

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

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Part 1 of this annotated bibliography appeared in the previous issue of *JETS* (see that issue for an introduction to this resource). This again is the overall structure: **Part 1:** 1. General Reference Tools; 2. Old Testament Versions; 3. Apocrypha; 4. Pseudepigrapha; **Part 2:** 5. Dead Sea Scrolls; 6. Individual Authors (Philo, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, Fragmentary Works); 7. Rabbinic Literature; 8. Other Early Works from the Rabbinic Period; 9. Addenda to Part 1.

5. DEAD SEA SCROLLS

While the Dead Sea Scrolls are generally associated with Qumran, properly they also cover discoveries from approximately a dozen other sites in the desert wilderness surrounding the Dead Sea, such as those at Naḥal Ḥever, Murabbaʿat, and Masada. The approximately 930 MSS from Qumran were penned from the 3rd c. BC through the 1st c. AD. The Masada texts include Jewish scrolls from the time leading up to the Roman conquest (AD 73) and subsequent Roman documents. The finds at Naḥal Ḥever and Murabbaʿat include documents from the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132–135). Other Bar Kokhba era documents are known from Ketef Jericho, Wadi Sdeir, Naḥal Mishmar, and Naḥal Şeʿelim (see DJD 38). For a full accounting, see the lists by Tov under “Bibliography” below. The non-literary documentary papyri (e.g. wills, deeds of sale, marriage documents, etc.) are not covered below. Recent archaeological efforts seeking further scrolls from surrounding caves (esp. at Qumran) have yet to yield substantive texts. In the last decade, some attention has been devoted to publishing fragmentary texts purchased by private collectors, but these typically do not have clear provenance, and at least some (perhaps many) appear to have been counterfeited.

There are many theories about the origins of the Qumran DSS, but the traditional scholarly consensus has viewed the 11 caves near the Qumran settlement as primarily containing literary texts collected and/or produced by the Qumran sect (generally identified with the Essenes). Various permutations on this view have been proposed of late. The documents include biblical (OT) and non-biblical mate-

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rials—the latter frequently, though somewhat artificially, are divided into sectarian and non-sectarian literature. Recent taxonomies have focused more on literary genre. Scholars recognized early the connection between the Qumran DSS and the medieval “Damascus Document” (= CD) from the Cairo Genizah, copies of which are also known from Qumran. The early DSS publications of community rules, hymns, and biblical interpretation (esp. *pesharim*) have been supplemented by the completed publication of known MSS with halakhic, calendrical, wisdom, liturgical, apocalyptic, and rewritten Bible texts. This has led to ongoing reassessment of the complexity of the documents and of the form(s) of Second Temple Judaism they represent; therefore, it is vital to consult recent scholarship and introductions.

Qumran scrolls are cited by cave number (e.g. 11Q = cave 11) along with a document number (e.g. 11Q19) or title (e.g. 11QTemple); this is followed by fragment, column, and line numbers (column numbers are often in Roman numerals; e.g. 4QpNah 3–4 i 6 = Peshar Nahum from Cave 4, fragments 3 and 4, column 1, line 6).

The bibliography on the DSS is vast. We shall continue focusing on key textual editions, English translations, indices, lexicons, grammars, introductions, and commentaries. The bibliographies below should be consulted for further studies.

Bibliographies:

- Collins, Billie Jean, et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*. 2nd ed. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014. See appendix C “Texts from the Judean Desert” by E. Tov (pp. 269–330) for a full list of scrolls from all DSS locations with publication data.
- Dimant, Devorah, ed., with Ingo Kottsieper. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Scholarly Perspective: A History of Research*. STDJ 99. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Extensive survey of research (27 articles structured by researchers’ nationalities).
- Sen Montero, Felipe. *Bibliography of Publications on Qumran in the Spanish Language (1949–2011) with a Survey Essay by Florentino García Martínez*. Qumranica Mogilanensia 18. Krakow: Enigma, 2012.
- Tov, Emanuel. *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judean Desert*. Leiden: Brill, 2010. Includes publication data and photograph reference numbers. Revision of list published in DJD 39 (from 2002), though DJD 39 remains useful for other lists it contains.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Rev. and exp. ed. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008. Revision of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990. Lists major text and translation publications by scroll. Includes an excellent select bibliography.
- Clements, Ruth A., and Nadav Sharon. *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature (2000–2006)*. STDJ 71. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Pinnick, Avital. *The Orion Center Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1995–2000)*. STDJ 41. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Alphabetical by author, with indexes of texts and subjects. Ongoing updates continue in *RevQ*.

