

4QJub^f (4Q221): A PRELIMINARY EDITION

by

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The sixth copy of Jubilees from Qumran Cave 4 survives in 37 fragments, several of which can be joined. The surviving pieces preserve parts of the following passages: 21:22-24; 22:22 (and 22:30?); 23:10-12; 33:12-15; 37:11-15; 38:6-8; and 39:4-9. The fragments that are numbered 8-19 have thus far defied identification and are not included in this study. The various pieces which Milik has assigned to this copy appear on different photographs in the PAM series: 40.586 (lower part of frg. 4); 40.598 (frg. 5); 41.437 (frgs. 1 [part], 2-5, 7-9, 17); 41.775 (part of frg. 4); 42.223 (frgs. 1-10, 12-13, 16-17, 19-20 [frg. 20 is no longer considered part of 4Q221]). The photograph which contains all the fragments and is published with this essay is PAM 43.188 (see Reed 1992, p. 16). The scribal hand is either late Hasmonean (Milik) or early Herodian (VanderKam).

Despite a great wealth of writings, hands, and *ductus* in the Qumran collection, it is rather exceptional to find there two manuscripts of the same work copied by the same scribe. But this is in fact the case for 4QJub^f, the *ductus* of which is found in a fragment of a Jubilees manuscript identified by M. Kister (1987, pp. 529-36) on Plate XXIII of *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V* (Allegro, 1968). Milik believes that it is necessary to distinguish two hands in Kister's fragments: first, a semi-formal hand, clumsy and inexperienced, of the scribe-copyist of frgs. 19 and 20 on Plate XXIII; second, the semi-cursive hand of a professional on frg. 21, precisely the hand of the scribe who copied 4QJub^f.¹

1. For more details, see Milik's forthcoming article, "A propos de 4Q176 19-21 (Jub 23)."

1 Jub 21:22-24

The initial fragment was published by Milik² and later restudied by VanderKam.³ The fragment offers letters and words from nine lines of text, none of which is sufficiently long to preserve either the right or left margin, nor is there any clear indication of an upper or lower margin. For assistance in reconstructing the text around the legible letters there are two sources of information: the Ethiopic version which preserves the complete text, and 4QJub^d 1, II.25-31 which provides a substantial portion of the Hebrew for these lines (VanderKam and Milik, 1992, pp. 72, 80-81). If one combines the evidence from the two Hebrew copies, almost all of the text can be restored with a high degree of certainty.

21:22]	בִּדְרֹכֵיהֶם וְתַעֲדוּ בְּמַסְלֹתֵיהֶם וְאַשְׁמַתְהוּ [אַשְׁמַת מוֹת לְפָנַי]	1
	[אַל עֲלִיּוֹן הַסֵּת יָד אֶת [פָּנָיו מִמֶּכָּה וְיִתְנַכְּהָ בִּיד פְּשֻׁעֵיכֶה]	2
	[וְהִכְרִיתְךָ מֵהָאָרֶץ] וְאֵת זֶרְעֶךָ [מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם] [3
(23)4	[וְ] אֲבֵד שְׁמֶךָ [וְ] זְכָרְךָ מִכּוֹל הָאָרֶץ [סוֹר מִכּוֹל]	4
	[מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמְכּוֹל תּוֹרַעְתֶּם וְשִׁמּוֹר מִשְׁמֹרֹת אֵל] עֲלִיּוֹן [וְעִשָּׂה]	5
	[רְצוֹנוֹ וְתַצְלַח בְּכוֹל]; וּמְכּוֹל תּוֹרַעְתֶּם וְשִׁמּוֹר מִשְׁמֹרֹת אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן]	6
(24)7	[וְעִשָּׂה רְצוֹנוֹ וְתַצְלַח בְּכוֹל]; וְיִבְרַכְכָּה [בְּכָל] מַעֲשֵׂיךָ הַיָּקִים מִמֶּךָ]	7
	[מִטַּעַת הָאָמֶת בְּאָרֶץ לְכוֹל דְּוָרֹת הָאָרֶץ] וְלֹא יִשְׁבִּית שְׁמִי וְשִׁמְךָ]	8
	[מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם בְּכָל] הַיָּמִים	9

[21:22 ... in their ways and tread in] their [paths,] and you commit [a mortal sin before]

[the most high God and he hid]e his [fa]ce from you and give you [over to the power of your offences]

[and cut you off from the earth] and your seed [from benea]th the sky. [and your seed from beneath]

[the sky.} Then] your name [and] your memory will perish from the entire earth. [21:23 Turn aside from all]

[their actions and from all] their [abom]ination and keep the obligation[s of] the most high [God, and do]

2. Milik, 1966, pp. 102-104 and Planche II.

3. VanderKam, 1977, pp. 51-60. There the readings of the fragment are compared with those of the four Ethiopic manuscripts that R. H. Charles had used for his critical edition of Jubilees.

Handwritten notes in the top left corner, including the number '10' and some illegible characters.

Handwritten notes in the top middle section, possibly containing a list or a set of instructions.

Handwritten notes in the top right corner, including a large number '10' and several lines of text.

Handwritten notes in the middle left section, appearing as a dense block of text.

Handwritten notes in the middle top section, consisting of a few lines of text.

Handwritten notes in the middle right section, including a large number '10' and some text.

Small handwritten note on the left side, possibly a date or a reference number.

Handwritten notes in the middle left section, below the first block.

Small handwritten note in the middle section.

Handwritten notes in the middle right section, including a large number '10'.

Handwritten notes in the middle right section, below the previous block.

Small handwritten note on the left side.

Handwritten notes in the middle left section, below the second block.

Handwritten notes in the middle right section, below the previous block.

Small handwritten note on the left side.

Handwritten notes in the bottom left section, including a large number '10'.

Small handwritten note in the bottom middle section.

Small handwritten note in the bottom right section.

Handwritten notes in the bottom left section, below the previous block.

Handwritten notes in the bottom middle section, below the previous block.

Handwritten notes in the bottom right section, below the previous block.

Handwritten notes in the bottom right section, including a large number '10'.



[his will. Then you will be successful in everything.] {and from all their
 abomination and ke[ep the obligations of the most high God]
 [and do his will. Then you will] be successful in everything.} 21:24 He
 will bless you in al[l your actions and will raise up from you]
 [the plant of truth in the ear]th for all the generation[s of the ear]th. Then
 [he will] no[t make my name and your name cease]
 [from beneath the sky throughout al]l the d[ays].]

Line 1: At the top right edge of the fragment, a final *mem* is preceded by a partial letter whose lower strokes strongly resemble ה. There is also a trace of the upper left portion of the letter. The suffixal form **הם** indicates that the noun to which it was attached was plural. The final *mem* is followed by a space after which there are remnants of letters that are consistent with ו. א, ש, מ, and ת are clear, and the upper right stroke of ה is visible at the left edge. 4QJub^d 1, II.25 reads: **וְתִצְעַד בְּמַסְלוֹתֵיכֶם וְאַשְׁמַתָּה אֲשַׁמַּח מוֹת**. The suffix on **מַסְלוֹתֵיכֶם** is spelled differently in the two copies, but in all other respects they are identical. The Ethiopic version presents almost the same text: *wa-la-kayeda 'asaromu wa-ʾi-teshat sehtata la-mot*.⁴ The Hebrew copies show that Ethiopic mss. 12 17 63 incorrectly omit a conjunction before the verb. The entire Ethiopic tradition does prefix the negative particle ʾi- to the verb, but this appears to be merely stylistic: the negative makes explicit that the verb is connected with the negative imperative at the beginning of the verse (*taʿaqab ʾi-tehor* (VanderKam, 1977, p. 52). The restoration at the end of the line follows 4QJub^d (where extant) and the Ethiopic tradition (where the Hebrew has a construct - **אֲשַׁמַּח מוֹת** - Ethiopic phrases slightly differently - *sehtata la-mot*).

