephus, *Antiquities* III 254–257 dates the destruction to 128 BCE. For scholars who follow Josephus’s dating, see e.g., James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 113; Alan D. Crown, “Redating the Schism between the Judeans and the Samaritans,” *JQR* 82 (1991): 17–50, esp. 32. For a discussion on the roots of the disagreement, see Yitzhak Magen, “Mount Gerizim – A Temple City,” *Qadmoniot* 33 (2000): 74–118, esp. 118 [Hebrew]. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Gary N. Knoppers, “In Search of Post-Exilic Israel: Samaria after the Fall of the Northern Kingdom,” in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel*, ed. John Day, JSOTSup 406 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 150–180, with references. See also idem, “Revisiting the Samaritan Question;” idem, “Cutheans or Children of Jacob? The Issue of Samaritan Origins in 2 Kings 17,” in *Reflection and Refraction. Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, Brian Aucker (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 223–239. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Pummer, The Samaritans: A Profile, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. See e.g., Judith Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition*, Harvard Semitic Studies 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 70, 306??;Magnar Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans*, VTSup 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 290–293; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg fortress, 2012), 77–79; Garry N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 184–188; Sidnie W. Crawford, “1.2.3 Samaritan Pentateuch,” in *Textual History of the* Bible, General Editor Armin Lange. Consulted online on 31 October 2021 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001020100>. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. See e.g., Carmel McCarthy (ed.), *Deuteronomy*, BHQ 5, 2007, 75.122–123; Kartveit, *Origin of the Samaritans,* 300–309, with references; David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 167–169;Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 203, 210; Edmond L. Gallagher, “Cult Centralization in the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origins of Deuteronomy,” *VT* 64 (2014), 561–572; Tov, Emanuel Tov, “The Tenth Commandment of the Samaritans,” in *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge. Orte jüdischen Gottesdienstes, Lernens und Lebens. Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus*, ed. Christian Eberhart et al. (Paderborn: Ferdin and Schöning, 2020), 146–59, esp. 143–44. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Cf. Stefan Schorch, “The Samaritan Version of Deuteronomy and the Origin of Deuteronomy,” in *Samarian, Samarians, Samaritans: Studies on Bible, History, and Linguistics*, ed. József Zsengellér, SJ 66 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 23–38, here 32. According to Schorch, the use of the imperfect tense in MT is an alteration that aims to bring the book of Deuteronomy into agreement with the books of Samuel and Kings. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Reinhard Müller, “The Altar on Mount Gerizim (Deuteronomy 27:1–8): Center or Periphery?” in *Centres and Peripheries in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Christoph Levin (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 197–214, here 198–199. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Adrian Schenker, “Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l’a-t-il choisi? L’apport de la Bible Grecque ancienne á l’histoire du texte Samaritain et Massorétique,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Ansi Voitila, Jutta Jokiranta, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 126. (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 339–351; idem, “Textgeschichtliches zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch und Samareitikon,” in *Samaritans: Past and Present*, ed. Menachem Mor, Friedrich V. Reiterer, Studia Samaritana 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 105–120. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Judith Sanderson, *Exodus Scroll*, 269; Molly Zahn, “The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Scribal Culture of Second Temple Judaism,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 285–313; Sidnie W. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 15–59. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Zahn, “The Samaritan Pentateuch,” 301–307. See also Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*,194–212. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. See also Edmond Gallagher, “Is the Samaritan Pentateuch a Sectarian Text?” *ZAW* 127 (2015): 96–107. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Stefan Schorch, “The So-Called Gerizim Commandment in the Samaritan Pentateuch,” in *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Michael Langlois (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 77–97. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Mark D. McLean, *The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1982), 78, dated 4QpaleoExodm between 100 and 25 BCE. The editors follow McLean, see Skehan, Ulrich, Sanderson, “22. 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodusm,” 61–62. Cf. Antony Perrot and Matthieu Richelle, “The Dead Sea Scrolls Palaeo-Hebrew Script: Its Roots in Hebrew Scribal Tradition,” in *The Hebrew Bible: A Millennium*, eds. Élodie Attia and Antony Perrot (Textual History of the Bible Supplement; Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Judith Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition*, Harvard Semitic Studies 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Skehan, Ulrich, Sanderson, “22. 4QpaleoExodusm,” 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Hila Dayfani, “4QpaleoExodm and the ‘Samaritan’ Tenth Commandment,” \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\* [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. The reconstructed text of columns XXI–XXII is shown in Dayfani, “4QpaleoExodm,” \*\*\*, including the numbers of letters per line. This data show a correspondence between the column width determined by the textual reconstruction of fragmentary lines in the extant fragments and the lines that were fully reconstructed. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Molly Zahn, Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 143–156. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Sidnie W. Crawford, “The Pentateuch Found in the Pre-Samaritan Texts and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala, Marko Marttila (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 123–136, esp. 123–126. Cf. Sanderson, 317. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Ingrid Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 81; Reinhard Pummer, “The Samaritans and Their Pentateuch,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 237–272, here 264; Crawford, “The Pentateuch”; Thomas Römer, “Cult Centralization and the Publication of the Torah between Jerusalem and Samaria,” in *The Bible, Qumran, and the Samaritans*, ed. Magnar Kartveit and Gary Knoppers (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 79–92. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)