- García Martínez, Florentino, and Donald W. Parry. *A Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1970–95*. STDJ 19. Leiden: Brill, 1996. With an updated listing in *RevQ* 18 (1998) 459–90, 605–39.
- Tov, Emanuel. “The Unpublished Qumran Texts from Caves 4 and 11,” *JJS* 43 (1992) 101–36. On preliminary publications and a list of texts still unpublished at the time.
- Jongeling, B. *A Classified Bibliography of the Finds in the Desert of Judah 1958–1969*. STDJ 7. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Yizhar, Michael. *Bibliography of Hebrew Publications on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 1948–1964*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- LaSor, William Sanford. *Bibliography of the Dead Sea Scrolls 1948–1957*. Fuller Library Bulletin 31. Pasadena, CA: The Library of Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958.
- See also: The website at The Orion Center of Hebrew University of Jerusalem (<http://orion.mscc.huji.ac.il>) includes a regularly updated searchable bibliography. Further see both Carol Newsom, “Qumran/Dead Sea Scrolls” (publ. 2010) and Lawrence H. Schiffman and Marlene Schiffman, “Dead Sea Scrolls” (publ. 2012) in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>). And note the listings and/or reviews in *RevQ*, *DSD*, *Qumran Chronicle*, *ZAH*, and *Elenchus of Biblica*. Key book series includes DJD, JDS, and STDJ.

Texts (Damascus Document):

- Broshi, Magen, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992. Re-edited text (by E. Qimron) with facing plates of CD and a bibliography.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction*. STDJ 29. Leiden: Brill, 1998. Seeks to trace redactional development among existing MSS. See also her commentary (below).
- Rabin, Chaim. *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1954. Revised text and translation with notes.
- Schechter, S. *Documents of Jewish Sectaries. Vol. 1, Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. Cambridge: CUP, 1910; repr., New York: Ktav, 1970. The original publication of the Damascus Document (MSS A and B) with text, translation and introduction. Reprint includes “Prolegomenon” (with corrections) by Fitzmyer. Shortly afterwards, Charles translated this based on his critical reading of Schechter in *APOT* 2:785–834.
- See also: 4Q266–273 (in DJD 18); 5Q12 and 6Q15 (in DJD 3); Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2 (below); and Wacholder (below).

Texts (Dead Sea Scrolls):

- Discoveries in the Judean Desert*. 40 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955–2011 [= DJD]. Text, translation, plates, and (in later volumes) commentary. Usually the *editio princeps* of any text, which should always be consulted. Notes on DJD volumes: For two more fragments of 11QPs^a not in DJD 4, see DJD 23. Criticism of DJD 5 has been significant—see especially J. Strugnell in *RevQ* 7 (1969–1971): 163–276. DJD 39 contains introduction to the series and various indices to the scrolls.

Charlesworth, James H., et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. 8+ vols. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck and Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994—. Seeks to replace older editions by integrating more recently published scrolls of similar material with retranscriptions (often using advanced textual enhancement techniques) and retranslations of previous releases.

See also: “Microfiche” and “Electronic Editions” below.

Other Important Editions (in chronological order):

Burrows, Millar, John C. Trever, and William H. Brownlee. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*. 2 vols. New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950. Vol. 1: 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab; Vol. 2, fasc. 2: 1QS: transcription and plates. *Editio princeps* of these texts. Vol. 2, fasc. 1 (projected to cover the Genesis Apocryphon) was never released.

Sukenik, E. L., ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955). Transcriptions and plates of 1QM, 1QH, and 1QIsa^b [incomplete on 1QIsa^b; see also DJD 1:66–68, and Puech in *JJS* 39 (1988): 55 n. 40].

Avigad, Nahman, and Yigael Yadin. *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956.

Yadin, Yigael. *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*. Translated by Batya and Chaim Rabin. Oxford: OUP, 1962. Text, translation, introduction, and commentary.

Yadin, Yigael. *Tefillin from Qumran (XQ Phyl 1–4)*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1969. Text, trans., plates, and notes on phylactery texts from an unidentified Qumran cave (cf. 4Q phylactery finds in DJD 6).

Van der Ploeg, J. P. M., A. S. van der Woude, and B. Jongeling. *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*. Leiden: Brill, 1971. *Editio princeps* of 11QtgJob [= 11Q10] with text, translation, plates, and notes; also see Sokoloff below and DJD 23:79–180.

Sokoloff, Michael. *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI*. Jerusalem: Bar-Ilan University, 1974. Text, translation, and commentary.

Jongeling, B., C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude. *The Aramaic Texts from Qumran: With Translations and Annotations*. Semitic Study Series n.s. 4; Leiden: Brill, 1976. Includes the Job Targum, Genesis Apocryphon, and Prayer of Nabonidus.

Yadin, Yigael. *The Temple Scroll*. 3 vols. + suppl.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977–1983. Extensive introduction, text, translation, plates, and commentary on 11QTemple^a [= 11Q19]. For 11Q20 and 11Q21 fragments see DJD 23; for 4Q fragments see DJD 25. Also Qimron below.

Horgan, Maurya P. *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. CBQMS 8. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979. Text, translation, and commentary on the Qumran pesharim to Psalms, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. She later helped edit the Pesharim volume in Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 6b.

Brownlee, William H. *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk: Text, Translation, Exposition with an Introduction*. SBLMS 24. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979.

- Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften an Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten*. 2 + suppl. vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–2004. Includes grammar and word lists.
- Freedman, D. N., and K. A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)*. Winona Lake, IN: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985. *Editio princeps* of this scroll (not in the DJD volumes on 11Q). Contains text, plates, introduction, and a critical apparatus. See also E. Puech, *RB* 96 (1989): 161–83.
- Newsom, Carol. *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. HSS 27. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985. Text, translation, plates, and extensive commentary on 4QShirShabb [=4Q400–407]. See also DJD 11:173–401; DJD 23:259–304; and Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 4b.
- Schuller, Eileen M. *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*. HSS 28. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. Text, translation, plates, and commentary on 4Q380–381. Also see DJD 11; and her newer edition in Charlesworth, ed., *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 4a.
- Lewis, Naphtali, Yigael Yadin, and Jonas C. Greenfield, eds. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*. JDS 3. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989.
- Wacholder, Ben Zion, and Martin G. Abegg, eds. *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four*. 4 vols. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–1996. Legendary edition which back-edited from a secret preliminary concordance compiled by the official publication team (Vols. 2 and 3 also make use of photographs released after Vol. 1 was published). Not fully reliable (use DJD instead). Volume 4 contains a concordance.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions*. JDS. Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University, 1996. Transcription revision of Yadin's text (incorporating material from 11Q20–21, 4Q365 and 4Q524; cf. DJD 23 and 25), with an extensive bibliography.
- Charlesworth, James H., et al., eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-Language Edition*. Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996. Useful color plates of the manuscript.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*. TSAJ 63. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Chyutin, Michael. *The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Comprehensive Reconstruction*. JSPSup 25. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Metso, Sarianna. *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. STDJ 21. Leiden: Brill, 1997. Studies the literary history of the MSS. Idem, *The Community Rule: Critical Edition with Translation* (SBL, 2019).
- Parry, Donald W., and Elisha Qimron, eds. *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a): A New Edition*. STDJ 32. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Facing photographic plates and transcription of 1QIsa^a. Includes a lengthy select bibliography.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu, et al. *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations, 1963–1965: Final Reports: Hebrew Fragments from Masada*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999. Also contains reprint

- of Yadin's 1965 edition of the Ben Sira scroll. *Masada II* by Hannah M. Cotton and Joseph Geiger (1989) covers Latin and Greek documents.
- Lefkovits, Judah K. *The Copper Scroll 3Q15: A Reevaluation; A New Reading, Translation, and Commentary*. STDJ 25. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Doudna, Gregory L. *4Q Pesber Nabum: A Critical Edition*. JSPSup 35. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Fincke, Andrew. *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam^a restored and compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam^f*. STDJ 43. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Tigchelaar, Eibert J. C. *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*. STDJ 44. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Supplements DJD edition by discussing a reconstructed text, and by specific study essays.
- Greenfield, Jonas C., Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel. *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*. SVTP 19. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Eclectic text following Cairo Genizah manuscripts along with the 1Q and 4QLevi texts (also references later Greek and Syriac traditions that likely stem from this earlier Semitic text).
- Drawnel, Henryk. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*. JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004. Edits the Aramaic Levi document from Qumran, Cairo Genizah, and Mt. Athos manuscripts, with translation and notes.
- DiTommaso, Lorenzo. *The Dead Sea 'New Jerusalem' Text: Contents and Contexts*. TSAJ 110. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005. Edition of 4Q fragments, with reconstruction and studies; rev. of Ph.D. thesis.
- Ego, Beate, Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Kristin De Troyer. *Biblia Qumranica*. Leiden: Brill, 2005—. Project intending to produce a synoptic edition of the MT, LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, and all biblical DSS scrolls (as well as the biblical texts quoted in the *pesharim*). So far, only Vol. 3B: Minor Prophets (2005) has been released.
- Brizemeure, Daniel, Noël Lacoudre, and Émile Puech. *Le Rouleau de cuivre de la grotte 3 de Qumrân (3Q15): Expertise—Restauration—Épigraphie*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Describes the restoration process of the Copper Scroll and includes in vol. 2 excellent photographic (b/w and color) plates of the text with transcription. The text, translation, commentary, and drawings from vol. 1 (w/ corrigenda to the French ed.) has been translated into English as Émile Puech, *The Copper Scroll Revisited* (trans. David E. Orton; STDJ 112; Leiden: Brill, 2015).
- Wacholder, Ben Zion. *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary*. STJD 56. Leiden, Brill 2006. Composite text produced from 10 Qumran and 2 Cairo Genizah manuscripts.
- Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: Sagesse et Eschatologie*. STJD 81. Leiden: Brill, 2008. Edition, translation, and commentary; with several studies.
- Machiela, Daniel A. *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*. STJD 79. Leiden: Brill, 2009. Includes extensive collection of photographs of the scroll. Discussion focuses on possible relationship to Jubilees.