Line 2: Several lower tips of letters are visible at the top of the far right part of the fragment - two toward the right and perhaps two to the left. One cannot be sure of their identification, but restoration of the line according to the Ethiopic version suggests that the words **וְהִסְתִּיר אֶת** should stand here. The first two traces are consistent with the lower extensions of י and ר (for י see **הַשְּׁמִים** in line 3). The two remnants farther to the left could be from **אֶת**. After a gap, a bit of ink precedes the thick top of ר. Milik reads the former as ך so that the suffixal form would be spelled **כְּנִי**. The space between the two letters favors his reading: the top of the expected י would probably be visible

4. All readings from texts of Jubilees are taken from VanderKam, 1989, vol. 1.

closer to the \aleph . Too little remains, however, to make a definitive choice.⁵ The word **ממכה**, with the full spelling of the suffix after a final *kaph* was written first, is very clear, but the next word poses a problem. In this context 4QJub^d 1, II.26 reads: **ממכה ותנכה בייד פשעכה והכריחכנה**. This evidence and the Ethiopic *yāgabbeʿaka* would lead one to expect a form of **נתן** for the verb. The first two letters are **נ** and the last visible one seems to be **כ**. Between them are parts of three letters. Milik (1966, p. 104) first read the word as **ויאבכנה**, whereas VanderKam, following an oral suggestion of J. Strugnell, saw **וניתנכה** and explained that the "... odd form is best interpreted as a false start and correction of a scribe. He began writing a converted perfect form but then corrected it, after he had written *n*, to an imperfect with a conjunctive *waw*."⁶ Milik has now abandoned his earlier reading but does not accept VanderKam's: "As far as I can see now on the photographs the best reading materially is **ונואבכנה**, which is not meaningful. The verb **יאב**, 'to long', is rare in Hebrew (once in the Bible, but not in 11QPs^a, twice in 4Q mss. of Strugnell's lot [4Q379; 4Q437]) but quite frequent and productive in Syriac. Translate: 'and he let you long', *scil.* for His Face, Presence. This *niph'al* form is perhaps to give a nuance; cf. Syriac *Ethpaal* 'desire ardently'. Of the two original predicates, **ונואבכה ותנכה**, the first or second was dropped out in the course of the mss. transmission" (private communication). He also thinks that a **ל** from line 3 protrudes between the \aleph and **נ**. After examining the evidence closely, it appears that the reading **וניתנכה** should be retained. The third letter of the cluster is either **ו** or **י**, but **י** is preferable (see the **י** in **הינמים** in line 9). The next two letters slant downward to the left. Milik takes the first as **א**, and it does indeed resemble the bottom of one, but **ת** may also be possible. The following traces could belong to **ב**; **נ** is quite possible. But neither reading, it seems, adequately explains the rightward extension of the base line. There is no evidence for a pair of verbs at this point in the Ethiopic manuscript tradition. And with the clear reading of 4QJub^d, a form of **נתן** would seem the only likely candidate. The remainder of the line and the beginning of line 3 can be restored from 4QJub^d and the Ethiopic version.

Line 3: The preserved letters can be read with certainty, and the gap in the middle of the line furnishes the right amount of space for restoring **מתחת**.

5. In VanderKam, 1977, p. 53, **פניו** was read.

6. VanderKam 1977, p. 54. When these words were written, the evidence of ms. d was not available.

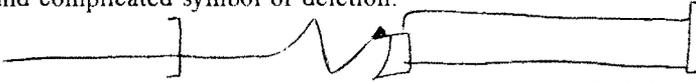
4QJub^d has **ותחת השמים** (1, II.27). There is a space after **השמים** but it is no larger than the normal one between words. Ms. d has (after a blank space): **ואבד שמכה חכרה מכונל**. These words correspond almostly completely with Ethiopic *wa-yethagg^wal semeka wa-zar^zeka ^zem-k^wellu medr*. One would therefore expect **ואבד** etc. to follow **השמים** here, but the expected words occur on line 4. One could assume that the scribe left a blank after **השמים**, as the scribe of ms. d has, but that it was much larger and included all of the remaining space on line 3 as well as the beginning of line 4. In his original treatment of the fragment, Milik placed { } around the blank section, thus indicating that dittographic words figured here (there is a dittography in lines 6-7) although he did not indicate which they were.⁷ The scribe may have written the words from **ואת** to **השמים** twice. If this phrase is repeated at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth line, the space is almost filled, with just enough left to permit a small gap as in ms. d.

Line 4: The first five letters can be read without difficulty. After **שמ** there is a dot of ink which probably belongs to a final *kaph* (on the next noun the suffix is unmistakably **ך**, not **כה**). Along the top of the middle part of the fragment one can detect the lower tips of three letters which are followed by the long downward extension of a final form of a consonant. The Ethiopic tradition reads *wa-zar^zeka* = **חרעך**, but ms. d (II.27) has **חכרה**. In his 1966 study, Milik read **ו[זכרך]** (p. 104), though the material remains are consistent with either Hebrew noun. Milik's reading has been retained because of the evidence from ms. d; it entails that at some point in the tradition, **זכר** and **זרע** (or Ethiopic *zehr* and *zar^z*) were confused. The **ל** in **מכול** is visible under the **י** of **השמים** in line 3, and all of the word **הארץ** is legible after it. The restoration at the end of the line reflects Ethiopic *tagahās^s ^zem-k^wellu* (this section must be restored in 4QJub^d as well). For *tagehša* as ultimately reflecting **סור**, see Num 16:26; 1 Sam 6:12; Mal 2:8, etc.; Dillmann, 1865, col. 1143).

Line 5: All surviving letters are read easily except the last, only a small part of which can be glimpsed at the left edge. The context, however, makes it certain that it belongs to a **ר**. 4QJub^d 1, II.28 gives: **מןעשהמה ומכול תועבותיהמה ו[שמ]ור משמ[רות]**; with this the Ethiopic agrees entirely: *meḡbārihomu wa-^zem-k^wellu rek^wsomu wa-ta^zaqab ^zuqābē*. The last words of the line are in harmony with Ethiopic *za-^zamlāk le^zul*.

7. In VanderKam, 1977, pp. 54-55, a *vacat* was assumed.

Line 6: The initial letter appears to be \aleph . The word that follows ומכול seems at first glance to be תועבתם as in line 5. The upper left extension of the final *mem*, however, looks as if it has been changed, and specks of ink can be seen after it (Milik now reads the evidence as תועבתם). It seems to be the case that the scribe, after writing final *mem*, decided to change the suffix to הם (oral communication from E. Puech). Perhaps he also intended the right stroke of the erstwhile final *mem* to become a ׳ , so that one should read יהם (cf. תועבותיהמה in 4QJub^d 1, II.28). Milik thinks that there are no traces of letters between ם and ׳ ; rather, the strokes and lines there belong to a complicated "knot", the passage from a cartouche to a single line of the very long and complicated symbol of deletion:



Parts of a \aleph and ש which begin another word can be seen at the left edge. The words here come from the same expression as the one used on the previous line and are part of a dittography which apparently starts here and extends into line 7. It was triggered by כול . At the beginning of line 6 the scribe wrote רצונו ותצלה בכול (= Ethiopic *faqādātihu wa-tāratte^c ba-k^wellu*; ms. d II.29: רצונו ותצלה בכול]; see line 7 below, where כול and תצלה are legible); his eye then moved to מכול which appears just above בכול and he repeated the words he had just written. The Ethiopic version was based on a Greek text which rendered a Hebrew copy that had not suffered a dittography here (just as ms. d lacks it).

Line 7: The second visible word is כול , and a letter precedes it (part of the base is preserved). Both Ethiopic (*ba-k^wellu*) and ms. d (בכול) support reading it as ב . With בכול the dittography ends, and the text resumes. After וברכ is a partial letter which appears to be medial *kaph*; hence the suffix was spelled in *plene* fashion. At this point ms. d (I, II.29) reads: וברכה בכול ; Ethiopic agrees: *wa-yebārekaka ba-k^wellu megbārika*. The last two words in the restored section are retroverted from Ethiopic *wa-yānašše^c ʾemennēka*. For the Hebrew, see also Ezek 34:29: הקמתי להם מטע לשם (the spelling מטע is somewhat more frequent at Qumran; 1QH 8.10 has מטעת אמת).

Line 8: The first visible letter has the long downward extension of a final form, with the tail angling leftward (the ל from the next line meets it near the base line for line 8). The letter is clearly ץ (see הארץ in line 4). The letters ור are followed by some ink which must belong to ר . After the gap, the top

of a letter is visible; it matches the top of final *šādē*. The last letter is ל, before which some ink is visible. Both ms. d and the Ethiopic version favor reading ַ:]אמת בארץ לכול דורות הארץ ולו ישבית] ַ; *sedq ba-k"ellu medr ba-k"ellu tewledda medr wa-ʔ-yetrammam semeya wa-semeka* (|ל): restore [וא] ַ; cf. frg. 5.5). Ethiopic differs from ms. d in adding "all" before the first instance of "earth." Space considerations imply that the present ms. also lacked it. The two Hebrew copies do, however, place "all" before דורות where Ethiopic lacks it. Note that ישבית stands where Ethiopic uses a passive form.

