

LOREN T. STUCKENBRUCK

The Book of Giants  
from Qumran

*Texte und Studien zum  
Antiken Judentum*

63

---

**Mohr Siebeck**

# Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Herausgegeben von  
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

63





Loren T. Stuckenbruck

The Book of Giants  
from Qumran

Texts, Translation, and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

*Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme*

*Stuckenbruck, Loren T.:*

The book of giants from Qumran : texts, translation, and commentary / Loren T.

Stuckenbruck. – Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 1997

(Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum ; 63)

ISBN 3-16-146720-5

978-3-16-158788-7 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

© 1997 J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P. O. Box 2040, D-72010 Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was typeset by ScreenArt in Wannweil using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper from Papierfabrik Niefern and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

ISSN 0721-8753

for Otto Betz  
in honour of his 80th birthday  
8. June 1997



## Preface

The Book of Giants has long been known as a work which circulated among the Manichaeans as a composition attributed to Mani. Thus the condemnation of the "*Liber de Ogia nomine gigante*" as an "*apocryphus*" in the *Decretum Gelasianum* (perhaps 6th century) may presuppose a claim relating to its Manichaean origins. However, a case for its existence prior to Mani was made by the important Huguenot scholar, Isaac de Beausobre in 1734 (vol. 1 of his *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*, p. 429 n. 6, cited by W. B. Henning in "The Book of the Giants", *BSOAS* 11 [1943–1946] p. 52). De Beausobre inferred that Mani must have drawn upon at least two *mauvais* sources: a "*Book of Enoch*" and a further writing which the 9th-century chronographer Georgius Syncellus had described as ἡ γραφή τῶν γιγάντων. The latter work was, in turn, said to have been discovered after the flood by a certain Καϊναν (Noah's great-grandson according to LXX Gen. 10:24) who subsequently "hid it away for himself" (see Alden A. Mosshammer, *Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica* [Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1984] p. 90: ἔκρυψε παρ' ἑαυτῷ). Whether or not Syncellus' comment was influenced by *Jubilees* 8:4 (or a later version thereof) at this point, the explicit mention of "The Book of the Giants" without, at the same time, there being any reference or allusion to Mani or Manichaeism may be significant: it is possible that the nomenclature in Syncellus ultimately has its roots in the existence of an independent source whose precise content was no longer known to him.

During the course of the 20th century a number of finds have shed considerable light on the literary evidence for the Book of Giants. The discoveries and publications of Manichaean fragments from the Book of Giants have, of course, substantiated the many references to its circulation among and use by the Manichaeans. And now, as is well known, the recovery of manuscript fragments from Qumran Caves 1, 2, 4, and 6 have confirmed the Book of Giants as an independent Jewish composition from the Second Temple period. Whereas the Manichaean materials and possible allusions to the Manichaean Book of Giants have recently been subjected to a timely analysis by John C. Reeves (*Jewish Lore and Manichaean*

*Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* [Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992]), the present volume takes its point of departure in the Book of Giants as an early Jewish work from the Second Temple period.

My interest in the Book of Giants was triggered ten years ago while I was engaged in a lexical analysis of the Greek recensions to *1 Enoch* (esp. Codex Panopolitanus, Syncellus<sup>a,b</sup>, and the Chester Beatty ms.) and the Enochic Aramaic fragments from Qumran in Tübingen and Heidelberg. Several years later, in the context of a doctoral seminar with Professor James H. Charlesworth at Princeton Theological Seminary, I was able to engage in an initial study of some of the published fragments which J. T. Milik had identified with the Book of Giants (*The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976]). However, the possibility of any publication at that time was precluded, as analysis was frustrated by the unavailability of the pertinent photographic evidence. Of course, this situation changed dramatically with the publication and itemization of the Rockefeller collection (formally PAM) in 1993 by Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche* (Leiden: E. J. Brill). This provided an opportunity for me – at first through the encouragement of Professor Peter Lampe at the University of Kiel – to resurrect a dormant study and to pursue a more thoroughgoing analysis.

It is here appropriate to stress that the investigation carried through in this book should in no way be confused with an ‘official’ publication of those Book of Giants fragments which have yet to appear in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series. For one thing, this volume as such is wider in scope in that it embraces virtually *all* fragments (unpublished and published) which have been related to the Book of Giants. Moreover, some features which have accompanied the publication of the Qumran fragments have not been included: most obviously, plates; measurements of the individual fragments; and, in some cases, a detailed discussion of palaeography and orthography (though these considerations are not entirely excluded).

It is hoped that the present study has been able to throw further light on the Book of Giants as an early Jewish document to be taken seriously in its own right. The main body of the volume – i. e. the text, English translation, notes, and commentary of the relevant manuscript fragments from Qumran – is to be found in Chapter Two (pp. 41–224), with Chapter One providing an introduction to the study of the document along with a consideration of the milieu (provenance and date) which may be posited for the work. In order to distinguish degrees of likelihood concerning the identification of manuscript fragments with the Book of Giants (see

p. 41), Chapter Two has been divided into two sections, the first (Part One) consisting of a study of those manuscripts which probably belonged to the work and the second (Part Two) containing a discussion of those fragments concerning which an identification with the Book of Giants is questionable. These sections are supplemented, respectively, by a Glossary for the texts covered in Part One and by an Appendix with readings and an English translation for the materials discussed in Part Two.

The research leading to this book would not have been possible without the prior work on the Book of Giants fragments by Jean Starcky and J. T. Milik. Their painstaking work with the fragments, which is reflected *inter alia* by the progressively improved arrangements of them on the photographs, have often provided a starting point for reconstructions which I have proposed. In addition, I have benefited significantly from the scholarly contributions of Klaus Beyer and Florentino García Martínez (especially on the Qumran fragments) and of W. B. Henning, Werner Sundermann, and John C. Reeves (on the Manichaean sources).

For their acceptance of this study for inclusion in the *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum* series, I would like to thank Professors Martin Hengel and Peter Schäfer. Further, I am most grateful to Mr. Georg Siebeck at J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) in Tübingen for his kind commitment to the production of such a complicated manuscript through type-setting. In this connection, special thanks go also to Mr. Matthias Spitzner for his patient and professional oversight of the manuscript preparation.

The bulk of this book was written in the summer months of 1995, during which I was given study leave from the Department of Theology at the University of Durham, UK. In particular, I am deeply indebted to my New Testament colleagues there, Dr. Stephen C. Barton and Professor James D. G. Dunn, for their moral support (and more!) during the writing and preparation of this manuscript. Not least am I grateful for helpful discussions with Dr. Robert Hayward and Dr. Walter Moberly.

Many thanks go to my wife Lois who, as an indulgent conversation partner, has patiently endured stories about the giants, their exploits, and their fate during the last several years! Together with our children, Daniella and Hanno, she has been an unfailing source of inspiration.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this volume to Otto Betz, Professor at the Eberhard-Karls University of Tübingen, on the occasion of his 80th birthday (8. June 1997). During a period of study in Tübingen (1986–1988) I found myself frequently stimulated and informed by his interest in the literature of Early Judaism. His contributions to the fields of New Testament and Early Judaism have over the years represented high academic achievement. This has not prevented him from tirelessly devoting

himself to the encouragement of young scholars in both Germany and abroad. Many – not least myself – shall remain in his debt.

Easter 1997

Loren T. Stuckenbruck

## Table of Contents

Preface .....	VII
Abbreviations .....	XIII

### Chapter One

#### *Introduction*

I. Research on the Book of Giants Fragments from Qumran ...	1
A. The Work of J. T. Milik (1971 and 1976) .....	1
B. Research Subsequent to Milik.....	4
1. 1976–1992.....	4
2. 1991 to the Present .....	8
3. <i>The Purpose of the Present Volume</i> .....	10
II. An Investigation into the Sequencing of the Qumran Book of Giants Fragments.....	11
A. The Significance of the Problem .....	11
B. Synoptic Comparison of Three Reconstructions .....	13
C. Proposed Sequence of the Qumran Book of Giants Fragments .....	20
III. The Character of the Qumran Book of Giants .....	24
A. Its Relation to the Book of Watchers.....	24
B. Distinguishing Characteristics of Qumran BG .....	25
IV. Date .....	28
V. Provenance and Purpose .....	31

### Chapter Two

#### *The Book of Giants and the Qumran Fragments*

<i>Part One: Materials Belonging to the Qumran Book of Giants</i> ...	41
1Q23 = 1QGiants <sup>a</sup> .....	43

1Q24 = 1QGiants <sup>b</sup> .....	59
2Q26 = 2QGiants.....	63
4Q203 = 4QEnGiants <sup>a</sup> .....	66
4Q530 = 4QEnGiants <sup>b</sup> .....	100
4Q531 = 4QEnGiants <sup>c</sup> .....	141
4Q532 = 4QEnGiants <sup>d</sup> .....	178
4Q556 = 4QEnGiants <sup>e</sup> .....	185
4Q206 2-3 = 4QEnoch <sup>e</sup> .....	191
6Q8 = 6QGiants.....	196
<i>Part Two: Manuscripts Whose Identification with the Book of Giants is Unlikely.....</i>	
4Q534 = 4QElect of God.....	214
4Q535 and 4Q536.....	217
6Q14 = 6QApoc ar.....	219
1Q19 = 1QBook of Noah 11, 13, 15.....	219
4Q533 = 4QGiants or Pseudo-Enoch ar.....	221
4Q537 = 4QApocryphon of Jacob ar.....	222
<i>Appendix: Texts and Translations of Documents which have not been assigned to the Qumran Book of Giants.....</i>	
4Q534.....	225
4Q535.....	228
4Q536.....	229
6Q14.....	231
1Q19 11, 13, 15.....	232
4Q533.....	233
4Q537.....	237
Glossary (for Texts Probably Belonging to the Book of Giants).....	243
Bibliography.....	255
Index of Passages.....	263
Index of Subjects.....	280
Index of Modern Authors.....	288

## Abbreviations

(excluding the Qumran documents; for sigla, see pp. 20-21,42-43,243)

1 Chron.	1 Chronicles
1 En.	1 Enoch
1 Kgs.	1 Kings
1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Sam.	2 Samuel
3 Macc.	3 Maccabees
ABD	David Noel Freedman, ed., <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (6 vols.)
acc.	accusative
act.	active
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
Aq.	Aquila
Aram.	Aramaic
ATTM	Klaus Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer</i>
ATTMEB	Klaus Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer. Ergänzungsband</i>
b. (before rabbinic text)	Babylonian Talmud
BE	J.T. Milik, <i>The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4</i>
<i>Bell. Jud.</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicorum</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BG	Book of Giants
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
Bibl. Heb.	Biblical Hebrew
<i>BibZeit</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental African Studies</i>
<i>c. Apion</i>	Josephus, <i>contra Apionem</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CD	Cairo Genizah Damascus Document
<i>Clem. Rec.</i>	<i>Clementine Recognitions</i>
Cod. Pan.	Codex Panopolitanus
col., cols.	column, columns
CRINT	Compendium rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
<i>Dam. Doc.</i>	<i>Damascus Document</i>
Dan.	Daniel
Deut.	Deuteronomy
Dictionary	Marcus Jastrow, <i>Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babil and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i>
Dictionary of JPA	Michael Sokoloff, <i>Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic</i>

<i>DISO</i>	Charles-R. Jean and Jacob Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
<i>DSSE</i>	Geza Vermes, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> (1995)
<i>DSS on Microfiche</i>	Emanuel Tov, ed., <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert</i> (1993)
<i>DSST</i>	Florentino García Martínez, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English</i> (1994)
<i>DSSU</i>	Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered</i>
<i>Enoch</i>	Michael A. Knibb with Edward Ullendorf, <i>The Ethiopic Book of Enoch</i> (2 vols.)
<i>EstBib</i>	<i>Estudios Bíblicos</i>
Eth.	Ethiopic
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
Exod.	Exodus
Ezek.	Ezekiel
<i>FE</i>	Robert Eisenman and James Robinson, <i>A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
fem.	feminine
fig.	figure
frgt., frgt.'s	Fragment, fragments
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
Gen.	Genesis
Grk.	Greek
Hab.	Habakkuk
Heb.	Hebrew
<i>Henochbuch</i>	Siebert Uhlig, <i>Apokalypsen: Das äthiopische Henochbuch</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Imp.Aram.	Imperial Aramaic
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
infin.	infinitive
Isa.	Isaiah
<i>itpa.</i>	<i>itpa"el</i>
Jas.	James
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>Jewish Lore</i>	John C. Reeves, <i>Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JStJud</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>Jub.</i>	<i>Jubilees</i>
Judg.	Judges
<i>KAI</i>	Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.)
l., ll.	line, lines

Lev.	Leviticus
LXX	Septuagint
m. (before rabbinic text)	Mishnah
Man.	Manichaeism
masc.	masculine
MBG	Manichaean Book of Giants
Mid.Pers.	Middle Persian
<i>Midrash</i>	<i>Midrash of Shemḥazai and 'Aza'el</i>
Mk.	Mark
<i>MPAT</i>	Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, <i>A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts</i>
ms.,mss.	manuscript, manuscripts
MT	Masoretic tradition
n.	note
Neh.	Nehemiah
<i>Neof.</i>	<i>Targum Neofyti</i>
<i>Nid.</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
no.	number
<i>New Schürer</i>	Emil Schürer, <i>The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ</i> , eds. Geza Vermes, Martin Goodman, and Fergus Millar (3 vols., 1973-1987)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
obj.	object
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OTP</i>	James H. Charlesworth, ed., <i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> (2 vols., 1983-1985)
p.,pp.	page, pages
Palm.	Palmyrene
PAM	Palestinian Archaeological Museum
pass.	passive
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestinian Exploration Quarterly</i>
perf.	perfect
pers.	person
plur.	plural
<i>Praep.Evang.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>
pron.	pronominal
Prov.	Proverbs
Ps.	Psalms
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
ptc.	participle
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>QumApoc</i>	Florentino García Martínez, <i>Qumran and Apocalyptic. Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran</i>
rel.pron.	relative pronoun
<i>RevBib</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQum</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>

SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
sing.	singular
<i>Sib. Or.</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
<i>Sir.</i>	<i>Sirach</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
subj.	subject
subst.	substantive
suff.	suffix
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
Sym.	Symmachus
Syn.	Georgius Syncellus
Syr.	Syriac
<i>T. Levi</i>	<i>Testament of Levi</i>
<i>T. Naph.</i>	<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>
<i>T. Reub.</i>	<i>Testament of Reuben</i>
<i>Tg. Onq.</i>	<i>Targum Onqelos</i>
<i>Tg. Ps.-Jon.</i>	<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>
Theod.	Theodotion
<i>ThRund</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<i>ThStud</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
<i>Tob.</i>	<i>Tobit</i>
<i>Tools</i>	Joseph A. Fitzmyer, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study</i> (1990)
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum
v., vv.	verse, verses
<i>VetTest</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>Wsd. Sol.</i>	<i>Wisdom of Solomon</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>Zebah.</i>	<i>Zebahim</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

## Chapter One

# Introduction

### *I. Research on the Book of Giants Fragments from Qumran*

#### *A. The Work of J. T. Milik (1971 and 1976)*

One of the enduring contributions of J. T. Milik's studies of the Aramaic fragments of Enochic works discovered in the caves near Qumran has been the identification of materials from the lost Book of Giants (BG).<sup>1</sup> The "discovery" of this early Jewish writing was for Milik based on two primary observations. On the one hand, a number of manuscripts from Cave 4 refer to the ante-diluvian patriarch "Enoch" (e. g. 4Q203, 4Q206, 4Q530, 4Q531) but preserve contents not found in any part of *Ethiopic* or *I Enoch* or one of its surviving Greek recensions. On the other hand, and

---

<sup>1</sup> See Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), esp. pp. 4, 6–7, 57–58, 230, 236–38, and 298–339 (hereafter, *BE*). Milik's presentation here brought together the results of studies which he had published several years earlier: "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des géants juif et manichéen", in eds. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann, *Tradition und Glaube. Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 117–27 and "Problèmes de la littérature hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân", *HTR* 64 (1971) 333–78, esp. pp. 366–72.