- Ulrich, Eugene, ed. *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*. VTSup 134. Leiden: Brill, 2010 (hardback); paperback edition is 3 vols. (Brill, 2012). Transcription of each fragment of Hebrew Bible scrolls in consecutive biblical order.
- Drawnel, Henryk. *Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Oxford: OUP, 2011. Edition of 4Q208–211, with discussion of relationship to 1 Enoch 72–82.
- Schuller, Eileen M., and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH^a*. SBLEJL 36. Atlanta: SBL, 2012. Reprints text and (slightly revised) translation from DJD 40; useful word list (with glosses) at end.
- Feldman, Ariel. *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran: Texts, Translations, and Commentary*. BZAW 438. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013.
- Qimron, Elisha. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010–2014. Handbook edition of transcribed texts grouped loosely by genre, collating (and color-coding) overlapping MSS. For comparison listing these to the (more standard) Tov scroll numbers, see C. Cordoni & A. Lange reviews in *JAJ* 7 (2016): 276–79.
- Jain, Eva. *Psalmen oder Psalter?: Materielle Rekonstruktion und inhaltliche Untersuchung der Psalmenhandschriften aus der Wüste Juda*. STDJ 109. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Reconstructs and edits all DSS fragments of the biblical Psalms.
- Davis, Kipp. *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity*. STDJ 111. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Includes text, translation and notes on 4Q385^a and related scrolls, with studies on impact of biblical Jeremiah on Qumran.
- See also* “Commentaries” below. For Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, see part 1 of this bibliography (esp. Ben Sira [=Sirach], 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Tobit).

Scrolls in Private Collections:

Many of the fragmentary unprovenanced scrolls purchased on the antiquities market by private individuals/entities may well be forgeries, so great caution should be exercised in referencing these. The principal collections are ones acquired by Martin Schøyen, Azusa Pacific University, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, and the Museum of the Bible. Below are the technical editions (and an exhibition catalog), along with some key peer-reviewed journal articles querying the authenticity of various such documents (many more such articles have appeared in popular media). As of September 2020, some organizations have released statements conceding that most or all of the scrolls they purchased are probably forgeries (esp. the Museum of the Bible and Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary).

Tigheelaar, Eibert. “A Provisional List of Unprovenanced, Twenty-First Century, Dead Sea Scrolls-like Fragments.” *DSD* 24 (2017): 173–88. Very helpful list of items known to the academic world, including collection and publication information.

Dead Sea Scrolls & the Bible: Ancient Artifacts, Timeless Treasures. Fort Worth, TX: Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2012. Exhibition catalog of MSS at SWBTS, presented by Gary and Stephanie Loveless.

- Tov, Emanuel, Kipp Davis, and Robert Duke, eds. *Dead Sea Scrolls Fragments in the Museum Collection*. Publications of Museum of the Bible 1. Leiden: Brill, 2016. Edition of thirteen fragments in the Museum collection. Both praised for quality of presentation and critiqued for not sufficiently discussing actual provenance and authenticity of these fragments.
- Elgvin, Torleif, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, eds. *Gleanings from the Caves: Dead Sea Scrolls and Artefacts from the Schøyen Collection*. LSTS 71. London: T&T Clark, 2016. Scholarly edition of small fragments from 26 MSS (mostly biblical texts) along with other material remains from the Judean desert in the collection of Martin Shøyen in Oslo. The authors later became overtly more skeptical of the genuineness of at least some of these texts (see below). Also note M. Zahn review in *DSD* 24 (2017): 307–9.
- Charlesworth, James H., William Yarchin, Henry W. Morisada Riet, Loren L. Johns, and Craig Evan Anderson. *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation Supplementary Volume: Biblical Manuscripts at Azusa Pacific University and The Institute for Judaism and Christian Origins*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019.
- Davis, Kipp, Ira Rabin, Ines Feldman, Myriam Krutzsch, Hasia Rimón, Årstein Justnes, Torleif Elgvin, and Michael Langlois. “Nine Dubious ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments from the Twenty-First Century.” *DSD* 24 (2017): 189–228. Discusses inauthenticity of 9 fragments in the Schøyen Collection that were consequently omitted from *Gleanings from the Caves*; also suggests concerns with others included in that volume.
- Davis, Kipp. “Caves of Dispute: Patterns of Correspondence and Suspicion in the Post-2002 ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments.” *DSD* 24 (2017): 229–70. Examines Schøyen and Museum of the Bible fragments for suspicious patterns (including distribution of content, material consistency, and scribal features).
- Elgvin, Torleif, and Michael Langlois. “Looking Back: (More) Dead Sea Scrolls Forgeries in the Schøyen Collection.” *RevQ* 31.1 (2019): 111–33.

Microfiche:

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

Electronic Editions:

- Lim, Timothy H., in consultation with Philip S. Alexander. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library 1* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). Photographic plates.
- Dead Sea Scrolls on CD*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998.
- Tov, Emanuel, ed. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library, 2: Including the Dead Sea Scrolls Database*. Leiden: Brill, 1999. Searchable DJD transcriptions and English translation, also selected digital images.

- The “Great Isaiah Scroll Directory” by Fred P. Miller at <http://www.ao.net/~fmoeller/qumdir.htm> (publ. 1999; rev. 2008). Black & white images of scroll with discussion of variants from the MT.
- Tov, Emanuel, ed. *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library: Revised Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Transcribed texts, high-resolution images, translations, and morphological analysis of all texts. Original CD-ROM version (2006) is available online from Brill as *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Biblical Texts* (2015) & *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library Non-Biblical Texts* (2016).
- “The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library” Project of Israel Antiquities Authority at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/>. High resolution images of entire IAA DSS collection (including images shot at different wavelengths for improved visibility). Important for all future research.
- “The Digital Dead Sea Scrolls” Project of the Israel Museum (Shrine of the Book) in Jerusalem and Google at <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il>. High resolution images of some of the more famous scrolls (the Isaiah Scroll presents an English translation when you click on the image).
- “Scripta Qumranica Electronica” at <https://www.qumranica.org/>. New collaborative project from Göttingen Univ., Tel Aviv Univ., and the Israel Antiquities Authority to produce online tools for editing the DSS.

