

## JEWISH INTERTESTAMENTAL AND EARLY RABBINIC LITERATURE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESOURCE UPDATED (PART 2)

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### 5. Dead Sea Scrolls

While the Dead Sea Scrolls are generally associated with Qumran, properly they also cover other discoveries such as those at Naḥal Ḥever, Murabbāat and Masada. The Qumran finds involve MSS from the third century BC through the first century AD. The finds at Naḥal Ḥever and Murabbāat include documents from the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–135), while Masada involves Jewish scrolls from the time leading up to the Roman conquest (AD 73) and subsequent Roman documents. The non-literary documentary papyri (e.g. wills, deeds of sale, marriage documents, etc.) are not covered below.

There are many theories about the origins of the Qumran DSS, but the reigning scholarly consensus views the 11 caves near the Qumran settlement as containing literary remains of the Qumran sect (generally identified with the Essenes). The documents include biblical and non-biblical materials, the latter frequently, though somewhat artificially, divided into sectarian and non-sectarian literature. Scholars recognized early the connection between the Qumran DSS and the medieval “Damascus Document” (= CD) from the Cairo Genizah, copies of which are also known from Qumran. Qumran scrolls are cited by cave number (e.g. 11Q = cave 11) along with a document number (e.g. 11Q19) or title (e.g. 11QTemple); this is followed by fragment, column, and line numbers (column numbers are often in Roman numerals; e.g. 4QpNah 3–4 i 6 = Peshier Nahum from Cave 4, fragments 3 and 4, column 1, line 6).

#### *Bibliography:*

Tov, Emanuel. *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010. Includes publication data and photograph reference numbers. Revision of list published in DJD 39 (from 2002), though DJD 39 remains useful for other lists it contains.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Rev. and exp. ed. *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Revision of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Lists major

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text and translation publications by scroll. Also includes an excellent select bibliography.

Clements, Ruth A. and Nadav Sharon. *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature (2000–2006)*. STDJ 71. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007.

Pinnick, Avital. *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1995–2000)*. STDJ 41. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Alphabetical by author, with indexes of texts and subjects. Ongoing updates continue in *RevQ*.

García Martínez, Florentino, and Donald W. Parry. *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–95*. STDJ 19. Leiden: Brill, 1996. With an updated listing in *RevQ* 18 (1998) 459–90, 605–39.

Tov, Emanuel. “The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11.” *JJS* 43 (1992) 101–36. On preliminary publications and a list of unpublished texts.

Jongeling, B. *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969*. STDJ 7. Leiden: Brill, 1971.

LaSor, William Sanford. *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948–1957*. Fuller Library Bulletin 31. Pasadena, CA: The Library of Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958.

*Also see:* The website at The Orion Center of Hebrew University of Jerusalem includes a regularly updated searchable bibliography: <http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il>. And note the listings in *RevQ*, in *Qumran Chronicle*, *ZAH*, and *Elenchus of Biblica*.

#### *Texts (Damascus Document):*

Broshi, Magen, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992. Re-edited text (by E. Qimron) with facing plates of CD and a bibliography.

Rabin, Chaim. *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1954. Revised text and translation with notes.

Schechter, S. *Documents of Jewish Sectaries. Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Cambridge: CUP, 1910; repr. New York: Ktav, 1970. The original publication of the Damascus Document (MSS A and B) with text, translation and introduction. Repr. includes “Prolegomenon” (with corrections) by Fitzmyer.

*Also see:* 4Q266–273 (in DJD 18); 5Q12 and 6Q15 (in DJD 3); and Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 2 (below).

#### *Texts (Dead Sea Scrolls):*

*Discoveries in the Judean Desert*. 45+ vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–. [= DJD] Text, translation, plates, and (in later volumes) commentary. Usually the *editio princeps* of any text. Notes on DJD volumes: For two more fragments of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> not in DJD 4, see DJD 23. Criticism of DJD 5 has been significant, see especially J. Strugnell in *RevQ* 7 (1969–71) 163–276.

Charlesworth, James H., et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. 7+ vols. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994– and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994–. Seeks to replace older edi-

tions by integrating more recently published scrolls of similar material with retrancriptions (often using advanced textual enhancement techniques) and retranlations of previous releases.

*Also see:* “Microfiche” and “Electronic Editions” below.

*Other Important Editions (in chronological order):*

- Burrows, Millar, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*. 2 vols. New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950. Vol. 1: 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 1QpHab; Vol. 2, fasc. 2: 1QS: transcription and plates. *Editio princeps* of these texts. Vol. 2, fasc. 1 (projected to cover the Genesis Apocryphon) was never released.
- Sukenik, E. L., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955). Transcriptions and plates of 1QM, 1QH, and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> [incomplete on 1QIsa<sup>b</sup>; *see also* DJD 1:66–68, and Puech in *JJS* 39 (1988) 55 n. 40].
- Avigad, Nahman, and Yigael Yadin. *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956.
- Yadin, Yigael. *Tefillin from Qumran (XQ Phyl 1–4)*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969. Text, translation, plates, and notes of phylactery texts from an unidentified cave in Qumran (cf. 4Q phylactery finds in DJD 6).
- Van Der Ploeg, J. P. M., A. S. Van Der Woude, and B. Jongeling. *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*. Leiden: Brill, 1971. *Editio princeps* of 11Q<sup>t</sup>gJob [= 11Q10] with text, translation, plates, and notes; also see Sokoloff below and DJD 23:79–180.
- Sokoloff, Michael. *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI*. Jerusalem: Bar-Ilan University, 1974. Text, translation, and commentary.
- Jongeling, B., C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude. *The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: With Translations and Annotations*. Semitic Study Series n.s. 4; Leiden: Brill, 1976. Includes the Job Targum, Genesis Apocryphon, and Prayer of Nabonidus.
- Yadin, Yigael. *The Temple Scroll*. 3 vols. + supplement; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977–1983. Extensive introduction, text, translation, plates, and commentary on 11Q<sup>t</sup>Temple<sup>a</sup> [= 11Q19]. For 11Q20 and 11Q21 fragments see DJD 23; for 4Q fragments see DJD 25. Also see Qimron below.
- Horgan, Maurya P. *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. CBQMS 8. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979. Text, translation, and commentary on the Qumran pesharim to Psalms, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. She later helped edit the Pesharim volume in Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 6b.
- Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften au Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten*. 2 + suppl. vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–2004. Includes grammar and word lists.
- Freedman, D. N., and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11Q<sup>paleo</sup>Lev)*. Winona Lake, IN: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985. *Editio princeps* of this scroll (not in the DJD volumes on

- 11Q). Contains text, plates, introduction, and a critical apparatus. See also E. Puech RB 96 (1989) 161–83.
- Newsom, Carol. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. HSS 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985. Text, translation, plates, and extensive commentary on 4QShirShabb [=4Q400–407]. See also DJD 23:259–304; and Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 4b.
- Schuller, Eileen M. *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*. HSS 28. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. Text, translation, plates, and commentary on 4Q380–381. Now see her newer edition in Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 4a.
- Lewis, Naphtali, Yigael Yadin, and Jonas C. Greenfield, eds. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*. JDS. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion and Martin G. Abegg, eds. *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four*. 4 vols. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–1996. Legendary edition which back-edited from a secret preliminary concordance compiled by the official publication team (Vols. 2 and 3 also make use of photographs released after Vol. 1 was published). Not fully reliable. Volume 4 contains a concordance.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions*. JDS. Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University, 1996. Transcription revision of Yadin's text (incorporating material from 11Q20–21, 4Q365 and 4Q524; cf. DJD 23 and 25), with an extensive bibliography.
- Charlesworth, James H., et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-Language Edition*. Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996. Useful for its color plates of the manuscript.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*. TSAJ 63. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Parry, Donald W. and Elisha Qimron, eds. *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>): A New Edition*. STDJ 32. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Facing photographic plates and transcription of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. Includes a lengthy select bibliography.
- Lefkovits, Judah K. *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation: A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary*. STDJ 25. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Doudna, Gregory L. *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition*. JSPSup 35. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Fincke, Andrew. *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> restored and compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>f</sup>*. STDJ 43. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Greenfield, Jonas C., Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel. *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*. SVTP 19. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004. Eclectic text following Cairo Genizah manuscripts along with the 1Q and 4QLevi texts (also references later Greek and Syriac traditions that likely stem from this earlier Semitic text).
- Drawnel, Henryk. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004. Edits the Aramaic Levi document from Qumran, Cairo Genizah, and Mt. Athos manuscripts, with translation and notes.