Line 9: A ל is visible above the line, and shapes that resemble ה come next. Ms. d I, II.31 reads: מתחת השמים בכול הימים = Ethiopic *ba-mathetta samāy ba-k"ellu mawāʔel*.

2, col. I: Jub 22:22

The first of the two columns visible on the fragment preserves material from the ends of three lines. It is impossible to determine whether they appeared at the top, middle, or bottom of the column, since virtually no leather is left above the first and below the third line.

אין להם תקוה בארץ ^{21,22}]	1
[החיים כי בשאול ירדו ובמקום הדין ילכו ואין זכרון לכולמה בארץ]	2
כאשר נשמדו בני סדום מהארץ כן ישמדו כול [עובדי]]	3

[22:22 ... there is no] hope [for the]m in the land of [the living. For they will go down into Sheol and will go into the place of judgment. There will be no mem]ory of them all on the earth.
[As the people of Sodom were destroyed from the eart]h, so all [who worship (idols)] will be destroyed.

Line 1: The shape of the broken letter at the right edge is unmistakably that of final *mem*. The last word has suffered from some thickening of the letters, but their identification is not in doubt. The Ethiopic reads: *ʔalbomu menta-ni tasfā ba-medra*. The Bible does not combine אין...תקוה, but 1 Chr 29:15 offers: כצל ימינו על הארץ ואין מקוה.

Line 2: Milik reads the first letters as רון (the lower end of the final *nun* has been broken away), but on the photograph (PAM 43.188), if there is a trace of ך, it is an exceedingly small tick on the right side of ך. The scribe has left a small space between לכו and למה and employs a full orthography for

[became old because of the wickedness and full of his days. 23:11 And all the generations which will arise from n]ow until the [great] d[a]y [of judgment will grow old quickly before they complete tw]o jubilees.

[And their knowledge will abandon them because of their old age, and all their knowledge will perish. 23:12 And in] those [day]s, [if a man lives for a jubilee and one-half of years they will say about him: "He has lived a long time, but] the majority of his days [are pain, toil, and distress and there is no peace. 23:13 For (there is) blow upon blow and trouble up]on [trouble"]]

Line 1: At the right side of the fragment parts of three letters are visible. That the third one is ך is reasonably certain. The second has a vertical stroke which is preceded by another vertical line located quite close to it. This means that the first letter is not a ך or ך' or some other letter which would require more space to the left of its vertical stroke. ך is a likely reading. The next word is a fairly clear אשר, although the tops of the letters are lost. Compare the same word in 4.5 (below). Here the distinctive lower extension of ש ligatures with ך. The last visible fragment of a letter is again a vertical stroke which leans slightly leftward as it rises to meet the crossbar. The ך in תקוה (2.1) is very similar. The resulting Hebrew words (with those in the following lines) invite comparison with the text near the middle of Jub 23:10, where Ethiopic reads *ba-heywatu ʿeska ʿama* (followed by a third-person verb) and Latin has *in uita sua quousque* (also followed by a third-person verb). The first Hebrew word (חיו - a spelling of the third-person suffix on a masculine plural noun found frequently at Qumran; see ימו in line 5 below) corresponds with the versions, but where they reflect עד אשר (until) the Hebrew has only אשר. As the versional readings make more sense in the context, it may be that the scribe first neglected to copy עד, noted his mistake, and wrote it in above the line. If he did so, the correction would not be visible on the fragment because the piece is broken off near the tops of the letters on the line. The transcription reflects this suggestion. Neither of the versions expresses the subject of the following verb with a pronoun as the reconstructed text here does.

Line 2: At the right edge, at the bottom of the piece which protrudes to the right, one can see small parts of two letters which could be תה. The word עד is very clear, but there does not appear to be sufficient space between it and the preceding letter to accommodate the conjunction read by Ethiopic

(omitted by manuscripts 25 35 58) and Latin (*wa-ʿeska/et usque*). On the left side of the fragment, traces of two letters are visible, with space between them for another. At this point the Ethiopic has ʿem-yeʿzē *wa-ʿeska ʿelata*, and Latin gives *ex hoc et usque in diem*. For the restored portion, Ethiopic and Latin are close to one another, but Ethiopic places "all" before "generations" (Latin lacks it) and uses a singular noun for "evil" where Latin has *malignorum*.

Line 3: The ink mark at the right edge comes from one letter and very much resembles the shape of the upper left extension of final *mem* (cf. the one immediately below it). The letters of יבלים can be read without difficulty, apart from the second ʾ which is damaged but hardly in doubt. The preserved text corresponds with Ethiopic *kel-ē ʾyobēlewu = duos iubeleos* of Latin. However, the Hebrew text which the two versions imply for the reconstructed part of the line would be too short (40 letters) relative to the letter count for lines 2 (45 letters), 5 (45), and 6 (45). The short line would, however, match the length of line 4 (38 letters). The Ethiopic manuscripts provide no evidence for a longer text at this point, and the two versions agree word-for-word with a single exception: before *senescent* Latin reads *sed*; Ethiopic has no equivalent, and the extra word makes poor sense in the context. The transcription here and in line 4 follows Milik's suggestion that there was a hole in the leather or a bad surface such that the scribe did not write on it.

Line 4: Each letter is intact and offers no problems of deciphering. Note that the letter *mem* of ההסה is written as a final form. The preserved letters correspond with Ethiopic *wa-ba-weʿetu mawāʿel* (the last word is formally plural but the demonstrative *weʿetu* is singular; the same phrase stands in Ethiopic Jer 3:18 where MT has בַּיָּמִים הַהֵמָּה)⁸ and Latin *et in diebus illis*. Problems arise in connection with the larger part of the line which must be reconstructed. Here the two versions read thus:

Ethiopic: *wa-tekawwen ʿenta taxaddegomu ʿamerotomu ʿem-resʿomu
wa-taʿattet kʿellā ʿamerotomu*

Latin: *et erunt transeuntes ab ipsis spiritus intellectus ipsorum.*

That is, Latin lacks the text from after *ʿamerotomu* through the second instance of the word. It is possible, as R.H. Charles thought (1902, p. 145),

8. A. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, 925.

that Ethiopic is dittographic and that Latin thus preserves the superior text. Nevertheless, it is more likely that Latin is short because of parablepsis from the first occurrence of "knowledge" to the second (the intervening words are hardly identical with the preceding clause). Yet, even reconstructing on the basis of the longer Ethiopic text yields a short line, as noted above (38 letters). See the notes on line 3 for a possible explanation for the short text. CD 10:7-10 offers some parallel expressions (Berger, 1981, p. 441) in a context in which the qualifications of judges are being described:

ואל יחיצב עוד מבן	7
ששים שנה ומעלה לשפוט את העדה כי במעל האדם	8
מעטו ימו ובחרון אף אל ביושבי הארץ אמר לסור את	9
דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם	10

Here one finds combined, as in Jubilees, the two notions of removal of knowledge and diminished days, with the former causing the latter. Psalm 90, which lies behind the discussion of shortened lives in Jubilees 23, does not connect the length of human life with loss of knowledge, but in 90:11 (after mention of 70/80-year lifespans in v 10) the psalmist asks: **מי יודע עז אפך**, and requests in 90:12: **למנות ימינו כן הודע ונבא לבב חכמה**.

Line 5: The photograph shows parts of six letters. The first is a mere dot which could belong to a number of letters, and of the second only a light trace is visible next to the initial dot. The letter **ב** is almost fully intact. After a space between words, a **י** is legible, following which the top of **מ** is quite clear. The final letter could be **ו** or **י**, but its head does appear to be slightly larger than that of **י** (though Milik reads **י**). The resulting form **ימו** can be compared with the spelling of **חיו** in line 1. The words in the versions with which the Hebrew terms correspond most closely are Ethiopic *mabzexta mawā-eliḥu* = Latin *plurimum dierum ipsius*. For the reconstructed section, the two versions again agree very closely and thus provide a firm basis for retroverting a Hebrew line of 46 letters. They differ only for the last expression: Ethiopic *ʿabzexa ḥeywa* uses a verb after "he has made many," but Latin employs a noun (*uita sua*). It happens that 3QJub (=3Q5) 1.1 overlaps with part of the reconstructed line. The fragment is badly damaged at this point, but the best readings are: **יאמרן עליו הרבה לחיות**.⁹ Note that for the final expression, 3QJub supports the Ethiopic, not the Latin, rendering.