<sup>2</sup> Based on the fragments found during the early part of this century in the Turfan basin of Chinese Turkestan, Henning began to give attention to the Manichaean BG in "Ein manichäisches Henochbuch", *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1934) 3–11 and "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus", *ZDMG* 90 (1936) 1–18, esp. pp. 2–6. Henning then published a number of BG-related fragments – the most important in Middle Persian, Uygur, Parthian, Coptic, and Sogdian – in "The Book of Giants", *BSOAS* 11 (1943–1946) 52–74 (hereafter "Book of Giants"). The Mid. Pers. fragments are catalogued by Mary Boyce in *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, 45; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960) no. 101 (p. 9). To Henning's collection of texts, Boyce adds some Parthian citations on the first of a double sheet (*ibid.*, no. 813 I, p. 55; cf. p. 147). See further, Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, "Der Buddha Henoch: Qumran und Turfan", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 32 (1980) 371 n. 21.

perhaps even more significant, is that some of these and other Qumran materials were seen to preserve details which are paralleled in later sources: most notably, in extant fragments of the Manichaean Book of Giants published by W. B. Henning<sup>2</sup> (and now also by Werner Sundermann<sup>3</sup>) and in a Jewish writing designated the *Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Aza'el*.<sup>4</sup>

Until quite recently, however, the fragments of the Qumran BG have not been the object of the sustained discussion that scholars have devoted to the other materials presented in Milik's study. Several reasons for this neglect may be identified. First, the western world has known about *Ethiopic Enoch* through text and translation since the early 19th century,<sup>5</sup> whereas the Manichaean BG fragments were not published until 1943 (by Henning).<sup>6</sup> Due to the relative novelty of the latter as well as the area of study it represented, students of Early Judaism were not as well positioned to evaluate critically this aspect of Milik's work.

Second, on first glance the Qumran BG fragments would appear to have formed but a tangential part of Milik's main focus on the Aramaic fragments corresponding to the *I Enoch* corpus (*Book of the Watchers* = ch.'s 1–36; *Astronomical Book*, cf. ch.'s 72–82; *Book of Dreams* = ch.'s

<sup>3</sup> See Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und partische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berliner Turfantexte, 4; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 76–78 (esp. “M 5900”) and “Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch”, in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica, 23 and Second Series, 9; Leiden: Brill, 1984) 491–505 (esp. Frgt. “L”); see further p. 200 and John C. Reeves, “Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?”, *JBL* 112 (1993) 114 n. 17. The most important recent study of the Manichaean BG sources is now Reeves' published dissertation, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony. Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992), hereafter *Jewish Lore*.

<sup>4</sup> For an initial text with translation based on 4 medieval Hebrew mss. (provisionally collated), see Milik, *BE*, pp. 321–31 and 338–39. Milik hypothesizes that the *Midrash* is an adaptation of the Manichaean BG and attributes it to R. Joseph bar Hiyya (d. 333 C. E.) because he is mentioned as the story-teller at the beginning. The significance of the *Midrash* for Qumran BG becomes more apparent if Milik's thesis of its derivation is questioned (as by Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 88) and if it is regarded as another – abbreviated and clearly later – version of the BG story.

<sup>5</sup> The translation was initially published in 1821 by Richard Laurence, *Mashafa Henok Nabiy, The Book of Enoch the prophet* (Oxford: Univ. Press), while an edition of the Ethiopic ms. (Oxford Bodleian no. 4) was not published until 1838 by Laurence, *Mashafa Henok Nabiy, Libri Enoch prophetae versio Aethiopica* (Oxford: Univ. Press). Previous to this corresponding Enoch materials in Greek had been known through the Chronography of Georgius Syncellus (808–810 C. E.), which had been edited by Joseph Juste Scaliger in 1606 and J. A. Fabricius in 1703 and 1722 (cf. Milik, *BE*, pp. v–vi); this material and ms. evidence from Greek recensions published near the end of the 19th century (esp. a tachygraph for 89:42–49; Codex Panopolitanus for 1:1–32:6; and the Chester Beatty Papyrus for 97:6–104:13; 106:1–107:3) have been conveniently gathered by Matthew Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (PVTG, 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970) 3–44.

<sup>6</sup> See n. 2.

83–90; and the so-called *Epistle of Enoch* = ch.'s 91–107). And yet, Milik's interpretation of the Enochic fragments made the BG material all the more integral to his edition. Noting the absence at Qumran of fragments belonging to the *Similitudes* (*1 En.* 37–71) and, on palaeographical grounds, the incorporation of some fragments of BG within a manuscript containing portions of *1 Enoch* (4Q203–204), Milik argued that *Similitudes* was a Christian composition from the late 3rd century C. E. Correspondingly, he proposed that BG originally belonged to a pentateuchal Enoch corpus and, due to its use in Manichaean circles, was eventually replaced by *Similitudes* in the collection.<sup>7</sup> This controversial hypothesis, which downplayed the significance of *Similitudes* as an illuminative background for the use of “son of man” in the New Testament, sparked considerable debate. As a result, references to the Qumran BG by reviewers of Milik's study have been frequently absorbed into their critique of his dating of the *Similitudes*.<sup>8</sup>

A third, and without doubt the most important, reason for the lack of attention shown to the BG fragments from Qumran is that Milik's publication of the material was conspicuously incomplete. While he did provide re-readings for some fragments of previously published materials from other caves (1Q23, 2Q26, and 6Q8),<sup>9</sup> of the five manuscripts he ascribed to BG he limited a full publication with plates to only one manuscript (4QEnGiants<sup>a</sup>)<sup>10</sup> while offering a number of readings and restorations for three others (4QEnGiants<sup>b, c, e</sup>).<sup>11</sup> Admittedly, Milik probably had good reason for not including all the BG fragments. Aside from the simple difficulty of producing too large a volume, the manuscripts 4QEnGiants<sup>b, c, d, e</sup> had all been assigned to Jean Starcky for official publication. Whatever the case, however, as long as the photographic evidence for these

<sup>7</sup> So Milik, *BE*, pp. 4, 54, 57, 76–79, 91–106, 109, 183–84, 227, and 310. See also idem, “Littérature hénochique” 373–78 (bibl. in n. 1).

<sup>8</sup> See, e. g., the reviews and articles referring to Qumran BG by F. F. Bruce, *PEQ* 109 (1976/77) 134; Devorah Dimant, “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch”, *YotTest* 33 (1983) 16–17; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Implications of the New Enoch Literature from Qumran”, *ThStud* 38 (1977) 338–39; T. W. Franxman, *Bib* 58 (1977) 434–35; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *CBQ* 40 (1978) 412; James A. Sanders, *JBL* 97 (1978) 446; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *BibZeit* 22 (1978) 133; Michael E. Stone, “Apocalyptic literature”, in ed. idem, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT, 2; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1984) 397–98; James C. Vanderkam, “Some Major Issues in the Contemporary Study of 1 Enoch: Reflections on J. T. Milik's *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrān Cave 4*”, *Maarav* 3 (1982) 93–94.

<sup>9</sup> *BE*, pp. 300–303, 309–310, 334–35; on p. 309, Milik suggests that 1Q24 may also have belonged to BG.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 310–17, Plates XXX–XXXII (but without phot. for Frgt. 1).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236–38, 303–308.

fragments was generally inaccessible, most specialists in the field were in no position to venture independent analyses without, to a large degree, having to rely on the information supplied by Milik. It is thus likely that such less than ideal conditions inhibited the assessment of the Qumran BG as an early Jewish document in its own right.<sup>12</sup>

## B. Research Subsequent to Milik

### 1. 1976–1992

Subsequent to Milik's edition of the Qumran Enoch materials, BG was recognized as an independent work, and references to vocabulary, texts, and ideas from its fragments were soon included in several publications. Whereas Michael A. Knibb, unlike Milik, made limited use of BG in his 1978 edition of the Ethiopic manuscripts of *1 Enoch*,<sup>13</sup> in 1984 Sieberg Uhlig reserved an appendix for a German translation of BG fragments in his translation and study of the same.<sup>14</sup> The first, however, to present both texts and translation of some BG fragments after Milik were Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington in their *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (1978).<sup>15</sup> In the same year, Michael Sokoloff published a largely philological evaluation of Milik's edition; here he incorporated some of the BG fragments from Milik's clearer readings in a glossary, in which he proposed a few lexical and morphological corrections.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the impediments described in section *I. A* above, several scholars have managed to make significant contributions to the study of the Qumran BG; they are Klaus Beyer, Florentino García Martínez, and John

---

<sup>12</sup> This no doubt accounts, e.g., for the very cursory discussion of Qumran BG among Heb.-Aram. Jewish "Prophetic-Apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha" by Geza Vermes in the revised edition of Emil Schürer, *The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ*, eds. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–1987) III.1, pp. 254–5 (hereafter *New Schürer*). More informative is the brief discussion of BG by Nickelsburg, "The Bible Rewritten and Expanded", in ed. Michael E. Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/2; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress Press, 1984) 95–97 (hereafter "The Bible Rewritten").

<sup>13</sup> So Knibb and Edward Ullendorf, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) vol. 2, pp. 10 and 193–95, where 4QEnGiants<sup>a</sup> Frgt.'s 9 and 10 are considered for their possible relationship to *1 En.* 84:2–4,6.

<sup>14</sup> Uhlig, *Apokalypsen: Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5/6; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1984) 455–58 (hereafter *Henochbuch*).

<sup>15</sup> Published in Rome by the Pontifical Biblical Institute (hereafter *MPAT*); see pp. 68–79 (2Q26 and selected portions of 4QEnGiants<sup>a,b,c</sup>, 1Q23, and 6Q8), from which the more certain vocabulary is included in the glossary.

<sup>16</sup> Sokoloff, "Notes on the Aramaic Fragments of Enoch from Qumran Cave 4", *Maarav* 1 (1978–1979) 197–224.

C. Reeves. It is appropriate, then, that the scope, purpose, and contribution of their respective publications are briefly outlined and reviewed.

In his monumental work on *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (1984),<sup>17</sup> Beyer presented the BG fragments in his attempt to collect "alle aramäischen Texte, die vom 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 7. Jh. n. Chr. in Palästina abgefaßt wurden und in Niederschriften ihrer Zeit erhalten sind."<sup>18</sup> Therein Beyer not only included BG among his independent readings and translation of all these texts,<sup>19</sup> but also incorporated his lexicographical and morphological analyses of all vocabulary items in a glossary at the end of the work.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Qumran BG fragments Beyer provided stimulus for later discussion in four main ways: (1) In several instances he suggested readings and reconstructions which differed from those of Milik, even for some fragments for which no photographs were available (esp. 4Q530 ii, 1.3–iii, 1.10 and 4Q531 17). (2) In addition to the manuscripts Milik had assigned to BG, Beyer suggested that fragments of 6Q14 (Aram.) and from 1Q19 (Heb.) may have belonged to BG as well.<sup>21</sup> (3) Beyer attempted to arrange the fragmentary BG texts into a coherent order which reflects how the work may have been structured (see section II. B below). (4) Beyer has interpreted Hebraisms in the language of the texts and 1Q19 as indications that BG was originally composed in Hebrew during the 3rd century B. C. E.,<sup>22</sup> while the names of the giants Gilgamesh and Hōbabish betray a Babylonian provenance.<sup>23</sup>

In 1987, BG was treated by García Martínez in his review of Qumran materials published between 1975 and 1985,<sup>24</sup> a discussion which in English translation he updated as an independent chapter for a collection of essays entitled *Qumran and Apocalyptic*.<sup>25</sup> Here García Martínez provides an overview of critical problems involved in interpreting Qumran BG and

<sup>17</sup> Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984 (hereafter *ATTM*).

<sup>18</sup> *ATTM*, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> For BG, see *ibid.*, pp. 258–68.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 499–763.

<sup>21</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 229, 259, and 268. Unlike Milik, who had considered up to 11 mss. for inclusion in BG, Beyer thus ended up with 13; see this section below.

<sup>22</sup> Beyer is also of the opinion that the other Enoch writings found at Qumran were also composed in Hebrew. Thus he maintains that BG is "das jüngste Stück des hebräischen Henoch" (*ibid.*, p. 259). Concerning the difficulties of assigning 1Q19 to BG, see Chapter Two, Part Two below.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> García Martínez, "Estudios qumránicos (1975–1985): Panorama crítico (I)", *Est-Bib* 45 (1987) 175–92.

<sup>25</sup> Subtitled *Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ, 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 97–115 ("The Book of Giants"), hereafter *QumApoc*.

comments on the contents of each of the more clearly identifiable manuscripts mentioned by Milik (1Q23, 2Q26, 6Q8, 4QEnGiants<sup>a, b, c, d, e</sup>, and 4QEnoch<sup>e</sup> 2–3).<sup>26</sup> After devoting a brief section to the Manichaean sources, he then attempts to arrange some of the Qumran fragments into a sequence which differs from that suggested by Beyer. His comments in these sections demonstrate a methodical consideration of criteria for which a broad outline of events may be derived.<sup>27</sup> Finally, he discusses provenance and date, proposing an origin among Essene circles sometime during the middle of the 2nd century B. C. E. after the composition of Daniel.<sup>28</sup> García Martínez' treatment is well balanced and remains throughout aware of problems posed for interpretation by the fragmentary nature of the evidence as well as their incomplete publication.

The study by Reeves on *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony* (1992)<sup>29</sup> consists of an analysis of BG in the later Manichaean sources. As the Qumran BG fragments are illuminative for culling the source-critical and traditio-historical background for Manichaean BG, Reeves devotes his longest chapter to a running text, translation and commentary on the Qumran fragments and relates them to parallels among the Manichaean materials.<sup>30</sup> He, too, has presented the fragments in an arrangement which he thinks at places is preferable to the one proposed by Beyer.

Reeves, as Beyer and García Martínez before him, was of course quite aware of the frustrating incompleteness of the pertinent manuscripts from Qumran. This limitation aside and despite the excellence of his discussion on the Manichaean and related sources, his treatment of the Qumran fragments is somewhat disappointing. While one might be sympathetic with his principled exclusion of less certain Qumran manuscripts from consideration,<sup>31</sup> it is not clear why he can ignore these fragments when they could have contributed to his argument.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, his alternative suggestions concerning the possible order of events in Qumran BG, which

<sup>26</sup> Though García Martínez questions the certainty of 4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup> and 4QEnoch<sup>e</sup> 2–3 (*ibid.*, p. 105).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106–113.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 113–15. On this further, see section IV below and Chapter Two, under 4Q530 col. ii, 11.17–20.