- Brizemeure, Daniel, Noël Lacoudre, and Émile Puech. *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15): Expertise—Restauration—Épigraphie*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Describes the restoration process of the Copper Scroll and includes excellent photographic (b/w and color) plates of the text with transcription.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*. STJD 56. Leiden, Brill 2006. Composite text produced from 10 Qumran and 2 Cairo Genizah manuscripts.
- Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatology*. STJD 81. Leiden: Brill, 2008. Edition, translation and commentary.
- Machiela, Daniel A. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. STJD 79. Leiden: Brill, 2009. Includes extensive collection of photographs of the scroll. Discussion focuses on possible relationship to Jubilees.
- Drawnel, Henryk. *Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: OUP, 2011. Edition of 4Q208–211, with discussion of relationship to 1 Enoch 72–82.

#### *Microfiche:*

- Tov, Emanuel, and Stephen Pfann. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judean Desert*. Leiden: Brill, 1993). Introduced and catalogued in Tov and Pfann, *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 1995; and in G. J. Brooke and H. K. Bond, eds. *The Allegro Qumran Collection*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

#### *Electronic Editions:*

- Tov, Emanuel, ed. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library: Revised Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Includes texts, images, and morphological analysis of all texts.
- Tov, Emanuel, ed. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, 2: Including the Dead Sea Scrolls Database*. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Searchable DJD transcriptions and English translation, also selected digital images.
- Dead Sea Scrolls on CD*. Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Provo, UT, 1998.
- Lim, Timothy H. in consultation with Philip S. Alexander. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Photographic plates.
- “The Digital Dead Sea Scrolls” Project of the Israel Museum (Shrine of the Book) in Jerusalem and Google at <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il>. Provides high resolution images of some of the more famous scrolls (the Isaiah Scroll presents an English translation when you click on the image).
- The “Great Isaiah Scroll Directory” by Fred P. Miller at <http://www.ao.net/~fmoeller/qumdir.htm> (black & white images of scroll pages with discussion of variations from the MT).

*Handbook Texts and Translations:*

- Parry, Donald W., and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005. Facing Hebrew/Aramaic and English for non-biblical scrolls grouped by genre (consult “Contents of Complete Edition” at end of each volume to locate a particular scroll). Main advantages to this edition are that it often follows the DJD transcribed texts and translations (otherwise it typically uses the Wise-Abegg-Cook translation), it retains the DJD line numbering, and it indicates the certainty of individual Hebrew/Aramaic characters in each word.
- García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998; paperback ed. Brill/Eerdmans, 1999). Facing Hebrew/Aramaic and English for non-biblical scrolls, with helpful bibliography on each scroll (including biblical scrolls) in numerical order. Does not indicate certainty of individual Hebrew/Aramaic characters; no Scripture index. Vol. 2 contains helpful indices of MS numbers and titles.
- Lohse, Eduard. *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und deutsch*. Munich: Kösel, 1964. Pointed Hebrew of some well-known scrolls with German translation.

*Translations:*

- Abegg, Martin, Jr. Eugene Ulrich, and Peter Flint. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999; New York: HarperCollins, 1999. Biblical texts not covered in other single-volume translations; best to compare with the original language editions in DJD.
- García Martínez, Florentino. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*. 2d ed. Leiden: Brill, 1996; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996. Also contains a helpful list of scrolls.
- Vermes, Geza. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 7th ed. New York/London: Penguin Classics, 2012. Contains a helpful introduction and a list of scrolls.
- Wise, Michael, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996). Typically follows numerical order of scrolls; introduction argues against the standard Essene hypothesis.

*Concordances:*

- Abegg, Martin G., Jr., et al. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill 2003–. Very useful KWIC concordance with vol. 1 (pts. 1 & 2) on non-biblical scrolls from Qumran and Vol. 3 (pts. 1 & 2) on the biblical scrolls from the Dead Sea that have currently been published; forthcoming volume 2 is to index the non-biblical scrolls from other (non-Qumran) Dead Sea sites.
- Charlesworth, James H., et al. *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991. Contains a concordance of the attested word forms (not dictionary forms) for all

published texts up to 1990 (i.e. up to DJD 7). For later DJD volumes use the indexes in each DJD volume or (easier) the Abegg volumes.

Kuhn, Karl Georg, ed. *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Includes only the earliest published scrolls. All words are listed according to dictionary form. Update in Kuhn, "Nachträge," *RevQ* 4 (1963–64) 163–234.

Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, Vol. 4 (see Other Editions above) provides a concordance of Vols. 1–3 (involving many 4Q documents). Cautious use is suggested.

### *Scripture Index:*

An official complete Scripture index to the non-biblical scrolls is not yet available, so individual textual editions (esp. DJD) must be consulted. For partial indexes it is worth checking the index to Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (above under Bibliography). Currently the most complete list is in vol. 3 of the German translation by Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*. Tübingen: UTB, 1996.

Index of passages in the biblical scrolls may be found in DJD 39, pp. 185–201 (also see Eugene Ulrich, "Appendix I," in Flint & Vanderkam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years*, pp. 649–65; full bibliography under "Introductions" below).

### *Lexicons & Lexical Tools:*

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press & Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2011). Sources for this lexicon include the Hebrew Bible, the Ben Sira texts, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and ancient inscriptions.

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009. Abridgment of the 8-volume *Dictionary*.

Sander, Ruth, and Kerstin Mayerhofer. *Retrograde Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary*. JAJSupp 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010. Lists Hebrew/Aramaic words in reverse character order, thus facilitating reconstruction of fragmentary texts. Updates K. G. Kuhn's *Rückläufiges hebräisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958.

Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Judean Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2003. Includes documentary texts (except for Qumran materials) from roughly 165 BC–AD 200. Useful for comparison purposes.

Also helpful, see works by Jastrow and Sokoloff (above under Targumim General Bibliography: Lexicons).

### *Grammar:*

Kutscher, E. Y. *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>d</sup>)*. STDJ 6. Leiden: Brill, 1974. Revised posthumous English edition of 1959 Hebrew edition. Also see his *History of the Hebrew Language*. Leiden: Brill, 1982, 87–114.

Muraoka, T. *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 38. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. Includes Aramaic from other DSS sites as well.

Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars, 1986. Includes treatments of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.

Schattner-Rieser, Ursula. *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. I. Grammaire. Instruments pour l'Étude des Langues de l'Orient Ancien 5*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004.

*Grammar (recent Studies):*

Muraoka, T. and J. F. Elwolde, eds. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. STDJ 26. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Muraoka, T., ed. *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*. Abr-Nahrain, Supplement 3. Louvain: Peeters, 1992.

See also: Nahum M. Waldman. *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography*. Bibliographica Judaica 10. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1989, 98–106.

*Introductions & Dictionaries (selected, in reverse chronological order):*

VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. 2d ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.

Lim, Timothy H., ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford/New York: OUP, 2010.

Fields, Weston W. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Full History*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2009–. Focuses on the history of discovery of the documents; see also his *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Short History*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Lim, Timothy H. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: OUP, 2005. Aptly titled.

Vanderkam, James and Peter Flint. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002.

Schiffman, Lawrence H. and James C. VanderKam, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Oxford: OUP, 2000.

Vermes, Geza. *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: SCM, 1999; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.

Flint, Peter W. and James C. Vanderkam, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999.

Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls series. New York: Routledge, 1996–. Projected 6 short volumes to introduce the scrolls by genre (often with excerpts of scrolls to illustrate points being made). Current volumes include Daniel J. Harrington on *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (1996); J. J. Collins on *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1997); and James C. Vanderkam on *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1998).

García Martínez, Florentino and Julio Trebolle Barrera. *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 1995. Originally published as *Los Hombres de Qumrán*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1993.

Knibb, Michael A. *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Vol. 2; Cambridge: CUP, 1987. Introduction with translated texts and commentaries on several important scrolls.



See also: *JWSTP* 483–550; *HJPJJC* 1:118–22; 3.1:380–469; *ABD* 2:85–101; *CHJ* 3:798–876; *EDEJ*. For Bar Kokhba Letters, see *JWSTP* 588–92; *ABD* 1:601–606; *EDEJ* 418–21.

*Commentaries:*

Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000–. Projects 16 volumes grouped by genre with translation, textual notes and commentary. Currently available are James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (2000) and John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (2011).

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*. 3d ed. Biblica et Orientalia 18/B. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004.

Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960. Commentary with English translations and some summary analysis.

Most textual editions above (especially DJD) contain extensive commentaries.

## 6. Individual Authors

### 6.1 Philo

As an Alexandrian Jewish philosopher who wrote in Greek in the first century AD and who integrated Greek philosophical concepts with (often allegorical) biblical interpretation, Philo has frequently been considered the pre-eminent example of “Hellenistic Judaism.” However, Philo often conveys ideas that relate closely to Palestinian Jewish thought. Two of his extant works deal with contemporary events (*Legatio* and *In Flaccum*), and a few are topical treatises; but most of Philo’s writing involved extensive interpretation of the Pentateuch.

*Bibliography:*

Runia, David T., ed. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1997–2006*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 109. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Runia, David T. and H. M. Keizer. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996 with Addenda for 1937–1986*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 57. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Radice, Roberto and David T. Runia. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937–1986*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 8. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Ongoing bibliography is also found in *The Studia Philonica Annual* (in the Brown Judaic Studies series). For web pages see <http://www.nd.edu/~philojud>.