Handbook Texts with Translations:

- García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998; paperback ed., Brill/Eerdmans, 1999. Facing Hebrew/Aramaic and English for non-biblical scrolls, with helpful bibliography on each scroll (including biblical scrolls) in numerical order. Does not indicate certainty of individual Hebrew/Aramaic characters; no Scripture index. Vol. 2 contains helpful indices of manuscript numbers and titles.
- La Bibliothèque de Qumrân*. 2+ vols. Paris: Cerf, 2010–. Projected 9 volumes with texts and French translation. Initial publications present biblical texts from Qumran.
- Lohse, Eduard. *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*. Munich: Kösel, 1964. Pointed Hebrew of some well-known scrolls with German translation. Now supplemented by Annette Steudel, ed. *Die Texte aus Qumran II: Hebräisch/Aramäisch und Deutsch*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001.
- Parry, Donald W., and Emanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Substantial 2-vol. update of whole 6-vol. 1st ed. (2004–2005). Facing Hebrew/Aramaic and English for non-biblical scrolls grouped by genre. Brill website links to downloadable index of scrolls in 2 vol. ed. Helpfully, this edition often follows the DJD transcribed texts and translations (otherwise it typically uses the Wise-Abegg-Cook translation), retains the DJD line numbering, and indicates the certainty of individual Hebrew/Aramaic characters in each word.

Translations (English):

- Abegg, Martin, Jr., Eugene Ulrich, and Peter Flint. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English*. Edinburgh:

- T&T Clark, 1999; New York: HarperCollins, 1999. Translation of biblical MSS; best to compare with the original language editions in DJD.
- García Martínez, Florentino. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*. 2nd ed. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996. From Spanish original; also contains a helpful list of scrolls.
- Vermes, Geza. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. 7th ed. New York: Penguin Classics, 2012. Fine, inexpensive one-vol. English translation of scrolls by category, also containing a helpful introduction and a list of scrolls.
- Wise, Michael, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996. Follows scrolls' numerical order; introduction argues against Essene hypothesis. Also note the many selections translated in Feldman et al., *Outside the Bible*; and in Embry et al., *Early Jewish Literature* (see Sourcebooks and Anthologies in pt. 1 of this bibliography).

Concordances:

- Abegg, Martin G., Jr., et al. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill 2003–2015. Very useful KWIC concordance. Vol. 1 (pts. 1 & 2) on Qumran non-biblical scrolls. Vol. 2 indexes non-biblical scrolls from other (non-Qumran) Dead Sea sites. Vol. 3 (pts. 1 & 2) on currently published biblical scrolls from the Dead Sea.
- Charlesworth, James H., et al. *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991. Concordance of the attested word forms (not dictionary forms) for all published texts up to 1990 (i.e. up to DJD 7). For later DJD volumes use the indexes in each DJD volume or (easier) the Abegg volumes.
- Kuhn, Karl Georg, ed. *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960. Includes only the earliest published scrolls. All words are listed according to dictionary form. Update in Kuhn, "Nachträge," *RevQ* 4 (1963–1964): 163–234.
- Wacholder and Abegg, *Preliminary Edition*, Vol. 4 (see Other Editions above) provides a concordance of Vols. 1–3 (involving many 4Q documents). Cautious use is suggested.

Scripture Indices:

- Lange, Armin, and Matthias Weigold. *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*. JAJSup 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011. Indices to non-biblical DSS and also Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (see above under General Reference Works in part 1).
- Washburn, David L. *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. SBL Text-Critical Studies 2. Leiden: Brill (hardback); Atlanta: SBL (paperback), 2003. Lists OT quotations and paraphrases in biblical and non-biblical DSS, with where to find text (e.g. DJD, etc.) and a brief comparison to MT and LXX. Includes published scrolls through DJD 35.

For partial scripture index, also note index to Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (above under Bibliography). And vol. 3 of Johann Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*. Tübingen: UTB, 1996.

An official complete Scripture index to DJD non-biblical scrolls is not yet available, so indices to individual DJD editions should also be consulted.

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

Lexicons & Lexical Tools:

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. 1st ed. 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press & Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2016. Now moving into a 2nd rev. edition (starting in 2018). The 9th volume provides indices. Sources for this lexicon include the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira texts, DSS, and ancient inscriptions.

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009. Handy abridgment of the 9–volume *Dictionary*.

Cook, Edward M. *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015. Includes extensive references; examines some difficult readings.

Fabry, Heinz-Josef, and Ulrich Dahmen, eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011–2016. Studies Qumran vocabulary, noting its intertestamental developments [ThWQ].

Kratz, Reinhard G., Annette Steudel, and Ingo Kottsieper. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer*. 2+ vols. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017–. Göttingen Akademie project to study vocabulary of the non-Biblical scrolls, including all documented spellings [HLAWTTM].