<sup>29</sup> See full bibl. in n. 3 above.

<sup>30</sup> *Jewish Lore*, pp. 51–164.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> Reeves ends up including 4QEnoch<sup>e</sup> 2–3 under "QG2" after all, while none of the 1Q24 fragments receive further mention. Most conspicuously absent from his discussions concerning use of "tablet" in BG is 2Q26 (a repeated washing of "tablets" in water) which Milik had associated with the *Midrash of Shemhazai and 'Aza'el* (obliterations of writing on a large stone) and the Man. Mid. Pers. Frgt. j Page 2; see also his discussion of "tablets" in n.'s 291 and 306 (*ibid.*, pp. 153–54).

seem unaware of García Martínez' contribution to the problem<sup>33</sup> and rely on a questionable reading,<sup>34</sup> are problematic at several points.

The inevitable tenuousness of the three works just reviewed rests mainly in the fact that none of them were in a position to refer to the remaining unpublished Qumran materials. Nevertheless, all three make contributions in specific areas which should be taken into account in any further study of Qumran BG.

Between 1976 and 1992, the dependence of scholars on the study of BG by Milik meant that some of his statements about the fragments were subject to conflicting interpretations. This is nowhere more true than the various construals of Milik's frequently cited comment about the manuscript evidence itself:

Up to the present I have located six copies of the Book of Giants among the manuscripts of Qumrân: the four manuscripts cited above (1Q23, 6Q8, 4QEnGiants<sup>b, c</sup>), a third manuscript from the Starcky collection, and 4QEnGiants<sup>a</sup> published below. There are also five other manuscripts too poorly represented to allow a sufficiently certain identification of the fragments: En<sup>e</sup> 2-3 (above, pp. 236-8), 1Q24 (*DJD* i, p. 99 and pl. IX), 2Q26 (*DJD* iii, pp. 90-1 and pl. XVII; see below, pp. 334-5), and two groups of small fragments entrusted to the Starcky edition.<sup>35</sup>

What materials did Milik specifically have in view when referring to "a third manuscript from the Starcky collection" and to the "two groups of small fragments entrusted to the Starcky edition"? Since Milik does not clarify his statement any further, others have interpreted them in various ways:

	"third manuscript"	"two groups" of mss.
Fitzmyer <sup>36</sup>	4QEnGiants <sup>e</sup> (4Q556)	4QEnGiants <sup>d</sup> (4Q532) 4QEnGiants <sup>f</sup> (?)
Beyer <sup>37</sup>	4QEnGiants <sup>d</sup> (4Q532)	4QEnGiants <sup>f</sup> (?) 4QEnGiants <sup>g</sup> (?) <sup>38</sup>

<sup>33</sup> That is, Reeves is aware neither of the Spanish version of García Martínez' essay nor of Adam S. van der Woude's review of it in "Fünfzehn Jahre Qumranforschung (1974-1988)", *ThRund* 54 (1989) 259-61.

<sup>34</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 105. His interpretation of 4Q530 col. iii, 1.7 is bound up with his placement of 4Q530 ii-iii, 4Q531 17, 6Q8 1, and 4Q203 7B ii-8; see section II below.

<sup>35</sup> Milik, *BE*, p. 309.

<sup>36</sup> *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBLRBS, 20; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 52-53 (hereafter *Tools*). Fitzmyer's construal is followed by Reeves (*Jewish Lore*, p. 51).

<sup>37</sup> *ATTM*, pp. 259-60.

<sup>38</sup> Beyer's nomenclature becomes explicable if he assumes that 4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup> has already been covered by Milik's reference to "En<sup>e</sup>" (= 4Q206). In any case, Beyer has rightly dropped these designations in his *Ergänzungsband* to *ATTM* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994) 119-24 (hereafter *ATTMEB*).

	“third manuscript”	“two groups” of mss.
García Martínez <sup>39</sup>	4QEnGiants <sup>d</sup> (4Q532)	4Q533 (4QGiants <sup>e</sup> ar?) 4QEnGiants <sup>e40</sup> (4Q556)

Without further and relevant information from someone having direct access to the sources, it was nearly impossible to proceed with sufficient clarity. Only an independent inspection of the photographs and of the designations assigned to the fragments they contain would make it possible to shed light on the manuscripts to which Milik in fact referred.

## 2. 1991 to the Present

Apparently by the time Reeves' monograph was submitted to the publishers, the publication by Robert Eisenman and James Robinson of many previously unavailable photographs of Cave 4 fragments at the end of 1991 (*Facsimile Edition*)<sup>41</sup> was not accessible to him.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, García Martínez' *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated* (1994), an English translation of a 1992 Spanish edition, was unable to base the texts on some of the photographs.<sup>43</sup> Though the *Facsimile Edition* was in principle significant

<sup>39</sup> See *QumApoc*, pp. 104–105 and idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*, translated from the 1992 Spanish edition by Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 505 (hereafter *DSST*). García Martínez does not specifically refer to Milik's statements about the “two groups”; the manuscripts under this column have, therefore, been inferred from his reference to materials of (for him) uncertain identification on the basis of the above publications.

<sup>40</sup> Since in *QumApoc* García Martínez did not provide a numerical designation for 4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup>, does his nomenclature under 4Q533 in *DSST* suggest that he is identifying the two with each other? If so, this is clearly wrong, as the ms. referred to by Milik as 4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup> actually corresponds to 4Q556 (designated together with 4Q557 by García Martínez as 4QVisions; *DSST*, p. 507). Whether or not 4Q556 was rightly designated 4QEnGiants<sup>e</sup> by Milik, García Martínez' descriptions of 4Q533 and 4Q556 largely correspond to those in ed. Emanuel Tov with Stephen J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche. Companion Volume* (Leiden: Brill/IDC, 1993) 47–48 (hereafter *Microfiche Companion Volume*); eds. James H. Charlesworth et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen/Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]/Westminster John Knox Press, 1994) 182–83 (hereafter *DSS Rule*); and Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 1995, 4th ed.) li–lii (hereafter *DSSE*). See further under 4Q556 in Chapter Two.

<sup>41</sup> *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Washington, D. C.: Biblical Archeology Society). The volumes contain 1785 plates of photographs taken for the Palestinian Archaeological Museum (hereafter PAM) during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

<sup>42</sup> The same may be said of Reeves' further contribution, “Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?” (1993; bibl. in n. 3) and Ronald V. Huggins, “Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves”, *JBL* 114 (1995) 103–110.

<sup>43</sup> See *DSST*, p. xx.

in making unpublished materials generally available for study (e. g., for the unpublished BG fragments), it had several shortcomings. For one thing, the volumes did not present an exhaustive collection all PAM photographs. This would be of particular consequence in instances among some of the earlier photographs, when fragments prior to their proper analysis would sometimes appear within a random selection of such pieces. Moreover, the size of many of the photographs is reduced and can sometimes only be read with difficulty. Finally, in cases where the PAM collection contains lighter and darker developments of a negative, the *Facsimile Edition* most often includes only one. For this reason, it is simply precarious to base readings on these volumes alone.

Matters have, of course, improved immensely with the publications in 1993 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert* edited by Emanuel Tov with the collaboration of Stephen J. Pfann (hereafter *DSS on Microfiche*).<sup>44</sup> At this point, the entire collection of Qumran materials became available for scrutiny by interested scholars. This edition, in addition to photographs from the PAM collections in Oxford (complete) and Princeton (selective), have provided the analytical basis for the present work.

The first to print a text and translation for any of the unpublished BG manuscripts were Eisenman and Michael O. Wise (1992).<sup>45</sup> The readings they printed for the six fragmentary pieces of 4Q532 – apparently based on the PAM photographs which appeared in the *Facsimile Edition* – are, however, quite misleading; their text reflects the assumption that the fragments must all belong to the same lines of only one column.<sup>46</sup> Essentially, then, the text of this work does not reflect a sufficiently careful analysis.

By far the most important contribution to the study of BG since the photographic editions appeared is contained in Beyer's *Ergänzungsband* to his *ATTM (ATTMEB)*.<sup>47</sup> Adopting an identical format of presentation

---

<sup>44</sup> Leiden: Brill/IDC. The edition is accompanied by an *Inventory List of Photographs* compiled by Stephen A. Reed (hereafter *Microfiche Inventory*) and the *Microfiche Companion Volume* (mainly a catalogue of photographs and publications corresponding to a comprehensive list of the documents) edited by Tov with Pfann (cf. n. 40 above). As is to be expected of any work which amasses such detail, there are occasional mistakes (e. g. PAM number, document alleged to be in a photograph, etc.) in both of the companion volumes. A second edition has been announced which will attempt to correct some of them.

<sup>45</sup> *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Shaftesbury: Element) 94–96, without photograph (hereafter *DSSU*).

<sup>46</sup> Except, of course, for Frgt. 1; the Frgt.'s are thought to belong to col. ii of this Frgt. See the discussion under 4Q532, Chapter Two.

<sup>47</sup> *ATTMEB*, pp. 119–124 (bibl. in n. 38 above).

and analysis as in the earlier volume, Beyer offers texts based on the *Facsimile Edition* and *DSS on Microfiche* to 4Q532 (4QEnGiants<sup>d</sup>) and the remaining unpublished fragments from 4Q530 and 4Q531. In addition to a few corrections of earlier readings (see 4Q531 17 in “G 6”), Beyer has arranged some of the new materials within the sequence he proposed in *ATTM* (e. g., 4Q531 1 in “G 1”; 4Q531 4 in “G 10”), while he correctly reassigns 4Q530 6 (only 1.4 of which had previously been published) from his “G 1” to a later part of the BG narrative.<sup>48</sup> Beyer’s consideration of BG is not limited to his section on the BG fragments. Under 4Q534–536.561 (= siglum “E”)<sup>49</sup> Beyer proposes that the fragments belonging to 4Q535–536, which he thinks contain an address by Enoch to the fallen angel Baraq’el, may actually belong to BG instead.<sup>50</sup>

Nevertheless, Beyer’s work falls ultimately short of being comprehensive. His apparent aim to include the fragments containing legible vocabulary is, for the most part, adhered to; but it remains that in a number of cases the existence of lines are not represented in his texts<sup>51</sup> and several fragments have been either overlooked or entirely omitted.<sup>52</sup>

### 3. The Purpose of the Present Volume

Since the PAM photographs have only recently become available, as yet no work has appeared in which all of the probable and possible Qumran BG materials have been collected, analyzed, and commented upon. In this study an attempt has been made to fill this void, based on my reading of the photographs in *DSS on Microfiche* and the incomplete and complete collections of the PAM materials at Princeton Theological Seminary and The Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies respectively.

Though this work is intended to go a long way towards an edition of the hitherto unpublished fragments, it should be remembered that it does not constitute an “official” publication of the materials: the PAM photographs are not printed here, and the author himself has not worked directly with the fragments and thus can provide neither a thoroughgoing analysis of the palaeography of the scripts nor a physical description of the

<sup>48</sup> On grounds of the physical evidence, Beyer’s placement of 4Q530 6 in “G 8” – i. e. the column immediately preceding 4Q530 ii – may be questioned; cf. under 4Q530 6 in Chapter Two.

<sup>49</sup> *ATTMEB*, pp. 125–27.

<sup>50</sup> This and other such possibilities are discussed in Chapter Two, Part Two.

<sup>51</sup> E. g. 4Q532 1 (11.1,10); 2 (11.1,2); 3 (11.1,5); 4 (1.5); 5 (11.1,3,5); 4Q531 1 (1.9); 3 (11.1,2,4); 7 (11.1,3); 8 (1.6); 10 (11.1,2,4); 13 (1.5); 15 (1.1); 18 (1.4); 20 (1.1); 21 (1.4); 22 (1.1); 23 (1.1); 25 (1.5); 26 (11.1,2,4); 30 (1.2); 47 (1.1); and 48 (1.1).

<sup>52</sup> So 4Q531 24 and 31–45; 4Q530 9–15 and 17–19. Cf. also 4Q556 1–5 and 7.

## Index of Passages

Page numbers in italics represent citations which occur in footnotes. The italics fall out when a passage, subject, or author occurs on more than one consecutive page. Page numbers in bold indicate where a given passage is analyzed most fully.

<i>A. Old Testament</i>		Judges	
Genesis		5:3	105
5		2 Samuel	
	26	9:4	147
5:18–29	208	9:5	147
5:18	26	17:27	147
5:22–24	26	1 Kings	
6–14	35	20:10	181
6	26	1 Chronicles	
6:1–4	26, 28, 39	26:5	147
6:4	35, 111	Ezra	
6:4(LXX)	39, 111	4:11	124
6:7	216	4:12	120
6:12	28	4:14	124
7:21	216	4:17–18	124
10:8–11	35	4:18	119
10:8–9	35	5:6–7	124
10:8	35	5:15	124
10:8(LXX)	39	5:17	124
10:9	35	Nehemiah	
11:1–9	35	8:8	119
14	34	Esther	
14:18	34	6:1	110
31:40	110	Job	
33:18–34:31	29	1:21	94–95
Leviticus		41:12	71
16:8	78, 108		
16:10	78, 108		
16:26	78, 108		
Numbers			
13:12	147		
13:33	111		
13:33(LXX)	111		



<i>D. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>		9:3	94
		9:4-11	95-97
<i>1 Enoch (Ethiopic)</i>	1-4, 24-26, 37, 55,	9:4-5	94
	60, 62-63, 82, 88,	9:4	96
	92, 96, 189, 191,	9:5-6	95
	208, 219, 222	9:5	96
	(cf. also under Dead	9:6-10	97
	Sea Scrolls)	9:6	79, 82, 96
		9:7-9	92
Book of Watchers	2, 12, 24-28, 30-31,	9:7	79, 82, 92
	37, 67, 81-82, 88,	9:8-9	18, 24
	91-93, 96, 99, 108,	9:8	37, 151
	117-119, 133, 137,	9:9	27, 77, 151, 196
	144-145, 151-152,	9:10	18, 24, 77, 89, 130,
	191, 196		135-137
1-36	2	9:11	95
1:1-32:6	2	10	18, 38, 57-58, 79
1:2	84	10:1-16	108
1:3	191-192	10:1-3	26
1:5	84	10:1	88
1:9	13	10:2-3	38
4:1	116	10:2	38, 219
6-16	24, 26	10:4-5	82
6-11	26, 28, 82, 152	10:4	79, 81
6:2-3	82	10:5	81
6:3	92	10:7	26, 37, 196
6:5	57	10:8	79, 81-82
6:6	156, 208	10:9-15	27
6:7	60, 68-69, 72, 79,	10:9	38, 84, 151
	82, 92, 146, 198,	10:10	26, 160
	217-218	10:11-19	57
7	152	10:11	82, 92, 151
7:1-4	18	10:12	79, 152
7:1-2	111	10:15	38, 77, 84
7:1	50, 151, 156, 196	10:16	38
7:2-5	27, 37	10:17-22	57
7:2	30, 112, 151	10:17-19	57-58
7:3-5	59, 77, 144, 151	10:17	38
7:3-4	151, 181	10:18-19	57
7:3	59, 114	10:19	13, 15, 18, 24, 56-57
7:4-5	18, 24	10:20	38
7:4	50, 59	10:22	38
7:5	59, 151-152	12-16	27-28
8:1-3	37, 82, 156	12	118
8:1	79, 82, 196	12:1-13:10	27
8:2	208	12:2-3	84
8:3	50, 60, 196	12:4	27, 84, 91, 115, 119
9	25	12:4-6	26, 88, 91
9:1-3	97	12:5	24, 63, 100
9:1-2	220	13:1-10	27
9:1	28, 77, 93, 151, 190,	13:1	13, 18, 24, 27, 79,
	192, 194, 196, 220		100
9:3-4	208, 220	13:2	82, 156, 196

