

BENJAMIN G. WOLD

Women, Men
and Angels

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 2.Reihe
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Mohr Siebeck

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Women, Men, and Angels

The Qumran Wisdom Document *Musar leMevin* and
its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions

Mohr Siebeck

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**When Asked Who Is Your Neighbour
Tim and Kay Winn Have Responded:**

הגד אתכם ואהבת לו כמוך (Lev 19.34)

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Durham, Easter 2005

Benjamin G. Wold

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1. Review of Research and Remaining Issues.....	1
1. Introduction.....	1
2. General Information on the Document.....	2
3. History of Research.....	4
4. Issues Addressed in Recent Publications.....	7
4.1 Provenance.....	7
4.2 The Relationship to the 'Sectarian Community'.....	8
4.3 The Meaning of נדויה.....	20
4.4 Language of Poverty.....	24
4.5 Reconstruction.....	30
4.6 Angelology.....	38
5. Issues Raised and Resolved.....	40
6. Suggestions for Remaining Tasks.....	41
CHAPTER 2. Non-Explicit Use of Biblical Traditions: Methodology for Identification.....	43
1. Introduction.....	43
2. Non-Explicit Traditions in the New Testament.....	49
3. Non-Explicit Traditions in the Pseudepigrapha.....	62
4. Non-Explicit Traditions in the <i>Hodayot</i> and Dead Sea Scrolls.....	65
5. Biblical Interpretation in Qumran Wisdom Texts.....	71
6. Synthesis of Approaches and Criteria.....	77
7. Conclusion.....	79
CHAPTER 3. Identification of Allusions to Genesis Creation Accounts.....	81
1. Introduction.....	81
2. Presentation of Fragments.....	82
2.1 4Q415 2 i + 1 ii.....	82
2.2 4Q415 2 ii.....	85
2.3 4Q416 1.....	89
2.4 4Q416 2 iii.....	91
2.5 4Q416 2 iv.....	95
2.6 4Q417 1 i.....	97

2.7 4Q418 69 ii.....	103
2.8 4Q418 77.....	104
2.9 4Q418 81 + 81a.....	106
2.10 4Q418 126 i-ii.....	108
2.11 4Q418 177 (& 178).....	109
2.12 4Q418 178.....	111
2.13 4Q418 206.....	111
2.14 4Q418a 16b + 17.....	112
2.15 4Q423 1, 2 i.....	113
2.16 4Q423 5.....	120
3. Conclusions.....	121
CHAPTER 4. Angelology and Anthropology.....	124
1. Introduction.....	124
2. 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	124
2.1 Armin Lange.....	125
2.2 Torleif Elgvin.....	128
2.3 George J. Brooke.....	130
2.4 John J. Collins.....	131
2.5 Matthew J. Goff.....	135
2.6 Harrington and Strugnell.....	137
2.7 Summary and Translation of 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	138
2.8 Philo, Genesis 1.26 and 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	141
2.9 Targums on Genesis 1.26 and 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	147
2.10 Rabbinic Literature on Genesis 1.26 and 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	147
2.11 Genesis 1.26 Traditions and Conclusions on 4Q417 1 i lines 15-18.....	148
3. Angelic Reference in 4Q416 2 iii.....	149
3.1 Translating the Term אַדְרִיָּם.....	150
3.2 Interpreting the Term נְרִיבִים.....	155
4. Indefatigable Angelic Models.....	157
4.1 4Q418 55.....	157
4.2 4Q418 69.....	158
5. Reconstruction and Identification of 4Q418 81.....	161
5.1 Armin Lange.....	163
5.2 Torleif Elgvin.....	166
5.3 Harrington and Strugnell.....	167
5.4 Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar.....	169
5.5 Crispin Fletcher-Louis.....	170
5.6 Loren T. Stuckenbruck.....	173
5.7 Summary of 4Q418 81.....	178
6. Conclusions.....	180

CHAPTER 5. Women, Wives and Daughters.....	183
1. Introduction.....	183
2. Allusions to Genesis 1-3 and the Creation of Women.....	185
2.1 4Q416 2 ii-iv.....	185
2.1.1 Menahem Kister on 4Q416 2 ii line 21.....	192
2.1.2 Elgvin on 4Q416 2 ii line 21.....	194
2.1.3 Harrington and Strugnell on 4Q416 2 ii line 21.....	194
2.1.4 1 Peter 3.7.....	196
2.2 4Q417 1 i lines 8-12.....	197
2.3 4Q415 2 ii.....	199
2.4 Synthesis of References to the Origin/Separation of the Female.....	202
2.5 Male Dominion Over the Female.....	203
2.6 4Q423 1, 2 i and 1Q26 1.....	204
2.7 Summary.....	206
3. Women and Angels.....	206
4. 'Cover Your Shame'.....	208
4.1 Occurrences of 'Shame' in Other Early Jewish Literature.....	208
4.2 Occurrences of 'Shame' in <i>Musar leMevin</i>	214
4.3 Conclusions Concerning 'Shame'.....	224
5. Remaining Fragments about Women.....	226
5.1 4Q415 11.....	226
5.2 4Q415 9.....	230
5.3 4Q418 126 i-ii.....	232
6. Conclusions.....	234
7. Excurses: Implications for the New Testament.....	235
 CHAPTER 6. Conclusions.....	 241
 Bibliography.....	 246
 Index of References.....	 262
 Index of Authors.....	 281
 Index of Subjects.....	 284

Note on Policy

The majority of representations of Hebrew reconstructions of *Musar leMevin* are taken from DJD 34. Any alterations to DJD 34 are footnoted. On the few occasions that the Hebrew is taken from Tigchelaar's reconstruction this is noted as well. English translations of *Musar leMevin* are mine unless otherwise indicated. Most diacritical markings are not included in the representation of the Hebrew fragments.

CHAPTER 1

Review of Research and Remaining Issues

1. Introduction

Among the documents discovered in the caves around Khirbet Qumran was a previously unknown sapiential composition. Since its discovery, this document has been discussed under a variety of titles or designations: מוסר למבין ('instruction for an understanding one'), Sapiential Work A, 4QInstruction, Instruction and 4Q415ff. Since the publication of the document in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (DJD 34) series in 1999 the work has been discussed simply as 4QInstruction with greater regularity.¹ This document survives, however, not only in materials from Cave 4 (4Q415-418, 423) but also from Cave 1 (1Q26); therefore, it would be accurate to refer to the composition as a whole without cave designation. Furthermore, the use of the title *Instruction* becomes pedantic as the document is concerned in large part with sapiential *instruction*. In light of these considerations, the Hebrew title *Musar leMevin* will be the title used throughout the present study.²

This work will be focused upon issues of reception with a particular emphasis on the use and influence of creation traditions as derived from Genesis in *Musar leMevin*. The significance of traditions related to Genesis 1-3, both explicit and non-explicit usages, will be identified and explored in relation to the document as a whole. Traditions stemming from the creation account in Genesis often appear to be the basis for framing both anthropologic and angelic conceptions in the document. In addition, other motifs (e.g. רז נדיה) in *Musar leMevin* may be better understood in light of a sustained investigation of these traditions. Relations between the addressees, fellow humankind, angels as well as issues pertaining to women and marriage are each significant themes that will be addressed.

¹ J. STRUGNELL, D. J. HARRINGTON, T. ELGVIN (eds.), *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXIV: Sapiential Texts Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār l' Mēvîn): 4Q415ff. with a Re-edition of 1Q26 by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, S. J., and an edition of 4Q423 by Torleif Elgvin, in Consultation with Joseph A. FITZMYER, S. J.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

² 'Sapiential Work A' was a working title that was never intended to be a permanent designation. The frequent use of '4QInstruction' elsewhere is not accurate in the context of speaking about a document as a whole but rather manuscripts.

The purpose of this chapter is first to introduce the document *Musar leMevin* and its characteristics, then to review selected scholarly contributions to studying it. Issues and controversies surrounding current discussions on the document, such as provenance, reconstruction, and the nature of instruction will be the focus of attention. After this assessment considerations of some tasks that await research will be made.

2. General Information on the Document

Manuscripts. An introduction to the document *Musar leMevin* that offers a number of generally agreed upon observations may be provided. Nevertheless, detailing any sort of broad picture will be impossible at this point. Regarding issues of palaeography, for instance, it may be uncomplicated to note that manuscripts evidence scribal hands that date to between the late 1st century BCE and early 1st century CE.³ However, that six manuscripts of this document were found in Caves 1 and 4 is not a straightforward matter; it remains uncertain how many manuscripts are preserved among the fragments from Cave 4. In particular, the manuscript designated '4Q418' may actually consist of more than two manuscripts, and 4Q424, not usually counted among the six manuscripts, may also be a copy of *Musar leMevin*. Thus it is more accurate to say, by way of introduction, that there were at least six manuscripts of *Musar leMevin* discovered in the two caves. Furthermore, the materials disclose that the document originally consisted of between approximately 23 and 30 columns, making it one of the lengthier documents among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The combination of these facts indicate the likelihood of the work's importance and popularity, generally, at least during the Herodian period: (1) fragments were found in Caves 1 and 4; and (2) a number of manuscripts, at least six in number, were discovered. With these considerations in mind, it can be further noted that *Musar leMevin* is a sapiential document written in Hebrew, extant in hands that date to about the turn of the Common Era, and was a significant and substantial document within the Qumran library.