9. For this reading of the text and other bibliography, see VanderKam, 1977, pp. 70-72.

Line 6: At the bottom of the fragment, a dot of ink can be seen just below the **ב** of **רוּב** in line 5. The fact that it extends so close to line 5 shows that it is the tip of **ל**. For reconstructing the line around this single letter, the Ethiopic offers the full text and Latin does as well, except for several lost letters at the beginning. Also, much of the line can be read on 3QJub 1.2: **רוצַרַה ואין שלום כיא מכה על מכה ומדהוּממה**.¹⁰

4 Jub 33:12-15

The surviving text for this section can be read on two fragments. The first and larger one provides letters and words from 10 lines on the righthand side of the column, while the second and smaller one gives text for five of these lines on the lefthand side. Of the versions, only the Ethiopic supplies the text for these verses. The light color of the leather is quite different from the shade of the previous pieces. The fragments numbered 1-3 and treated above had lines of ca. 38 (frg. 1) and 45 (frgs. 2 and 3) letters on an average, but in the present column they are shorter (about 30 to 35 per line). The likelihood is, therefore, that this narrow column was found at the end of a sheet of leather.

[33:12] כַּתְּנוּב] שְׁנִיתָן אַרְוֹר שׁוֹכֵב עִם אִשְׁתְּךָ אֲבִיָּהוּ כִי גַלְהָ] [ה]	1
כִּנְף אֲבִיָּהוּ]וְאָמְרוּ כֹל קְרוֹשֵׁי יְהוָה אֲמַן] אֲמַן ¹³ וְאִתְּנָה] ⁽¹³⁾	2
צוֹ אֵת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשִׁמּוֹר אֵת הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה כִּי מִשְׁפָּט	3
מוֹת הוֹאֵה]וְנִאֲצָנָה הִיאָה וְאִין כְּפוּרִים לְכַפֵּר עַל	4
הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֵת הַזֹּאת לְעוֹלָם כִּי אִם	5
לְהַמִּיתוֹ וּלְסַקְּנוֹ וּלְרַגְמוֹ בְּאֵבָן וּלְהַכְרִיתוֹ מִתּוֹךְ הָעַם]	6
]יִכִּי אֵין לֹ לְחַיּוֹת {יִם] אַחַד} יוֹם אַחַד בְּאַרְץ כּוֹל אִישׁ]	7
אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל [כִּי תוֹעֵבָה וְנֹאצָּה הִיאָה]	8
]וְאֵל] יֹאמְרוּ לְרוּבָן נַעֲשׂוּ חַיִּים וּכְפוּרִים אַחַר שִׁכְבְּ]	9
[עִם פִּילְגָשׁ אֲבִיָּהוּ]יַעֲקֹב כִּי [10

[33:12 ... it is writt[en] a second time: ["Cursed is one who lies with the wife] of his father, for he has uncov[ered] the skirt of his father." [And all the holy ones of the Lord said: "Ame]n, amen." 33:13 And you

10. VanderKam, 1977, pp. 72-74. For a discussion of **מַוְהַמָּה** and its possible relations with Ethiopic *sefan* and Latin *dolor*, see VanderKam, 1989, 2.141-42.

command the sons of [Israel to keep th]is [word.] For it is a judgment of death [and it is] a disgrac[e. There is no atonement to at]one for the man who will d[o this forever. Bu]t (one is)

to kill him and to exe[cute him and to stone him and to cut him off from amid the people.]

[33:14 Fo]r it is not permitted that [any man] should live [{one} day] [one day in the land]

[wh]o will do it in Israel [for it is an abomination and a disgrace.]

33:15 Let them [not] say: "Reuben obtained [life and atonement after he lay]

[with the concubi]ne of his father [Jacob, for "]

Line 1: There is a dot of ink above the letters נקי in line 2; it could belong to the lower left tick of ת. The letters שני present no problems of reading, but only the right vertical stroke and part of the horizontal bar of ת have survived at the fragment's edge. The top line of the second fragment, which gives the last words of this line, has only the bottoms of letters. At the right, a small line is visible before the base stroke of the second letter which is a ב. After it one can see the lower tip of a letter which joins the base of the ב. The last letter is clearly a ל, and it is preceded by a small part of the vertical stroke from another letter. If one compares these letter fragments with the word אביהו in line 2, it is evident that the same word is to be read here - just as the Ethiopic text requires. The words of line 1 and most of those in line 2 are a quotation from Deut 27:20, which reads as follows in the Masoretic text: ארור שכב עם אשת אביו כי גלה כנף אביו ואמר כל העם אמן.

Line 2: One can see the left extension of the base line of כ to the right of נקי. At the right side of the second fragment a curving vertical line is visible; it matches the shape of the final nun in the next word. At the left edge of the fragment there is a trace of ה after את. The fact that כנף is the word that follows גלה directly in Deut 27:20 and in the Hebrew *Vorlage* presupposed by the Ethiopic version demonstrates that the second fragment preserves the ends of lines and the first fragment their beginnings. For כנף the Ethiopic reads *xafrata* which means "shame." Though the literal meanings of the two words do not match, it is clear that in Jubilees *xafrat* appears where the biblical text has כנף. The verbal form that should be restored ought to reflect *wa-yebēlu* (perfect tense); Deut 27:20 has ואמר which places the speaking in the future. Jubilees makes a noteworthy alteration in the biblical base by substituting *qeddusānihu la-ʿegziʾabhēr* for העם and adding a second *la-yekun* = אמן.

Line 3: The three words on the first fragment are easily read, though the **נ** is somewhat indistinct. On the second fragment the letters **כי** are clear, but to their right, beneath **אמן** in line 2, is a dot of ink that may come from a **ה**. In the Ethiopic text the second-person pronoun (end of line 2) is followed by the name *musē*, but the first word in line 3 is clearly **צו**, not **מורשה**. The difference between the two versions could be accounted for as an explanatory plus in the textual tradition or as a result of parablepsis, triggered by the final **ה** in the two words (**וְאַתָּה מוֹרְשָׁה**). The verb that is reconstructed between the fragments could be either an infinitive, as expressed here, or a *waw*-consecutive construction (**וְשָׁמְרוּ**).

Line 4: Though the reading is not in doubt, the second letter of **הוֹאֵה** can barely be seen on the photograph. All four letters of the pronoun have been cut by the tear which runs through this part of the text. Letters can be seen farther to the left than on the first three lines. At the upper edge the downstroke and base of **נ**, the lower end of a letter which forms a ligature with it, and a trace of a third letter can be seen. As the blank space after **על** indicates, it was the last word on the line. For line 4, the Hebrew and Ethiopic agree verbatim.

Line 5: The letters of line 5 on the first fragment present no difficulties of decipherment, although very little of the initial **ה** remains. The Hebrew text here agrees precisely with the Ethiopic except that the latter reads a perfect-tense verb (*gabra*), while the Hebrew has an imperfect (**יַעֲשֶׂה**). On the second fragment only the upper tip of a single letter can be seen. It appears to be from a final *mem*, and, as the next line begins with **לְהַמִּיתוּ** (= *la-ʾametotu* in Ethiopic), it should reflect the expression **כִּי אִם**, the equivalent of *zaʾenbala* which precedes *la-ʾametotu*. If so, however, the resulting line is too short. Lines 1-4 have from 31-35 letters each, while this one would have only 27. The abbreviated line could be explained in several ways: the Ethiopic version may be missing some words; there may have been a *vacat* in the Hebrew manuscript; or the scribe may have skipped over a flawed spot in the surface.

Line 6: More of the right edge of the fragment is lost than in lines 1-5, but the telltale upper stroke of **ל** is unmistakable and the top of **ה** after it is clear. Much of the **מ** is also lost, but enough remains to identify it. The following letters pose no problems of reading. The first infinitive agrees exactly with Ethiopic *la-ʾametotu*, but the second (**וְלִסְקַנְלוּ**) is much more specific than the vague *wa-la-qatilotu* (= **וְלִקְטְלוּ** or **וְלִהַרְגוּ**) in Ethiopic. Possibly the Ethiopic tradition, which places the stoning verb third, has reversed the order of

infinitives two and three, with the result that it would not be necessary to reconstruct two synonymous infinitives. But the manuscripts show no evidence of this switch. Hence, the Ethiopic text is here simply retroverted and it is assumed that at some point, perhaps to avoid the repetition of verbs for stoning, the second infinitive was rendered in a more general way.