13:3	27	36:1	62, 99
13:4-6	91, 93		
13:7	27, 74	Similitudes	3, 82
13:9	74, 133	37-71	3
13:10	84	37:1	208
14	118	39:12-13	84
14:1-7	119	40:2	84
14:1	84, 88, 117	42:3	62
14:3-7	27	54:7-10	219
14:3	84	60:24-25	219
14:4-7	93	61:12	84
14:4	91	63:2-4	95
14:8-25	37, 119	63:2-3	94
14:6-7	26	63:3	95
14:6	79	65:6-11	37
14:8-25	37	66:1	219
14:8	27	69	82
14:21	95	69:1	37
15-16	38	69:2	69
15	118, 152, 160	69:4-14	82
15:1-16:3	27	69:5	151
15:1-2	88, 91, 119	69:6-15	37
15:1	27, 117	70:3	133
15:2	27, 84, 97	71:3	37
15:3-7	91	71:7	84
15:3-5	26		
15:3-4	151	Astronomical Book	2, 92, 134
15:4	151, 160, 196	72-82	2
15:8-12	27, 38, 106, 160	72:1-82:20	37
15:8-9	160	76:8	62, 99
15:9	151	76:11	62
15:11	151	77:4	133-134
16:1-2	84		
16:1	27, 38	Book of Dreams	2, 67
16:3	37, 58-59, 91, 96, 156, 196	(=Animal Apocalypse)	
16:4	63	82:1-2	92
16:7	63, 100	83-90	3
17-36	37	83:10	92
17:1-36:4	27, 37	84	97
20:1	84	84:2-6	96, 98
22:3-13	93	84:2-4	4, 95-96
22:3-7	191	84:2	95
22:6	88	84:3-6	93
24:3-4	133	84:3	95-96
28:1	134	84:4	97
28:3-29:2	191	84:6	4, 98
29:1	134	86:4	112
31:2-32:3	191	88:2	112
32:3	133-134, 191	88:3-89:17	191
32:6	191	88:6	160
33:3-34:1	191	89:26-30	191
34:2	99	89:42-49	2

89:59	114	7:24	144
90:1	114	7:29	219
		7:33	219
Epistle of Enoch	3, 67	8:16	134
91–107	3	10	160
91:15	84	10:1–6	160
92:1	37, 92	10:7	160
93:2	84	10:8–9	160
96:6	88	10:13	219
97:6–104:13	2	19:13	223
106–107	220	20:5	151
106:1–107:3	2	21:10	219
106:1–7	37	30:1–4	29
106:3	198	30:1	223
106:10–12	37, 208	31	223
106:10	220	31:21–29	224
106:12	220	32:21–22	222–223
106:13	156, 208	31:21	224
106:14	151	32:24–26	222
106:15	219–220	32:27–29	223
106:17	38, 151	32:33	223
107:2	124, 208	34:2–9	29–30
108:1	92	34:4	30
		37:20–23	199
2 <i>Enoch</i>		38:1–1	30
73:3–5	219	38:1–14	29
		45:13	223, 237
3 <i>Maccabees</i>		<i>Prayer of Joseph</i>	222
2:4	166		
<i>Jubilees</i>	11, 24, 28–30, 134, 151, 210, 216, 222–223	<i>'Pseudo-Eupolemus'</i>	
4:15	84, 114, 156, 208	Cf. under Eusebius, Praep.Evang.	
4:17–24	29	Sibylline Oracles	
4:22	27, 151	3.97–99	36
4:23	134		
4:24	26	<i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	
4:28	197–198	T.Reuben	
5:1	151	5:6–7	84
5:2	144, 152, 220	5:6	151
5:6	114	T.Levi	219
5:7–9	29	2:3	219
5:7	148	18:2	219
5:9	148	T. Naphtali	
5:27–29	151	3:5	84
5:28	211, 215		
7:1	211, 215		
7:21	151		
7:22	111–112, 152		
7:23–25	151		
7:23–24	190, 196		

	<i>E. Philo</i>	to 89:31	67
		to 107:1	67
		to 107:2	124
	de Gigantibus	4Q206 (=4QEnoch <sup>c</sup> )	193
	58–67	to 22:3–7	191
	62–62	to 22:6	88, 97
	65	to 28:3–29:2	191
	66	to 31:2–32:3	191
		to 32:3	133–134, 191
		to 32:6	191
		to 33:3–34:1	191
		to 88:3–89:17	191
		to 89:26–30	191
		4Q208 (=4QEnoch <sup>b</sup> )	
		to 9:1	190, 220
		4Q209 (=4QEnoch <sup>a</sup> )	31, 50, 60, 68, 72
		to 1:3	191
		to 4:1	116
		to 6:6	156, 208
		to 6:7	69, 79, 146, 198, 217
		to 9:1	77, 93, 190
		to 9:3	94
		4Q212 (=4QEnoch <sup>g</sup> )	
		93:2	163
		93:11	163
		<i>Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice</i>	
		4Q401	
		14 1.6	96
		4Q403	
		1 1.25	96
		4Q405	
		23 ii.11	96
		24 1.3	96
		<i>Temple Scroll</i>	
		11QT	142
		<i>Thanksgiving Hymns</i>	
		1QH	
		12.15	95
	<i>F. Josephus</i>		
	Antiquitates Judaicae		
	1.73	166	
	1.118	36	
	17.373	32	
	17.346	32	
	Bellum Judaicorum		
	2.142	32	
	2.159	32	
	contra Apionem		
	1.194	38	
		<i>G. Dead Sea Scrolls</i>	
	<i>Community Rule</i>		
	1QS	29, 67	
	<i>Damascus Document</i>	24, 29–30	
	CD		
	ii.17–21	38	
	ii.17–19	166	
	ii.18–19	30	
	ii.18	29, 84	
	ii.19	30	
	4QDb	29	
	<i>I Enoch</i>		
	4Q204 (=4QEnoch <sup>c</sup> )	3, 25, 28, 31, 62, 66–68, 72, 142, 220	
	to 2:2	67	
	to 6:7	68, 79, 146, 217	
	to 13:7	74	
	to 13:9	74	
	to 14:1	88, 117	
	to 14:6	79	
	to 14:10	67	

<i>War Scroll</i>		xxi.17	90
1QM	142	xxi.18	90
1QIsaiah <sup>a</sup>	29, 67	xxi.25–26	83
1QIsaiah <sup>b</sup>	142	xxi.25	95
1QS <sup>b</sup> (=1QBlessings)		1Q23 (1QGiants <sup>a</sup> )	3–4, 6–7, 41–42, <b>43–59</b> , 144
5.20–29	215	1+6+22	13, 17–19, 24, 43, 53, <b>56–58</b> , 145
1Q19 (1QNoah <i>Apocryphon</i> )	5, <b>219–220</b>	1+22	45
1–3	219	1+6	15, 58
1	208	1	<b>43–44</b> , 45, 56–58
1.2–3	219	1.2	43, 45, 56
2	208	1.3–5	56
2.2	220	1.4	56
2.4–5	220	1.5	56
3	208	2	15, <b>44</b>
3.4–5	220	3	15, <b>44</b>
4–7	220	4	15, <b>45</b>
8	208, 219	4.1	68
9–10	220	5	<b>45</b>
11	41, <b>219–221</b> , <b>232</b>	6	43, <b>45</b> , 56
12	220	7	15, <b>46</b>
13	41, <b>219–221</b> , <b>232</b>	8	<b>46</b>
13.3	232	9+14+15	13, 15, 17–18, 21, 24, 37, 43, 46, 48, 50, <b>58–59</b> , 144–147, 152–153, 182, 190, 216
14	220, 232		
15	41, <b>219–221</b> , <b>232</b>	9+14+15.2	59
15.2–3	232	9	<b>46–47</b> , 48–49, 58
15.2	232	9.1–3	46
16–21	220	9.2	48
1Q20 ( <i>1QapGen</i> , <i>Genesis Apocryphon</i> )	142, 223–224	10	15, <b>47</b>
ii.1–7	37	10.2	47
ii.1	83–84	11	15, <b>47</b>
ii.14–18	37	12	<b>47</b>
ii.16	83–84	13	15, <b>48</b>
iii.13	198	13.2	45
x.13	211	14+15	46
xii.13	211	14	<b>48–49</b> , <b>58</b>
xvi.11	90	14.4	49
xvii.9	90	14.5	46
xvii.16	90	15	48, <b>49</b> , 58
xix.9	90	15.1–2	48
xix.26	90	16+17	19, 43, 50, 182
xx.13–14	98	16	15
xxi.13	116	16.3	49–50
xxi.1	90	17	15, <b>49–50</b>
xxi.8	224	17.1	49–50
xxi.10	224	17.1–2	50
xxi.11–12	134	17.3	50
xxi.15	90	18	<b>51</b>

19	15, <b>51</b>		81, 86, 93, 132, 201,
19.1	51		203, 206, 215
20	15, <b>51–52</b>	1–2	65, 215
20.1–4	51	1	65
20.4	52	1.2	113
21	15, <b>52</b>	2	65–66
22	15, 43, <b>52</b> , 56	3	65–66
22.1	56		
23	<b>53</b>	4Q157 (4QTgJob, Targum on Job)	
24+25	43	41:12	71
24	15, 53		
25	<b>53–54</b>	4Q161 (4QpIsa <sup>a</sup> )	
26	<b>54</b>	7–10 (iii.1–19)	215
27	15, <b>54–55</b>	7.22	215
27.1–2	54	4Q174 (4QFlorilegium)	
27.2	54	23	105
27.4	54		
28	15, <b>55</b>	4Q180 (1QAges of Creation)	79
29	14, 43, <b>55</b> , 196		
29.1	74, 197	4Q196 (4QTob ar <sup>a</sup> )	
29.2	55, 197	to 3:15	147
30	15, <b>55</b>	4Q197 (4QTob ar <sup>b</sup> )	
30.1	55	to 6:3	95
31	15, <b>56</b>	to 9:2	88
31.1–2	56	4Q203	1, 3–4, 6–7, 11, 25,
31.3	56	(4QEnGiants <sup>a</sup> )	28, 41, <b>66–100</b> , 108,
1Q24 (1QGiants <sup>b</sup> )	3, 6, 41, 43, <b>59–63</b>		142, 218, 220, 228
1	<b>60</b>	1–3	68–70, 218
1.3–7	60	1	3, 13–15, 21, 66,
1.7	60		<b>68–69</b> , 70, 218
1–8	15	1.2	69, 198
2	<b>60–61</b>	2–3	19, 66, 69, 70
2.1	60	2	13–15, 21, <b>69–70</b> ,
3	<b>61</b>		218
3.4	61	2.2–4	69
4	<b>61</b>	2.2	70
5	59, <b>61–62</b> , 99	2.3	67
5.3–4	61	2.4	69–72
6	<b>62</b>	3	13–15, 22, <b>70–74</b> ,
6.1	62		81, 108, 133, 146,
6	<b>62</b>		218
8	19, 24, 57, 59, <b>63</b> ,	3.1	70
	100	3.3	72
8.2	63	3.4	69, 72
1Q39 (1QLiturgical Fragment)		4	13–15, <b>74–76</b>
10	105	4.1–6	74
2Q24 (2QNew Jerusalem)		4.2	67
4.17	201	4.3	78
		4.4	75
2Q26 (2QGiants)	3–4, 6–7, 15, 19, 22,	4.4–5	75
	27, 40–41, <b>63–66</b> ,	4.6	75–76, 100, 106

5+,,7 i <sup>a</sup>	66	8.6	90-91, 91, 194
5-6	13	8.7-12	92
5	13, 22, <b>76-77</b>	8.7-11	90
5.2-3	76	8.7-9	92
6	13, <b>77</b>	8.7-8	91
7-8	17	8.7	89, 91
7	15, 77, 81	8.9-11	92
7A-B i-ii	<b>77-87</b> , 132	8.9	91-92
7 i-ii (A+B)	14, 78	8.10	89, 91
7 i (A+B)	66, 77	8.11-12	93
7 i (A+B).5-7	76-77	8.12-15	93
7 ii	77-78	8.12-14	90
7A	14-15, 23, 27, 78-79, 81, 84, 108	8.12-13	215
7A.3	96	8.12	92, 147
7A.4	67, 80	8.13	27, 88-89, 93, 95, 118
7A.5-7	80	8.14-15	90
7A.5	74, 81	8.14	68, 91, 93, 148, 165
7A.6	80-81, 92, 107	8.15	93
7A.7-8	78	9-10	94, 98
7A.7	77, 79, 81-83	9	4, 13, 15, 17, 21, 24, 26, 66, <b>94-97</b> , 98, 156, 158, 169
7B-8	19		
7B	14, 78, 81, 131, 200, 224	9.1-4	94
7B i-ii	78, 108	9.1	26
7B i	14-16, 23, 78-79, 81, 84-85, 107	9.2-6	95
7B i.1	67, 79, 81, 83	9.2	95
7B i.2-3	83-85	9.3	94-95
7B i.2	84, 224	9.4-6	94
7B i.3	84-85, 91, 95-96	9.4	94-96
7B i.4	19, 84	9.5	94, 96
7B ii	20, 66, 85-87, 92, 98	9.6	94
7B ii.2-3	23	10	4, 13, 15, 17, 21, 24, 26, 66, 96-97, <b>98</b> , 158, 169
7B ii.3	87-88, 129, 131		
7B ii-8	7	10.1	97-98
7B ii	13-14, 16	11	<b>98-99</b>
(7B iii)	98	11 i	66
8	13-15, 17, 20, 23, 27-28, 66, 82, 85-86, <b>87-93</b> , 98, 100, 107-108, 118-119, 131-132, 148, 169-170	11 ii	62, 66
		12	<b>99</b>
		12.2	67
		13	13-15, 17-18, 23-24, <b>99-100</b> , 145
8.1	88	13.1	100
8.2	67	13.3	63, 100
8.3-5	88, 90, 97	4Q206 (4Q <i>Enoch</i> <sup>c</sup> )	1, 7, 41, 118, <b>191-196</b> , 221
8.3-4	26, 87		
8.3	86, 129, 131, 224	2-3	6, 28, 97, 118, 189, 192
8.4-5	87, 90		
8.4	27, 84, 88, 118, 124, 193	2	13, 21, 25-26, 41, 186, 189, 191-192, <b>193-194</b>
8.5	82, 84, 86, 88, 91		