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

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

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

Grammars:

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

Muraoka, T. *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. ANESSup 38. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. Includes Aramaic from other DSS sites as well.

Qimron, Elisha. *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2018. Prepared for publication by Daniel Sivan; expands on Qimron’s Ph.D. diss. Much larger than his 1986 Scholars Press volume.

- Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986; repr., Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008. Includes treatments of orthography, phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.
- Schattner-Rieser, Ursula. *L'araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. I. Grammaire*. Instruments pour l'Étude des Langues de l'Orient Ancien 5. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004.

Grammar (recent studies):

- Geiger, Gregor. *Das hebräische Partizip in den Texten aus der jüdischen Wüste*. STDJ 101. Leiden: Brill, 2012. Studies the participle in relation to Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew.
- Muraoka, T., ed. *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*. Abr-Nahrain, Supplement 3. Louvain: Peeters, 1992.
- Penner, Ken M. *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts*. SSN 64. Leiden: Brill, 2015. Using select key scrolls, compares Qumran Hebrew with Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, arguing in part that tense is more prominent than aspect in Qumran Hebrew.
- Reymond, Eric D. *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*. SBLRBS 76. Atlanta: SBL, 2014. Studies a couple dozen topics, especially focusing on scribal errors, pronunciation of guttural letters, phonetic shifts, and specific morphological issues.
- Note the congress volumes from the International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira published by Brill in the STDJ series (only first editor noted): T. Muraoka, et al., *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (STDJ 26, 1997); T. Muraoka, et al., *Diggers at the Well* (STDJ 36, 2000); J. Joosten, et al., *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period* (STDJ 73, 2007); S. Fassberg, et al., *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period* (STDJ 108, 2013); E. J. C. Tigchelaar, et al., *Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period* (STDJ 114, 2015); J. Joosten, et al., *The Reconfiguration of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period* (STDJ 124, 2018).
- See also: Nahum M. Waldman. *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography*. Bibliographica Judaica 10. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1989, 98–106.

Archaeology of Qumran:

Because the interpretation of Qumran literary finds hinges in part on their archaeological context, a few key archaeological studies are listed here.

- Cargill, Robert R. *Qumran Through (Real) Time: A Virtual Reconstruction of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Bible in Technology 1. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009. Computer reconstruction of site history, arguing the settlement was initially a fortress later adapted to sectarian use. For criticism, see 2010 RBL *Online* review by Tigchelaar.
- de Vaux, Roland. *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973. From 1959 Schweich Lectures; detailed overview of his 1949–56 excavations (though not a final report). Argues for sectarian

- connection between Qumran settlement and scrolls. Revised and translated from *L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (OUP, 1961).
- Fidanzio, Marcello, ed. *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*. STDJ 118. Leiden: Brill, 2017. Includes multiple papers on site archaeology, and the first publication of Roland de Vaux's original inventory of excavated materials.
- Frey, Jörg, Carsten Claußen, and Nadine Kessler, eds. *Qumran und die Archäologie: Texte und Kontexte*. WUNT 1/278. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011. Collection of articles originating from 2008 conference.
- Galor, Katharina, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, and Jürgen Zangenberg, eds. *Qumran: The Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*. STDJ 57. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Papers from 2002 conference.
- Gunneweg, Jan, Annemie Adriaens, and Joris Dik, eds. *Holistic Qumran: Transdisciplinary Research of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 87. Leiden: Brill, 2010. Papers from 2008 conference on archaeological finds.
- Hirschfeld, Yizhar. *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004. Detailed assessment, arguing original fortress was transformed into a manor house in Herodian era (not a sectarian community).
- Humbert, Jean-Baptiste, et al., eds. *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha*. NTOA Series Archaeologica. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994–. Final reports on the de Vaux excavations, integrated with modern analysis and some more recent excavations. Extensive collection of photos with synthesis of de Vaux's French field notes in volume entitled *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Ain Feshkha I*. Corrected synthesis of de Vaux's field notes in English translation in vol. 1b (*Excavations of Khirbet Qumran and Ain Feshkha*). Vol. 2 studies anthropology, physics, and chemistry. Vol. 3a reconsiders chronology, settlement, and stratigraphy (revising de Vaux). Vol. 4a concerns Cave 11 excavations.
- Magen, Yitzhak, and Yuval Peleg, eds. *Back to Qumran: Final Report (1993–2004)*. Judea and Samaria Publications 18. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2018. Detailed report of renewed excavations. Argues Qumran was originally a military and public structure, then a pottery production center. The scrolls were later deposited in caves by war refugees from elsewhere (employing local pottery from Qumran).
- Magness, Jodi. *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on Its Archaeology*. Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion 4. Leuven: Peeters, 2004. Intriguing studies; with archaeological support for Essene hypothesis.
- Magness, Jodi. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Best available English archaeological introduction.
- Rohrhirsch, Ferdinand. *Wissenschaftstheorie und Qumran: Die Geltungsbegründungen von Aussagen in der Biblischen Archäologie am Beispiel von Khirbet Qumran und Ein Feshkha*. NTOA 32. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996. Habilitationsschrift review of archaeological data and theories, mostly confirming de Vaux's interpretation of the site.
- Stacey, David, and Gregory Doudna. *Qumran Revisited: A Reassessment of the Archaeology of the Site and its Texts*. BAR International Series 2520. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013. Alternate theories on origin and development of

the site (Stacey) and of the scrolls (Doudna); with a study of the cemetery interments (Avni). Note reviews in *RBL Online*.