Line 7: Loss of leather at the right of the fragment makes it very difficult to discern what the first word in the line might have been (and thus what the last one in line 6 was). Milik ends line 6 with **מתוך** and reads the single remaining trace of a letter at the beginning of line 7 as the last letter in **העם**. The letter fragment, which angles right and downward is certainly consistent with final *mem* but could be part of other letters as well. The Ethiopic reads *ʿem-māʿkala ḥezba ʿamlākena ʿesma* (= **מתוך עם אלהינו כי** [or: **מקרב**]) before the words that clearly correspond with the preserved Hebrew words **אין לו**. Thus Milik assumes that the last two words were not represented on the Hebrew fragment. There is insufficient space for all of the words found in Ethiopic, but it may be that the first word in Line 7 was **כי** and that line 6 concluded with **העם**. In that case, *ʿamlākena* could be interpreted as an explanatory plus. The last legible letters are **ים** through which the scribe has drawn a line to signify that they are to be deleted. What seems to have happened is that he wrote the noun defectively and then wished to correct it to the fuller orthography **ים**. Therefore, in the restored section, it is necessary to include this word, but it is not known whether he had also written **אחד** before he noticed his mistake. The letter count (a rather short 31 letters without repetition of **אחד**) suggests that he had already written the numeral and thus rewrote both words. Note **ים** in 4QJub^a 1, col. V.2. This indicates that the archetype of Jubilees was very defective, archaic, in orthography.

Line 8: The first bit of ink appears to be part of **ר** in **אשר**. The next words, like the relative pronoun, correspond precisely with the Ethiopic text. The line is a little short (only 30 letters) if the remaining words of the Ethiopic version are retroverted in the restored section, but there may have been a small blank space at the end, because a new verse starts at the beginning of line 9. The Ethiopic manuscripts separate the two with a punctuation mark.

Line 9: At the beginning of the line there is space for **ואל** (= *wa-ʿl*). On the leather one can see light traces of two letters before **מרו** which are relatively clear. As the Ethiopic form *yebalu* leads one to expect, **יאמרו** is to be read here. The remaining eight letters are not a problem. Where Hebrew has **נעשו**, the Ethiopic renders with *kona* which literally reproduces the

meaning of the *niphal* ("to become"; Jastrow, 1967, p. 1125). In this context, the meaning is: life and atonement became to him, that is, he obtained life and atonement.

Line 10: Only the tops of letters survive at the lower edge of the fragment. The first three tips fit well with the tops of **ש**. Next there is a space between words followed by the tops of what are almost certainly the letters of **אביהו** (compare the same word in line 2). The Ethiopic text uses an expression for "concubine" (*ʿeqebta beʾsita*), for which the Hebrew would be **פילגש**.

5 *Jub 37:11-15*

One relatively large fragment yields parts of seven lines. The leather is much darker than that of the two preceding fragments. There are traces of sewing, hence it is the first column of a sheet of leather. The textual evidence for studying these verses comes not only from the Ethiopic version but also from the Syriac, which has the complete text, and Midrash Wayyissāʿu (= MW).

1 ⁽¹¹⁻¹²⁾ 37:11] ויאמרו לאביהם [צא נהגם ואם לוא והרגנוך ¹² וימלא קצף חמה]
 2 ⁽¹³⁾ בעת [אשר ראה את בנו מחזניקים בו לצאת ראשון לנהגם על אחיו ¹³ ויזכר]
 3 את כול הרעות אשר היו נחבאות בלבו על יעקוב אחיו
 4 ולוא זכר את השבועה אשר נשבע לאביו ולאמו אם יבקש רעה כול ימו
 5 ⁽¹⁴⁾ ליעקוב ¹⁴ ובכול זה לוא ידע יעקוב כי המה באים עלו למלחמה והואה]
 6 היה מתאבל על אשתו עד [אשר דבקו אלו אצל הבירה בארבעת אלפים]
 7 ⁽¹⁵⁾ גבור למלחמה ¹⁵ וישלחו אלו אנשי חברון לאמור אחיך בא עליך להלחם]

[37:11 They said to] their [father: "Go out. Lead them. If not, we will kill you." 37:12 He was filled with rage and anger] at the time [wh]en he saw his sons pre[vailing upon him to go out first to lead them against his brother. 37:13 Then he remembered] all the evil things which we[re hidden in his heart against his brother Jacob,] but he did not remember the oath which [he had sworn to his father and his mother that he would not seek evil all his days] against Jacob. 37:14 During all this [Jacob] did not kn[ow that they were coming against him for warfare. He] was mourning for his wife until [they came close to him near the tower with four thousand]

men for war. 37:15 [The men of Hebron] sent word t[o him: "Your brother has come against you to fight"]

Line 1: A final *mem* breaks through at the top of the fragment, and the bottom part of a downstroke which precedes it is consistent with ה. Space considerations make it very likely that the letters הם are the suffix on the word אביהם (Ethiopic *la-abuhomu*, Syriac *l-bwhwn*). As reconstructed, the line has space for about 47 or 48 letters.

Line 2: At the beginning of the line, there are some ink marks before the clear ת which appears above the third letter in line 3. Ethiopic reads *ba-gizē*, and Syriac has *kd*. The letter before ת is represented by a downstroke whose angle is the same as that of the right stroke of ע (see the ע in הרעות in line 3, השבעה in line 4, and ליעקוב in line 5). The first letter of the line has a base stroke and a vertical line on the right side. These clues strongly suggest that בעת should be read. The next letter is invisible on the photograph, but as שר follow, the relative pronoun (which neither of the versions expresses) is virtually certain. The form בנו stands where Ethiopic (*weludo*) and Syriac (*l-bnwby*) have plural nouns with singular suffixes. Since more than one of Esau's sons are speaking to him in the context, the Hebrew form should be interpreted as a defective writing of בניו. The last three letters visible on the line are clearly נחז. The versions here read *kama yet'ēgalewwo* and *d-lsyn*. The Ethiopic verb means "*vi adigere*" (Dillmann, 1865, col. 1014), while the Syriac has the force of "press earnestly, urge strongly, compel, force" (Payne Smith, 1903, p. 18). It is virtually certain that the Hebrew text read a form of נחז. This verb, in the *hiphil* conjugation, has the meaning of "prevail upon," and the person being prevailed upon is introduced by ב.¹¹ In reconstructing the remainder of the line, one has not only the Syriac and Ethiopic versions but also the text of MW which tells the story of the war between Jacob and Esau in a form that strongly resembles the one in Jubilees.¹² There, in a

11. Brown-Driver-Briggs, 1907, p. 305 (examples are found in Dan 11:7; Job 18:9; 2 Kings 4:8). See also Jastrow, 1967, p. 444: "to strengthen, to encourage, abet."

12. The text is conveniently accessible in R. H. Charles, 1895, pp. 180-82. Charles quoted the text from A. Jellinek, 1855, pp. 3-5. Jellinek reproduces ff. 40^v 11-41^r 11 of a rather bad edition of Yalqut Shim'oni, Venice 1566, where many alterations were introduced by its editor-printer, Meir Prinz. A very good critical edition of MW is that of J. B. Lauterbach, 1933, pp. 205-222. It was reprinted by M. M. Kasher, 1935, pp. 1341-44. *Sefer ha-yashar* is a profuse paraphrase of MW and other works. See the edition of L. Goldschmidt, 1923. French translation: P. L. B. Drach, 1958, cols. 1069-1310.

slightly later context, it speaks of Judah's going forth to war in first position: **וְאִזְּיָא יְהוּדָה רִאשׁוֹן**. The same wording has been restored here, though the versions (Ethiopic has *hora*, Syriac *l-m zt*) suggest that **ללכת** should be read (cf. 2 Sam 21:19; 1 Kgs 20:17). Hence, methodologically, **ללכת** is preferable to **לצאת** (Milik). However, in the preceding line Ethiopic used *da*^o and Syriac *pwq*, both of which mean "go out." The Ethiopic text then continues, as in v 11, with *yemreḥomu xaba yā-qob ʿexuhu*. Syriac offers only *ʿl ḥwhy*, with no verb of leading or guiding and no mention of Jacob's name. If the Hebrew line were restored to reflect the fuller Ethiopic text, it would be too long (the beginning of v 13 must also have appeared at the end of this line, since the direct object of its verb begins the following line). It seems likely, therefore, that **יַעֲקֹב** should be omitted with the Syriac (although it is a weaker textual guide, since it abbreviates more often in this context). It is not certain how one should word the beginning of v 13. Ethiopic *wa-em-ze* might favor **וְאִזְּיָא** (so Goldmann, 1970, p. 294) or **וְאִזְּיָא** (or **וְאִזְּיָא**?). Syriac employs only a conjunction (*w-*). The shorter Syriac is reflected in the Hebrew restoration because of the length of the line.