Extent of Fragments. Observations made in relation to the material fragments, the largest and most significant as well as the vast number of

³ According to the editors of *DJD XXXIV* 4Q416 and 4Q418 are written in a hand that is transitional between Hasmonean and early Herodian. 4Q418a is early Herodian or perhaps even late Hasmonean. 4Q415 and 4Q417 display early Herodian script while 4Q423 represents a middle to late Herodian hand and 1Q26 is somewhere between early or middle Herodian. ELGVIN argues that all copies are Herodian. 4Q416 is the youngest, written in an early Herodian hand, while 4Q423 and 1Q26 are the oldest, written in a middle Herodian hand. See ELGVIN, 'Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A (*),' in *RevQ* 16 (1995): 559-80. The document almost certainly has an earlier provenance that palaeographic analysis reveals.

smaller and more obscure fragments, serve to introduce *Musar leMevin* further. The largest single fragment is 4Q416 2 i-iv; even here, most of the lines of these columns are incomplete and less than half are preserved from margin to margin. Column iii is the best preserved with 20 lines extant in relatively good condition. The adjoining column ii is the next best preserved with 22 lines, all of which are incomplete. 13 lines of column iv are extant, but only from the left margin to the middle of the column. Only 7 lines of the bottom left corner of column i survive while the top 17 lines on the right of the column survive as a separate fragment. The 18-line fragment of 4Q416 1 is particularly important as it has a wide margin on the right that appears to be the beginning of the scroll. Another of the larger fragments is 4Q417 1 i; it survives in 27 lines of which lines 7-18 are preserved from margin to margin. 4Q417 2 i is a large fragment as well with 28 extant lines. Other larger fragments are 4Q418 55 (12 lines), 4Q418 69 (15 lines), 4Q418 81 (20 lines), 4Q418 103 (9 lines), 4Q418 126 (17 lines), 4Q418 127 (7 lines), and 4Q423 1, 2 (9 lines). Not a single column of *Musar leMevin* survives in full, and the overwhelming majority of fragments do not even preserve a complete line. The smaller fragments number to over 400 and range in size from several incomplete lines down to single letter fragments. Just under 300 of these fragments have been assigned to '4Q418'.

Addressee(s). *Musar leMevin* is written primarily as a work addressed to a single individual (2nd person address); as the Hebrew title implies, it is directed at one who is told to understand (וַאֲחֵזָה מִבֵּינִי), understands (מוֹסֵר לַמִּבֵּינִי), and at times simply 'you' (וַאֲחֵזָה see 4Q418 81). It does, however, contain a third person masculine address at one point (4Q416 1) and, surprisingly, at another point it has an address in the second person feminine (4Q415 2 ii). There are also a number of occurrences of second person masculine plural suffixes throughout the document (see for example לַבְּכַמְנָה in 4Q417 1 i 27).

The author(s) of the composition are concerned with financial transactions and family matters, but these concerns are placed within the framework of an eschatological and cosmological context. *Musar leMevin* has elements of an apocalyptic worldview that emphasises pursuit of the knowledge of good and evil, creation, angelology, a division of humanity and conceptions of future judgement and vindication for the righteous.⁴ Especially important in the document is the frequent and variously termed command to pursue (אָחֲזֵן) רִז נְהִיָּה (פרש, לַקָּח, הַבִּישׁ, דַּרֵּשׁ, בִּין, אָחֲזֵן) (approximately 28 occurrences), a phrase used to refer to an esoteric revelation that is the source of wisdom. One final note is the document's emphasis on the addressee's poverty. This alone

⁴ See both J. J. COLLINS in *Apocalyptic Imagination* (New York: Crossroads, 1984) and more recently, M. J. GOFF, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 80-115.

is apparent from the frequent use of the term מְחֹסֵר ('lacking'; 'poverty'), which occurs approximately 26 times throughout *Musar leMevin*.

The various issues raised and scholarly contributions to reading and reconstructing *Musar leMevin* will be summarised below. A review of these topics will aid in setting the exploration of 'intertextual' occurrences within the framework of present scholarship. Issues such as the social setting of *Musar leMevin*, its relationship to other early Jewish literature, genre, and occurrences of unique motifs will precede the examination of the influence of creation traditions.

3. History of Research

The document *Musar leMevin* has only been the subject of study in any noticeable way since the mid-1990's. The first reasonably accessible transcription of the manuscripts became available to the academic community in Wacholder and Abegg's *Preliminary Edition* in 1992.⁵ John Strugnell had originally been given the rights to publish the manuscripts. As was the case with a large number of documents the Wacholder editions were followed by the relatively rapid production of critical editions in the DJD series. The nine-line fragment of 1Q26 was first published in DJD I in 1955⁶ and was re-edited in DJD 34. To date, there are a growing number of articles that give particular attention to *Musar leMevin*.⁷ In addition, several monographs have devoted

⁵ B. Z. WACHOLDER and M. G. ABEGG (eds.), *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave 4* (Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991-1992): 44-154.

⁶ D. BARTHÉLEMY and J. T. MILIK, *DJD I: Qumran Cave 1* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

⁷ J. K. AITKEN, 'Apocalyptic, Revelation and Early Jewish Wisdom Literature,' in P. J. HARLAND and R. HAYWARD (eds.), *New Heaven and New Earth: Prophecy and the Millennium. Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (SVT 77; Leiden: Brill, 1999) pp. 181-93; J. E. BURNS, 'Practical Wisdom in 4QInstruction,' in *DSD* 11 (2004): 12-42; J. J. COLLINS, 'In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran,' in D. W. PARRY and E. ULRICH (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) pp. 609-18; 'Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls,' in *DSD* 4 (1997): 265-81; T. ELGVIN, 'Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4,' in J. J. COLLINS *et al.* (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) pp. 179-96; 'Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation According to *Sapiential Work A*,' in D. W. PARRY and S. D. RICKS (eds.), *Current Research and Technological Developments* (STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996) pp. 126-65; 'The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation,' in Th. L. THOMPSON, F. H. CRYER (eds.), *Qumran Between the Old and New Testament* (JSOTSupp 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) pp. 113-50; 'The Reconstruction of *Sapiential Work A*,' in *RevQ* 16 (1995): 559-80; 'Wisdom, Revelation, and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,' in *SBLSP* 34 (1995): 444-63; 'Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: the Evidence of 4QInstruction,' in L. H.

considerable attention to *Musar leMevin*⁸ and a few monographs focus on the document exclusively. Eibert Tigchelaar's volume addresses, comprehensively, the reconstruction and sequencing of fragments of the

SHIFFMAN, E. TOV and J. C. VANDERKAM (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress 1997* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) pp. 226-47; 'Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic,' in D. K. FALK, F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E. M. SCHULLER (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 15-38; J. FREY, 'The Notion of Flesh in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage,' in D. K. FALK, F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E. M. SCHULLER (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 197-226; M. J. GOFF, 'Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,' in *DSD* 11 (2004): 263-88; G. IBBA, 'Il "Libro dei Misteri" (1Q27, F. 1): Testo escatologico,' in *Henoch* 21 (1999): 73-84; D. J. HARRINGTON, 'The Rāz Nihyeh in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 423),' in *RevQ* 17 (1996): 549-53; 'Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important,' in *DSD* 4 (1997): 245-54; 'Wisdom at Qumran,' in E. ULRICH and J. C. VANDERKAM (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: the Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) pp. 137-52; 'Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A,' in *JSP* 16 (1997): 25-38; 'The Qumran Sapiential Texts in the Context of Biblical (OT and NT) and Second Temple Literature,' in L. H. SCHIFFMAN, E. TOV and J. C. VANDERKAM (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress 1997* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000) pp. 256-62; A. LANGE, 'Wisdom and Predestination in the DSS,' in *DSD* 2 (1995): 340-54; E. PUECH and A. STEUDEL, 'Un nouveau fragment de manuscrit 4QInstruction (XQ7 = 4Q417 ou 418),' in *RevQ* 19 (2000): 623-27; M. MORGENSTERN, 'The Meaning of ביה מולדים in the Qumran Wisdom Texts,' in *JJS* 51 (2000): 141-44; J. E. SMITH, 'Another Look at 4Q416 2 ii.21, a Critical Parallel to First Thessalonians 4:4,' in *CBQ* 63 (2001): 499-504; J. STRUGNELL, 'The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff. and pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexigraphic Considerations,' in D. W. PARRY and E. ULRICH (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) pp. 595-608; E. J. C. TIGCHELAAR, 'The Addressees of 4QInstruction,' in D. K. FALK, F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ and E. M. SCHULLER (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) pp. 62-78; M. KISTER, 'A Qumranic Parallel to 1Thess 4:4? Reading and Interpretation of 4Q416 2 II 21,' in *DSD* 10 (2003): 365-70; B. G. WOLD, 'Re-examining an Aspect of the Title Kyrios in Light of 4Q416 2 iii,' in *ZNW* 95 (2004): 149-160; 'Towards a Reconstruction of 4Q416 2 ii line 21: Comments on the Reconstruction of Menahem Kister,' in *DSD* 12 (2005): 205-11.

⁸ J. J. COLLINS, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1997); D. J. HARRINGTON, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (New York: Routledge, 1996); C. H. T. FLETCHER-LOUIS, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the DSS* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); A. LANGE, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); C. M. MURPHY, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

document.⁹ Another monograph, devoted exclusively to *Musar leMevin*, is to be published in the near future by Torleif Elgvin as a broadly reworked version of his Ph.D. dissertation.¹⁰ Another noteworthy contribution to *Musar leMevin* is Armin Lange's work which devotes considerable time discussing, among other texts, 4Q417 1 i. John Collins's and Daniel Harrington's books on sapiential literature are pedagogical and introductory in nature and are thus not devoted to an in-depth analysis of the document. Catherine Murphy dedicates a chapter of her book on poverty and wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls to *Musar leMevin*, a topic that is prominent in the document. Among Elgvin's publications is an article that addresses a reconstruction and sequencing of the fragments as well as several articles which address issues of the document's provenance. Several articles from the 1998 Tübingen Symposium are another recent contribution to studies on *Musar leMevin*.¹¹ The Orion Center of the Hebrew University held a symposium in 2001 where sapiential literature from the Dead Sea Scrolls was the focus of the call for papers. Among the papers presented were several works specifically about *Musar leMevin*, all of which are due to be published soon.¹² Even more recently a colloquium was held at the Catholic University of Leuven where a number of papers were presented on the document.¹³

⁹ E. J. C. TIGCHELAAR, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

¹⁰ T. ELGVIN, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1997).

¹¹ C. HEMPEL, A. LANGE and H. LICHTENBERGER (eds.), *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002). Articles specifically written on *Musar leMevin* include: TIGCHELAAR, 'Towards a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction: 4Q416 Fragment 1 and Parallels'; H. NIEHR, 'Die Weisheit des Achikar und der musar lammabin im Vergleich'; G. J. BROOKE, 'Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran'; L. T. STUCKENBRUCK, '4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: an Evaluation'; D. J. HARRINGTON, 'Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A'; C. HEMPEL, 'The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books'; J. DOCHHORN '«Sie wird dir nicht ihre Kraft geben»: Adam, Kain und der Ackerbau in 4Q423 2 3 und Apc Mos 24'; J. FREY, 'Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage'.