Also see: <http://www.torrey.org/bible/philopag.html>.

*Critical Texts:*

Terian, Abraham. *Philonis Alexandrini de Animalibus: The Armenian text with an introduction, translation and commentary*. Atlanta: Scholars, 1981.

Petit, F. *L’ancienne version latine des Questions sur la Genèse de Philon d’Alexandrie*. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie, 1973.

Cohn, Leopold, Paul Wendland, et al., eds. *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*. 7 vols. Berlin: Georgi Reimer, 1896–1930; repr. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963. Standard Greek text. Final volume (in two parts) provides a concordance. This text does not include the *Apologia pro Iudaeis* (= *Hypothetica*), the *De Providentia*, nor the *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus* (for these see LCL Vol. 9 and the two supplement volumes), nor does it have the Armenian *De Animalibus* or (pseudo-) Philonic treatises *De Jona*, *De Sampson*, and *De Deo* (for these see below). Available online at <http://archive.org>.

Conybeare, Fred C. *Philo about the Contemplative Life or the Fourth Book of the Treatise Concerning Virtues: Critically Edited with a Defence of Its Genuineness* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1895). Includes Greek and Armenian versions and and extensive commentary.

For Greek and Armenian fragments consult the works listed in pp. 14–19 of the Radice/Runia bibliography (note on pp. 12–13 that the two standard older editions by J. B. Aucher of the Armenian texts are in dire need of revision). Note further James R. Royle. *The Spurious Texts of Philo of Alexandria*. AGJU 22. Leiden: Brill, 1991.

#### *Texts and Translations:*

Colson, F. H., et al. *Philo*. 10 vols. + 2 suppl. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929–1962. Generally follows the Cohn-Wendland text, with infrequent textual notes.

*Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*. 36 vols. Paris: Cerf, 1961–1988. Several volumes of this series (abbreviated: OPA) provide good commentaries (e.g. Pelletier on *Legatio* and *In Flaccum*). Also notable are the volumes by F. Petit, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: fragmenta graeca* (OPA 33; 1978; with Greek and French trans.) and Charles Mercier, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum* (2 vols.; OPA 34; 1979/84; with facing Latin text of the Armenian).

#### *Translations:*

Yonge, C. D. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*. New upd. ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993. Yonge's original translation of the Mangey text of Philo, here updated to better conform to the Cohn-Wendland text. Though Colson's translation is to be preferred, this one is still respected (but do not use this for the *Questions and Answers* on Genesis or Exodus). The original 19th-century translation is available several places online (e.g. <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/yonge> or at <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/philo.html>).

#### *Concordance:*

Borgen, Peder, Kåre Fuglseth, and Roald Skarsten. *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 2000. Previous edition out of Trondheim (1997). Seeks to replace Günter Mayer. *Index Philoneus*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974.

See also: the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database for searchable Greek texts, as well as searchable text modules available for Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos software.

*Scripture Index:*

Allenbach, J., et al. *Biblia Patristica: Supplément. Philon d'Alexandrie*. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982. Also note Vol. 10 in LCL edition.

*Introductions:*

Borgen, Peder. *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*. NovTSup 86. Leiden: Brill, 1997; paperback repr. Atlanta: SBL, 2005).

Goodenough, Erwin R. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. 2d ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

Kamesar, Adam, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*. Cambridge: CUP, 2009.

Sandmel, Samuel. *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction*. Oxford: OUP, 1979.

Schenck, Kenneth. *A Brief Guide to Philo*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005. Aimed at those with only an “elementary knowledge of ancient Judaism.”

Williamson, Ronald. *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Cambridge: CUP, 1989. Fine introduction with excerpts from Philo's works and brief commentary.

See also: *JWSTP* 233–82; *HJPAJC* 3.2:809–89; *ABD* 5:333–42; *CHJ* 3:877–900; *EDEJ* 1063–80.

*Commentaries:*

Box, H. *Philonis Alexandrini in Flaccum*. Greek Texts and Commentaries. 2d ed. London/New York: OUP, 1939.

Cadiou, R. *Philon d'Alexandrie: La migration d'Abraham*. SC 47. Paris: Cerf, 1957.

Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill: 2001–. Current volumes include David T. Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses* (2001); Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom* (2003; repr. SBL, 2005); Walter T. Wilson, *On Virtues* (2010).

Siebert, Folker. *Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten*. 2 vols. WUNT 20/61. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1980, 1992. Vol. 1 German translation, Vol. 2 commentary on the (pseudo-) Philonic *De Jona* and *De Sampson*. Similarly note F. Siebert, et al., *Pseudo-Philon Prédications Synagogales*. SC 435. Paris: Cerf, 1999. Also note *De Deo* commentary in Siebert's *Philon von Alexandrien*. WUNT 46. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988.

Smallwood, E. Mary. *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*. 2d ed. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

Winston, David, and John Dillon. *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria*. BJS 25. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1983. On *De Gigantibus* and *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*.

See also: French edition (= OPA) above under Texts and Translations and Conybeare under Critical Texts.

## 6.2 Josephus

This Jewish politician, general, and revolutionary turncoat provides our most extensive source for Jewish history in the Second Temple period. His works are immensely informative, but also have to be carefully weighed in light of Josephus's own authorial purposes, including his indebtedness to the Flavian emperors. The extant (Christian) MSS of Josephus's works may betray some tampering, especially in the brief *Testimonium Flavianum* concerning Jesus. *The Jewish War* details the causes and history of the revolt of AD 66–73. The *Jewish Antiquities* covers biblical and intertestamental history until the outbreak of that revolt. The *Life* represents Josephus's self-defense against his opponents regarding his conduct during the Revolt. *Against Apion* produces an extended apologetic for Judaism against pagan attacks. Josephus's extant corpus is Greek from the turn of the 1st/2d cent. AD (likely he also produced an earlier Aramaic version of the *War*), but versions in other languages also exist (esp. in Slavonic).

*Bibliographies:*

- Feldman, Louis H. "A Selective Critical Bibliography of Josephus." *Josephus, the Bible, and History*. Ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata. Leiden: Brill, 1989, 330–448. A helpful annotated bibliography in narrative style.
- Feldman, Louis H. *Josephus: A Supplementary Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1986. Supplements and corrects Schreckenberg (through 1984).
- Feldman, Louis H. *Josephus and Modern Scholarship 1937–1980*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984; with corrigenda in *ANRW* II.20.2. Helpfully annotated (over 1000 pages!).
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus: Supplementband mit Gesamtregister*. ALGHJ 14. Leiden: Brill, 1979.
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus*. ALGHJ 1. Leiden: Brill, 1968. Chronological from AD 1470 with slight annotation and limited indexes.
- See also: <http://www.josephus.org/> (= G. J. Goldberg's "Flavius Josephus Home Page"); <http://pace.mcmaster.ca/york/york/index.htm> (= Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement at York University hosted by Steve Mason).

*Critical Text:*

- Labow, Dagmar. *Flavius Josephus Contra Apionem Buch I: Einleitung, Text, textkritischer Apparat, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. BWANT 9/7. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005. Published doctoral thesis.
- Niese, Benedictus. *Flavii Iosephi Opera*. 7 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–1895. NB: the *editio maior*, not *minor*. Standard Greek text and more highly respected than Naber's edition of the same vintage. Available online at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> and partially downloadable at <http://books.google.com>.
- Naber, S. A. *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia*. 6 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1896. Available at <http://archive.org>.
- See also: the project by the Münsteraner Josephus-Team below under Commentary, the work by Labow under Text and Translation, and the trans-

lation of the Slavonic text of *War* by Leeming under Translation. For J. Sievers's parallel text of *Bell.* 1 and *Ant.* 12–14 with 1 and 2 Maccabees see above under “Apocrypha.”

*Text and Translation:*

Nodet, Etienne, ed. *Flavius Josèphe, Les Antiquités Juives.* 4+ vols. Paris: Cerf, 1990–. With helpful notes. Also in French see Théodore Reinach and Léon Blum. *Flavius Josèphe, Contre Apion.* Paris: Société D'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1930 and André Pelletier. *Flavius Josèphe, Autobiographie.* Paris: Société D'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1959.

Pines, Shlomo. *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications.* Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1971. Text, translation, and important discussion of the several manuscript traditions of this short (but highly significant) passage.

Thackeray, H. St. J., et al. *Josephus.* 9 vols. LCL. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965; London: Heinemann, 1926–1965. Currently being reprinted as 13 volumes. Not a full text-critical apparatus. This standard English translation is to be preferred over Whiston, though best to use Niese (or other critical editions) for the Greek text.

See also: Michel and Bauernfeind under Commentary.