Line 3: All of the letters can be read easily except what appear to be the last two, which are represented by small ink marks at the bottom edge of this part of the fragment. The first has an upper crossbar that juts upward at the right side and is consistent with the shape of **ה**. The second is too poorly preserved to identify, but the evidence of the Ethiopic (*hallot*) and Syriac (*hwt*) indicates that a perfect-tense form of "to be" should be read. Thus the second letter is **י**, and the plural noun **הַרְעוֹת** (Ethiopic *ʿekaya* and Syriac *byšt^o* are singular) requires that the verb be plural. Other than the singular-plural problem just noted, the Ethiopic and Hebrew agree verbatim for the preserved parts of the line; Syriac, however, omits an equivalent of **כֹּל** and switches the order of the verb and participle (*d-ṯṣy^o hwt*). For the part of the line that must be restored, Ethiopic supplies *westa lebbu xebeṛ lā-la yā-qob ʿexuhu* but Syriac reads *d-ṯṣy^o hwt b-lbh ʿl ḥwhy mn qdym*. The major differences are that the Syriac again lacks the name Jacob, and it adds *mn qdym* (= before, previously). Retroversion of the Ethiopic would yield a line that is about 10 letters too short; even combining the texts of the two versions would still leave it lacking four or five letters (that is, adding **מִקֵּדִים** or perhaps **לִפְנֵי כֵן**). What originally appeared here remains unknown.

Line 4: The visible letters can be read easily, except for the last, of which only a slight line of ink remains after **אש**. As the two versions read relative pronouns in this place, the final letter is **ר**. The preserved section of text

matches the Ethiopic and Syriac exactly, and in the part that must be restored, the two versions continue to agree for several words (Ethiopic: *za-mahala la-abuhu wa-la-ʿemmu kama ʾi-yetxāšāš kʷello ʾekaya*; Syriac: *d-ymʷ l-bwhy w-l-ṁh d-lʷ nbʾš*). The Syriac seems to have incorporated the notion of "seeking evil" into one word meaning "to harm"; otherwise the only difference is the absence of "all" from Syriac. The Bible uses two verbs in those passages which speak of seeking evil/good against/for someone: **דרש** (see Amos 5:14; Ps 10:15; 38:13; Prov 11:27); and **בקש** (Num 35:23; 1 Sam 24:10; 25:26; 1 Kgs 20:7; Ps 71:13, 24; Prov 17:11; Est 9:2). The versions also agree in introducing the negative oath with "that not." It is possible, however, that the Hebrew would have expressed the same meaning by **אם** alone (Cowley, 1910 §149). Where Ethiopic reads *kʷello ʾekaya kʷello mawāʿelihu* (= **כול ימיו רעה כול ימיו**), Syriac omits entirely except that it expressed the meaning of *ʾekaya* in the verb *nbʾš*. There does not appear to be enough space in the line to accommodate all of the Ethiopic text, and it seems likely that one of the two instances of "all" is an addition (the *kʷello* before *ʾekaya* is omitted by one Ethiopic manuscript - 21). Some slight support for omitting this "all" comes from the passage to which reference is here being made - Jub 35:20, 24: there the brothers are urged and they agree not to seek evil against one another. In neither verse is *kʷello* used before *ʾekuya* (an adjectival form with the same meaning as the noun *ʾekaya* in this line).

Line 5: Each of the preserved letters can be read with certainty. Where Hebrew reads **ליעקוב** the versions differ slightly: Ethiopic adds *ʾexuhu* (his brother), and Syriac reads only *ḥwhy*. The preposition before the name (for **בקש ל** see Ps 122:9; Ezra 8:22; Neh 2:10) agrees literally with Syriac (*l-*), while Ethiopic expresses the same intent with *lāʿla* (against). Ethiopic *ʾi-yāʾmara* does agree more exactly with **ידע** (Syriac's *rgyš hwʷ* means "perceived, was aware"). For the restored portion after the name "Jacob", Syriac abbreviates severely by substituting *ʾlʷ* (but). Ethiopic reads: *kama ʾemuntu yemašṣeʾu xabēhu la-qatl. wa-weʾetu-sa*, and it is the basis for the restoration. MW, in reference to Esau, uses the words **בא עליו למלחמה**. Jubilees notes that Jacob was unaware of his brother's impending attack, but the midrash expands by mentioning that such a possibility had occurred neither to Jacob nor to his sons who had come to comfort him at the death of Leah: **ולא עלה על לבם שיבא עליהם אדם להלחם עמם**.

Line 6: All of the letters are clear and fully preserved. The Hebrew compound verbal form is reflected by an imperfect-tense form in Ethiopic (*velāhu*) and by a literal reproduction in Syriac but with the elements reversed (*mtʾbl hwʷ*). Both versions use the name "Leah" before "his wife," whereas

the Hebrew lacks it. In the restored portion, it is likely that a relative pronoun followed **עד** (Ethiopic has *ʿeska soba*, and Syriac *dm̄ d-*). The verb could have been **קרבו** (= Ethiopic *qarbu*), but the Syriac uses *mtw* (= arrived, reached). MW, in the same context, reads **עד שדבקו כל החיל לאותה בירה**. The Ethiopic text is the basis for the restoration. It then uses *xabēhu* (= to him) and *teqqā* before *māxfad*, the latter word means "proxime, secus, juxta" (Dillmann, 1865, col. 1224). The Syriac phrases the context differently: *l-dri² dylh* (MW: **לאותה בירה**). It is possible that **אצל** appeared in the original text to indicate that Esau and his men were just outside the tower/fortress, fortified farm, in which Jacob and his family were mourning, unaware of the danger that threatened. The retranslation **אצל** remains awkward. For the number of troops with Esau, the sources agree on 4000. Ethiopic, however, expresses it as 40 hundreds, while Syriac has four thousands as does MW (**ארבע אלף** (גבורים)).

Line 7: The first two words can be read without difficulty, but after them there are three certain letters (**ישל**) and a few traces of ink. The use of plural verbs for sending in Ethiopic (*wa-laʿaku*) and Syriac (*w-šdrw*) assists in interpreting the letters around the three secure ones (**וישלחו**). The marks at the left bottom edge of the fragment are consistent with the top extensions of **א**. The first two words of the line are interesting textually. The Ethiopic tradition uses sizable phrases to describe the warriors: *mastaqātēlān mastabāʿesān xeruyān* (= warriors, selected fighters) - apparently a doublet. Syriac resorts to the bland *gbryn* (= men) as does MW (**גבורים**). Yet MW gives an expanded description of the men and their weapons just before this. Thus, the Hebrew expression agrees with none of the witnesses at this point.

6 Jub 38:6-8

The single small fragment includes enough that is distinctive to permit identification. Reconstruction of full lines around the preserved letters is aided by the repetitious character of the passage and by its preservation in four other witnesses: 4QJub^b 2, IV 21-24, Latin, Ethiopic, and MW. The Syriac chronicle reproduces the context but not this specific section.

] ^{38:6} ולוי חזן [ואןשר יצאן]	1
] למזרח הבירה חמשיהם עמם ויהרוגו את גדןדי מואןב ועמון]	2
] ויצאו רובן רישכר חבילון לצפון הבירה חמשיהם עמם ויהרוגו]	3
] את גדדי פלשת ⁸ ויצאו שמעון ובנימין חנוך בן רובן למערב]	(8) 4

[38:6 Levi and Dan] and A[sher went out]
 [to the east side of the fortress and their fifty were with them. They
 killed the tro]ops of Moa[b and Ammon.]
 [38:7 Reuben, Issachar, and Zebulun went out to the north side of the
 fortress, and their fift]y were with them. The[y killed]
 [the troops of Philistia. 38:8 Simeon, Benjamin, and Enoch,] the son of
 Reub[en, went out to the west]

Line 1: The letter **א** is slightly damaged at the bottom but is still quite legible. The Latin and MW offer complete support for the Ethiopic (and Hebrew) at this point: *et leui et dan et aser exierunt* and **ולרי דן ואשר יצאו** (MW).

Line 2: There is a trace of ink to the right of **ל**; it could belong to several letters, among which is **ל**. At the left edge, the right vertical half of **א** can clearly be seen; see, for example, PAM 42.223. Latin again fully supports the Ethiopic (*secundum orientem bari et quinquaginta cum ipsis et interfecerunt bellatores moab et ammon*). MW provides much of the text but in the immediate context lacks the note about killing the foreign troops: **למזרה הבירה וני עבדים עמהם**. Its reference to "servants" also distinguishes it from the Ethiopic and Latin. If **גדודי** is correctly read and restored (4QJub^h 2, IV 22 has only **את ג**), it is not the expected correspondent of Ethiopic *mastaqātelān* and Latin *bellatores*, but in the Bible it is used for bands of troops from most of the nations mentioned in this context: Aram (2 Kgs 5:2; 6:23; 24:2), Moab (2 Kgs 13:20; 24:2); and Ammon (2 Kgs 24:2).