¹² The Sixth International Symposium; *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 20-22 May*, G. STERLING and J. J. COLLINS (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming); papers presented on *Musar leMevin*: J. J. COLLINS, 'The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls'; D. DIMANT, 'Mussar La-mevin (4QInstruction) – a Sectarian Wisdom'; T. ELGVIN, 'Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction'; L. H. SCHIFFMAN, 'Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts'; B. G. WRIGHT, 'The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature'.

¹³ F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ (ed.), *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003); papers presented on *Musar leMevin*: É. PUECH, 'Apports des Textes Apocalyptiques et Sapientiels de Qumrân: À l'eschatologie du Judaïsme Ancien';

I am aware of at least two Ph.D. dissertations recently published on *Musar leMevin*.¹⁴

4. Issues Addressed in Recent Publications

Most of the activity surrounding *Musar leMevin* has centred on a number of areas: (1) theological motifs; (2) similarities and differences with other sapiential literature; and (3) the relationship of this document to the other literature of early Judaism and, especially, the 'sectarian community'. The last mentioned has been one of the more controversial of these issues. In particular, discussion has been focused on the translation and interpretation of particular phrases and concepts within *Musar leMevin*. Less prominent, but of great significance, has been the endeavour to reconstruct the manuscripts and sequence columns. The following is a review of scholarship on these issues by topic. The purpose here will be to: (1) summarise conclusions which have been reached on basic issues; (2) highlight continuing issues of contention; and (3) identify previously unexamined areas for further study.

4.1 Provenance

Musar leMevin, as scholars have observed since the beginning of research on the document, contains practical wisdom instruction alongside eschatological and apocalyptic motifs. This combination receives considerable attention by Lange in his book *Weisheit und Prädestination* in which he attempts to relate *Musar leMevin* to other previously unknown documents from Qumran (*Instruction on the Two Spirits* and the *Book of Mysteries*). Harrington has compared and contrasted the approaches to wisdom in *Musar leMevin* and Sirach¹⁵ and provides a general introduction to the former in his book.¹⁶ In his more recent articles Harrington places *Musar leMevin* in the context of biblical and early Jewish literature.¹⁷ Collins, in *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, introduces the document and its character briefly against the backdrop of almost every conceivable wisdom document known from early

C. COULOT, 'L'image de Dieu dans les écrits de sagesse 1Q26, 4Q415-418, 4Q423'; J. J. COLLINS, 'The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon'; D. J. HARRINGTON, 'Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra'.

¹⁴ GOFF, 'The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom'; D. J. JEFFERIES, 'Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction' (Gorgias Dissertations NES 3; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2002). GOFF also published an article from his dissertation 'The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction,' in *DSD* 10 (2003): 163-86.

¹⁵ HARRINGTON, 'Two Early'.

¹⁶ HARRINGTON, *Wisdom Texts*.

¹⁷ HARRINGTON, 'The Qumran'.

Judaism.¹⁸ In a more recent article Collins addresses wisdom as a literary category and situates *Musar leMevin*, taking its unusual characteristics into account, within that literary form.¹⁹ There, Collins challenges previously held notions of what characterises a wisdom composition and attempts to offer a developmental history of wisdom. The editors of DJD 34, Elgvin, Stuckenbruck and Tigchelaar all consider *Musar leMevin's* relationship to *1 Enoch*.²⁰ The esoteric and apocalyptic nature of wisdom in *Musar leMevin* is often contrasted with that of other more typical sapiential documents, most frequently Sirach. Elgvin views *Musar leMevin* as a conflation of two literary layers: (1) an older traditional sapiential work and (2) a later apocalyptic layer.²¹ Elgvin's view dramatically alters *Musar leMevin's* place and provenance within early Jewish wisdom compositions and will be discussed below.

4.2 The Relationship to the 'Sectarian Community'

The issue of *Musar leMevin's* relationship to compositions of the Qumran group has been the focus of numerous discussions. Some scholars who have written about *Musar leMevin* have made their position known in this regard while others have spent considerable time defending the nuances of their particular view. Relating *Musar leMevin* to the Qumran community and other documents in early Judaism has helped to narrow the milieu in which the document is interpreted. Several approaches have been employed to place this composition in both its social as well as literary context. The basic initial question has been whether or not *Musar leMevin* should be regarded as a sectarian document. A sub-question in this regard is the identity of the addressees and their social setting. It is most conceivable that the author(s) of the document provide instruction with various people in mind.²²

¹⁸ COLLINS, *Jewish Wisdom*.

¹⁹ COLLINS, 'Wisdom Reconsidered,' and, 'Wisdom, Apocalypticism and Generic Compatibility,' in L. G. PERDUE, B. B. SCOTT and W. J. WISEMAN (eds.), *In Search of Wisdom. Essays in Memory of J. G. Gammie* (Louisville: Westminster, 1993): 165-85.

²⁰ DJD XXXIV, pp. 34-35; ELGVIN, 'Analysis'; STUCKENBRUCK, '4QInstruction'; TIGCHELAAR, *To Increase Learning*.

²¹ ELGVIN, 'Wisdom and Apocalypticism,' p. 226. HEMPEL, 'The Qumran Sapiential Texts,' pp. 281-83; considers that it is conceivable that the work is composite and is comprised of traditional sapiential material together with other parts from a community in early Judaism, though not the *Yahad*. However, she notes a close link between the abstract (theological) and practical instruction (e.g. 4Q416 2 iii 20-21) which can not be easily separated. If the document is indeed a composite work, she argues, the two types of material are closely interwoven.

²² TIGCHELAAR also argues 'that *Instruction* consists of different sections directed to varying addressees'; see *To Increase Learning*, p. 236 and 'The Addressees'. The various singular, plural, masculine and feminine addresses indicate different intended audiences. In addition, there may be multiple classes as well, such as priestly and non-priestly categories.

Before considering the relationship of *Musar leMevin* to the so-called 'Essene', or Qumran community, it is necessary to question what criteria are used to evaluate the inclusion or exclusion of a document to this group. In an article concerned mainly with providing such criteria for determining sectarian works, Lange sets forth and evaluates standards that have been suggested for excluding and including documents to this classification.²³ This work is valuable for organising criteria to evaluate the origin of manuscripts that may otherwise not have appeared in conjunction with one another. Although some of Lange's criteria are debatable or perhaps rigid in conception, critical interaction between them and discussions surrounding the provenance of *Musar leMevin* will be beneficial.

There are numerous manuscripts represented in the texts from Qumran preserving various theological and ethical positions. Some manuscripts predate the settlement at Qumran and the Essene inhabitants and, therefore, it is clear that many of the texts found at Qumran do not have an Essene origin. In his article, Lange summarises the numerous attempts that have been made to differentiate and categorise documents from the Qumran library. He gleans from these suggestions a streamlined list for evaluating potential Essene works. However, the redactional activity of the Essenes complicates the issue, since there are documents that could be understood as originating with the Essenes in addition to those that were likely adopted and reworked by the Essenes. This issue leads one to question which documents should be assigned as strictly originating from the settlement at Qumran and, therefore, used as a foundation for investigating criteria for determining Essene texts. Lange allows for the *Pesharim*, which are only known from the Qumran Library, and manuscripts of *Serekh haYahad* to be associated with the community. These two text groups serve as the point of departure for evaluating forms and themes to be associated with the Essenes and the basis for developing these criteria of exclusion and inclusion. Lange's list of criteria have been modified, summarized and translated below. They will serve as a guide to appraise the relationship of *Musar leMevin* to other sectarian works as well as evaluate the conclusions others have made about this relationship.

²³ LANGE, 'Kriterien essenischer Texte,' in J. FREY and H. STEGEMANN (eds.) *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (Bonifatius: Paderborn, 2003) pp. 59-69. The use of the title 'Essene' is problematic and as LICHTENBERGER discusses should be discussed in relation to the Qumran community: "'Essener" und "essenisch" sollen hier auf die antiken Berichte, "Qumrangemeinde" und "qumranisch" auf die Texte von Qumran bezogen werden,' LICHTENBERGER, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980) p. 14. C. HEMPEL, 'Kriterien zur Bestimmung „essenischer Verfasserschaft“ von Qumrantexten,' pp. 71-88 in the same collection as LANGE'S article also discusses the subject of 'Essenes' and is cautious relating this group to the sectarian Qumran group. See also LANGE and LICHTENBERGER, 'Qumran,' in *TRE* vol. 28 (1997) pp. 45-79.

Exclusive Criteria:

(1) *Pesharim* and *Serekh haYahad* only use the tetragrammaton when quoting and it appears typically in paleo-Hebrew letters. A free use of the tetragrammaton is not observed. The latest work that uses it is the book of Daniel and the book of *Jubilees*. The use of the tetragrammaton in the *Pesharim* and *Serekh haYahad* is similar to the use elsewhere in the literature from the middle of the 2nd c. BCE. The *Pesharim* and *Serekh haYahad* also avoid using אלהים and one seldom finds אדוני and אל ישראל. Therefore, a free use of the tetragrammaton excludes a document from being classified as Essene.

(2) 1QpHab xi 4-8 describes the Wicked Priest's persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness on Yom Kippur. In all likelihood the Essenes used a different calendar and celebrated holidays on different days than the priests in the Jerusalem Temple. This is confirmed by 4Q259. At the end of the Community Rule the calendrical text 4QOtot is numbered 4Q319 and, yet, belongs to 4Q259. This document is concerned with one of several calendars that attest a 364-day-solar-calendar in which the year is divided into 12 months each with 30 days with a total of 52 weeks. The 364-day-calendar is older than the Essene movement. One can find similar systems in the book of *Jubilees* and Enochic Literature. Presumably, any document that does not at least attempt to reconcile calendrical issues with the Essenes, such as the 354-day-lunar-calendar, should be excluded.

(3) Every text that is identified as Essene based upon other criteria is written in Hebrew. An Aramaic, Greek or Nabatean text is, therefore, certainly not Essene.

(4) Since the Damascus Document produced the point of origination of the Essene community about 150 years BCE, one must finally consider any document produced before this time as either not Essene or at least proto-Essene.