*Translation:*

Cornfeld, Gaalya, et al., eds. *Josephus: The Jewish War: Newly translated with extensive commentary and archaeological background illustrations.* Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982. Useful way to engage the *Jewish War* for beginning students.

Leeming, H. and K. Leeming, eds. *Josephus's Jewish War and its Slavonic Version: A Synoptic Comparison of the English Translation by H. St. J. Thackeray with the Critical Edition by N. A. Meščerskij of the Slavonic Version in the Vilna Manuscript translated into English by H. Leeming and L. Osinkina.* AGAJU 46. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003. Very helpful access to the Slavonic recension.

Whiston, William. *The Works of Josephus.* London: Printed by W. Bowyer for the author, 1737. Reportedly the first printing was from 1736, but this is the earliest edition we could find (at Cambridge University Library). Frequently republished. Current Hendrickson 1987 repr. includes Loeb numbers. Kregel 1999 repr. (*The New Complete Works of Josephus*) includes brief commentary by Paul L. Maier. Whiston's translation appears in electronic form in many Bible programs (also free on the web in several locations; e.g. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>, <http://www.ccel.org>, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/josephus/index.htm>, or <http://archive.org>). The Thackeray et al. LCL translation is to be preferred for all academic work.

Williamson, G. A., trans. *Josephus: The Jewish War.* Rev. E. Mary Smallwood. New York: Penguin, 1981. Useful paperback edition.

*Concordances:*

Boettger, Gustav. *Topographisch-Historisches Lexicon zu den Schriften des Flavius Josephus.* Leipzig, 1879; repr. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1966. Includes discussion of each locale. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

- Feldman, L. H., and J. R. Levison, eds. *Josephus's Contra Apionem: Studies in its Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek*. AGJU 34. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich, ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1973–1983. With a supplement volume by Abraham Schalit. *Namenvörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*. Leiden: Brill, 1968. Reprinted as a 2-volume unabridged “study edition” (Leiden: Brill, 2002).
- See also: the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database for searchable Greek texts; also searchable text at the Perseus website (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>). Searchable text modules available for Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos software.

*Lexicon:*

- Thackeray, Henry St. John and Ralph Marcus. *A Lexicon to Josephus*. 4 fascicles. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1930–1955. Only through ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν.

*Introductions:*

- Bartlett, John R. *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristaeus, The Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Cambridge: CUP, 1985. Features excerpts with commentary.
- Bilde, Per. *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome*. JSPSup 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988.
- Hadas-Lebel, Mireille. *Flavius Josephus: Eyewitness to Rome's First-Century Conquest of Judea*. Trans. Richard Miller. New York: Macmillan, 1993. Introductory biographical narrative.
- Maier, Paul L. *Josephus: the Essential Works*. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1994. Condensation of *Antiquities* and *War* with introductory sidebars and maps.
- Mason, Steve. *Josephus and the New Testament*. 2d ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003.
- Rajak, Tessa. *Josephus: the Historian and His Society*. 2d ed. London: Duckworth, 2002.
- See also: *HJPAJC* 1:43–63; *JWSTP* 185–232; *ABD* 3:981–98; *CHJ* 3:901–21; *EDEJ* 828–41.

*Commentary Series:*

- Mason, Steve N., general ed. *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*. 10 vols. projected. Leiden: Brill, 1999–. About half of these volumes are currently available.
- The “Münsteraner Josephus-Team” (of the Josephus-Arbeitskreis des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, Münster) has committed to producing a critical text and German commentary on *Vita*, *Contra Apionem*, and *Antiquities* to fill out the work by Otto Michel and Otto Bauernfeind on *De Bello Judaico: Der jüdische Krieg* (Munich: Kösel, 1959–1969). See Folker Siegert, Heinz Schreckenber, Manuel Vogel, et al. *Aus meinem Leben (Vita): Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001. Folker Siegert, ed. *Über die Ursprünglichkeit des Judentums (Contra Apionem)*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008.

### 6.3 Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*

This work, which does not actually claim to be written by Philo, constitutes a first-century AD Jewish rewriting of much of the material from Genesis through 1 Samuel. Originally it was probably written in Hebrew. The few Latin MSS, as faulty as they are, remain the best testimony to the original text.

#### *Text and Translation:*

Harrington, Daniel J., et al. *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*. 2 vols. SC 229–230. Paris: Cerf, 1976. Vol. 2 contains an extensive commentary.

Harrington, Daniel J. *The Hebrew Fragments of Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum Preserved in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel*. SBLTT 3. Missoula, MT: SBL, 1974. Harrington views these as a loose Hebrew translation from the Latin rather than as the Hebrew original text.

#### *Text:*

Kisch, Guido. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. Publications in Mediaeval Studies. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1949.

#### *Translation:*

James, M. R. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*. London: SPCK, 1917. Online at <http://archive.org> and at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/bap>. And see Harrington's translation in Charlesworth, *OTP* 2:297–377.

#### *Commentary:*

Jacobson, Howard. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*. 2 vols. AGJU 31. Leiden: Brill, 1996. For further bibliography, see pp. 1220–21 (and note preface, p. x).

Murphy, Frederick J. *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible*. Oxford: OUP, 1993).

### 6.4 Fragmentary Works and Others

For [the Letter of] Aristeas and the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides, see under Pseudepigrapha above. Numerous fragments are known from other Jewish authors, especially as represented in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica*. Translations and introductions can also be found in Charlesworth's edition of the Pseudepigrapha (*OTP* 2:773–918).

#### *Texts and Translations:*

Holladay, Carl R. *Fragments From Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. 4 vols. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989–1996. Vol. 1: Historians; Vol. 2: Theodotus, Philo the Poet, Ezekiel the Tragedian; Vol. 3: Aristobulus; Vol. 4: Orphica.

#### *Introductions:*

*JWSTP*; *HJPAJC* Vol. 3; *CHJ* 2:385–408.

#### *Commentaries:*

Jacobson, Howard. *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*. Cambridge: CUP, 1983.

Lanfranchi, Pierluigi. *L'Exagoge d'Ezéchiel le Tragique: Introduction, texte, traduction et commentaire*. SVTP 21. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006.

Wacholder, Ben Zion. *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*. Mono-

graphs of the Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1974. For Eupolemus *see also* Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World* 56–71 (under Josephus).

## 7. Rabbinic Literature

The editorial processes for the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds seem to have been more complex than tradition allows, and this is often also true of the midrashim. Thus one must always be careful in dating rabbinic material. At times certain sayings in rabbinic literature are associated with particular rabbis. This can assist in the dating process, but modern talmudic scholarship is rightly cautious about accepting the accuracy of traditional rabbinic attributions. Form-critical approaches, though attracting wide attention, also have not always produced verifiable results. Therefore, the scholar should exercise caution when arguing that a certain rabbinic teaching was commonly accepted in Second Temple times. Perhaps the best approach involves identifying trends existing in pre-rabbinic literature (e.g. LXX, DSS, Apocrypha, Josephus, etc.) that are also reflected in rabbinic works, implying some historical continuity or trajectory.

Dates given below are generally from Stemberger's *Introduction*. The immense manuscript finds from the Cairo Genizah have added textual witnesses often not recorded in the critical editions listed below (cf. the respective sections in Stemberger's *Introduction*).

### *Scripture Index:*

Hyman, Aaron. *Torah Hakethubab Vehamessurab*. 2d ed., rev. and enl. by Arthur B. Hyman. 3 vols. Tel-Aviv: Dvir, 1979.

### *Thematic Index* (in the form of NT commentary):

Strack, Hermann L. and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. 6 vols. in 7. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1922–1961. Rightly criticized for not properly dating its NT “background” material, but still a very useful tool for locating potential rabbinic parallels. Some recent projects are seeking to accomplish similar objectives, but with greater claim to first-century results (e.g. works by Chilton and by Instone-Brewer above under “Sourcebooks” [§1.3]).

### *Computer Software:*

*The Judaic Classics Deluxe Edition* CD-ROM from Davka Software. Chicago; website <http://www.davka.com>). This includes most rabbinic texts from standard (non-critical) Hebrew/Aramaic editions, allowing for character string searches. Davka also produces versions of the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash Rabbah texts packaged with searchable Soncino English translations.

A more carefully prepared, but also more expensive, electronic database is available from Bar-Ilan University in Israel (The Global Jewish Database [The Responsa Project]; see: <http://www.biu.ac.il/jh/Responsa>). Texts of the Tosefta and the Halakhic Midrashim are freely available through



the “Primary Textual Witnesses to Tannaitic Literature” webpage (in Hebrew) of Bar Ilan University; see: <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tannaim>. Most comprehensive is the *Maagarim* Database project (which goes beyond character string searches), though the menus are all in Hebrew (see: <http://hebrew-treasures.huji.ac.il>).

For English translations of rabbinic literature see below, and note links at: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/index.htm> (Internet Sacred Text Archive) and at <http://www.tyndale.cam.ac.uk/index.php?page=BibleBackgroundJewish> (Tyndale House: Jewish & Rabbinic Background to the Bible).