2.2	118, 191–192, 194	9–20	102
2.3	191–192, 194	9–15	10
3	13, 21, 41–42, 186, 189, 191–193, <b>194–196</b>	9	<b>138</b>
3 i	191–192, 194	10	<b>138</b>
3 i.1	196	11	<b>138</b>
3 i.3	189–190	12	<b>138–139</b>
4Q213 (4QTestament of Levi <sup>b</sup> )	219	13	<b>139</b>
4Q214 (4QTestament of Levi <sup>b</sup> )		14	<b>139</b>
ii.2	116	15	<b>139–140</b>
4Q244 (4QPseudo Daniel <sup>b</sup> )	211	16	16, <b>140</b>
4Q285 (4QSerek ha-Milkamah)		17–19	10, 101
5.1–6	215	17	<b>140–141</b>
4Q287	215	17.1–2	140
(4QBerakhot <sup>b</sup> )		17.3–4	140
4Q370 (4QAdmonition)		18	101, <b>141</b>
i.6	160	19	101, <b>141</b>
4Q510 (4QCanticles <sup>a</sup> )		20	101, <b>141</b>
5	160	i-iii	187
4Q510 (4QCanticles <sup>b</sup> )		i	101–102, 104
35.7	160	i.1–6	23, <b>103–104</b>
4Q530	1, 3–4, 6–7, 10–11, (4QEnGiants <sup>b</sup> ) 24, 28, 41, 67–68, 77, <b>100–141</b> , 166, 185–187, 202–204	i.1	103
1–5	101	i.2–3	103
6	10, 23–24, 102, 104	i.2	104
6 i-ii	16, 101, <b>134–137</b>	i.3–4	103–104
6 i	14, 16, 101	i.3	103
6 i.1–6	134	i.4	103, 113
6 i.1–5	134	i.5	103
6 i.1	131	ii-iii	7, 17, 19, 26–27, 42, 101, 108, 119, 199
6 i.2	135–136	ii.1-iii, 10	5
6 i.3–5	136	ii	10, 13–15, 17, 19, 27, 101–102, 107–108, 114, 119, 132, 134, 139, 167, 201
6 i.4	10, 18, 24, 77, 89, 97, 136–137, 139	ii.1–3	23, 27, 38, 86, <b>104–109</b> , 132, 137, 148
6 i.5	105, 136	ii.1–2	104, 166
6 i.6–7	137	ii.1	79, 105
6 i.6	140	ii.2–3	102, 105
6 i.7	136–137, 164, 169	ii.2	14–15, 73, 106–108, 120, 148, 165–166
6 ii	16, 101, 134	ii.3–20	81, 107
7–8	101	ii.3–6	23, <b>109–112</b> , 149
		ii.3–4	104, 107
		ii.3	20, 79, 104, 106
		ii.4	102–104, 109–110, 125, 128, 137, 163
		ii.5–10	109
		ii.5–6	124
		ii.5	79, 103, 106, 109–110, 124

ii.6-20	203	ii.22-24	124
ii.6-12	93, 202	ii.22-23	125, 132-133
ii.6	109-110	ii.23-24	124, 134
ii.7-12	15, 19, 23, 38, 40, 42, 111, <b>112-115</b> , 129-130, 132, 190, 196, 201-203, 215	ii.22	88, 127
ii.7-8	114	ii.23	127, 129, 132-133, 155
ii.7	112, 114-116, 130, 140, 204	ii.24	125, 127
ii.8-9	140	iii	14-15, 17, 28, 48, 86, 97, 101, 131, 133, 139, 146-147, 199
ii.8	93, 115, 130, 187, 201-203	iii.1-3	127
ii.9-11	114	iii.1-2	124
ii.9-10	115, 202	iii.2	127
ii.9	130, 201	iii.3	124, 128
ii.10	93, 112, 114-115	iii.3-11	127
ii.11-12	113, 115	iii.3-8	128
ii.11	102	iii.4-11	24, <b>128-134</b> , 156
ii.12-14	134	iii.4-5	130
ii.12	112, 120	iii.4	108, 110, 125, 133
ii.13-16	23, <b>115-119</b> , 194	iii.5	128, 133
ii.13-15	117	iii.6-10	130-131
ii.13	126, 162	iii.6-7	130-131
ii.14-16	102	iii.6	127, 131
ii.14-15	119, 126	iii.7	7, 17, 20, 22, 108, 127-129, 131
ii.14	27, 88, 92, 118, 124, 193	iii.8-9	128
ii.15-17	102, 115, 134	iii.8	111, 129
ii.15	74, 110, 124	iii.10-11	128
ii.16-20	23, 31, 111, <b>119-123</b>	iii.10	129
ii.16-18	122	iii.11	128, 130, 140
ii.16-17	102	iii.12ff.	24
ii.16	102, 110, 119-121	4Q531 (4QEnGiants <sup>c</sup> )	1, 3-4, 6-7, 10-11, 41, <b>141-177</b> , 185-186, 228
ii.17-20	6, 19, 24	1	10, 13, 16, 18, 21, 24, 37, 43, 46, 50, 59, <b>142-145</b> , 152, 166, 190, 196, 216
ii.17-19	31, 119-121	1.1-9	145
ii.17-18	119, 122	1.1	144
ii.17	88, 106, 120-122	1.2-9	142
ii.18-22	134	1.3	144
ii.18-19	120	1.4-5	144
ii.18	105, 113, 116, 122, 140	1.4	143-144
ii.19-20	121	1.6-7	144
ii.19	119-121, 132	1.7	144
ii.20-iii.3	23, <b>124-127</b>	1.8	143
ii.20-23	76, 124	1.9ff.	144
ii.20	113, 121, 126, 129	1.9-10	145
ii.21-iii	90	1.9	10, 144
ii.21-iii.7	26	2	16, 18, <b>145</b>
ii.21-23	117		
ii.21-22	27		
ii.21	124		
ii.22ff.	126		

2.1	163	10.4	10
3	16, <b>145-146</b>	11	<b>157</b>
3.1-2	10	12	21, <b>157-158</b> , 159,
3.3	145		169
3.4	10	12.1-2	158
4	10, 14-15, 19, 22, 24, <b>146-149</b>	12.1	158, 173
4.1-5	108	12.2	158, 161, 172
4.2-3	146, 176	13	23, 157, <b>158-159</b>
4.3	146	13.1	163
4.4	148	13.1-2	159
4.5	142, 148	13.3	157, 159-161, 173
4.7	148	13.4	159-160
5	13, 18, 21, 24, 27, 43, 46, 50, 59, 141, 144-145, <b>149-153</b> , 182, 190	13.5	10
	152	14	23-24, 157, <b>159-160</b> , 168, 215
5.1-4	149, 152	14.3	38
5.1-2	181	14.4	163
5.2-3	111, 124, 144, 180- 181	15	<b>161</b>
5.2	83, 196	15.1	10
5.3	151	15.3	157-158, 161, 173
5.4	151	16	<b>161</b>
5.5-8	152	16.2	161
5.5-6	77	17	5, 7, 10, 14, 17-20, 27, 84, 108, 141, <b>161-167</b>
5.6	142, 152	17.1-12	161
5.7	152	17.1-8	161
5.8	16, <b>153</b>	17.1-4	161
6	153	17.1-2	162, 165-166
6.1-2	16, <b>153</b>	17.2	142, 165
7	10	17.3-10	161
7.1	153	17.3-7	22, 84, 165-167
7.2	10	17.3	84, 96, 108, 167
7.3	16, <b>154</b>	17.4-7	165
8	154	17.4-6	166
8.1-5	154	17.5-6	167
8.1-3	154	17.5	116, 163, 166
8.1-2	154	17.6	163
8.2	154	17.7-11	161
8.3ff.	154	17.7	84, 96, 142
8.4-6	10	17.8-11	161-162
8.6	16, 22, <b>154-156</b>	17.8-10	22
9	154	17.8-9	161, 165
9.2-8	155	17.9-11	165
9.3-6	155	17.9-10	164
9.3	155	17.9	74, 108, 142, 163
9.4	155	17.10	137, 145, 163, 171
9.5	156	17.11-12	23, 27, 161, 165-166
9.6	142, 155-156	17.11	137, 162-163, 165, 169
10	16, <b>156-157</b>	17.12	27, 73, 105, 108, 161-162, 165-167
10.1-2	10	18	16, 23, <b>167-168</b>
10.3	156		

18.1-3	167	45	21, 26, <b>176-177</b>
18.1-2	168	46	16, <b>177</b>
18.4	<i>10</i>	47	16, <b>177</b>
19	16, <b>168</b>	47.1	<i>10</i>
19.2-3	168	47.2	177
19.3	172	48	16, <b>177</b>
20	16, 154, <b>168-169</b>	48.1	<i>10</i>
20.1	<i>10</i>	48.2	<i>163, 177</i>
20.2-4	168	4Q532	3, 6-7, 9-11, 41,
21	16, 21, <b>169</b>	(4Q <i>EnGiants</i> <sup>d</sup> )	<b>178-185</b> , 186
21.1-3	169	1-6	178
21.2-3	169	1	10, <b>178-179</b>
21.3	169, 173	1 i.1	<i>10</i>
21.4	<i>10</i>	1 i.7-13	178
22	16, 22, <b>169-170</b>	1 i.10	9
22.1	<i>10</i> , 169	1 ii	9, 178
22.2	169-170	2	21-22, 24, 37, 178,
23	16, <b>170</b>		<b>180-182</b> , 183, 216
23.2-3	170	2.1-2	<i>10</i>
23.2	168	2.3-14	180
24	<i>10</i> , <b>170</b>	2.3	178
25	16, <b>170-171</b>	2.7	84, 180
25.1-4	170	2.9	182
25.5	<i>10</i>	2.10	150, 179
26	16, <b>171</b>	2.14	182
26.1-2	<i>10</i>	3-5	178
26.3	171	3	<b>182-183</b> , 185
26.4	171	3.1	<i>10</i>
27	16, <b>171-172</b>	3.2-4	182
27.1-2	171	3.2	183
27.2	182	3.3	172, 183
28	16, <b>172</b>	3.4	183
28.2-3	172	3.5	<i>10</i>
29	16, <b>172</b>	4	22, <b>183-184</b>
29.2	172	4.1-4	183
30	16, <b>172</b>	4.5	<i>10</i>
30.2	<i>10</i> , 172	5	21, <b>184-185</b>
31-45	<i>10</i>	5.1	<i>10</i>
31	<b>173</b>	5.2-5	184
32	<b>173</b>	5.2	184-185
33	<b>173</b>	5.3	<i>10</i>
34	<b>173</b>	5.4	184
34.2	157-158, 161	5.5	<i>10</i>
35	<b>174</b>	6	<b>185</b>
36	<b>174</b>	6.1-2	185
37	<b>174</b>		
38	<b>174-175</b>	4Q533	8, 41, 186, 221,
39	<b>175</b>	(4Q <i>Pseudo Enoch ar</i> )	<b>233-237</b>
40	<b>175</b>	1	<b>233</b>
41	<b>175</b>	1.2	221
42	<b>175-176</b>	1.7	221
43	<b>176</b>	1.8	221
44	<b>176</b>	1.9	221

2	<b>233–234</b>	1.2	223
3	<b>234</b>	1.3	222, 224
3.4	221	1.4–6	222
3.5	221	1.4	222
4	<b>234</b>	1.5	222
5	<b>235</b>	2–28	237
6	<b>235</b>	2	<b>238</b>
7	<b>235</b>	3	224, <b>238</b>
8	<b>235</b>	5–8	224
9	<b>236</b>	5	<b>238</b>
10	<b>236</b>	6	<b>239</b>
11	<b>236</b>	7	<b>239</b>
11.2	221	8	<b>239</b>
12	<b>236</b>	10	237, <b>239</b>
13	<b>236</b>	12–15	224
14	<b>236–237</b>	12+13	<b>239</b>
4Q534	10, 41, <b>214–217</b> ,	14–16	237
(4Q <i>Elect of God</i> )	<b>225–228</b>	14	<b>240</b>
i.1–3	215	15	<b>240</b>
i.7–8	215	16	<b>240</b>
i.8	95	17	<b>240</b>
i.10	214–215	18	<b>240–241</b>
ii.1	216	19–28	224
ii.16–17	216	19	<b>241</b>
ii.16	84	19.3	224
ii.18	84	20	<b>241</b>
4Q535	10, 41, 68–69,	21	<b>241</b>
1	<b>217–218, 228–229</b>	22	<b>241</b>
1.1–3	69, 228	23	<b>241</b>
1.4–6	217	24	<b>241</b>
2	217	25	<b>241</b>
2.3	228	26	<b>241</b>
4Q536	217	27	<b>242</b>
i.1–3	10, 41, 215,	28	<b>242</b>
i.1	<b>217–218, 229–231</b>	4Q548 (4Q <i>Amram</i> )	
i.7	217	ii.1–2	84
i.10	217	4Q556	3, 6–8, 11, 41, 97,
i.11	217	(4Q <i>EnGiants</i> <sup>e</sup> )	<b>185–191</b> , 221
ii.9–12	217	1–5	10
3.1–3	217	1	<b>187–188</b>
4Q537 (4Q <i>Apocryphon of Jacob ar</i> )	41, <b>222–224</b>	2	<b>188</b>
1+4+9+11	<b>237–238</b>	2.3	189
1+4+9+11.4	223, 237	3	<b>188</b>
1+4+9+11.5	237	4	<b>188–189</b>
1+4+9+11.6	223, 237	5	<b>189</b>
1	237	6	13, 21, 42, 186,
1.1	224	6.1	<b>189–191</b> , 192–193,
		6.2	195
		6.3	190, 195, 223
		6.7	190, 195
			190, 224
			13

7	10, <b>191</b>	22	<b>209</b>
4Q557	8, 186	23	<b>209–210</b>
4Q561	10	24	<b>210</b>
6Q8 (6QGiants)	3–4, 7, 41, 68–69, <b>196–213</b>	25	<b>210</b>
1	7, 14, 17–20, 22, 27–28, 55, 69, 85, 90, 119, 148, 167, 183, 196–200, 217–218	26	16, 196, <b>210–211</b> , 215
1.2	74	26.1	210
1.3	55, 68, 106, 199–200, 205	26.3–4	210
1.4–5	43, 55, 196	26.3	204
1.4	22, 74, 198, 199, 218	27	<b>211</b>
1.5	199, 210	28	<b>211</b>
1.6	197–199	29	<b>211–212</b>
2	13, 15, 19, 22, 27, 38, 40, 42, 66, 81, 86, 93, 114–115, 132, 196, <b>200–203</b> , 212, 224	30	<b>212</b>
2.1	115, 201, 203, 216	30.2–3	212
2.2–3	115	31	<b>212</b>
2.2	202	32	<b>212</b>
2.3	210	33	<b>213</b>
2.7	203	6Q14 (6QApoc ar)	5, 16, 41, <b>218–219</b> , <b>231</b>
3	<b>203–204</b>	1.5–7	219
4	<b>204</b>	1.5	219
5	16, 140, <b>204</b>	1.6	219
6	16, <b>205</b>	1.7	219
6.1	205	11Q10 (=11QTargum on Job)	
7	<b>205</b>	xxviii.21	143
8	16, <b>205</b>	xxxvi.11	158
8.1	205		
9	16, <b>205–206</b>		
9.2	205		
10	16, <b>206</b>		
10.2	206		
11	<b>206</b>		
11.1	206		
12	<b>206</b>		
13	<b>207</b>		
14	<b>207</b>		
15	16, <b>207</b>		
16	<b>207</b>		
17	<b>207</b>		
18	16, 156, 198, <b>208</b>		
19	<b>209</b>		
20	<b>209</b>		
21	<b>209</b>		