Inclusive Criteria:

(1) According to *Pesharim* and *Serekh haYahad* Essene texts use a typical terminology, which reflects an Essene self-understanding. For example, they refer to themselves with phrases such as: עצה היחד ('Council of the Community'), אנשי היחד ('men of the community'), עדת היחד ('Gathering of the Community') and הברית ('the Covenant'). However, these designations cannot serve as a criterion of exclusion since the Essenes could have taken them over from others. Within the category of 'terminology' should be included the central characters of the Essene movement: the Teacher of Righteousness, Seeker of the Torah, Wicked Priest, Man of Lies, Men of Mockery, Seekers of Smooth Things, and Lion of Wrath.

(2) The *Pesharim* reflect a critical distance from the Jerusalem Temple and its priesthood. The Essenes were apparently upset because of non-Zadokite high priests and a false calendar and, therefore, considered the Jerusalem Temple to be unclean. The Essenes then understood their community to be a spiritual human temple in which their liturgical worship was considered sacrificial.

(3) This distance to the Jerusalem Temple corresponds in the *Pesharim* and *Serekh haYahad* to a clear understanding that the Pharisees and Jerusalem priests abandoned the Torah. Adherence to the Torah, according to Essene opinion, is only possible within their community through the revelation of the Teacher of Righteousness. This key hermeneutical role of the Teacher of Righteousness is evident from his title: דורש התורה ('Seeker of the Torah'). The Essene followers designated themselves as: עושי התורה ('Doers of the Torah').

(4) The worldview of the Essenes is shaped from a cosmic and ethical dualism, in which anyone who is not Essene has been predestined to perish in an eschatological judgement.

Index of References

Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>		2-4	35, 38
1	149	2.4	105–107
1-3	1, 24, 42, 43, 48, 49, 65, 68, 75, 77, 79–80, 81, 82	2.7	88, 143
1.1	88	2.9	114–115, 204, 205, 211
1.2	90	2.15-16	115, 121
1.3	90	2.16-17	115
1.7	107–108	2.19-20	90
1.9-10	88	2.18	95, 107, 111, 113
1.11	83, 107	2.18-20	187
1.12	83, 107	2.20	187, 189–190
1.14-20	90	2.20-25	88, 91, 97, 99, 150, 187, 202–204, 216, 229
1.15	90	2.21	200
1.16	107	2.21-24	96
1.18	90	2.23	187, 190, 201, 212
1.20	112	2.23-24	188, 240
1.25	107	2.24	75, 96, 188, 203
1.26	88, 94, 101–102, 107, 124, 132, 141–150, 184, 206, 208	2.24-25	191
1.26-27	180, 211, 240	2.25	100, 191, 209, 238, 240, 242
1.27	134, 136, 139	2.25-3.1	110, 237
1.28	112, 115, 120	3.1	100, 199
1.26-27	132–134	3.5	136–137
1.26-28	112	3.6	114–115, 204, 211
1.29	83	3.16	75, 96–97, 100, 112, 116, 186, 188, 198, 200, 203–205
1.31	107	3.17-18	188
2	88, 95, 97, 149	3.18	83, 116, 204
2.2	107	3.20	232–233
2.3	107	3.22	136, 205, 207

4	130, 204	3.1	105
4.1	232–233	8.14	169
4.6-7	116	11.21	50
4.7	188	16	120
4.12	116, 188	16.9	169
4.26	127, 129–130, 139, 130	18.20	163–164, 169
5.1	105	20	60
5.3	130	24.17	129–131, 135
6.9	105	30	189, 225
10.1	105–106	30.6-9	188
11.7	143	30.6-15	75
11.10	105	30.15-17	96
11.28	105	30.17	97
16.5	189		
17.5	140		
25.12	106	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
25.19	105	4.16-18	132
36.1	105–106	10.8-9	169–170
36.9	105	10.17	152
37.2	105	13	189
48.15	144	13.7	74–75, 189, 194
48.15-16	176	18.16	140
48.16	144	22.9	75
49	63	27.18	227
		28.20	29
		28.54	75, 189, 194
<i>Exodus</i>		31.34	63
6.16	167		
7.50	167	<i>1 Samuel</i>	
17	60	2.8	156
20.12	150–151	21.6	194
23.33	167		
27.30	83–84	<i>2 Samuel</i>	
29.1	167	7.10	140
28.42	190	12.8	189
31.11	167	15	59
33.22	60	19.13	187
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>1 Kings</i>	
27.30	83–84	6.16	167
		22.17	152
<i>Numbers</i>		19	58
1.20	106		

<i>2 Kings</i>		<i>Zechariah</i>	
16.10	126	3	70
22.17	152	8.12	84
		13.1	166
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
19.4	152	1.6	151
26.13	152	2.2	30
28.11	67	2.14	201
37.30	84	3.6-12	30
44.13	132	3.9	30
47.8	140	3.13-21	30
58.13	167	3.16	30, 152
<i>Jeremiah</i>		<i>Psalms</i>	
17.27	167	2	62, 68
23.4	140	2.10	62
<i>Ezekiel</i>		21.11	84
8.3	132	22	67
10.8	132	31	67
14.44ff.	128	34.10	132, 173
16.3	86, 200	36.10	164
16.36	210	42	67
16.38	210	46.5	164
17.6	213	51.15	170
21.35	200	59.12	170
22.10	210	63.3	170
23.10	210	71.23	170
23.18	210	65.10	164
23.29	210	88.12	110
28.12-19	213	104	67
29.14	200	107.37	84
31.8-13	212-213	119.171	170
44.11	153	136.3	152
46.20	167	<i>Proverbs</i>	
47.1ff.	164	1.23	74
<i>Hosea</i>		2.17	201
14.14	67	8.15	63
<i>Haggai</i>		15.11	110
1.6	29	17.2	220
		27.18	220

27.20	110	<i>Lamentations</i>	
28.27	29	5.10	213
<i>Job</i>		<i>Qohelet</i>	
1.1	64	5.5	72
1.2-3	64	6.8-11	72
1.4-19	64		
1.10	70	<i>Daniel</i>	
2.3	64	2.18	20
2.7-8	64	2.19	20
2.9	64	2.27	20
3	64	2.30	20
3.10	195	2.47	20
19.17	195	4.6	20
24.20	140	7.10	101
26.6	110, 214–215, 224	10.21	101
28.22	110	11.39	115
31.10	64, 110	12	128
38.7	143	12.1	101
42.11-15	64		
42.16-17	64	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
		13.22	167
<i>Canticles</i>			
7.11	188	<i>1 Chronicles</i>	
		17.9	140
<i>Ruth</i>		<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
4.18	105	4.22	167
		18.16	152
		29.17	167

New Testament

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>John</i>	
2.9-11	143	19.34	60
5.3	181		
<i>Mark</i>		<i>Acts</i>	
1	58	9.5	154
6.20	181	10.3ff.	154

Romans

5.12-14 148

9.21-23 196

1 Corinthians

1-3 61

8.5 154, 238

10.4 50, 60

11 235, 242

11.2-16 201, 239-240

11.7-12 190

11.12 190

15.45ff. 148

2 Corinthians

4.7 196

11.3 233

Ephesians

1.21 154

3.9 239

5 235, 242

5.21-33 201, 237-240

5.28 202

5.29 203

5.31 203

5.32 239

6.19 239

Philippians

1.19 52

Colossians

1.16 154

1 Thessalonians

4.4 191, 194, 196-197

1 Timothy

2 235

2.11-15 236-239

2.13 190, 233

2 Timothy

2.20-25 196

Hebrews

6.8 204

1 Peter

3.7 196-197, 221

2 Peter

2.10 154

Jude

8 154

14 45

Apocalypse of John

3.18 210

9.1 142

12.4 142

16.15 210

Apocrypha

1 Maccabees

3.3-9 171-172

2 Maccabees

7.34 160

4 Maccabees

18.6-8 118

18.7 190

<i>Sirach (Ben Sira)</i>		29.14	211
1.6-12	64	36.24	187
1.13	64	41.16	211
1.15-20	64	42.1	211
1.16-17	64	42.14	211
2.1-6	64	44-50	172
2.2-5	64	49.16	138
2.9-10	64	50	171
2.11-14	64		
4.21	211	<i>Tobit</i>	
5.14	211	8.6	233
6.1	211	8.6-7	187
9.1	189	8.15	177
9.17	219	11.14	176
14.2-3	64	11.14-15	177
14.11-12	64	12.12-15	177
15.4	211		
16.25	74	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>	
17.7	84, 116, 133	18.15-16	171
20.22	211		
20.23	211	<i>Psalms 154</i>	
20.26	211		44
24.22	211		
25.24	118	<i>Syriac Psalm 2</i>	
26.8	211		44
26.25	211		

Pseudepigrapha

<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>		2-5	90
	130, 213, 216	8.2-9.4	152
20.4	210	12.2	101
24.1-2	188, 210	14.23	101
		32.6	210
<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>			
	154	<i>37-71 (Similitudes)</i>	
		41.10	154
<i>I Enoch:</i>		43.1-4	143
		47.3	101
<i>I-36 (Book of the Watchers)</i>		62.7	109
1.9	101	69.6	233

<i>72-82 (Astronomical Book)</i>		<i>Jubilees</i>	
78-79	90		214
80	90	1.9	209
81.5	101	2.14	115
		3.16	209
<i>85-90 (Animal Apocalypse)</i>		3.21-31	110
81-83	90	3.22	209
84.6	117	3.27-31	110
86.1-6	143	3.30	209
90.20-27	143	3.31	209-210
		30.20-22	101
<i>92-108 (Epistle of Enoch)</i>		30.20-25	109
101.1	160	<i>Letter Sent to Adam by God</i>	
108.3	101	1.1	1
<i>93.1-10 + 91.11-17 (Apocalypse of Weeks)</i>		<i>Life of Adam and Eve</i>	
93.1-2	101		233
93.5	117	10-11	109
93.10	117	<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
<i>2 Enoch</i>		5.5-6	177
131.6	233	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>	
<i>4 Ezra</i>		8.6	187
	154	<i>Testament of Solomon</i>	
4.29-30	84	20.14-17	143
8.5	84	<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>	
<i>Joseph and Aseneth</i>		15.11-12	177
15.11-12	177	22	171
22	171		