### *Lexicons:*

Krauss, Samuel. *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum*. Corrected by I. Löw. Berlin: Calvary, 1898–1899; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964. Classic source on loanwords in rabbinic literature. When possible compare with subsequent loanword work (on more limited lexical entries) by Daniel Sperber (*A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature and Nautica Talmudica*) and by Immanuel Löw (*Die Flora der Juden*).

Levy, Jacob. *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1876–1889. With indexes by August Wünsche. Available online at <http://archive.org>. Second edition published as *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. Berlin and Vienna: Harz, 1924.

*Be sure to see above under Targumim*: Sokoloff, Jastrow, Levy, and the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon. For further recommendations see chapters 7–8 in Shimeon Brisman, *History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 2000.

### *Grammars:*

Pérez Fernández, Miguel. *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*. Trans. John Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1997; paperback Brill, 1999. Originally published as *La lengua de los sabios*. Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1992.

Segal, M. H. *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1927.

*See also*: Grammars above under Targumim and below by rabbinic writing.

### *Introductions:*

Fonrobert, Charlotte Elisheva, and Martin S. Jaffee, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*. Cambridge: CUP, 2007.

Montefiore, C. G. and H. Loewe. *A Rabbinic Anthology*. London: Macmillan, 1938. Topical collection of rabbinic passages with introductions from Reformed and Orthodox Jewish perspectives. Frequently reprinted.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Classics of Judaism: A Textbook and Reader*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995.

Neusner, Jacob. *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature*. ABRL. New York: Doubleday, 1994; paperback reprint, Yale University Press, 1999.

Neusner, Jacob. *Invitation to Midrash: The Workings of Rabbinic Bible Interpretation*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989; repr. University of South Florida, 1998.

- Neusner, Jacob. *Invitation to the Talmud: A Teaching Book*. Rev. and exp. ed. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984; repr. Wipf & Stock, 2003.
- Neusner, Jacob. *The Reader's Guide to the Talmud*. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Among Neusner's many other introductory works.
- Porton, Gary G. *Understanding Rabbinic Midrash: Texts and Commentary*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1985.
- Safrai, Shmuel, ed. *The Literature of the Sages: Part 1: Oral Tora, Halakha, Mishna, Tosefta, Talmud, External Tractates*. CRINT 2.3a. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.
- Safrai, Shmuel, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, Peter J. Tomson, eds. *The Literature of the Sages: Part 2: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature*. CRINT 2.3b. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum. Philadelphia: Fortress, 2006.
- Stemberger, Günter. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Trans. Markus Bockmuehl. 2d ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996. A wonderful volume, full of detailed discussion and bibliography.
- See also*: HJPAJ 1:68–99; CHJ 4:299–368, 663–77, 840–76.

## 7.1 Talmudic Literature

The Mishnah is traditionally held to have been compiled around AD 200 by Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi. There are two Talmuds: the Jerusalem Talmud (also called “Yerushalmi” or “Palestinian Talmud”) and the Babylonian (“Bavli”). The Mishnah forms the basis around which the Talmuds structure their comments (i.e. *Gemara*). *Tannaitic* is the term given to the material from the rabbis (= *Tannaim*) who taught from the destruction of the Temple (AD 70) until the compilation of the Mishnah. *Amoraic* material comes from the rabbis (*Amoraim*) who taught after the Mishnah until the compilation of the Bavli. The Gemara of the Talmuds, though later than the Mishnah, can contain traditions from the tannaitic period; such a tradition is called a *baraita*. The Tosefta, probably edited in the third to fourth century AD (though this is debated), also contains significant tannaitic material, some of which is not reflected in the Mishnah but is cited later in the Talmuds.

The Mishnah (and consequently the Talmuds) is divided into 6 *sederim* (or “orders”) and 63 tractates (though not all tractates receive Gemara in the Talmuds). There also exist several “Extra-canonical Tractates” not in the Mishnah but traditionally appended to the Talmuds.

### 7.1.1 Mishnah (c. AD 200)

The foundational compilation of (principally) legal judgments. Traditionally associated with Rabbi Judah the Prince, most scholars date its essential compilation to around AD 200. However, certain parts, most notably the famous tractate Aboth (“Sayings of the Fathers”), were appended later.

*Critical Editions* (in progress):

- Beer, G., et al., eds. *Die Mischna: Text, Übersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung*. 42+ vols. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann/Berlin: de Gruyter, 1912–. This “Giessen Mishnah” with German translations provides eclectic critical

texts in early volumes (MS Kaufman is the basis for later volumes). Often supplies helpful commentary.

Sacks, Nissan, et al., eds. *The Mishnah with Variant Readings Collected from Manuscripts, Fragments or the 'Genizah' and Early Printed Editions and Collated with Quotations from the Mishnah in Early Rabbinic Literature as well as with Bertinoro's Commentary from Manuscript*. 2+ vols. Jerusalem, 1971–. From the Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud and Yad Harav Herzog.

For individual tractates see: Stemberger, *Introduction* 143–44.

*Text:*

Albeck, Chanoch. *Shishab Sidre Mishnah*. 6 vols. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1952–58. With traditional commentaries.

Also see: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/b/h/h0.htm> and manuscript facsimiles at [http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud/intro\\_eng.htm](http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud/intro_eng.htm).

*Text and Translation:*

Blackman, Philip. *Mishnayoth*. 2d ed. 7 vols. New York: Judaica, 1964. Includes brief notes and occasional textual variants; Vol. 7 contains indexes, a short grammar section, and various lexical helps.

Other similar editions are being published (often connected with Orthodox rabbinic circles), such as one with commentary by R. Pinhas Kehati (sponsored by Kaplan-Kushlick Foundation).

See also: the important project by David Instone-Brewer (*TRENT*) under Sourcebooks (see §1.3 above).

*Translations:*

Danby, Herbert. *The Mishnah*. London: OUP, 1933; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2012. A fine work and long considered the standard English translation.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Mishnah: A New Translation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988. Helpfully structured and a useful translation.

*Concordance:*

Kasovsky, Chayim Yehoshua. *Thesaurus Mishnae*. Emended ed. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Massadah, 1956–1960.

*Modern Commentaries:*

Neusner, Jacob. *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Holy Things*. Leiden: Brill, 1978–1980. Concerned principally with form criticism and history of tradition (especially in comparison with the Tosefta). Similar works by Neusner and his students cover the other orders.

Also see: the “Giessen Mishnah” above under Critical Editions, and bibliography in Stemberger’s *Introduction* 143–48.

7.1.2 Tosefta (3d–4th cent. AD?)

While following the general order of the Mishnah, the Tosefta contains further tannaitic material, many portions of which are not in the Mishnah. The relationship between the Tosefta and the Mishnah is debated, with significant

research now focusing on individual Tosefta tractates in comparison with their Mishnaic counterparts.

*Critical Editions and Commentaries* (incomplete):

Kittel, Gerhard, Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, et al., eds. *Rabbinische Texte. Erste Reihe: Die Tosefta*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–. With commentary and German translation. Some early fascicles are superseded by later releases in the same series.

Lieberman, Saul. *Tosefta Ki-Fshuṭab: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta*. 12 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955–1988. Only complete for the first three orders plus the first three tractates of the fourth order.

For individual tractates see: Stemberger, *Introduction* 161 (many with modern commentary).

*Text:*

Zuckerman, M. S. *Tosephta: Based on the Erfurt and Vienna Codices*. 2d ed. Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1937. Reprints 1882 edition with “Supplement to the Tosephta” by Saul Liebermann. Includes indexes and a Hebrew-German glossary. Available online at <http://www.hebrewbooks.org/20419>.

Also see: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/b/£/f0.htm>; transcriptions of manuscripts at <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tannaim/tosefta>; and numerous texts, photographic images, and translations at <http://www.toseftaonline.org/seforim.html>.

*Translation:*

Neusner, Jacob. *The Tosefta: Translated from the Hebrew*. 6 vols. New York: Ktav, 1977–1986; repr. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990–1999; 2-volume repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002. Excerpted from his *History of the Mishnaic Law* series (see under Mishnah).

English translations also exist of Mishnah and Tosefta tractates Berakoth (A. Lukyn Williams; SPCK, 1921) and Sanhedrin (H. Danby; SPCK, 1919). Both are available online at <http://www.toseftaonline.org/seforim.html>.

*Concordance:*

Kasowski, Chaim Josua. *Thesaurus Thosephtae: Concordantiae Verborum quae in sex Thosephtae ordinibus reperiuntur*. 6 vols. Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1932–1961.

*Modern Commentaries:*

See Neusner et al. *History of the Mishnaic Law* series (under Mishnah) and above Critical Editions.