*H. Aramaic Papyri*

(texts listed according to existing collections)

Cowley, Aramaic Papyri

26.23 105

*I. Rabbinic, Hekhalot, and Medieval Jewish Literature*

*Babylonian Talmud*

Niddah

61a 38

Zebahim

113b 38

*Bereshit (Gen.)*

*Rabbah* 82

26:7 112

<i>Midrash of Shemḥazai and 'Azā'el</i>	2, 6, 19, 22, 64–66, 82, 92, 114, 132, 151, 201–203, 206
8	64
9	64
10	64, 202

*Mishnah*

Yoma	
6:8	82

*Geniza*

Testament of Levi	
6–7	110
<i>Yalqut Shim'oni</i>	82

*J. Targumic Literature**Fragment Targum*

Exodus	
15:3 (ms. 110)	94

*Targum Neophyti*

Genesis	
6:4	111

## Numbers

13:33	111
-------	-----

*Targum Onqelos*

Genesis	
6:4	111
31:40	110

## Numbers

13:33	111
-------	-----

*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*

Genesis	
5:23–24	156
5:24	156
6:4	111
Leviticus	
16:21	82

## Numbers

13:33	111
-------	-----

## Deuteronomy

2:2	38
3:11	38

*K. Epigraphical Collections*

## Aramaic Documents of the fifth Century (Driver)

7 iii.7	181
---------	-----

## Berytus

vol. 2 (1933), 110–112	
2	117

## Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicorum

4209	117
------	-----

## Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften (Donner and Röllig)

233.9	150
233.11	150
233.13	150
270B.4	150

## Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique, v.3

1792.7–8	118
----------	-----

*L. Early Christian and Gnostic Writings**Clementine Homilies*

8.15	151
------	-----

*Eusebius of Caesarea*

## Praeparatio Evangelica

9.17.1–9	33
9.17.2	33–35
9.17.3	34
9.17.3–8	33
9.17.4	33
9.17.5–6	34
9.17.6b–7	34
9.17.8	33–34
9.17.9	34–35, 37
9.18.2	33

9.30	34	Verso.2-4	166
		Verso.2-3	106
<i>Origen</i>		Verso.3-4	165
		Verso.5	73
<i>Commentary on John</i>		Verso.6ff.	87
to Jn. 1:18	208	Verso.6-7	137
		Verso.7ff.	119
		Verso.7-12	19
		Verso.8ff.	107
		Verso.12	120
<i>M. Manichaean Sources</i>			
Middle Persian Kawân			
c	18-20, 50, 54, 56,	M625c	130, 201-202
	198	(Henning, p.66)	
c.pp.1-2, 4-22	199		
c.p.1, 6	92	M 5900	19, 73
c.p.1, 14	198-199	(Sundermann)	
g	18		
g.77-83	199	Parthian	
g.84-89	25	M 35	19
g.84-85	25	M 291	19
g.84	26		
g.86-94	97	Sogdian	199
g.86ff.	26	(Henning, p.66)	
g.89	25	pp.1-2	107
i	73	pp.1-2, 1-18	200
i.5-99	19	p.1, 1-10	75-76
j	19, 22, 50, 72, 201	p.2, 13	199
j.p.1	71		
j.p.1, 23-32	59, 147	Sogdian T ii	19
j.p.1, 23-28	72	(Henning, pp.68-69)	
j.p.1, 24	146	Sogdian	130
j.34-41	203	(Henning, pp.70-71)	
j.p.1, 34-39	64-66	1.4-7	166
j.p.1, 39-41	201		
j, p.2	6	Uyгур	129, 131, 199
k.60-66	166	(Henning, p.65)	
k.67-76	199	pp.1-2	132-133
l	19, 43, 45, 57, 63	p.1	97, 99, 127, 134, 199
l.7	56	p.2	199
l.50ff.	57		
L (Sundermann)	2, 92, 107, 148, 200		
Recto	90		
Recto.1-11	85		
Recto.1-9	85, 200		
Recto.4-5	86		
Recto.2-10	20		
Recto.10	92		
Recto.9-11	22		
Recto.11	73, 119		
Verso.1-7	73		
Verso.1-5	200		
Verso.1-4	137		
<i>N. Greek and Roman Literature</i>			
<i>Aelian</i>			
<i>On Animals</i>			
		12.21	109
<i>Hesiod</i>			
<i>Theogony</i>			
		617-719	36

## Index of Subjects (with Proper and Place Names)

- Abel-Mayya 74, 133–134  
Abel-Men 74, 133  
Abilene 74  
'Abortions' 111–112  
Abraham 33–36, 38–39, 109, 134, 151  
Adam, children of 196  
Adversaries 162–164  
Aelian 109  
Affliction 135–136  
Ahiram 14, 146–147  
Akkadian 82, 135  
Alexander 'Polyhistor' 33–34  
Alexander the Great 39  
Alkyoneus 138  
Altar 239  
Amalekites 221, 234  
'Ammiel 146–147  
'Anael 146–147  
Ancient of Days, see under God  
Angel(s)  
– of destruction 64, 115, 201–203, 206  
– fallen 68, 81–84, 92–93, 96, 100, 108, 147, 198, 216  
– guardian 114–115  
– good 32, 34, 37, 65–66, 73, 77, 83–84, 88, 91, 96–97, 114, 148, 158–160, 163, 167, 216  
– 'holy one(s)' 77, 91, 159–160, 163, 227, 229  
– intercessory 77, 220  
– messenger(s), mediary 192, 194, 222  
– Most High ones 229–230  
– sons of heaven 163  
Anger 135–136, 173, 200  
Animals 57–58, 143–144, 151, 199  
– wild 44, 57, 144, 165  
Antiochus VII Sidetes 29  
Arabic 129  
Aramaic passim  
– spoken 71  
Ararat, mountains of 211  
Archangels (primary angels) 15, 25, 26, 28, 77, 220  
Archelaus 32  
Ark 15, 58, 65, 210, 215  
Army 155  
Artapanus 33  
Asses 44, 56–57  
Assur 150  
Assyria 240  
Astrology 33–36  
Atambi 73, 200  
Athos, Mount 219  
Atlas 34–35, 37  
Atonement, Day of 66, 79–81  
Axe 114, 202, 206  
'Azazel ('Azaz'el, 'Asa'el, 'Aza'el, Araziel) 18, 23–24, 26, 66, 78–82, 93, 96, 100, 107–108, 111, 196  
Babatha archive 71  
Baby 109  
Babylon 34, 36, 39, 109  
Babylonia 36  
Babylonian 5, 31–32, 34–39  
Bar Cochba revolt 79  
Baraki'el 197–198  
Baraq'el (Virogdad) 19, 22, 28, 55, 59–60, 68–69, 72, 132–133, 146, 183, 197–199, 217–218  
Battle 240  
– against angels 15, 17, 19, 22, 27, 83–85, 138, 162, 164–167  
Beast(s) 57, 59, 162, 164, 219  
Beer Zait 240  
Bel 39  
Beloved 79–80  
Belos 33–36  
Berossus 37, 39  
Beth Gama 236–237  
Bethel 222–223  
Bethhoron 30  
Bilingual 117

- Bird(s) 57, 59, 108, 143–144  
 Birth  
   – ‘Elect of God’ 225–226  
   – giants (see under Giants)  
   – in 4Q535 228  
   – Noah 215–218  
 Bitenos 197–198  
 Bitter 238  
 Blessing (eschatological) 15, 18–19, 24, 57–58, 224  
 Blood 13, 59, 77, 97, 118, 136, 149–151, 160, 171–172, 189–190, 193, 195–196  
 Board, see under Taxtag  
 Body, see under Flesh  
 Bond, see under Chain  
 Bones 159–160  
 Book(s) (writing) 119–120, 188, 225, 230  
 Bread 135–137  
 Burning 113, 121, 132, 143–144, 233  
  
 Camels, see under Giants  
   – appetite of Giants 151  
 Canaan (son of Noah) 35, 111, 151  
 Cattle 143–144  
 Cedar 111  
 Cedar Forest 72  
 Cedar Mountain 74  
 Chain 89, 91, 181–182  
 Charms 82  
 City 239  
 Cloud(s) 146, 231  
 Codicology  
   – of 4Q203 66–68  
 Complaint, see under Giants  
 Creature(s) (living beings) 44, 56–57, 72, 117–121, 144, 226, 231  
 Creeping thing(s) 59, 143–144, 169  
 Crying, see under Weeping  
 Cult (sacrificial) 224  
 Curse 105, 107–108, 135–136  
  
 Dan 74  
 Daniel, the prophet 122  
 Date  
   – Book of Giants 5–6, 28–31, 121  
   – *Damascus Document* 29–20  
   – *Jubilees* 29  
   – *Similitudes* 3  
 Dawn 133  
 Day(s) 228–231  
   – eighth 238  
   – of evil 230  
   – period of 167–168  
  
 Dead/Death 125, 132, 135–136, 146–147, 160, 166, 168, 180–181, 230  
   – of spirits/souls 93, 105–106, 135–136, 160  
 Deceit 189–190, 223, 237–238  
 Defilement, see under Watchers  
 Deluge, see under Flood  
 Demi-urge 112  
 Demons, see under Giants and Watchers  
 Deserts, desert regions 82, 90, 134  
   – Syro-Arabian 134  
   – the Great Desert 128, 130, 133  
 Destruction, see under Giants  
 Dew 62, 99  
 Diaspora, Jewish 32  
 Divination 234  
 Donkeys 44, 56, 60, 112  
 Dreams, see also under Giants  
   – of Archelaus 32  
   – of evil figures 32, 64–66  
   – interpretation of 22–24, 27  
 Drinking 172  
 Dudael, wilderness of 82  
  
 Eagle 128  
 Earth 13, 24, 28, 34, 37, 51, 54, 58–59, 61, 64, 73–75, 77, 84, 87, 89–90, 93, 97, 108, 111–112, 114, 118–121, 128–129, 136, 142–144, 149–150, 152, 156, 160, 166, 178, 180–182, 189–190, 195–196, 219, 238–239, 241  
   – ends of 27–28, 73, 181  
 East 133–134  
 Eating 73, 107, 138, 149–152, 162, 164, 180–181, 200, 239  
 Edomites 30  
 Egypt 34, 37, 39, 181, 221, 235–236  
 Egyptian 36  
 ‘Elect of God’ 214–217, 226  
 Elephantine 105, 150  
 Elephants, see under Giants  
 Elioud, see under Giants  
 Enemies 95  
 Engedi 71  
 Enkidu 72  
 Enoch 1, 10, 13–15, 17, 20–29, 34, 37, 48, 57–58, 63, 67, 73–76, 85–88, 90–93, 97, 100, 107–108, 111, 116–119, 124–134, 139, 147–149, 155–156, 158, 169, 176–177, 183, 185, 189, 191, 193–194, 199, 201–202, 204, 208, 215, 217, 220–221, 224

- as „apostle“ 57, 75–76, 99, 107, 132–133
- as dream interpreter 25–27, 32, 111, 116–119, 124–127, 147, 149, 199, 204
- as founder of astrology 34–35
- as intercessor (see under petition) 27, 63, 92, 97, 108
- as „scribe“ 73, 85, 87–88, 90–92, 116–119, 124, 126, 148, 155, 169, 193–194
- as visionary 25–27, 37, 93, 118, 191, 194
- knowledge 34–35, 37, 155–156
- voice of 124, 126–127, 129, 132, 155
- Esau 199
- Essenes 6, 32
- Euhemeristic 34
- Eumenes II 36
- Eupolemus 33–34
- Eusebius of Caserea 33
- Evil 32, 37–38, 40, 77, 88, 90–93, 108, 174, 198, 216–217, 223, 227, 230, 233, 237–238, 240
- Evil spirits 38, 160
- Eyelid(s) 135–136
- Eyes 109–110, 137, 162–164
  
- Fabricius, J.A. 2
- ‘Fallen’ angels, see under Watchers
- Father 36, 51–52, 197–199, 208, 216–217, 226
- Fear 76, 105, 107, 124, 126, 197, 199–200, 240
- Female 143
- Fertility 57
- Fetter, see under Chain
- Fire 93, 113–115, 121, 130, 132, 215
- First
  - journey 17, 20, 22, 127, 132–133
  - pair of dream visions 22, 86–87, 132
  - tablet 20, 22, 85–86
- Fish 143–144, 233
- Flesh 38, 59, 106, 119–120, 157–160, 178–181
- Flood 15–16, 24, 26, 33–36, 38–40, 57–58, 64–66, 73, 93, 104, 106, 109, 114–115, 151, 160, 167, 190, 196, 203, 211, 215–216, 219, 224
  - survivors of 34–38, 64–66
- Food 59
- Forgiveness 81–82, 91
- Format of presentation 42
- Four
  - lines not effaced from stone tablet(s) 64–65, 206
- Fruit 143, 238
  
- Gabriel 93
- Garden (Paradise) 64–65, 114–115, 134, 201, 215
- garden of truth 133–134
- Gardener(s) 109, 113–115, 128, 130, 140, 204
- Garment 153
- Gazelle 57
- Gerazim 34
- Giants *passim*
  - appetites (see also under Eating) 151–152, 181
  - assembly of 109–110, 124, 126, 135–136
  - birth 21, 79, 83–84, 114, 144, 149–151, 196, 201–202
  - camels 112
  - companions 60, 71, 78, 80, 105–106, 109–110, 124, 126, 154
  - complaint against to Enoch 13, 21, 24, 26, 135–137
  - conflict among 14, 17, 19, 22, 29, 147–149, 152, 197–200
  - conveyors of culture 33–35
  - demons 75–76, 85–87, 92, 107, 160, 200
  - destroyed by the flood 38–40, 57–58, 64–66, 106, 114–115, 159–160, 215
  - destructive activities 13, 17–19, 21, 24–25, 27–28, 36–37, 50, 58–59, 72, 76–77, 93, 97, 108, 112, 118, 136–137, 143–153, 159–160, 178, 180–182, 189–190, 192–196, 216
  - discussions among 14–15, 21, 198–199, 218
  - donkeys 112
  - dreams of 13–17, 19–23, 27–28, 31, 40, 64–66, 87, 93, 97, 106–111, 113–124, 126–127, 129–130, 132, 137–138, 140, 144, 148–149, 155, 162, 164–167, 183, 190, 200–204, 211
  - elephants 112
  - Elioud (‘Elyo’) 111–112, 152
  - ‘fall’ of 169–170
  - hope for escape from ‘destruction’ 36–37, 106, 132, 148–149, 166–167
  - human and animal characteristics 72, 108
  - in Greek mythology 36