Qumran and Related Literature

<i>CD (Cairo Damascus Document)</i>		v 9-11	224, 234
	12	vii 6-7	234
i 7	117	vii 21	130
ii 2-3	15	xi 1-2	234
ii 10	22	xiff.	15
iv 20-21	234	xvi 2-4	45

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| xx 8 | 101 | ix 18 | 20 |
| <i>IQpHab (Peshar Habakkuk)</i> | | ix 26-xi 22 | 126 |
| | 12 | x 1ff. | 90 |
| viii 5-14 | 15 | x 8 | 128 |
| xi 4-8 | 10 | x 6 | 170 |
| <i>IQ19 (Book of Noah)</i> | | x 12 | 164 |
| 2 | 152 | xi | 22, 165, 178 |
| 2 i | 160 | xi 3 | 164–165, 167 |
| <i>IQapGen (Genesis Apocryphan)</i> | | xi 4-7 | 129 |
| | 233 | xi 5-6 | 129 |
| <i>IQ26 (Musar leMevin)</i> | | xi 6 | 164 |
| 1 | 32, 204–206 | xi 6-7 | 170 |
| 2 | 22 | xi 7-8 | 160 |
| 2 2-4 | 32 | xi 8 | 101, 117, 159, 168 |
| | | xi 22 | 186 |
| <i>IQ27 (Book of Mysteries)</i> | | <i>IQSa (Book of Meditation)</i> | |
| | 15, 21, 72 | | 234 |
| 1 i 4 | 12 | <i>IQSb (Messianic Rule)</i> | |
| 1 ii 3 | 72–73 | | 12 |
| 6 2-3 | 72–73 | i 3 | 164–165 |
| <i>IQS (Serekh haYahad)</i> | | i 6 | 164 |
| | 12 | iii-iv | 101 |
| iii 15 | 22 | iv 28 | 171 |
| iii 13 | 106 | <i>IQM (Sefer haMilhama)</i> | |
| iii 13-iv 26 | 15, 133–134 | | 12 |
| iii 17-18 | 101, 115, 136, 139 | iv 4 | 126 |
| iii 18ff. | 143 | vi 6 | 101 |
| iv 22 | 159 | viii 3ff. | 234 |
| iv 26 | 116 | x 10 | 132 |
| iv 28 | 171 | x 12 | 101 |
| vi 7-8 | 166 | xi 6 | 130 |
| vii 12-14 | 194 | xi 8ff. | 90 |
| viii-xi | 171 | xii 1 | 101 |
| viii 5 | 168 | xiv 7 | 181 |
| ix 9 | 126 | xvi 1 | 101 |
| ix 12-16 | 227 | <i>IQ34 (Liturgical Prayers)</i> | |
| ix 14 | 227 | | 3 i 1-2 211 |
| | | | 3 i 3 208 |

<i>1QH^a (Hodayot)</i>		xvi 15	117
	12, 47-48, 60, 65-71	xvi 20	83
i	15	xvi 25	204
ii 18	167	xvi 30	83, 212
ii 20-30	69	xviii 10	167
ii 21	70	xix 21	212
iii 22	159	xx 7ff.	90
iv 21	164	xx 25	164
iv 37	126	xx 29	164-165
v 30	126-127	xxiii 10	164
v 30-36	126	xxiii 12	164
vi 15	168	xxiii 13	164
vii 6-25	70	xxvi 4	165
vii 34ff.	126	xxvi 8	165
viii 6	168	xxvi 11	160
viii 21	167		
ix 21	20, 164	<i>4Q88 (Psalms^f)</i>	
ix 22	164	viii	44
ix 25-26	90	ix	44
ix 27-31	170	x	44
x 9	208		
x 18	164-165	<i>4Q159 (Ordinances A)</i>	
x 27-28	13	2-4	234
x 31	167		
x 33-34	208	<i>4Q166 (Hosea Peshet)</i>	
xi 19	167	i 12-13	213
xi 21-23	160		
xii 30ff.	126	<i>4Q171 (Psalms Peshet)</i>	
xiii 6-7	211-212		50
xiii 35	212		
xiv 17-18	164-165	<i>4Q174 (Florilegium)</i>	
xv 4	212		50
xvi	107, 166		
xvi 4	164	<i>4Q177 (Eschatological Midrash)</i>	
xvi 6	83, 117		50
xvi 8	83, 164		
xvi 7	83	<i>4Q180 (Ages of Creation A)</i>	
xvi 11	83	1 1-15	15
xvi 10	83		
xvi 12	83	<i>4Q181 (Ages of Creation B)</i>	
xvi 13	83	1 ii 2	159-160
xvi 14	83		

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>4Q185 (Sapiential Work)</i> | <i>4Q286 (Blessings^a)</i> |
| i 13-15 75 | 3 2 153 |
| <i>4Q186 (Horoscope)</i> | <i>4Q287 (Blessings^b)</i> |
| 2 i 4 187 | 2 9-12 153 |
| <i>4Q200 (Tobit^c)</i> | <i>4Q299-301 (Book of Mysteries^{a-c})</i> |
| 1 i 3 208 | 12, 15, 21, 72 |
| 1 ii 1 208 | 299 1 4 86, 95, 187 |
| <i>4Q202 (Aramaic Enoch^b)</i> | 299 3a ii-b 13 86, 187 |
| iii 152 | 299 3 ii 87, 107 |
| <i>4Q249 (Midrash Sefer Moshe)</i> | 299 3 ii 7-9 88 |
| 50 | 299 3 ii 12 88 |
| <i>4Q251 (Halakhah A)</i> | 299 3 ii 15 20 |
| 7 234 | 299 5 87, 90, 107 |
| <i>4Q255-263 (Serekh haYahad^{a-i})</i> | 299 5 1-2 88 |
| 12 | 299 5 5 86, 187 |
| <i>4Q265 (Serekh)</i> | 299 6 i 7 88 |
| 228 | 300 1 ii 2 20 |
| <i>4Q266-273 (Damascus Document^{a-h})</i> | 300 3 2 116 |
| 12 | 300 3-4 20 |
| 266 6 ii 228 | 300 8 5 20 |
| 271 3 7-9 227 | 301 1 1 74 |
| 271 3 7-15 234 | 301 3 6 115 |
| <i>4Q274 (Purification Rule)</i> | <i>4Q303 (Meditation on Creation A)</i> |
| 228 | 113, 117-118 |
| 1 i 6 101 | 8-9 116 |
| <i>4Q284 (Liturgical Text)</i> | 9 118 |
| 228, 234 | 10 95, 150 |
| <i>4Q285 (Sefer haMilhamah)</i> | <i>4Q304 (Meditation on Creation B)</i> |
| 12, 174 | 117 |
| | <i>4Q305 (Meditation on Creation C)</i> |
| | 113, 117-118 |
| | 2 2 116 |
| | <i>4Q381 (Apocryphal Psalm B)</i> |
| | 1 6-8 115 |

<i>4Q394-398 (Miqsat Ma'aseh haTorah^{a-e})</i>	2 ii	3, 41, 85–86, 88–89, 94–95, 122, 183, 185, 196, 199, 205, 221, 232, 243
394 8 i 11-12	212	
397	212	
397 5 1-5	234	
	2 ii 1	93
<i>4Q400-405 (Shirot 'Olat haShabbar^{a-f})</i>	2 ii 3	189, 193, 201, 232
	101	
	2 ii 4	223
400 1 i 4-7	127, 153	
	2 ii 9	187
400 1 ii 7	132	6 2
400 1 ii 14	160	6 4
400 2	174	9
400 2 1	175	9 2
400 2 2	132	9 5
400 2 7	158	9 7
400 3 ii 2	160	9 7-8
401 1 i 1	160	9 8
401 1 i 10	160	9 9
401 1 i 21	160	11
401 14 i 6	174	11 6
402 1 4	153	11 11
403 1 i 21	153	11 11-13
403 1 i 24	126	11 12
403 1 i 31b-33a	176	11 13
403 1 i 34	126	24 1
403 1 i 43ff.	126	
403 1 ii 3	126, 132	
405 13 2-5	160	
405 13 7	160	
405 20 ii 8	132	
405 23 i 3-6	153	
<i>4Q413 (Sapiential Text)</i>		
	20	
<i>4Q415 (Musar leMevin)</i>		
	138, 155	
1	31	
1 ii + 2 i	169	
2	85	
2 i + 1 ii	82–84, 122, 155	
2 i + 1 ii 5-6	26	
	1	3, 19, 28, 31, 33, 36– 38, 41, 79, 84, 121, 89– 91, 161, 243, 245
	1-2	79
	1 1-9	121
	1 2-7	34
	1 3	104
	1 6	24, 219
	1 8	104
	1 8-10	34
	1 11-16	34
	1 12	127, 135
	1 14	104

1 16-19	34	2 iii 9-10	160
2 i-iv	3	2 iii 9-12	30
2 i	32-33, 34, 37, 91, 95, 97	2 iii 9-14	180
2 i 21-ii 3	33	2 iii 10	172
2 ii	32, 34, 37, 91, 95, 97	2 iii 10-11	120
2 ii 1	24, 28	2 iii 11	108, 155, 157
2 ii 2-3	135	2 iii 11ff.	156, 158, 160
2 ii 3	186, 208, 222-224	2 iii 11-12	29, 155-156
2 ii 3-4	188, 220	2 iii 11-14	156
2 ii 3-18	33	2 iii 12	24, 26, 29, 112, 180
2 ii 9	245	2 iii 13-21	22
2 ii 12	87, 219	2 iii 14	21, 245
2 ii 13	221	2 iii 15	172
2 ii 16	186, 221-224	2 iii 15-18	91, 94, 122, 149-150, 180, 185, 202, 206- 207, 240, 241
2 ii 18	120, 172	2 iii 15b-16	149, 151, 200
2 ii 18-iii 3	33	2 iii 15-21	92, 97, 150
2 ii 7-15	25	2 iii 15-iv 13	34
2 ii 16	186, 208	2 iii 16	93, 150, 154
2 ii 18	223	2 iii 16-18	200
2 ii 20	24, 26, 29, 202, 223	2 iii 17	112, 120, 154-155, 203, 229-230
2 ii 20-21	28	2 iii 18	21, 155, 172, 245
2 ii 21	71, 74-76, 86, 94, 186, 189, 191-202, 216	2 iii 19	29, 92, 231
2 iii	27-28, 32, 34, 39, 83, 88, 91, 95, 91, 93, 95, 97, 110, 112, 122, 149, 150-152, 155-156, 163, 177, 180, 195, 199, 242	2 iii 20	86, 88, 94, 85, 192, 201-202, 229, 231
2 iii-iv	75	2 iii 21	95-96, 111, 113, 229, 245
2 iii 2	26, 29, 180, 198	2 iii 20-21	8
2 iii 2-14	92	2 iv	32, 37, 88, 91, 94-95, 97, 100, 110, 112, 195, 199
2 iii 3-6	33	2 iv 1	96, 150, 188
2 iii 4	215, 223	2 iv 2	112, 188
2 iii 6	157, 223-225	2 iv 3	116, 188
2 iii 6-8	33	2 iv 4	188
2 iii 8	26, 29, 180, 223	2 iv 5	76, 85-86, 88, 189- 190, 193, 208
2 iii 8-9	193	2 iv 6	112
2 iii 8-15	34	2 iv 6-9	75, 97
2 iii 9	21, 86, 92, 95, 105, 187-188, 202, 229, 245	2 iv 7	112, 201