Line 3: The left side of a letter at the right edge of the fragment strongly resembles the final *mems* in the other fragments of this manuscript (see frgs. 1, 3). At the left, some ink is visible after **ל** and is consistent with **ל**. For the reconstructed and preserved parts of the text Latin differs somewhat: *Exierunt* [without the conjunction *et* which may have been omitted by haplography with the first letter of the verb] *ruben et issacar. et zabulon* [it omits the directional notice] *et quinquaginta ipsorum cum ipsis et interfecerunt et ipsi*. MW has: **ויצאו ראובן ויששכר וחבולון לצפון הבירה וני עבדים עמהם**. Thus, it again fails to mention the killing of the foreign troops, does refer to servants, and has a different form of the suffix on the preposition. One should read **המשיהם** and not **המשים** here and in line 2 in agreement with **המןשיהם** in 4QJub^h 2, IV 23 and *quinquaginta ipsorum* in Latin. So the sons of Jacob are considered "chiefs of fifty," **שר המשים**; cf. 2 Kgs 1:9, 11, etc.

Line 4: At the left edge one can distinguish remains of three letters: the first is a fairly clear ר, while the second and third are too small for definite identification. The context, however, shows that the name רובן (that is, without א) should appear here. If one compares the shapes of the first three letters in the name in frg. 4.9, they match completely with the forms of the letter fragments here. Latin reads: *bellatores filistin et exiuit* [singular] *symeon et beniamin. et enoch filius ruben secundum occasum*. In MW the wording is: ריצאו שמעון ובנימין וחנך בן ראובן למערב. That is, it remains consistent in omitting the slaughter of the foreign troops in this listing.

7 Jub 39:4-9

Several words and letters from these six verses can be read on two narrow fragments. The Ethiopic version gives the full text, while Latin is missing except for 39:9. The passage is based on Genesis 39 and some similar material is found in the Testament of Joseph. Retroversion from Ethiopic indicates that one line separates the fragments. It seems likely that they come from the right edge of the column, though the margin is not obviously present anywhere on them. The third line of the second fragment (= line 9) comes the closest: before the dot which remains from א in א[ב]ה, there is some space free of ink. Also, in the case of all lines that extend farthest to the right, only one or two letters have to be restored, and all of these words begin directly under one another - a situation which is likely only at the right margin.

[המצרין] נָתַן [הכול לפניו כי ראה כי יהוה אתו וכול אשר עשה]	1
אֱלֹהִים מִצְלִיחַ [5 יוֹסֵף יִפְה תוֹאֵר יִפְה מֵרֵאָה וְתִשָּׂא עֵינָיָהּ]	(5) 2
[א]שֶׁת אֲדוֹנָיו אֵלָיו וְתָרָא אֶת יוֹסֵף וְתֵאָהֱב אוֹתוֹ וְתִבְקֶשׁ מִמֶּנּוּ]	3
[א]שֶׁר יִשְׁכַּבְּ עִמָּה 6 וְלֹא מִסֵּר אֶת נַפְשׁוֹ וְיִזְכּוֹר אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים]	(6) 4
[וְאֵת הַדְּבָרִים [אשר יקרא יעקוב אביהו מדברי אברהם כי]	5
[כול איש לא יזנה עם אשה אשר לה איש כי משפט מות הושם]	6
[עלו בשמימין] לפני אל עליון והחטא יעלה עלו בלחות לעולם]	7
[בכור] הַיְמִינִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה 7 וְיִזְכּוֹר יוֹסֵף אֶת הַמִּקְרָא הַזֶּה וְלֹא]	(7) 8
אֲנִי לִשְׁכַּבְּ עִמָּה 8 וְתִבְקֶשְׁהוּ שְׁנֵה אַחַת וְשְׁנֵית יִמָּאן לְשִׁמְרָתוֹ וְתִקְרַב]	(8) 9
עָלוּ מִרְמָהָן 9 וְתֵאָהֱב אוֹתוֹ בְּבֵית לְאֵלֶיךָ אוֹתוֹ לְשִׁכַב עִמָּה וְתִסְגּוֹר]	(9) 10
[א]ת שַׁעֲרֵי הַבַּיִת	11

[39:4 The Egyptian] placed [everything before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him and (that) everything that he did]

God made successful. [39:5 Now Joseph was well formed and handsome.]
 The [w]ife of his master [raised her eyes] toward [him and saw Joseph and loved him. She asked of him]
 [t]hat he lie [with her. 39:6 But he did not surrender himself and remembered God]
 [and] the words [which his father Jacob would read from the words of Abraham, that]
 [no man should engage in sexual immorality with a woman who has a husband. For a death penalty has been imposed]
 [on him in heav]en [before the most high God. The sin goes up (= is recorded) against him in the tablets forever]
 [throughout al]l the day[s before the Lord. 39:7 Joseph remembered this reading and did not]
 w[is]h to li[e with her. 39:8 She asked him for one year and a second, but he refused to listen. She brought]
 against him a deceitful plan. [She seized him in the house to compel him to lie with her. She closed]
 [th]e gate [of the house]

Line 1: The long tail of a final *nun* extends from the top of the fragment and is preceded by the end of a downstroke, which angles to the left, and by a dot to the right of it. These latter two remains of letters are probably from a **ת**. Just to the right of **ת** there is a faint dot which is too close to it to be a **י** or **ו**. Hence **נתן** is a very likely reading. If one works in reverse from the preserved words of the second line, a form of **נתן** could be restored in this place. Ethiopic uses *xadaga* = **עזב**, as in Gen 39:6 (**ויעזב כל אשר לו ביד יוסף**). However, in Gen 39:4 one finds the parallel expression **וכל יש לו נתן בידו** (see also Gen 39:8 where it is phrased as **וכל אשר יש לו נתן בידו**). Ethiopic names "the Egyptian" as the subject of the verb (**המצרי**, see Gen 39:2, 5). There may be enough space between **נתן** and the beginning of line 2 to retrovert all of the Ethiopic words into Hebrew, especially if one follows Milik's proposal to place **והמצרי** before the verb (contrary to the Ethiopic). The MT uses **בידו** as the location where the master placed his possessions, but Jubilees reads *qedmēhu la-yosēf* = **לפני יוסף**. Consequently, Charles proposed emending to the Masoretic form (*qedmēhu* to *ba-ʿedēhu*; 1895, p. 143, n. 46). As it stands (even restoring the tetragrammaton rather than **אלהים** for the divine name), the line would still be somewhat long. The problem could be remedied if a suffix

were read rather than the name **יוסף** in the phrase **לפני יוסף** as is done above. For the latter part of the reconstructed portion, see Gen 39:3: **וירא אדניו כי יהוה: אתו וכל אשר הוא עשה יהוה מצליח בידו**.

Line 2: Before **לוהים** there is a small trace of a letter which is consistent with **א**. The two letters **מצ** are fully preserved (the final *nun* of the previous line drops between them), while the bottoms of **ליח** follow (the **ל** from the next line reaches into the line after these letters). The text of Jubilees continues to reflect the language of Genesis 39, but for the divine name it has **אלוהים**, not **יהוה** as in MT (one Old Latin manuscript of Gen 39:3 has *deus*). The latter part of the line parallels Gen 39:6 (less the verb): **ויהי יוסף יפה תאר: ויפה מראה**. The Ethiopic manuscripts add suffixes to the two nouns (both are represented by *rāy*), and use "very" with the second adjective (as do LXX, Old Latin, and Ethiopic Genesis, though they place the adverb after the noun) = **ויוסף יפה תוארו ויפה מאוד מראהו**. In the biblical textual tradition, Syriac and Targum Neophyti read a suffix on the first noun, and the same two, with Ethiopic Genesis, attach a suffix to the second. Space considerations favor the shorter reading of MT here. The last words of the line are from Gen 39:7.