### 7.1.3 Jerusalem Talmud (5th cent. AD ?)

Though the Yerushalmi, edited in Palestine, is generally considered the older of the two Talmuds, its study has often been neglected in favor of the Babylonian Talmud. A typical Yerushalmi citation looks like this: *y. Sanh.* 6:9 [23c] (= tractate Sanhedrin, on Mishnah 6:9, folio 23, column c). There are four columns (a–d) per

folio (two on the front side of the folio leaf and two on the back, lettered right to left). The *editio princeps* is the Bomberg edition (Venice, 1523–1524); but the best known edition is from Krotoshin (1866). A synoptic edition of manuscripts is being produced.

*Synoptic Edition:*

Schäfer, Peter, and Hans-Jürgen Becker, eds. *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi*. 7+ vols. TSAJ; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1991–. Transcribes manuscript traditions in parallel columns.

*Translation:*

Guggenheimer, Heinrich W. *The Jerusalem Talmud*. 13+ vols. Studia Judaica. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2000–. Text, translation, with brief notes. Will likely become the standard academic English translation.

Hengel, Martin, et al., gen. eds. *Übersetzung des Talmud Yerushalmi*. 30+ vols. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1975–. First volume by Charles Horowitz published under series *Der Jerusalemer Talmud in deutscher Übersetzung* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1975). An excellent German translation series.

Neusner, Jacob, et al. *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*. 35 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982–1994; CD-ROM reprint in *The Jerusalem Talmud* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010). Helpful earliest complete English translation, though the translation quality varies. Neusner's 8-volume *Complete Outline* is a significantly abbreviated outline of this translation; and his *Academic Commentary* is merely a restructuring of this translation into a better logical format (unfortunately it omits the notes and index from the *Preliminary Translation*).

*Text and Translation:*

*Talmud Yerushalmi: The Schottenstein Edition*. ArtScroll. Brooklyn: Mesorah Publications, 2005–. Hebrew/Aramaic text with English translation and notes (from a traditional rabbinic perspective).

*Also see:* text at <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/b/r/r0.htm>.

*Concordance:*

Kosovsky, Moshe. *Concordance to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud)*. 8+ vols. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1979–. Also includes a one-volume *Onomasticon* of cited Rabbis.

*Commentaries:*

*See:* Stemberger, *Introduction* 186–89.

### 7.1.4 Babylonian Talmud (6th cent. AD?)

The official Talmud of Judaism and a product of the Babylonian academy (often simply called “the Talmud”). A typical Bavli citation looks like this: *b. Sanh.* 44a (= tractate Sanhedrin, folio 44, side a). There are two sides to each folio leaf (a and b = front and back). The Wilna edition (AD 1880–1886) is the standard basis for a variety of recent printed texts. A few tractates have appeared in critical

editions (see Stemberger, *Introduction* 213); especially notable is the project from the Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud and the Yad Harav Herzog in Jerusalem (see <http://www.yadharavherzog.org>).

*Text and Translation:*

Epstein, I., ed. *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud*. 36 vols. London: Soncino, 1960–1990. The esteemed Soncino translation published alongside a reproduction of the Wilna text.

*The Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition*. New York: Random House, 1989–. Pointed text, “literal translation,” Rashi’s commentary text, and commentary by Adin Steinsaltz with notes. Reference guide in the final volume.

*Talmud Bavli: The Schottenstein Edition*. ArtScroll. Brooklyn: Mesorah Publications, 1991–. Text of Wilna edition with English translation and notes (from a traditional rabbinic perspective).

*Also see:* Text online at <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/b/l/10.htm> and manuscript facsimiles at [http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud/intro\\_eng.htm](http://jnul.huji.ac.il/dl/talmud/intro_eng.htm).

*Translations:*

Epstein, I., ed. *The Babylonian Talmud*. 18 vols. London: Soncino, 1961. The 18th volume is an index. Originally published as 35 volumes (1935–1952). Major portions of this are available online at: <http://www.halakhah.com> or at <http://www.come-and-hear.com/talmud/index.html>.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Talmud of Babylonia: An American Translation*. 36 vols. in 76 bound vols.; BJS; Chico, CA and Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1984–1995; repr. 22 vols.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011. CD-ROM available from Hendrickson (2010). As in the Yerushalmi, Neusner also replaced this with an *Academic Commentary* (same translation, different graphic format).

*Also see:* Michael L. Rodkinson public domain abridged translation at Internet Sacred Text Archive (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/talmud.htm>); use Soncino translation instead if at all possible.

*Concordance:*

Goldschmidt, Lazarus. *Subject Concordance to the Babylonian Talmud*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959. In Hebrew/Aramaic. Not a full concordance, but can be useful (use Kasowski if you need to be comprehensive).

Kasowski, Chaim Josua, and Biniamin Kasowski [=B. Kosovsky]. *Thesaurus Talmudis: Concordantiae Verborum quae in Talmude Babylonico Reperiuntur*. 42 vols. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture and The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1954–1989. An additional 5 vols. by B. Kosovsky cover the rabbinic names cited in the Talmud (= *Thesaurus Nominum quae in Talmude Babylonico Reperiuntur* [1976–1983]).

*Lexicon:*

Frank, Yitzhak. *The Practical Talmud Dictionary*. 2d ed. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1994. Brief glosses, but more helpful than Jastrow for beginning translation. For better lexicography, see general bibliography above.

*Grammar:*

Frank, Yitzhak. *Grammar for Gemara: An Introduction to Babylonian Aramaic*. 2d ed. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1995.

Marcus, David. *A Manual of Babylonian Jewish Aramaic*. University Press of America, 1981.

*Commentary:*

Ilan, Tal, Tamara Or, Dorothea M. Salzer, Christiane Steuer, and Irina Wandrey, eds. *A Feminist Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud* [FCBT] series. 4+ vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007–.

*Selections:*

Bokser, Ben Zion, et al. *The Talmud: Selected Writings*. Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist, 1989.

Cohen, Abraham. *Everyman's Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949. With frequent reprints.

Schechter, Solomon. *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*. New York: Macmillan, 1909; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

Solomon, Norman. *The Talmud: A Selection*. Penguin Classics. London/New York: Penguin, 2009.

Steinsaltz, Adin. *The Essential Talmud*. New York: Basic Books, 1976.

## 7.1.5 Extra-canonical Tractates

Fourteen tractates, not known in the Mishnah (and not considered of talmudic authority in modern Judaism), are appended at the end of order Neziqin in most printed editions of the Bavli. For texts and translations, see the Soncino edition listed under the Babylonian Talmud above (and note further Stemberger, *Introduction* 225–32). The best known of these is the *Avot de Rabbi Nathan* [= ARN]. This haggadic work (resembling Mishnah tractate *Aboth*) exists in two versions (ARN A and B), which vary in size and likely date of recension (anywhere from 3d cent. to 9th cent. AD). Also of significance is the tractate on mourning and burial rites known as “*Šemaḥot*” or “*Ebel rabbati*”.

*Text of ARN:*

Schechter, Solomon. *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan: Edited from Manuscripts with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices*. Vienna: Lippe, 1887; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1979.

*Translations of ARN:*

Becker, Hans-Jürgen, and Christoph Berner. *Avot de-Rabbi Natan: Synoptische Edition beider Versionen*. TSAJ 116. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2006.

Becker, Christoph Berner, Wolfram Drews, and Ulrike Kämpf. *Geniza-Fragmente zu Avot de-Rabbi Natan*. TSAJ 103. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan: An Analytical Translation and Explanation*. BJS 114. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. Translation of ARN A.

Saldarini, Anthony J. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan (Abot de Rabbi Nathan) Version B: A Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

*Text and Translation of Šemaḥot*

Zlotnick, Dov. *The Tractate "Mourning" (Šemaḥot)*. Yale Judaica Series 17. London/New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. Includes introduction, text, translation, and commentary.

## 7.2 Midrash

The Midrashim vary widely in date and style. The earliest "Halakhic Midrashim" may date from the time of the Mishnah, whereas other midrashic works frequently cited by NT scholars may be as much as 1000 years later than the NT.

*Bibliography:*

Haas, Lee. "Bibliography on Midrash" in *The Study of Ancient Judaism I. Mishnah, Midrash, Siddur*. Ed. Jacob Neusner. 2 vols. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992, 1:93–193.

See also: Stemberger, *Introduction* 233–325, and the bibliography at <http://www.huc.edu/midrash>.

*Introduction:*

Hammer, Reuven. *The Classic Midrash: Tannaitic Commentaries on the Bible*. Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist, 1995. Includes extensive citations of the halakhic midrashim with comments.