2 iv 8-10	188		150, 154, 179, 181,
2 iv 10	225		240, 241
2 iv 13	85–86, 88, 110, 189, 191, 193, 208, 236	1 i 16	71, 76, 152
2 iv 16	188	1 i 16-17	107, 145
3	34	1 i 17	107, 120, 137–140, 155
3 2	26	1 i 17-18	116, 219
3 3	104	1 i 18	245
3 4	104	1 i 21	245
4	34	1 i 25	245
4 1	37	1 i 27	3
4 3	26	1 ii	35, 97
4 11-12	129	2 i	3, 21, 33–32, 36
7	104	2 i 4	222
7 1-3	32	2 i 5	220
9 1	229	2 i 6	21
17 3	244	2 i 7	21, 204
		2 i 10	223
		2 i 10-11	23
<i>4Q417 (Musar leMevin)</i>		2 i 10-12	22-23
1-2	103	2 i 11	86, 105, 187, 229
1 i	3, 6, 15–18, 21, 33–34, 36–37, 39–40, 79, 84, 94, 97–102, 119, 121, 243	2 i 14	222
1 i 1-14	22	2 i 17	24
1 i 2	156, 245	2 i 19	24
1 i 6	21	2 i 21	24
1 i 7	104	2 i 22b-26	222
1 i 7-8	21	2 i 23	141, 208, 222
1 i 8	245	2 i 24	24, 223
1 i 8-9	189	2 i 25	223
1 i 8-12	196–198, 201, 203	2 i 26	208, 222–224
1 i 9	85–86, 100, 191, 203– 204	2 ii	32, 34, 36–37, 73
1 i 7-17	23	2 ii 25	192-193
1 i 8-12	185	2 ii + 23	217
1 i 10-11	21	2 ii + 23 3	24
1 i 13	23, 172, 245	2 ii + 23 5	208
1 i 15-16	30	2 ii + 23 21	188
1 i 15-17	44	5	35
1 i 15-18	76, 94, 102, 104, 119, 121, 124–141, 147–	20 5	172
		<i>4Q418 (Musar leMevin)</i>	
			97
		1	31
		2	31

4	31	77 4	94, 202, 244
7	32, 34	81	3, 17, 31–32, 35, 39,
7b 7	24		83, 106–107, 122, 124,
8	32, 34, 217		127, 161–78, 242
8 2	208, 220	81 1	40, 172
8 13	87	81 1b-2a	181
9	34, 93, 151, 155	81 2	165, 178
9 8	86, 187	81 1-3	108
9-10	32	81 2	107
9 12	172	81 3	112, 120, 131, 163
9 13	26	81 4	168
9 17	91	81 5	164, 220–221
9 18	229	81 9	112, 180
10	34, 95, 189	81 10	168
12 1	24	81 11	120, 172
14 1	24	81 12	172
16 3	24	81 13	84, 104, 168
17 4	244	81 14	116
21	32	81 15	112, 219
22	32	81 16	219
43	98	81 17	178
43, 44, 45	32-33, 37	81 18	24
55	3, 35, 39, 89, 103, 124,	81 20	120
	146, 157, 160, 163,	86 1	200
	177–178, 180–181	87 6	24
55 8-9	158	81 + 103	35
55 8-12	157	88 5	24
55 9	181	88 8	26
55 10	13, 179, 181	97 2	24
55 10-11	158	103	3, 37, 106, 113
55 11	129, 131, 160	103 ii	35
69	3, 32, 39, 89, 103, 122,	103 ii 7-9	74
	124, 146, 158, 177–	107 3	24
	178, 180–181	119	201
69 8	135	122 i	7
69 10-15	159	123 i	32
69 12-13	160	123 i-ii 2-4	244
69 14	104, 172	123 ii 3-4	22
69 ii + 128	35	123 ii 2-8	22-23
77	32, 104–106	126	3, 108–109, 122, 226,
77 2	21, 131, 244		232
77 3	129	126 1-10	30

126 3-4	25	207 + 69	35
126 6	26	213	33
126 9	233	219 2	244
126 ii 8	107	221 4	107
126 ii 13	24	221 5	149
127	3, 35, 215	222+221+220	74
127 1	24	228	201, 203
127 3	223	229	89
127 6	228	234 1	26
128 ii	35	237 3	26
138 3	106	240 3	24
243 2	231	249	26
148 ii 4	26	251	26
148 ii 6	99	251 1	131
149	155	286	31
159 ii 5	24	286 3	104
167	106, 226	296	31
167a + b	37, 223		
172 5-13	26		
167	31	<i>4Q418a (Musar leMevin)</i>	
167 7	226	1	37
168 3	200	2	37
177	84, 109–110, 122, 155, 191, 214–215	3	37
177 2	110, 214	4	37, 113
177 3	208, 210, 214, 224	5	37
177 4	105	6	37
177 5	24, 26–28, 106, 155– 156	7	37
177 7	245	8	37
178	109–111, 113, 122, 191, 214	9 2	37
178 3	216	10	37
178 4	111, 208, 210, 216, 224, 226	11	32, 36–37
186	96	12	37
187	96	15	31, 37
188	32	16	37
190 2	244	16b+17	91, 112, 122
201	121	16b+17 3	111, 187, 204, 216
202 1	86, 187, 229	17	37, 113
206	111–112, 203	18	201
		18 1-4	37
		19	32
		19 3	221, 217
		19 1-4	37
		18 4	204, 236

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|--------------------|
| 22 | 32, 36 | <i>4Q481 (Narrative H)</i> | |
| 22 1-5 | 37 | 3 | 208 |
| 25 2 | 106 | | |
| <i>4Q422 (Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus)</i> | | <i>4Q491-496 (Sefer haMilhama^{a-f})</i> | |
| 1 9 | 112 | 8-10 i 12 | 20 |
| 1 9-11 | 205 | <i>4Q500 ('Planting')</i> | 213 |
| <i>4Q423 (Musar leMevin)</i> | | <i>4Q501 (Apocryphal Lamentation B)</i> | |
| | 79 | 1 | 213 |
| 1, 2 i | 3, 35, 79, 83-84, 103, 110, 112, 121, 122, 137, 179, 204, 226, 243 | 5 | 208, 212-213 |
| 1, 2 i 1 | 115 | <i>4Q502 (Marriage Ritual)</i> | 234 |
| 1, 2 i 1-2 | 113-119 | <i>4Q504-506 (Words of the Luminaries^{a-c})</i> | |
| 1, 2 i 2 | 115, 203 | | 15 |
| 1, 2 i 3 | 188 | 1-2 v 2 | 164 |
| 1, 2 i 5 | 94, 229 | 8 6 | 106, 112, 115, 118 |
| 1, 2 i 7 | 117 | <i>4Q508 (Liturgical Prayers)</i> | |
| 3 | 22, 32, 195 | 1 | 208 |
| 3a | 195 | <i>4Q511 (Against Demons)</i> | |
| 3 2-4 | 32 | 35 | 171 |
| 3 3 | 229 | 35 4 | 153 |
| 4 | 32, 205 | 52 | 164 |
| 4 1-2 | 205 | 54-55 | 164 |
| 5 | 36-37, 120, 122, 243 | 57-59 | 164 |
| 5 1 | 120, 223 | 63 iii 1 | 164 |
| 5 2 | 120 | 63+64 iii 1-2 | 170 |
| 5 3 | 120 | <i>4Q513 (Ordinances B)</i> | |
| 5 5 | 104 | 2 ii | 234 |
| 8 | 32, 106 | <i>4Q525 (Beatitudes)</i> | |
| 8 1-4 | 31 | 14 ii 8 | 208 |
| 8 2 | 131 | 15 7-9 | 208 |
| 9 | 32 | <i>4Q545 (Visions of Amram^e)</i> | |
| 9 1-4 | 32 | 9 18 | 168 |
| 13 4 | 131 | | |
| 22 2 | 191 | | |
| <i>4Q424 (Sapiential Text)</i> | | | |
| 1 6 | 215 | | |

<i>5Q11 (Serekh haYahad)</i>		ii 10	132
	12		
<i>6Q18 (Hymn)</i>		<i>11Q14 (Sefer haMilhamah)</i>	174
ii 4	186	1 ii 2-6	177
		1 ii 5-6	172
<i>11Q5 (Psalms^a)</i>		<i>11Q17 (Shirot 'Olat haShabbat)</i>	
	15	ix 4	126
xviii	44	v-vi 2	132
xix	44		
<i>11Q11 (Apocryphal Psalm)</i>		<i>11Q19 (Temple Scroll)</i>	
	44		14
		xlviii 14-17	228
<i>11Q13 (Melchizedek)</i>		li 4-5	212
	59	liv 20	189
ii 5	157	lvii 17-19	234