Line 3: The letters can be read easily, though only the upper extension of the **ל** at the left edge is visible. The order in the Ethiopic text differs from Gen 39:7 to some extent: the word **עיניה** (line 2) precedes **אשת אדונו** (Ethiopic Genesis offers a similar sequence). The Hebrew fragment is consistent with the Ethiopic phrasing, since the word that follows **אדונו** begins with **אל**, not **עי**. The word after **אדונו** is, however, a problem. The Ethiopic manuscripts continue with "and she saw Joseph," but the fragment indicates that some other word - probably the preposition **אל** with suffix - appeared here. This mirrors Gen 39:7 where MT reads **אל יוסף**. Ethiopic Jubilees actually has a double statement of seeing and locates "Joseph" after the second of them. Milik proposes a somewhat different reconstruction (one more in accord with Genesis 39) of lines 2-3:

**אלוהים מצליח [בידו ויוסף יפה תואר ויפה מראה ותשא]
[אשת אדונו אל] את עיניה ותראהו ותאהבו ותבקש ממנו]**

The words "and she loved him" toward the end of the line are not in Gen 39:7 in any of the versions. For the notion of loving, lusting, see Josephus, *Ant.* 2.41: ἐρωτικῶς διατεθειμένης. The Ethiopic verb *astabq^eato* provides an interpretation or extension of MT's bland **ותאמר** in Gen 39:7. The suffix on the Ethiopic verb resembles the indirect object that Syriac, Old Latin,

Ethiopic Genesis and *Targum Neophyti* employ. For **בְּקֶשׁ** with **מִן** see Judg 14:4; 2 Chr 11:16; Dan 1:18, 20. Space considerations suggest that the longer expression, rather than a simple direct object, be used.

Line 4: The six preserved letters are clear. **אֲשֶׁר** introduces indirect speech (compare Josephus, *Ant.* 2.42) but the biblical versions at Gen 39:7 quote her words. In the latter part of the line Jubilees enlarges upon the biblical text: *wa-ʾi-matawa nafso. wa-tazakkaro la-ʾegziʾabhēr* ("but he did not surrender himself. He remembered the Lord/God"). Some good manuscripts add, after the initial *wa-*, the emphatic pronoun and particle *weʾetu-sa* (39 42 47 48 58) to highlight the change of subject (= **הוֹאֵה**). Alternatively, one can read the fourth line as: ...**וְהוֹאֵה לְוֹא** and **יְהוָה** instead of **הָאֱלֹהִים**. For references to Joseph's remembering something at this juncture, see T. Jos 3:3: "I, then, remembered the words of my father Jacob, and going into my chamber I prayed to the Lord."¹³

Line 5: Where the Hebrew has **וְהִזְכִּירָם**, Ethiopic uses *qālāta*. Jubilees does report Abraham's teaching to Jacob on sexual subjects in 20:4-6 (addressed to all his sons and grandsons) and 25:4-7; however, these passages do not provide the same wording. Line 5 indicates that the author is quoting from a book of Abraham, perhaps the one that is summarized in Jub 22:10-24.

Line 6: One full line and all but one letter of the next must be reconstructed between the two fragments. The precise wording of Joseph's statement is, of course, conjectural; an attempt has been made simply to show that it would fit well in the available space. For the line Ethiopic reads: *ʾalbo manna-hi sabʾ za-yezēmu ba-beʾsit ʾenta bāti meta kamabo kʾennanē mot za-tašarʾa* ("no one should commit adultery with a woman who has a husband; that there is a death penalty which has been ordained").

Line 7: There is a dot at the top of the second fragment; it may be ink from a letter. It could be part of virtually any letter with a base. If the Hebrew has been properly reconstructed, it could be the tip of final *mem*. For the words of this line, Ethiopic has: *lotu ba-samāyāt qedma ʾegziʾabhēr leʾul. wa-xaṭiʾat tāʾarreg baʾentiʾahu westa mašāḥeft za-la-ʾālam* ("for him in heaven before the most high God. The sin will be entered [literally: will go up] regarding him in the eternal books"). The phrase *mašāḥeft za-la-ʾālam* suggests that the original was **בְּסֵפֶרִי הָעוֹלָם** or something similar, but "the

13. Translation of H. W. Hollander, M. de Jonge, 1985, p. 374. Josephus, too, notes his recollection but not of the words uttered by Abraham and Jacob (*Ant.* 2.51). For further references, see J. Kugel, 1990, pp. 98-101.

books of eternity" is a curious expression. One would expect "the heavenly tablets." It is perhaps not impossible that *maṣāheft* renders לחות, though Jubilees normally uses *ṣelāt* for that word.¹⁴ Milik thinks that the word השמים which regularly occurs with לחות does not appear here because it was anticipated earlier in the line and thus not repeated.

Line 8: The letter ל in בכול has left only a trace at the right edge of the fragment. The Ethiopic at this place is *ba-k^wellu mawā^{el} qedma ʿegzi^{ab}hēr. wa-tazakkara yosēf zanta nebāba wa-ʿi* ("for all the days before the Lord. Joseph remembered this word and not"). The retroversion of *nebāba* as המקרא is meant to reflect the verb יקרא in line 5.

Line 9: The first letter of אבה is represented by a dot on the right upper extension of the fragment. The כ in לשכנב is shaved off, but the straight vertical stroke should be compared with the כ of ישכב in line 4. Ethiopic reads the same expression: *faqada yeskeb*. For the restored section, *ʿastabq^we^{ato}* (note the suffix) could again represent ותבקש ממנו (as in line 4), but the line as reconstructed is already somewhat long. Thus, a shorter equivalent should be used, but it is also possible that there are other textual problems in this vicinity and that the same verb-preposition-suffix was read. Gen 39:10 refers to her importuning Joseph (ויהי כדברה אל יוסף יום יום) but does not specify how long it continued. Jubilees says that it lasted for one year and adds *wa-kāle^a* (= and another, a second). There are several variant readings: *kal^a* (= he refused) in 9 17 20 21 48; *kal^o* in 47; *kal^ā* in 58; *kal^ā* in 63. All of these are variant spellings of the same verb. For *wa-kāle^a* ms. 12 has *feṣṣuma* (complete [that is, a complete year]). It seems unlikely that the text would have a verb which means "to refuse" here because the next expression says about the same thing ("but he refused to listen to her"). It may be that the ordinal has been corrupted into the verb, or, if ms. 12 should be original, the text may have read שנה כולה. The restoration is based on the reading *kāle^a*. For לשמור, see ולא שמע אליה in Gen 39:10. For the last word Ethiopic reads: *wa-ʿaṭaqato* ("[and] she drew him close") and Latin has: *Et adgressa est eum* ("[and] she approached him"). There are several variants to the Ethiopic verb: *ʿatayyaqato* (= *certiorem facere, perferre in notitiam, referre; demonstrare*; Dillmann, 1865, col. 1246) in 12 38 44 63; *ṭāqalato* (= *mentiri, mendacia proferre, calumniari*¹⁵) in 21^c; and *ʿatayyaqato za^{en}bala*

14. Dillmann, 1865, cols. 1268-69. The term can denote a wide variety of written materials.

15. Dillmann, 1865, col. 1222. He notes that it renders καταψευδόμενον in Wisd 1:11. The same Ethiopic verb is used in Jub 39:10.

xāfrat in 35 58. All of these, however, appear to be corruptions of ^c*ataqato*. It may be that the tradition reflected in Ethiopic read a *hiphil* form of קרב, while the one behind the Latin read a *qal* (VanderKam, 1989, 2.257). T.Jos. 8:2 supports the sense of the Ethiopic verb by reading ἐφέλκομένη.

Line 10: If the fragment has been identified correctly, a major problem arises in connection with both extant words in line 10. The letters are clear (though the ך in עלו seems long), but neither word corresponds with anything in the Ethiopic or Latin (which resumes here) texts. עלו may be explained as an indirect object with ותקרב in line 9 (cf. Ps 27:2 where a *qal* form of the verb is used with על). The Testament of Joseph continues to be a valuable comparative source even on the level of language. It mentions the woman's deceitful plan in several passages. For example T. Jos. 3:9 refers to her δόλον and her πλανήν while in 4:1 Joseph describes her action as having been done μετὰ δόλου, and in 5:2 he notes τὴν ἐπίνοιάν σου ταύτην. Then in 7:1 the verb παγιδεῦσαι is used. Some of these words are interesting in connection with עלו מרמה in the fragment. They show that a reference to her plot against Joseph is not at all unlikely in the context. Also, δόλος is often used as the translation for מרמה in the LXX (Gen 27:35; 34:13; 2 Kgs 9:23; Job 15:35; 31:5; Ps 23[24]:4, and many other times). If מרמה is original to the text, then the readings of the Ethiopic and Latin remain to be explained. Milik believes that the lack of an equivalent for מרמה from the Greek version, which underlies the Latin and Ethiopic, resulted from haplography: ἐπιβουλή ἐπιλαμβανούσα became ἐπιλαμβανούσα through omission of a non-essential element.

Line 11: The Ethiopic and Latin texts note that the woman closed the door (plural in Latin) of the house. Rather than a form of דלת, the Hebrew reads שער. Normally Ethiopic *xoxt* represents פתח or דלת, but in Gen 28:17 and 2 Sam 18:24 it stands where שער does in the MT.

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