### 7.2.1 Halakhic Midrashim

Also known as the "Tannaitic Midrashim," these exegetical/legal treatments of the Pentateuch are largely thought to come from the time of the codification of the Mishnah and Tosefta (c. 3d cent. AD, though with later tampering in many cases [note respective entries in Stemberger, *Introduction*]; some scholars contend for a significantly later dating). There are four principal Halakhic Midrashim, corresponding to the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy (the Mekhilta, Sifra, Sifre Numbers, and Sifre Deuteronomy). However, medieval evidence points to the parallel development of three (or possibly four) other midrashim based on the same four biblical books but displaying a different editorial viewpoint. Of this group three midrashim have been reconstructed through medieval quotations or through fragmentary MSS (esp. from the Cairo Genizah).

#### MEKHILTA DE RABBI ISHMAEL (on Exodus)

*Critical text:*

Horovitz, H. S., and I. A. Rabin. *Mekhilta D'Rabbi Ismael*. Corpus Tannaiticum III.1.3. Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann, 1931.

*Critical text and translation:*

Lauterbach, Jacob Z. *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933–1935; repr. in 2 volumes, 2004.

*Translation:*

Neusner, Jacob. *Mekhilta According to Rabbi Ishmael: An Analytical Translation*. 2



vols. BJS 148, 154. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

*Concordance:*

Kosovsky, Biniamin. *Otzar Leshon Hatanna' im* [sic]: *Concordantiae verborum quae in Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael reperiuntur*. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1965–1969.

*Other:*

Older edition by M. Friedmann. *Mechilta de-Rabbi Ismael* (Vienna: Holzwarth, 1870) available at <http://archive.org>. Also see the Mekhilta homepage at Bar Ilan University (in Hebrew): <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tannaim/mekhilta>.

SIFRA (on Leviticus)

*Critical texts* (incomplete):

Finkelstein, Louis. *Sifra on Leviticus*. 5 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1983–91. Only covers approximately the first third.

Shoshanah, Abraham, ed. *Sifra on Leviticus*. Cleveland/Jerusalem: Mekhon Ofek, 1991–. In progress. Both this text and the Finkelstein edition are often listed under the Hebrew title *Sifra d'vey Rav*.

*Text:*

Weiss, Isaac Hirsch, ed. *Sifra d'vey Rav*. Vienna: Jacob Schlossberg, 1862.

*Translation:*

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifra: An Analytical Translation*. 3 vols. BJS 138–140. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

*Concordance:*

Kosovsky, Biniamin. *Otzar Leshon Hatanna' im: Concordantiae verborum quae in Sifra aut Torat Kohanim reperiuntur*. 4 vols. Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1967–1969.

SIFRE NUMBERS

*Critical text:*

Horovitz, H. S., ed. *Sifre ad Numeros adjecto Sifre zutta: Cum variis lectionibus et adnotationibus*. Corpus Tannaiticum III.3. Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1917.

*Text, Translation, and Commentary:*

Börner-Klein, Dagmar. *Sifre zu Numeri*. Rabbinische Texte, Zweite Reihe, Tannaitische Midraschim. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1997. Update of earlier contribution by H.-W. Kuhn (Kohlhammer, 1959).

*Translation:*

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifre to Numbers: An American Translation and Explanation*. 2 vols. BJS 118–119. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. The final third of *Sifre Num* (scheduled to be translated by W. S. Green) has yet to appear. Neusner has reformatted his translation (and produced a translation for the last third) in *Components of the Rabbinic Documents*, Vol. 12, parts 1–3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

*Concordance:*

Kosovsky, Biniamin. *Otzar Leshon Hatannaim: Thesaurus "Sifrei" Concordantiae verborum quae in "Sifrei" Numeri et Deuteronomium reperiuntur*. 5 vols. Jerusa-

lem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1971–1974.

*Scripture and Rabbinic Index:*

Börner-Klein, Dagmar. *Midrasch Sifre Numeri: Voruntersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte*. Frankfurt/New York: Lang, 1993.

*Other:*

Older edition by M. Friedmann, *Sifré debé Rab* (Vienna: Holzwarth, 1864) available at <http://archive.org>.

## SIFRE DEUTERONOMY

*Critical text:*

Finkelstein, Louis. *Sifre on Deuteronomy*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1969; originally published as *Siphre ad Deuteronomium: H. S. Horowitz'ii schedis usus cum variis lectionibus et adnotationibus* (Berlin, 1939).

*Text and Translation:*

Ljungman, Henrik. *Sifre zu Deuteronomium*. Rabbinische Texte, Zweite Reihe, Tannaitische Midraschim 4. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964.

*Translation:*

Hammer, Reuven. *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*. Yale Judaica 24. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifre to Deuteronomy: An Analytical Translation*. 2 vols. BJS 98, 101. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.

*Concordance:*

See above under Sifre Numbers.

*Other:*

Older edition by M. Friedmann. *Sifré debé Rab* (Vienna: Holzwarth, 1864) available at <http://archive.org>.

## MEKHILTA DE RABBI SIMEON BE YOHAI (on Exodus)

*Composite text:*

Epstein, J. N., and E. Z. Melamed. *Mekhilta d'Rabbi Šimon b. Joḥai*. Jerusalem: Mekize Nirdamim, 1955.

*Translation:*

Nelson, W. David. *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Shimon bar Yohai: Translated into English, with Critical Introduction and Annotation*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2006.

*Other:*

The edition of D. Hoffman, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Simon b. Joḥai* (Frankfurt: Kaufmann, 1905) is available at <http://archive.org>.

## SIFRE ZUTA (on Numbers)

*Composite text:*

See Horovitz under Sifre Numbers.

*Text, Translation, and Commentary:*

Börner-Klein, Dagmar. *Sifre Zuta*. Rabbinische Texte, Zweite Reihe, Tannaitische Midraschim 3a. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002.

*Translation:*

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifré Zutta to Numbers*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009.

## MIDRASH TANNAIM (on Deuteronomy)

*Composite text:*

Hoffmann, D. *Midrasch Tannaïm zum Deuteronomium*. 2 vols. Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1908–1909.

## 7.2.2 Midrash Rabbah

The collection entitled Midrash Rabbah (“Great Midrash”) consists of midrashim on each of the books of the Pentateuch and on the five *Megillot* (Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther). These midrashim all have different styles and origins; even their subsections are often dated to different periods. While the Midrash Rabbah on Genesis (=Bereshit Rabbah), Lamentations, and Leviticus are all potentially from the fifth century AD, the other books in the Midrash Rabbah may be considerably later (e.g. those on Exodus, Numbers). Aside from the non-critical standard Hebrew editions, key published critical texts are noted below (see further Stemberger, *Introduction* 276–321).

*Critical Texts (in canonical order):*

Theodor, J., and Ch. Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba*. 3 vols. + 2 register vols. Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1912–1936. An important edition of Genesis Rabbah. Further fragments have been published by Michael Sokoloff in *The Geniza Fragments of Bereshit Rabba* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982).

Shinan, Avigdor. *Midrash Shemot Rabbah Chapters I–XIV: A critical edition based on a Jerusalem manuscript with variants, commentary and introduction*. Tel Aviv: Devir Yerushalayim, 1984. Only the first portion of Exodus Rabbah, which is more exegetical than the second part.

Margulies, Mordecai. *Midrash Wayyikra Rabbah: A Critical Edition Based on Manuscripts and Genizah Fragments with Variants and Notes*. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Louis M. and Minnie Epstein Fund of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1953–1960. Text of Leviticus Rabbah.

Lieberman, Saul. *Midrash Debarim Rabbah*. 2d ed. Jerusalem, 1964. Reportedly a 3d ed. (1974) also exists. This text of Deuteronomy Rabbah (based on Oxford Bodleian MS147) varies significantly from texts and translations based on traditional printed editions.

Buber, Salomon. *Midrasch Echa Rabbati: Sammlung agadischer Auslegungen der Klagelieder*. Wilna, 1899; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1967. This text of Lamentations Rabbah varies significantly from texts and translations based on traditional printed editions. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

*Translations:*

Freedman, H., and Maurice Simon, eds. *Midrash Rabbah*. 10 vols. London: Soncino, 1939.

There are also translations of the Midrash Rabbah on Genesis, Leviticus, Ruth,

Canticles, Lamentations, and Esther by Jacob Neusner with Scholars Press.

### 7.2.3 Other Older Midrashim

The two *Pesiqta* volumes below represent homiletical midrash on the readings for special Sabbaths and festivals. *Tanḥuma* (sometimes called *Yelammedenu* or *Yelamdenu*) is a series of Pentateuchal sermons with a complex redactional history (perhaps with origins in the fifth century). Though the complex history of transmission actually led to much variation, the *Tanḥuma* tradition is published in two main recensions; a standard edition and an edition known by its editor's name (Buber).

#### *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* (5th cent.?)

*Text:*

Mandelbaum, Bernard. *Pesikta de Rav Kahana: According to an Oxford Manuscript with variants from all known manuscripts and genizoth fragments and parallel passages with commentary and introduction*. 2d ed. 2 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1987.

*Translations:*

Braude, William G. (Gershon Zev), and Israel J. Kapstein. *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana: R. Kahana's compilation of discourses for Sabbaths and festal days*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1975; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.