- joy (gladness) 76, 105, 107–108, 137, 166
- Nephilim (Naphidim, Naphil) 109–112, 124, 126, 128–130, 149–150, 152, 177–178
- pride 166
- size of 29–30, 111
- survival after the flood 34–35, 37–40, 106, 151, 160
- ‘Gift-offering’ 179
- Gigantomachy 36, 138
- Gilgamesh (Gilgamow) 5, 14, 22–23, 27, 31, 37, 72–73, 104–106, 108–109, 127, 162, 164–167
- Gilgamesh Epic* 37, 72–74, 108–109, 133
- Glory 94–96, 232
- Glossary 4–5
- Gnostic 112
- Goat 108
- God *passim*
  - as Ancient of Days 121–123
  - as Great (One) 88, 105–106, 108, 193–194
  - as Great Holy (One) 119–123, 191
  - as Holy (One) 87–88, 106
  - as Lord 184–185
  - as Lord of lords 184
  - as Most High 231, 238
  - as Ruler of the Heavens 119–121
  - omniscience of 94–96
- Gomorrah 38
- Grape(s) 52, 57
- Greatness 94–96
  
- Hahyah (Heyyā, Nariman) 13–17, 20, 23, 25–27, 52, 64–65, 75, 78, 80–81, 84–86, 92–93, 106–108, 110, 114–118, 127, 129–130, 132, 140, 147, 149, 166, 197, 200–203, 215
- Hair 121, 226
- Ham (son of Noah) 35
- Hasmonaean 29
  - script 142, 193
- Hebraism 79, 81, 105, 125, 208, 220
- Hebrew original (Book of Giants) 5, 30
- Hecataeus of Abdera 39
- Height 125, 158–159
- Hellenistic 35–39, 134, 137
- Heracles 138
- Hermon, Mount 74, 133, 208
- Hermopolis 150
- Herod the Great 32
- Herodian script 28, 66, 142, 225, 228, 233, 237
- Hesiod 36
- Hinds 162–164
- Historiography 32–38
- Hobabish 5, 27, 31, 37, 59, 71–72, 74, 108–109
- Holy 157–158, 177
- Holy ones, see under Angels
- Holy places 162–164
- Horeb, Mount 241
- Horoscope 214–215, 225–226
- Horses
  - appetite of Giants 151
- House 162
  - of archives, see under Library
  - ‘House of escape’ 135–136
- Humanity *passim*
  - as survivors of the flood 35–38, 64–66, 114–115, 201–202, 216
  - as victims of the giants 58–59, 92–93, 135–137, 143–145, 152, 182
  - human labor 59
- Humbaba (Huwawa) 72
- Hundred 58
  - a hundred hundreds 119–123
- Hypnos 138
  
- Idols 237
- Idumaea 29
- Imprisonment 13–14, 17, 20, 59, 83, 85, 91, 145, 152
- Impurity 238
- Incantations 112
- Insomnia, see under Sleep
- Israel 66
  
- Jacob 199, 222–223, 237
- Jared 156, 198, 208, 235
- Jerusalem 34
  - temple 34
- Jewish *passim*
- John Hyrcanus I 29
- Joppa 221, 233
- Joseph bar Hiyya 2
- Josephus 32, 36, 39
- Joy, see under Giants
- Jug(s) 56–57
- Judgment 14, 18, 20, 22, 26–28, 32, 39, 65–66, 80, 90, 93, 105–107, 119–123, 127, 129, 132, 144, 148, 151, 160, 167, 179, 188, 201, 203, 216, 224

- Kamarine 34  
 Killing 50, 58–59, 71–72, 76–77, 135–136,  
 146–148, 152, 167–168, 200  
 King(s) 109, 155, 178–179, 221, 237  
 Kingdom 94, 237  
 Knife 64  
 Knowledge 155–156, 183–185  
 Kronos 34–36  
 KRYPW (place name) 240  
  
 Lamech 197–198  
 Lebanon 74, 133  
 Letter 87–88, 90, 93  
 Library 126  
 Lies 189–190, 195–196  
 Lightning 60, 198  
 Lubar 198, 210–211, 215  
  
 Maccabeans 30–31  
 Mahaway (Mahawai) 27–28, 69–70,  
 72–73, 76, 85–87, 90–91, 106–108, 111,  
 117, 124–134, 139, 147–148, 155–156,  
 167, 183, 197–200, 217–218, 224  
 – message from 19–20, 22, 69(?), 72,  
 85–86, 91, 106–107, 197, 199–200  
 – conflict with 'Ohyah 14, 17, 19, 22,  
 167, 197, 199–200, 218  
 – journey(s) to Enoch 14–15, 17, 22–24,  
 27, 48, 76, 108, 117, 124–134, 139, 148,  
 199  
 Male 143  
 Mani 112  
 Manichaean *passim*  
 – Cosmogony 112  
 Manichaean Book of Giants fragments  
 – Coptic 1  
 – Middle Persian *passim*  
 – Parthian 1  
 – Sogdian 1  
 – Uygur 1  
 Manichaeans 3  
 Mastema 160  
 Media 240  
 Mediation, chain of 28, 90  
 Medicines 111  
 Melchizedek 34, 215  
 Merkabah 123  
 Messiah 214–215  
 Metatron 64, 156  
 Meteorological phenomena 62, 99  
 Methuselah 92, 198, 220  
 Michael 38, 57, 93  
 Moabites 221, 234  
  
 Monster 72  
 Moon 142–143  
 Moses of Narbonne 82  
 Mountain(s) 29–30, 111, 134, 175, 208,  
 210–211, 216  
 – Kögman 133  
 Mourn (see also under Weeping)  
 157–158, 231  
 Mouth 126, 230  
 Murabba'at 71  
 Murderer(s) 135–137  
 Myriad(s) 121–123  
 Mystery (Secret) 37, 58, 73, 94–96, 226,  
 229–230  
  
 Nabataean 118  
 – script 71  
 Na'emel 146–147  
 Naḥal Hever 71  
 Nariman (= Hahyah) 25–26  
 Near East 38–39  
 Neo-Assyrian 72  
 Nephilim, see under Giants  
 Nicanor 30  
 Night 109–110, 116, 228–231  
 Nimrod 35–36, 39  
 Noah 26, 35–39, 58, 65–66, 69, 73, 114,  
 160, 168, 198, 201–203, 208, 211, 214–  
 220, 224  
 North 74, 99, 134, 240  
 Northwest 133  
  
 Offerings 238  
 Og 38  
 'Ohyah ('Aheyyā, Ahiyah, Sam) 13–14,  
 16–17, 19–20, 22–23, 27, 31, 38, 50,  
 52, 55, 59, 64–65, 73, 75, 78, 80–84,  
 87, 92, 105–108, 110, 116–117, 127,  
 132, 137, 139, 147, 149, 162, 164–167,  
 190, 197–201, 203, 218  
 Oil 57  
 Old Babylonian 72–74, 108  
 Olympian gods 36  
 One hundred forty-seven  
 – years of Jacob's life 223, 237–238  
 Origen 208  
 – Hexapla 111, 128  
 Orthography 67  
 Oryx 57  
 Oxen  
 – appetite of Giants 151

- Palaeography 3, 28–29, 67, 102, 142, 187, 193, 196  
 Palestine 32, 39  
 Palestinian Archaeological Museum  
   – photographic collection 8–9  
 Palm (trees) 113  
 Palmyra 117  
 Palmyrene (Aramaic) 95  
 Panopolitanus, Codex 2, 50, 72, 79, 88, 96, 117, 134–135, 137, 151, 160, 198, 208  
 Paradise, see under Garden  
 Peleg 109  
 Pergamon 36  
 Persecution, political 122  
 Persia 240  
 Petition, see under Prayer  
 Philo of Alexandria 39  
 Phoenicia 34, 36, 39  
 Photographic evidence 10, 42, 100  
   – accessibility 8–10, 141, 165  
   – inaccessibility 3–5, 7–8, 18, 31, 121, 141, 165, 185  
 Potatoes, see under Princes  
 Prayer 13, 15, 17, 21, 25–26, 84, 93–98, 108, 137, 158, 188  
 Priest(s) 239  
 Princes 105–106, 108, 166  
 Prometheus 82  
 Prophecy  
   – of Enoch 15  
   – of Essenes 32  
 Prophet 221, 233  
 Prostration 73, 75, 100  
 Provenance (of the Book of Giants) 5–6, 31–39  
 Pseudepigraphon 25–26, 29, 67  
 ‘Pseudo-Eupolemus’ 33–34, 36–39  
 Punishment, see under Judgment  
 Pure 168, 239  
 Purpose (of the Book of Giants) 39–40  
  
 Qumran passim  
   – Cave 1 41, 223  
   – Cave 2 41  
   – Cave 4 1, 41  
   – Cave 6 41  
  
 Rain 62, 99  
 Ramath Hazor 240  
 Rams 44, 57  
 Raphael (Rufa’el) 87–90, 92–93  
 Repentance 66  
 Reproduction 57  
 Reptiles, see under Creeping thing(s)  
 Righteous ones 234, 236–238  
 Righteousness 57, 117  
 Rights, burial 117  
 River(s) 121, 146–147  
 Roots (rootage) 15, 22, 93, 113–115, 130, 187–188, 201–203, 215–216  
 Rule, see under Kingdom  
  
 Sacrifice(s) 224, 239  
 Sam (Sahm), see under ‘Ohyah  
 Samaria 29  
 Samaritan 34  
   – dialect 71  
 Sathariel 68  
 Scaliger, Joseph Juste 2  
 Scapegoat 66, 81–82  
 Scorpion 44  
 Sea creatures, see under Fish  
 Sea(s) 90 240  
 Second  
   – journey to Enoch 15, 20, 22, 108, 127–133  
   – tablet 14, 17, 20, 23, 83–87, 90, 118, 129, 155, 224  
 Secrets, see under Mystery  
 Sefire inscription 190  
 Seleucid kingdom 34, 39  
 Senir 74  
 Sepulchre, inscription 117  
 Sequence of fragments 5–6, 10–24  
 Seven  
   – days 103–104  
   – leaders of the fallen angels 82  
   – mountains 133–134  
   – tablets 222, 224  
 Shechem 221, 233  
 Sheep 44, 57, 143  
 Shemihazah (Shemhazai, Semyaza, Shammizad) 14, 17, 19–20, 23, 38, 52, 64, 66, 82, 84–87, 90–93, 100, 110–111, 118, 151, 165–166, 199–200  
 Sheol 111  
 Shepherds 114  
 Shinar 35  
 Shoots, see under Roots  
 Shoulders 154  
 Sigla 42  
 Sihon 38  
 Simon the Essene 32  
 Sin(s) 59, 81, 97, 107, 157–159, 161, 173–174, 224, 227, 238–239

- Sinai, Mount 221, 233  
Six thousand 56–57  
Sleep 109–110, 135–138, 162–165,  
169–170, 172, 200, 228–231  
Snake 44  
Sodom 38  
Solomon 34  
‘Son of man’ 3, 122–123  
‘Sons of a pit’ 216–217, 227  
Sorrow 73  
Soul(s) 93, 105–107, 135–136  
South 74, 99, 132, 134  
Southwest 74  
Spirit  
– mode of giants’ existence 38–40, 106,  
151, 160  
Splendor 94, 154  
Stone 6, 64–65, 200, 202  
Strength 78, 80, 94–96, 155, 162, 164,  
166–167  
Stubborn 238  
Sumerian 82  
Sun 59, 132–133  
Suriel (Suryan) 93  
Sword 29, 146–148, 218, 230  
Syncellus, Georgius 2, 50, 72, 79, 82,  
111–112, 135, 156, 208  
Syria 39  
Syriac 95, 125–126, 128, 181, 208  
Table 64  
‘Tablet(s)’ 6, 13–15, 17, 20, 22–23, 64–66,  
84–87, 90–92, 97, 107, 118–119, 129,  
131, 155, 169, 200, 206, 222–224,  
237–239  
– washing of 6, 64–66, 206, 215  
Tachygraph 2  
Taxtag 65  
Temple 223  
– Jerusalem 34  
Testament 223  
Theodore Bar Konai 109  
Theophany 31, 106, 118–123  
Thigh 226  
Thirty 47  
Thousand(s) 52, 56–57, 200  
– a thousand thousands 119–123, 155  
– camels 151  
– horses 151  
– oxen 151  
Three  
– books 226  
– branches 64, 114–115, 202  
– giants slain 73  
– roots (shoots) 201–202, 216, 224  
– signs 65  
– sons of Noah 114, 201–202, 216  
Three hundred and fifty shekels  
– weight of baby in 4Q535 217, 228  
Throne(s) 118–123, 150, 153  
– wheels 121  
Titanomachy 36  
Titans 36  
Tobias 93  
Tongues (of fire) 113, 130  
Tower 33–37  
Transjordan 29  
Tree(s) 15, 64–66, 114–115, 128–130, 143,  
201–203  
Trembling, see under Fear  
Truth 117  
Turfan 1  
Turkestan 1  
Twenty  
– leaders of fallen Watchers 69  
Two 20  
– dreams 16–17, 19, 22, 86, 109–110,  
149, 203  
– giant brothers 20, 81, 109–110, 203  
– journeys of Mahaway to Enoch 86,  
131–133  
– ‘tablets’ 17, 22, 84–86, 90, 131, 200, 224  
Two hundred 44–45, 56–57, 114,  
129–130, 169, 201–202, 208  
Ubelseyael, see under Abilene  
Ur 158  
Uriel 93  
Utnapishtim 73  
Vase paintings 138  
Vegetation 57, 144  
Vineyard 150, 211  
Violence 13, 76–77, 97, 108  
Visions, see also under Giants  
– of Enoch 25  
Vulture 143  
Walls 239  
Watcher(s) 12–14, 17, 19–20, 22, 24–26,  
29–30, 32, 37, 39–40, 50, 52, 57–59,  
63, 66, 68, 72–74, 78–84, 86, 88–93, 95,  
97, 100, 107–108, 111–112, 115,  
118–119, 129–130, 144, 146–153,  
155–156, 158–160, 167, 169, 176, 178,

- 180–181, 183, 185, 190, 196, 198,  
201–203, 208, 215–217, 227
- as demons 130
  - defilement of 149–152
  - ‘fall’ of 21, 27, 97, 111–112, 130, 143,  
149–153, 156, 208, 216
  - ‘gardeners’ 114–115
  - good 63, 88, 91, 180
  - ‘sons of God’ 111
  - teacher(s) of culture 37, 82, 156, 196
- Water(s) 53, 57, 61, 64–65, 74, 93,  
103–104, 113–115, 160, 215, 227, 240
- Watering 113
- Weeping 73, 75, 97, 100, 150, 231
- Weight 228–229
- West 134
- Wheat 143
- Whirlwinds 128, 130
- White 121
- Wicked ones 230, 236–237
- Wine 56–57, 211
- Wings 108, 125, 128, 130, 132–133, 170
- Wisdom (wise) 92, 215–216, 226, 229
- Woman (Women) 197–198
- related to the Watchers 50, 82, 84,  
89–90, 108–109, 111, 114, 144,  
151–152, 160, 202
  - related to the giants 59, 72, 87, 89
- Wool 121
- World 128, 130
- origin of 112
- Worry 106–106, 137, 200
- Worship, of God 119–123
- Years 95, 103–104, 228–231
- Zeus 36
- Altar of 36
- Zion 240