Josephus

<i>Bellum</i>	8 148	194
2 161	230	

Philo

<i>De confusione linguarum</i>	29ff.	141
68-70	144	
171-174	102	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
171-178	143	2 63-64
		3 77-106
<i>De ebrietate</i>		143
55	197	<i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
		193
<i>De fuga et inventione</i>		197
65-70	102	<i>De mutatione nominum</i>
65-70	144	27-34
		27-34
<i>De gigantibus</i>		33
	143	149
8	143	

<i>De opificio mundi</i>		1 135	143
23	142	1 26	197
72-76	102		
72-77	142, 144	<i>Questiones et solutiones in Genesin</i>	
179-181	144	1 27	190, 200, 205
<i>De plantatione</i>		<i>De virtutibus</i>	
12	143	198-210	143
		198-210	143
<i>De somniis</i>			

Rabbinic and Hekhalot Sources

<i>Avodah Zarah</i>		<i>B. Mezi'a</i>	
22b	233	84b	195
<i>Genesis Rabbah</i>		<i>Pirqe Avot</i>	
1.26	102, 148	5.6	50
14:3	132		
19:4	206-207	<i>B. Sanhedrin</i>	
21.5	133	38b	102, 147
<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>		<i>Shabbat</i>	
30:16	133	35a	50
		146a	233
<i>Numbers Rabbah</i>		<i>Y. Shabbat</i>	
19.25-1650		10.6	195
<i>Qohelet Rabbah</i>		<i>Hekhalot:</i>	
11:2	195	⌘34 588§ (N8128)	
<i>Esther Rabbah</i>			153-154
1:11	195	⌘13 277§ (N8128)	
<i>B. Megillah</i>			153-154
12b	195		

Targumic Sources

<i>Neofiti:</i>		<i>Genesis</i>	
		1-3	206-208
<i>Genesis</i>		1.26	102, 147, 206
1-3	206-208	2.23	190
2.23	190	2.25	208
2.25	209	3.4-5	205, 207
3.5	207	3.6-7	209
		3.10	209
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		3.22	207
28.54	189		
		<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
<i>Onqelos:</i>		28.54	189
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		<i>Malachi</i>	
28.54	189	1.6	151
<i>Pseudo Jonathan:</i>			

Greek and Roman Literature

Plato's Symposium
189-191 190

Index of Authors

- Abegg, M. 4, 125–126, 174
Aitken, J. K. 4, 20, 24, 29–30
Achtemeier, P. J. 196
Albani, M. 209
Allison, D. C. 57–60, 77
Anderson, H. 47
Badale, S. 238
Baillet, M. 212
Barr, J. 131
Barth, M. 238
Barthelémy, D. 4, 152
Baumgarten, J. M. 184
Beale, G. K. 60
Becker, J. C. 47
Beyer, K. 152
Black, M. 47, 83, 184
Boccaccini, G. 16
Bockmuehl, M. N. A. 238
Borgen, P. 142
Bowker, J. 147
Brawley, R. L. 47
Brewer, D. I. 46, 60
Brooke, G. J. 6, 39, 46, 71–76, 96, 130–131, 138, 147, 188, 213
Brownlee, W. H. 46
Burns, J. E. 4
Callender, D. E. Jr. 238
Cambier, J. 238
Campbell, J. 60
Caquot, A. 232–233
Caragounis, C. C. 238
Carlè, R. S. 239
Carmignac, J. 69
Carrington, G. P. 239
Cervin, R. S. 238
Charles, R. H. 209
Charlesworth, J. H. 46, 83, 233
Chazon, E. 118
Ciampa, R. E. 55
Collins, J. J. 1, 3–8, 16, 19, 23, 39–40, 94, 101–102, 124, 131–141, 145, 156, 173, 184, 195
Cope, L. 239
Coppens, J. 238
Coulot, C. 7, 126, 135, 155
Crouch, J. E. 237
Davidson, M. J. 38
Davila, J. R. 153, 184
Dawes, G. W. 238
Dibelius, M. 237
Dimant, D. 6, 19, 62–65, 77–78
Dochhorn, J. 6, 116, 188, 210
Dodd, C. H. 60
Dupont, J. 181
Ego, B. 164
Elgvin, T. 1–2, 4, 6, 8, 16–19, 22–23, 30–33, 35–37, 82, 85, 89, 91, 95, 97, 103–104, 106, 108–109, 111–113, 115–117, 120–122, 125–129, 131, 135, 138, 162, 166–167, 171, 191, 194–196, 205
Elliot, J. H. 196
Endres, J. C. 209
Evans, C. A. 46–47, 55–56
Feuillet, A. 239
Fiddes, P. S. 239
Finkel, A. 46
Fish, S. 57
Fishbane, M. 44, 46
Fisk, B. N. 46
Fitzmyer, J. A. 1, 46, 177, 239
Fleckenstein, K. H. 238
Fletcher-Louis, C. H. T. 5, 39–40, 119, 157–158, 163, 170–172, 176
Flusser, D. 117
Fraade, S. D. 127
Frey, J. 5, 6, 9, 126, 141, 167, 209

- García Martínez, F. 5–6, 20, 109, 125,
129, 215, 220, 222, 229
- Gielen, M. 237
- Gieschen, C. A. 39
- Goff, M. J. 3, 5, 7, 18–19, 24, 28–30,
39, 65, 119, 135–140, 145, 156–157
- Gottstein, M. H. 46
- Grudem, W. 238
- Gundry-Volf, J. M. 239
- Halpern-Amaru, B. 209
- Halperin, D. J. 153
- Harrington, D. J. 1, 5, 6, 7, 12–13, 15–
16, 19–23, 25, 30–32, 36, 86–87, 90,
93, 96, 99, 109–111, 113, 125, 137–
138, 162, 167–168, 184, 186, 194–
197, 205, 215, 229, 231, 233
- Hays, R. 45, 47, 49–57, 59, 61, 67, 77–
79
- Hempel, C. 6, 8–9, 13, 15
- Holm-Nielsen, S. 60, 65–69, 72, 77
- Horton, F. L. 46
- Hurtado, L. W. 38–39
- Ibba, G. 5
- Jastrow, M. 227
- Jefferies, D. J. 7, 19
- Jervis, L. A. 239
- Jobes, K. H. 55
- Kelly, J. N. D. 196
- Kimball, C. A. 48
- Kister, M. 5, 191–193
- Kittel, B. P. 65, 69–72, 77
- Klijn, A. F. J. 130
- Knibb, M. A. 83
- Kroeger, C. C. 238
- Kugel, J. L. 46
- Lange, A. 5–7, 9, 11, 15, 19, 21–22, 72,
73, 85, 87, 98, 100, 125–129, 131–
132, 138–140, 163–167, 170–171,
197, 209
- Licht, J. 105, 117
- Lichtenberger, H. 6, 9
- Longenecker, R. 47
- Lucassen, B. 31–33, 35–36, 82, 85, 89,
91, 95, 97, 103–104, 106, 108–109,
111–113, 120–121
- Lührmann 197
- Luttikhuisen, G. P. 109, 113
- Maher, M. 206–207
- Martin, D. B. 239
- Martin, W. J. 239
- McGehee, M. 197
- McNamara, M. 207
- Metzger, B. M. 46
- Michaels, J. R. 196
- Michaelis, W. 154
- Milik, J. T. 4, 20, 22, 30, 152
- Militic, S. F. 238
- Miller, M. P. 47
- Morgenstern, M. 5, 86, 187
- Moyise, S. 43–44, 47
- Murphy, C. M. 5–6, 24–28, 30, 84, 156,
192, 219–220
- Murphy O'Connor, J. 238–239
- Newsom, C. 39
- Niehr, H. 6
- Perdue, L. G. 8
- Perriman, A. C. 239
- Puech, É. 5–6
- Qimron, E. 192, 227
- Rabinowitz, I. L. 46
- Roberts, B. J. 46
- Rosner, B. S. 47
- Ruiten, J. van 209
- Runia, D. T. 102
- Sampley, J. P. 238
- Sanders, J. A. 43–44, 46–47, 55
- Schäfer, P. 153
- Schiffman, L. H. 5–6, 14, 32, 183–184
- Scholem, G. G. 153
- Schoors, A. 15, 72
- Schuller, E. M. 5, 184, 200
- Schwartz, M. D. 193
- Schwemer, A. M. 174, 176
- Shum, Shiu-Lun 47, 77–78
- Slomovic, E. 46
- Stanley, C. D. 47
- Stegemann, H. 9, 32
- Strugnell, J. 1, 4–5, 13–16, 19–20, 25,
30–32, 36, 74, 86–87, 93, 96, 99, 109–
111, 113, 125, 137–138, 162, 167–
168, 186, 191, 194–197, 205, 215,
229, 231, 233
- Stuckenbruck, L. T. 6, 8, 17, 38, 157,
162, 170–171, 173–178,
- Studel, A. 31–33, 35–36, 82, 85, 89,
91, 95, 97, 103–104, 106, 108–109,
111–113, 120–121
- Sullivan, K. P. 38–39
- Tigchelaar, E. J. C. 5, 8, 17–18, 24, 28,
303–32, 35–38, 73, 79, 82, 85, 87, 89,

- 91–92, 95, 97, 103–104, 106, 108–
109, 111–113, 115, 120, 122, 125,
129, 156–157, 161, 165, 167–170,
172, 190, 213, 215, 217, 220, 222,
226, 228–229
- Tiller, P. A. 17, 117, 168
- Tobin, T. H. 102, 133, 141
- Trever, J. C. 46
- VanderKam, J. C. 5, 209
- Vermes, G. 19, 46, 209
- Wacholder, B. Z. 4, 20, 125
- Walker, W. O. 239
- Waltke, B. K. 239
- Watson, F. 56
- Weima, J. A. D. 237
- Weitzman, S. 46
- Wernberg-Møller, P. 22
- Werner, M. 154
- Whitton, J. 194
- Williams, H. H. D. III 45, 61–62, 77
- Wold, B. G. 5, 154, 238
- Wright, B. G. 6, 24, 27–28, 30, 156,
183–184
- Yadin, Y. 32, 117, 189
- Yarbrough, O. L. 195