Neusner, Jacob. *Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana: An Analytical Translation*. 2 vols. BJS 122–123. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.

#### PESIQTA RABBATI (6–7th cent.?)

*Synoptic Text:*

Ulmer, Rivka. *Pesiqta Rabbati: A Synoptic Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati Based upon all Extant Manuscripts and the Editio Princeps*. 3 vols. Vols. 1–2 South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 155. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997–1999. Vol. 3 Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008. Currently all three volumes are available through University Press of America.

*Text:*

Friedmann, Meir. *Pesikta Rabbati: Midrasch für den Fest-Cyclus und die ausgezeichneten Sabbathe*. Vienna, 1880; repr. Tel-Aviv, 1963. Available at <http://archive.org>.

*Translation:*

Braude, William G. *Pesikta Rabbati: Discourses for Feasts, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths*. 2 vols. Yale Judaica 18. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

#### MIDRASH TANḤUMA (Standard edition)

*Text:*

The Wilna edition (1831) is commonly reprinted.

*Translation:*

Berman, Samuel A. *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu with an*

*Introduction, Notes, and Indexes.* Hoboken: Ktav, 1996.

## MIDRASH TANḤUMA BUBER

*Text:*

Buber, Salomon. *Midrasch Tanchuma: Ein Agadischer Commentar zum Pentateuch von Rabbi Tanchuma ben Rabbi Abba.* Wilna: Wittwe & Gebrüder, 1885.

*Translation:*

Townsend, John T. *Midrash Tanḥuma: Translated into English with Introduction, Indices, and Brief Notes (S. Baber Recension).* 3 vols. Hoboken: Ktav, 1989–2003.

### 7.2.4 Medieval Midrashim (commonly cited)

Though redacted well into the medieval period, these works are frequently cited by NT commentators. They often contain material of considerable vintage, but caution must be exercised.

### MIDRASH PSALMS (= Midrash Tehillim; some material may be Amoraic)

*Text:*

Buber, Salomon. *Midrasch Tebillim (Schocher Tob).* Wilna: Wittwe & Gebrüder, 1891.

*Translation:*

Braude, William G. *The Midrash on Psalms.* 2 vols. Yale Judaica 13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.

### MIDRASH PROVERBS (= Midrash Mishle; post-talmudic)

*Text:*

Visotzky, Burton L. *Midrash Mishle.* New York: Bet ha-midrash le-rabanim ba-Amerikah, 1990.

*Translation:*

Visotzky, Burton L. *The Midrash on Proverbs.* Yale Judaica 27. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.

### PIRQE DE RABBI ELIEZER (8–9th cent.)

*Critical Text:*

Horowitz, C. M. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer: A Critical Edition, Codex C. M. Horowitz.* Jerusalem: Makor, 1972. Facing pages of Venice edition with Horowitz's own handwritten text-critical notes. For more information on this and other editions see Stemberger, *Introduction* 330. For photographs of manuscripts see the Pirque Rabbi Eliezer Electronic Text Editing Project of Hebrew Union College (<http://www.usc.edu/projects/pre-project>).

*Translation:*

Börner-Klein, Dagmar. *Pirke de-Rabbi Elieser: Nach der Edition Venedig 1544 unter Berücksichtigung der Edition Warschau 1852 Aufbereitet und Übersetzt.* Studia Judaica 26. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004. Facing Hebrew/Aramaic and German translation.

Friedlander, Gerald. *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great).* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916; repr. New

York: Sepher-Hermon, 1981. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

## AGGADAT BERESHIT (c. 10th cent.)

### *Text:*

Buber, Salomon. *Agadath Bereshith: midraschische Auslegungen zum ersten Buche Moses*. Kraków: Y. Fisher, 1902. Hebrew title *Agadat Bereshit*.

### *Translation:*

Teugels, Lieve M. *Aggadat Bereshit: Translated from the Hebrew with an Introduction and Notes*. Jewish and Christian Perspectives 4. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Translates Buber text with some revisions.

## MIDRASHIM ON ESTHER (various)

Börner-Klein, Dagmar, and Elisabeth Hollender. *Rabbinischen Kommentare zum Buch Ester*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000. Includes Panim Acherim A & B, Midrash Megillat Ester, Midrash Megilla, Midrash Abba Gurion, and Esther Rabbah; as well as Esther texts in Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer, Leqah Tov, the Yalkut Shimoni, Sepher Josippon, and Midrash Psalms. Also translates the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Bavli tractates Megillah. For original texts see Stemberger, *Introduction*.

## 8. Other Early Works from the Rabbinic Period

### 8.1 Megillat T'aanit

This Aramaic “Scroll of Fasting” lists days on which fasting was forbidden, and thus mentions historical events from the Second Temple period and their celebrations (e.g. Hanukkah). It likely dates from the first or second century AD. Post-talmudic scholia were later added in Hebrew to the scroll. For introductions see *HJPAJC* 1:114–15; Stemberger, *Introduction* 34–35; Safrai, *Literature of the Sages: Part 2* 339–62.

### *Critical Text:*

Lichtenstein, H. “Die Fastenrolle: Eine Untersuchung zur jüdisch hellenistischen Geschichte.” *HUCA* 8–9 (1931/1932) 257–351.

Lurie, Benzion. *Megillath T'aanith, with introduction and notes*. Jerusalem: Mosad Byaliq, 1964. In Hebrew.

### *Translation and Discussion:*

Zeitlin, Solomon. *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Philadelphia, 1922. Repr. from *JQR* n.s. 9–10. Available at <http://archive.org>.

### 8.2 Seder ‘Olam Rabbah

This work presents an account of the history of the world from creation until the Bar Kokhba revolt. Attributed to the second-century rabbi Yose ben Halafta, the work may have been (further?) redacted in late antiquity. It is of interest both for its midrashic interpretation of biblical events and for its representation of the

Second Temple period. See Safrai, *Literature of the Sages: Part 2* 231–42; Stemberger, *Introduction* 326–27; *EncJud* 14:1091–93.

*Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary:*

Milikowsky, Chaim Joseph. “Seder Olam: A Rabbinic Chronography.” Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1981.

*Text and Translation:*

Guggenheimer, Heinrich W. *Seder Olam: The Rabbinic View of Biblical Chronology; Translated and with Commentary*. Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1998.

### 8.3 Mystical and Magical Literature

Considerable mystical speculation is known from the talmudic and post-talmudic period. Primarily it focused on either the Creation (as in the potentially 3d-cent. AD *Sefer Yeşirah*), or on heavenly visions of God’s throne chariot (Merkavah mysticism, as in the Hekhalot literature). While some portions from the Hekhalot literature have been dated to the talmudic period and have been considered pertinent NT background, recent assessments are assigning many of these works to the Middle Ages. The magical texts associated with the rabbinic period are also difficult to date (e.g. *Sepher Ha-Razim* has been dated anywhere from the third to the seventh century), but many scholars are convinced of the great antiquity of magical speculation in certain Jewish circles. Significant testimony to Jewish magic exists outside what is listed below (e.g. Cairo Genizah texts, incantation bowls, papyri, and in Graeco-Roman accounts; see Alexander’s introductions noted below). On all these works, see the helpful comments by Stemberger in *JLA* 28–38; also cf. his *Introduction* 343–50.

#### SEFER YEŞIRAH

*Critical Text:*

Hayman, A. Peter. *Sefer Yesira: Edition, Translation, and Text-Critical Commentary*. TSAJ 104. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. “A Preliminary Critical Edition of Sefer Yezira.” *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971) 132–77.

*Translation:*

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*Introductions:*

See: G. Scholem in *EncJud* 16:782–88; and further bibliography in Stemberger, *Introduction* 343–45. Older English translations available at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/index.htm>.

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*Text:*

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Halperin, David J., ed. *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*. TSAJ 16. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1988. Extensive treatment of the visionary motif, including OT, NT, intertestamental, and Hekhalot literature.

Further bibliography in Stemberger, *Introduction* 346–49.

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*Text, Translation and Commentary:*

Rebiger, Bill, Peter Schäfer, eds. *Sefer ha-Razim I und II - Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II*. 2 vols. TSAJ 125. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009. Volume 1 critical text (also incorporating Cairo Genizah mss); volume 2 introduction, translation and commentary.

*Translation:*

Morgan, Michael A. *Sepher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries*. SBLTT 25. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983. For textual discussion see Morgan's introduction. The hypothetical text by Margalioth (on which this translation is based) needs re-editing (see Rebiger et al.).

*Introductions:*

Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*. Cambridge: CUP, 2011.

Swartz, Michael D. *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Examines Medieval magical texts in the Hekhalot literature (see p. 18, n. 58 for a helpful list of sources and introductions on Jewish magic in Late Antiquity).

See especially: P. S. Alexander in *HJPAJ/C* 3:342–79; *CHJ* 3:1067–78; 4:699–720.