## Index of Modern Authors

- Alexander, P.S. *134*  
Allegro, J.M. *79*  
Attridge, H.W. *33*  
Avigad, N. *142*
- Baillet, M. *63–64, 196–198, 200–201, 203–213, 218–219*  
Barrera, J.T. *129, 222*  
Beyer, K. *4–7, 9–10, 12–16, 18, 21, 30–31, 41, 43–56, 58–71, 74–79, 83–85, 87–89, 94–95, 98–102, 104–106, 109–110, 112–113, 115–116, 118–121, 124–125, 127–131, 133–136, 140–141, 143–150, 152–159, 161–172, 177–186, 189–190, 192–197, 200–201, 203–208, 210, 214–219, 223–224, 239*  
Black, M. *2, 38, 74, 77, 87, 94–95, 98, 111–113, 116–117, 133, 149, 189–190, 208*  
Blanc, C. *208*  
Boyce, M. *1*  
Brooke, A.E. *208*  
Bruce, F.F. *3*
- Camponovo, O. *94–95*  
Cantineau, J. *126*  
Caquot, A. *215*  
Carmignac, J. *214*  
Cazelles, H. *214*  
Charles, R.H. *29, 74, 112*  
Charlesworth, J.H. *8, 30, 186, 214, 221*  
Clarke, E.G. *111*  
Collins, J.J. *30, 32*  
Cowley, A.E. *105*  
Cross, F.M. *28, 102, 142, 193, 196, 225*
- Delcor, M. *82, 214, 220*  
Denis, A.M. *33*  
de Jonge *219*  
de Vaux, R. *63*  
des Places, E. *33*  
Dimant, D. *3, 26, 67, 79*
- Donner, H. *150*  
Doran, R. *33–35, 37*  
Driver, G.R. *181*  
Dupont-Sommer, A. *214*
- Eisenman, R. *8–9, 120, 178–185, 215, 217*  
Evans, C.A. *215–216*  
Fabricius, J.A. *2*  
Feuillet, A. *214*  
Field, F. *111*  
Fitzmyer, J.A. *3–4, 7, 41, 43–47, 48–52, 54, 59–64, 70, 84, 87–90, 102, 104, 109, 112, 115–117, 119, 124–125, 128–129, 131, 161–165, 185–186, 196–198, 200–201, 203–205, 210, 214–215, 217, 221–222*  
Franxman, T.W. *3*  
Freudenthal, J. *33*
- Gantz, T. *36*  
García Martínez, F. *4–8, 12–21, 30–32, 43, 45–46, 49, 54–55, 58–61, 63, 65, 67–71, 74–77, 80, 83, 87–90, 94–95, 98–99, 102, 104, 109, 112, 115–117, 119, 121, 124–125, 128–129, 131, 134, 136, 144, 149–150, 152–153, 161–166, 186, 189–190, 193–196, 198, 200, 208, 210–211, 214–215, 217–221, 228, 232, 239*  
Goodman, M. *4*  
Grabbe, L.L. *81*  
Greenfield, J.C. *211, 215, 220*  
Grelot, P. *134, 214–215*
- Halévy, J. *208*  
Halperin, D. *123*  
Hanson, P.D. *28, 82*  
Harrington, D.J. *4, 43–52, 54–55, 59–64, 70, 87–90, 102, 104, 109, 112, 115–117, 119, 124–125, 128–129, 131, 161–165, 196–198, 200–201, 203–205, 210, 222*  
Hengel, M. *32–33, 36, 215–216*

- Henning, W.B. 1-2, 18-19, 25-26, 50, 57, 59, 64-65, 72-73, 75, 97, 99, 107, 130, 132, 146-147, 166, 199-201
- Hoftijzer, J. 126, 150, 181, 190
- Holladay, C.R. 33, 35, 37
- Huggins, R.V. 8, 33, 35, 37, 73, 104, 198
- Isaac, E. 92-93
- Jastrow, M. 143, 146-147, 156, 163, 180
- Jean, C.-F. 126, 150, 181, 190
- Jeremias, G. 1
- Karrer, M. 87-88
- Kaufman, S.J. 135, 150, 161
- Kerényi, C. 138
- Klimkeit, H.-J. 1
- Knibb, M.A. 4, 74, 77, 92-94, 98, 208
- Kuhn, H.-W. 1
- Kümmel, W.G. 33
- Laurence, R. 2
- Licht, J. 214
- Lust, J. 123
- Milik, J.T. 1-7, 13-14, 18-19, 21, 25-26, 28-31, 38, 43-72, 74-83, 87, 89-90, 94-95, 98-104, 108-110, 113-116, 118-121, 124-125, 127-131, 133-136, 140-141, 144, 150-152, 161-166, 178, 185-186, 189-199, 201-202, 204, 208, 214-215, 217-219, 221-223, 232, 237
- Millar, F. 4
- Mirakin, M. 112
- Montaner, L.V. 129, 222
- Newsom, C. 96
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 3-4, 38, 82
- Odeberg, H. 215
- Pfann, S.J. 8-9
- Pirot, L. 214
- Puech, E. 129, 222-224, 237
- Qimron, E. 211
- Rabin, C. 142
- Reed, S.A. 9, 186
- Reeves, J.C. 1, 4-6, 8, 12-18, 21, 26, 30, 33, 37, 40-41, 43, 46, 49, 53, 55, 58-59, 63, 68-71, 73-75, 77-78, 80, 83-85, 87-90, 94-95, 97-99, 104, 108-109, 112-117, 119, 121, 124-125, 127-134, 136, 140, 144, 149-152, 161-167, 186, 189-190, 192-194, 196-197, 199-202, 223-224
- Robert, A. 214
- Robinson, J. 8, 120
- Röllig, W. 150
- Rosenthal, F. 126
- Rowland, C. 123
- Sanders, J.A. 3
- Scaliger, J. 2
- Schiffman, L.H. 214
- Schnackenburg, R. 3
- Schroeder, G. 33
- Schürer, E. 4
- Smith, R.P. 125
- Sokoloff, M. 4, 63, 77, 79, 87, 90, 109, 124, 128, 134, 140, 143, 146-147, 149, 151, 163, 190, 198
- Starcky, J. 3, 7, 41, 101, 128-129, 141, 161, 178, 185, 187, 214, 221-222, 237
- Stegemann, H. 1, 32
- Stone, M.E. 3-4, 33, 220
- Stroumsa, G.A.G. 112
- Strugnell, J. 29, 79, 217
- Stuckenbruck, L.T. 68, 72, 78, 87, 117, 123, 134
- Sundermann, W. 1, 17, 19, 63, 70-71, 73, 85-87, 90, 106, 119-120, 137, 148, 166, 200
- Testuz, M. 222, 237
- Tigay, J.H. 72, 109
- Tov, E. 8-9, 120
- Uhlig, S. 4, 43-45, 74-77, 80, 87, 94, 98-99, 149-150, 161, 164-165, 196-197, 200
- Ullendorf, E. 4
- VanderKam, J.C. 3, 29-30
- Vermes, G. 4, 8, 186, 196, 215, 221
- Viviano, B.T. 215
- Wacholder, B.Z. 33-36
- Walter, N. 33
- Watson, W.G.E. 8
- West, M.L. 36
- Wintermute, O.S. 30, 148, 222
- Wise, M.O. 9, 178-185, 215, 217
- Wright, G.E. 28
- Yadin, Y. 142



# Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

## Alphabetical Index

- Avemarie, Friedrich*: Tora und Leben. 1996. *Volume 55*.
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Cansdale, Lena*: Qumran and the Essenes. 1997. *Volume 62*.
- Chester, Andrew*: Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim. 1986. *Volume 14*.
- Cohen, Martin Samuel*: The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions. 1985. *Volume 9*.
- Ego, Beate*: Targum Scheni zu Ester. 1996. *Volume 54*.
- Engel, Anja*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Gleißner, Uwe*: Einleitung in die Targume zum Pentateuch. 1995. *Volume 48*.
- Goldberg, Arnold*: Mystik und Theologie des rabbinischen Judentums. Ed. by Margarete Schlüter and Peter Schäfer. 1997. *Volume 61*
- Goodblatt, David*: The Monarchic Principle. 1994. *Volume 38*
- Grözinger, Karl*: Musik und Gesang in der Theologie der frühen jüdischen Literatur. 1982. *Volume 3*.
- Halperin, David J.*: The Faces of the Chariot. 1988. *Volume 16*.
- Houtman, Alberdina*: Mishnah and Tosefta. 1997. *Volume 59*.
- Herrmann, Klaus* (Ed.): Massekhet-Hekhalot. 1994. *Volume 39*.  
– see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Herzer, Jens*: Die Paralipomena Jeremiae. 1991. *Volume 43*.
- Hezser, Catherine*: Form, Function, and Historical Significance of the Rabbinic Story in Yerushalmi Neziqin. 1993. *Volume 37*.
- Hirschfelder, Ulrike*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Instone Brewer, David*: Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE. 1992. *Volume 30*.
- Ilan, Tal*: Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine. 1995. *Volume 44*.
- Ipta, Kerstin*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Jacobs, Martin*: Die Institution des jüdischen Patriarchen. 1995. *Volume 52*.  
– see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Kasher, Aryeh*: The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. 1985. *Volume 7*.  
– Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs. 1988. *Volume 18*.  
– Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel. 1990. *Volume 21*.
- Krauss, Samuel*: The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the Earliest Times to 1789. Ed. by W. Horbury. Volume I: 1996. *Volume 56*.
- Kuhn, Peter*: Offenbarungsstimmen im Antiken Judentum. 1989. *Volume 20*.
- Kuyt, Annelies*: The 'Descent' to the Chariot. 1995. *Volume 45*.
- Lange, Nicholas de*: Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah. 1996. *Volume 51*.
- Leicht, Reimund*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Lohmann, Uta*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Luttikhuisen, Gerard P.*: The Revelation of Elchasai. 1985. *Volume 8*.
- Mach, Michael*: Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit. 1992. *Volume 34*.
- Mendels, Doron*: The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature. 1987. *Volume 15*.
- Mutins, Hans Georg von*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Necker, Gerold*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Olyan, Saul M.*: A Thousand Thousands Served Him. 1993. *Volume 36*.
- Otterbach, Rina*: see *Schäfer, Peter*
- Prigent, Pierre*: Le Judaïsme et l'image. 1990. *Volume 24*.

- Reeg, Gottfried (Hrsg): Die Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyrern. 1985. *Volume 10*.
- Renner, Lucie: see Schäfer, Peter
- Rohrbacher-Sticker, Claudia: see Schäfer, Peter
- Salvesen, Alison (Ed.): Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. 1997. *Volume 58*.
- Samely, Alexander: The Interpretation of Speech in the Pentateuch Targums. 1992. *Volume 27*.
- Schäfer, Peter: Der Bar-Kokhba-Aufstand. 1981. *Volume 1*.  
– Hekhalot-Studien. 1988. *Volume 19*.  
– see Goldberg, Arnold.
- Schäfer, Peter (Hrsg): Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur. 1984. *Volume 6*.
- Schäfer, Peter, Rina Otterbach (Volume 2), Gottfried Reeg, Klaus Herrmann, Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker, Guido Weyer (Hrsg): Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur. Volume 1. 1986. *Volume 12*. – Volume 2. 1988. *Volume 13*.
- Schäfer, Peter, Hans-Jürgen Becker, Klaus Herrmann, Ulrike Hirschfelder (Volume 1), Gerold Necker (Volume 1), Lucie Renner (Volume 3), Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker (Volume 2–4), Stefan Siebers (Volume 2–4) (Hrsg): Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur. Volume 1: §§ 1–80. 1995. *Volume 46*. – Volume 2: §§ 81–334. 1987. *Volume 17*. – Volume 3: §§ 335–597. 1989. *Volume 22*. – Volume 4: §§ 598–985. 1991. *Volume 29*.
- Schäfer, Peter, Hans-Jürgen Becker, Anja Engel (I), Kerstin Ipta (I), Gerold Necker (IV, V), Uta Lohmann (I), Martina Urban, Gert Wildensee (Ed.): Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi. – I: Ordnung Zera'im. I/1–2: Traktate Berakhot und Pe a. 1991. *Volume 35*. – I/3–5: Traktate Demai bis Shevicit. 1992. *Volume 33*. – I/6–11: Traktate Terumot bis Bikkurim. 1992. *Volume 31*. – IV/1–8: Ordnung Neziqin. V: Ordnung Toharot – Traktat Nidda. 1995. *Volume 47*.
- Schäfer, Peter, Margarete Schlüter, Hans Georg von Mutins (Hrsg): Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur. 1981. *Volume 2*.
- Schäfer, Peter, Martin Jacobs (I), Reimund Leicht (II), Claudia Rohrbacher-Sticker (I), Shaul Shaked, Giuseppe Veltri, Irina Wandrey (II) (Ed.): Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza. Volume I. 1994. *Volume 42*. – Volume II. 1997. *Volume 64*.
- Schlüter, Margarete: see Schäfer, Peter.  
– see Goldberg, Arnold.
- Schmidt, Francis: Le Testament Grec d'Abraham. 1986. *Volume 11*.
- Schroeder, Bernd: Die ‚väterlichen Gesetze‘. 1996. *Volume 53*.
- Schwartz, Daniel R.: Agrippa I. 1990. *Volume 23*.
- Schwemer, Anna Maria: Studien zu den frühjüdischen Prophetenlegenden. Vitae Prophetarum. Volume I: 1995. *Volume 49*. – Volume II: 1996. *Volume 50*.
- Shaked, Shaul: see Schäfer, Peter
- Shatzman, Israel: The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod. 1991. *Volume 25*.
- Siebers, Stefan: see Schäfer, Peter
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T.: The Book of Giants from Qumran. 1997. *Volume 63*.
- Swartz, Michael D.: Mystical Prayer in Ancient Judaism. 1992. *Volume 28*.
- Sysling, Harry: Tehiyat Ha-Metim. 1996. *Volume 57*.
- Urban, Martina: see Schäfer, Peter
- van Loopik, Marcus (Übers. u. komm.): The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World. 1991. *Volume 26*.
- Veltri, Giuseppe: Eine Tora für den König Talmai. 1994. *Volume 41*.  
– Magie und Halakha. 1997. *Volume 62*
- Wandrey, Irina: see Schäfer, Peter
- Wewers, Gerd A.: Probleme der Bavot-Traktate. 1984. *Volume 5*.
- Weyer, Guido: see Schäfer, Peter
- Wildensee, Gert: see Schäfer, Peter
- Wilson, Walter T.: The Mysteries of Righteousness. 1994. *Volume 40*.

*For a complete catalogue please write to the publisher  
Mohr Siebeck, P.O.Box 2040, D-72010 Tübingen.*