Index of Subjects and Key Terms

- Abaddon 109–110, 214
- Adam 26, 94, 101, 102, 104–105, 109–110, 112, 115, 117–119, 121, 131–134, 136–137, 139, 171, 179, 187, 190–191, 200, 204–205, 207–212, 225, 236–238
- Agriculture 24, 82–84, 119, 121–122, 206, 235, 243
- אָרֶט 28, 108, 113–114, 172, 214–215, 217–219, 220–221, 228
- אִישָׁה 85, 91, 98–99, 197–199
- אֱלֹהִים 10, 93, 105, 107, 114, 124, 132–133, 136, 149, 187, 207–208
- Angels/angelic beings 11, 19, 29, 35, 38–41, 84, 89, 90, 94, 101–102, 105, 107, 109, 116, 119, 124, 126–128, 132–134, 136–150, 152–161, 163, 166, 168, 170, 172–182, 184–185, 202, 206–208, 210, 214, 219, 225, 234–235, 239–240, 241–243, 245
- Angelmorphology 39, 119, 172, 173
- Anthropology 39–41, 81, 89, 101–102, 109, 136–138, 146, 160, 163, 168, 180, 182, 184, 224, 231, 234–235, 240, 243, 245
- Apocalyptic 3, 7–8, 16, 19–20, 23, 28, 30, 101, 128, 134–137, 141, 159, 166, 179, 235, 245
- Behaviour 21, 24–25, 75, 88, 91, 128, 134–137, 141, 159, 166, 179, 184, 225, 232, 234, 236
- בָּטָן 195, 203, 229–230
- Body 186, 190, 194, 196–197, 202, 215, 218, 223, 237–238
- Bosom 74, 76, 85–86, 92, 94, 96–97, 122, 186, 189–194, 199, 201–204, 213, 218, 221, 224–225, 232, 236
- Boundary 92, 97, 109, 155, 186, 223–224, 193
- Christology 39–40, 242
- Citation 44, 46–50, 52–53, 57–58, 62, 66, 68–69, 71, 77–79, 203
- כֹּלִי 86, 97, 186, 189, 191–197, 199, 202, 217
- (un)Cover 92, 109–111, 185, 191, 194, 208–216, 218, 220–226, 240
- Cosmology 41, 89–90, 121, 173, 184, 234–235
- Daughter 86, 95–97, 183–184, 186, 200, 203, 216, 223–224, 226–228, 230, 232, 242
- Decalogue 74, 93, 150–151, 195, 200
- Deeds 98–100, 120, 126, 159–160, 166, 197–199, 205
- Distinguish, to 20–21, 23, 84, 90, 100–101, 107–108, 112, 119, 121, 131, 133, 135, 137, 140, 166, 169, 185, 192, 206, 211, 225
- Dualism 11, 14, 16, 101–102, 128–129, 133–137, 139, 141–145, 152
- Establish/ment 33–34, 86–87, 90, 103–104, 109, 111, 113, 165, 216, 227–231, 234
- Eve 109, 185, 187, 190, 205–207, 209–211, 216, 225–226, 232–238
- the ‘Fall’ 119, 140–141, 148, 204, 209, 236

- Fashioning 92–93, 98–100, 103–104, 107, 120–122, 128, 137, 141, 144, 146, 148, 159, 185, 190–191, 197–198, 233
- Father 22, 71, 74, 85, 92–93, 96–97, 120, 130, 144, 149–151, 154–155, 161, 172, 180, 184, 186–187, 191, 195, 199–201, 203, 206, 210, 216, 218, 221, 225, 228, 230, 236
- Farmer 24, 35, 38, 115, 121, 235
- First-Born 107, 162–163, 168, 170, 179, 195
- Free-Narrative 64, 77, 81, 111
- Garden 24, 35, 38, 45, 48, 82–83, 100, 110, 104, 106, 114–122, 137, 166, 179, 190, 199, 204–211, 213, 225, 228, 235, 243
- Glory 13, 21, 23, 29, 34, 39, 107–109, 126, 129, 156, 162–163, 172, 175–176, 208, 210–211, 218, 220–223, 233, 236
- Good and Evil, knowledge of 3, 21, 84, 88, 90, 93, 98–100, 116–122, 133, 136–137, 139–141, 143–144, 148–149, 156, 180–181, 185, 198, 204–205, 211, 224–225
- Haguy 23, 33, 35, 98–99, 125, 137, 139, 141, 146, 245
- Halakha 11, 71, 74, 76
- Head 91–92, 108, 155, 233, 237–240
- Helper 92, 95, 111, 113, 118, 186–188, 190, 204, 216
- Hermeneutical Event 52–53, 56, 59–61, 79
- Holy Ones 39–40, 128, 132–137, 139, 145–146, 148–150, 152, 154, 161–63, 165–67, 170–173, 175, 178–179, 181
- Holy Spirit 99–102, 107, 121, 211, 220
- Honour 13, 21–22, 34–35, 39, 71, 74, 85, 92–93, 107, 131, 149–151, 155–156, 158, 162, 172, 175, 178–181, 186–187, 191, 194–196, 199–203, 205, 218, 221, 223, 234
- Host, angelic 28, 89–90, 108–109, 151, 153, 157, 160, 219
- House Hold Codes (*Haustafeln*) 237
- Humanity 3, 11, 20, 22, 33, 35, 41, 68, 76, 94, 98–102, 104–107, 112, 116, 119, 121, 124, 127, 129–154, 156–158, 160–161, 163, 165, 169–170, 178–181, 184–185, 196–197, 203–204, 206–207, 211, 219, 225, 234, 236, 240, 241, 243, 245
- Husbands 85, 88, 95–99, 112, 184, 196, 202–203, 206, 208, 220, 225, 230, 234, 236–238, 242–243
- Immortal/ality 134–135, 140, 143
- Inheritance/Heritage 13, 17, 21, 26–27, 29–30, 33–34, 60, 76, 83–84, 92, 98, 107, 112, 120, 128, 137, 139–140, 155–158, 160–163, 171, 174, 179–180, 186, 205, 211–212, 218, 220, 223–224, 241
- Joy 287
- Likeness of 33, 35, 39–40, 83, 91, 93, 102, 105, 121, 132–137, 139, 146–148, 154, 179–181, 185, 198, 206, 240, 241
- Marriage 195, 201, 216, 227, 232
- Midrash 49–50, 59, 67, 133, 148
- מחזור 4, 14, 24, 41, 89, 161, 193, 215, 217–218, 222–223, 230–231
- Mother 22, 71, 74–75, 92–93, 96, 149–150, 154, 161, 180, 184, 186–187, 190–191, 195, 206, 208, 210, 233, 236, 242
- נדיבִים 26–27, 29, 41, 82–83, 92, 109–110, 155–156, 160, 180, 214, 219
- Nudity 100, 110, 191, 195, 208–211, 213, 216, 224
- Offspring 82, 87, 93–96, 150, 164, 187, 195, 229, 233
- One flesh, become 75, 96, 186, 188, 191, 203, 229, 238
- Origins/Birth-Times 34, 86–88, 92, 94–95, 105–106, 142, 155, 160, 185–187, 199, 201–203, 222, 227, 229,

- 234–235, 240
- Parents 12, 21, 74, 93, 95, 122, 149–150, 154–155, 184, 187, 187, 203, 206, 228–230, 234, 236
- Planting 17, 84, 114, 116–117, 166, 168, 173, 179
- Poverty/Lacking 3, 4, 6, 23–30, 33–34, 41, 81, 89, 90–94, 98–99, 108, 119, 149, 155–156, 157–158, 160–161, 180, 186–187, 193, 201, 204, 215, 217–220, 222–225, 231–235, 245
- Pregnant 93, 96, 227, 229
- Priest/ly 8, 10–11, 39, 153, 163–173, 175–176, 178–179, 223
- Provenance, of document 6–9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 26, 103, 157
- קדושים 124–128, 132–133, 136–140, 149, 152, 161–162, 164, 167–168, 170–172, 174–175, 177–178
- רוח בשר 98, 101
- רו נהיה 1, 3, 12, 14, 16, 20–25, 40–41, 81, 91–95, 98–100, 104–106, 120, 125, 139, 141, 146, 149–150, 155–156, 158, 161, 165, 172, 179–180, 184–186, 197–198, 202, 205, 214, 219, 225, 234–235, 239
- Reading Mechanism 53
- Revelation 3, 10, 23, 25, 40–41, 101, 119, 128, 135–136, 139–141, 149, 179–180, 219, 225, 238
- Re-written (Bible) 45–46, 48, 56–57, 64, 111, 113, 142
- Ruling 99, 100, 112, 120, 131, 188, 199, 204, 231
- Seasons 82, 84, 89, 90, 104, 108, 120–121, 244–245
- Sectarian/Monastic, community 7–9, 11–19, 26, 132, 160, 168, 183–184, 228, 230
- Separation 96, 99–100, 108, 119, 170, 185, 197–199, 202, 228–230
- Serpent 190–191, 199, 206–207, 209–210
- Shame 33–34, 96–97, 109–111, 185–186, 188–189, 191, 195, 205, 208–225, 232, 234, 236, 239
- Sheol 110, 214–215, 223
- Sheth 71, 76, 131, 135
- Sitz im Leben* 25
- ‘Sons of Seth’ 127, 129–131, 139
- Spring 40, 107, 129, 143, 148, 150, 162, 164–165, 167, 179, 215
- Temple 10–11, 15, 39, 86, 88, 153, 164–167, 172
- Transgression 204, 211, 236–237, 245
- Unity/Unification 92, 95–96, 191, 206
- Urzeit/Endzeit 99, 245
- Veneration 92–93, 146, 149–150, 155–156, 158, 163, 170, 172–178, 180–181, 241–242
- Vessel 74, 76, 86, 186, 191–192, 194–197, 202–203, 210, 218, 221
- ועוד לא 98, 119, 125, 129, 135–136, 138, 140
- Wealth 6, 23–25, 27–29, 73, 84, 92, 156, 166
- Wife/Wives 12, 34–35, 74–75, 85–86, 88, 91–92, 94–97, 110, 112, 118, 122, 150, 186–192, 194–197, 199–209, 212–213, 223–225, 228–232, 235–237, 242–243
- Womb 93, 195, 203, 229
- עם רוח 98, 101, 125, 133
- ערים 87, 110, 191, 195, 208–209, 213–214

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Alphabetical Index of the First and Second Series

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