See also: *NEAEHL* 4:1235–41; *ESTJ* 2:645–49.

Introductions & Encyclopediae (selected, in reverse chronological order):

Many introductions to the DSS exist. Given that the final DJD publication of the corpus was only completed in 2011, older introductions should be supplemented with more recent ones (the focus here will be on the latter).

Brooke, George J., and Charlotte Hempel, eds. *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: T&T Clark, 2019. Just over 80 articles covering background of finds, context within Judaism, methods of study, key scrolls, genres, major issues.

Lim, Timothy H. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Very Short Introduction*. 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2017. Aptly titled, clear primer.

Flint, Peter W. *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Core Biblical Studies. Nashville: Abingdon, 2013. Basic, readable overview.

Broshi, Magen. *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and the Essenes*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi/Israel Exploration Society, 2012. Popular introduction, focusing on archaeology and key scrolls, with excellent site photos.

Collins, John J. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. Engaging, short introduction to the discovery, archaeology, Essene background, and especially the first 50 years of scholarship.

VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010. Revision of his long-helpful introduction. Also note his *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Eerdmans, 2012).

Lim, Timothy H., and John J. Collins, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: OUP, 2010. Thirty introductory articles examining archaeology, history, sectarianism, relation to Bible, language, religion, and connections to Christianity and to later Judaism. Intentionally focuses on disputed topics.

Lange, Armin. *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009–. Detailed introduction to each document. The first volume (*Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*) describes the DSS biblical textual witnesses.

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

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

Companion to the Qumran Scrolls. 9 vols. London: T & T Clark, 2000–2007. Introductions with excellent overviews of academic study grouped by genre. C. Hempel on *Damascus Texts* (2000); S. White Crawford on *Temple Scroll* (2000); T. H. Lim on *Pesharim* (2002); J. G. Campbell on *Exegetical Texts* (2004); H. K. Harrington on *Purity Texts* (2004); J. Duhaime on

- War Texts* (2004); P. Alexander on *Mystical Texts* (2006); D. K. Falk on *Parabiblical Texts* (2007); and S. Metso on *Serekh Texts* (2007).
- Schiffman, Lawrence H., and James C. VanderKam, eds. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Oxford: OUP, 2000. Key resource for entry into many topics and scrolls.
- Vermes, Geza. *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*. London: SCM, 1999; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999. Expansion of author's intro to his renowned English translation.
- Flint, Peter W., and James C. Vanderkam, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999. Key DSS scrolls scholars speak to the state of the discipline.
- Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls series. New York: Routledge, 1996–1998. Volumes include Daniel J. Harrington on *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (1996); J. J. Collins on *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1997); and James C. Vanderkam on *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1998).
- Schiffman, Lawrence H. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994; repr., New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. Argues the Qumran sectarians often aligned with Sadducean halakhah and claimed descent from Zadokite priesthood.
- Cross, Frank M. *The Ancient Library of Qumran*. 3rd ed. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995. Detailed argument for the Essene hypothesis.
- García Martínez, Florentino, and Julio Trebolle Barrera. *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 1995. Spanish original *Los Hombres de Qumrán*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1993.
- Knibb, Michael A. *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Cambridge: CUP, 1987. Introduction with translated texts and commentaries on several important scrolls.
- See also *JWSTP* 483–550; *HJPAJC* 1:118–22; 3.1:380–469; *ABD* 2:85–101; *CHJ* 3:798–876; *EDEJ* 163–80 (and scrolls s.v.); *ESTJ* 2:190–93 (and scrolls in vol. 1 s.v.). For Bar Kokhba Letters, see *JWSTP* 588–92; *ABD* 1:601–6; *EDEJ* 418–21; *ESTJ* 2:534–37. Some recent German introductions include those by G. G. Xeravits and P. Porzig, *Einführung in die Qumranliteratur* (de Gruyter, 2015) and by D. Stökl Ben Ezra, *Qumran: Die Texte vom Toten Meer und das antike Judentum* (Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

Commentaries:

- Berrin, Shani L. *The Pesher Nabum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*. STDJ 53. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Text, translation, and detailed analysis.
- Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000–. Volumes grouped by genre with trans., textual notes and commentary. To date two have been published: James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (2000) and John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (2011).
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*. 3rd ed. *Biblica et Orientalia* 18/B. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004.

- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Community Rules from Qumran: A Commentary*. TSAJ. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Høgenhaven, Jesper. *The Cave 3 Copper Scroll: A Symbolic Journey*. STDJ 132. Leiden: Brill, 2020. Argues author employed format for hidden treasure document, but with symbolic associations amid 1st-c. political turmoil.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960. Commentary with English trans. and summary analysis.
- Justnes, Årstein. *The Time of Salvation: An Analysis of 4QApocryphon of Daniel ar (4Q246), 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521 2), and 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a)*. Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/893. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2009.
- Maier, Johann. *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Translated by Richard T. White. JSOTSup 34. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985.
- Oxford Commentary on the Dead Sea Scrolls series (Oxford: OUP, 2020+). Projected multi-volume series on the “most important non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls.” The first volume (Timothy Lim on *The Earliest Commentary on the Prophecy of Habakkuk*) was released in 2020.
- Most textual editions above (especially DJD) contain extensive commentaries.

6. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

6.1 PHILO

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

Bibliographies:

- Runia, David T., ed. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1997–2006*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 109. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Runia, David T., and H. M. Keizer. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996 with Addenda for 1937–1986*. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 57. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Radice, Roberto, and David T. Runia. *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937–1986*. VCSup 8. Leiden: Brill, 1988.
- Goodenough, Erwin R. *The Politics of Philo Judaens: Practice and Theory*. New Haven: Yale, 1938. Contains “General Bibliography of Philo” by H. L. Goodhart and E. R. Goodenough on pp. 126–321 (indexed on pp. 329–48; seeks to be complete up until 1937). Available on Google Books.
- Ongoing annotated bibliography is also found in each edition of *The Studia Philonica Annual* (SBL, 1989–). Back issues accessible on JSTOR.
- See also: <http://www.torrens.org/bible/philopag.html>. And the three articles in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>)

by David T. Runia, “Philo of Alexandria—Biblical Studies” (publ. 2017; rev. 2020); Gregory E. Sterling, “Philo of Alexandria—Classics” (publ. 2015); and Maren R. Niehoff, “Philo of Alexandria—Jewish Studies” (publ. 2014).

Critical Texts:

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

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

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

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

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

Texts and Translations:

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

Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie. 36 vols. Paris: Cerf, 1961–1988. Several volumes of this series (abbreviated: OPA) provide good commentaries (e.g. Pelletier on *Legatio* and *In Flaccum*). Also notable are the volumes by F. Petit, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: fragmenta graeca* (OPA 33; 1978; with Greek and French trans.) and Charles Mercier, *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum* (2 vols.; OPA 34; 1979–1984; with facing Latin text of the Armenian).

Translations:

Yonge, C. D. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*. New upd. ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993. Yonge's original translation of the Manthey text of Philo, here updated to better conform to the Cohn-Wendland text. The LCL translation is to be preferred for academic work. And do not use Yonge for the *Questions and Answers* on Genesis or Exodus. The original 19th-century translation is available several places

online (e.g. <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/yonge> or at <http://www.earlyjewishwritings.com/philo.html>).

Concordance:

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

See also: Vol. 7 of the Cohn-Wendland critical edition (see above) indexed by J. Leisegang (with analysis of key terms). Note *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database for searchable Greek texts. Searchable text modules available for Accordance, BibleWorks (no longer updated), and Logos software.

Scripture and Citation Indices:

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

Lincicum, David. "A Preliminary Index to Philo's Non-biblical Citations and Allusions." *The Studia Philonica Annual* 25 (2013): 139–67. Lists quotations and many allusions from known Greek literature and from other "special cases." Also lists Philo texts in Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmentum* and in Long & Sedley, *Hellenistic Philosophers*.

Introductions:

Borgen, Peder. *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*. NovTSup 86. Leiden: Brill, 1997; paperback repr., Atlanta: SBL, 2005. Standard academic introduction, focusing on his interpretation of Scripture.

Daniélou, Jean. *Philo of Alexandria*. Translated by James Colbert. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2014. General intro to his life, exegesis, theology, spirituality, and implications for NT study.

Goodenough, Erwin R. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962. Classic introduction, with some peculiar views on Philo's mysticism. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

Hadas-Label, Mireille. *Philo of Alexandria: A Thinker in the Jewish Diaspora*. Translated by Robyn Fréchet. Studies in Philo of Alexandria 7. Leiden: Brill, 2012. French original from 2003. Seeks to explain Philo as a synthesizer of Hellenism and Judaism.

Kaiser, Otto. *Philo von Alexandrien: denkender Glaube—eine Einführung*. FRLANT 259. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015. Important recent German introduction to Philo.

Kamesar, Adam, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*. Cambridge: CUP, 2009. Essays by many capable Philonic scholars.

Niehoff, Maren R. *Philo of Alexandria: An Intellectual Biography*. AYBRL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018. Examines Philo's works to comprehend his intellectual development.

Sandmel, Samuel. *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction*. Oxford: OUP, 1979. Like Goodenough, a classic overview of Philo's thought.

- Schenck, Kenneth. *A Brief Guide to Philo*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005. Aimed at those with “elementary knowledge of ancient Judaism.”
- Seland, Torrey, ed. *Reading Philo: A Handbook to Philo of Alexandria*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2014. Eleven entries by key scholars provide introduction, methodology, Alexandrian context, and discussion of Philo and his relevance to early Jewish and Christian studies.
- Williamson, Ronald. *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Cambridge: CUP, 1989. Fine introduction with excerpts from Philo’s works and brief commentary.
- Winston, David. *Philo of Alexandria: The Contemplative Life, the Giants, and Selections*. Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist, 1981. Introduction and topical anthology of translated texts, with extensive notes.
- See also: *JWSTP* 233–82; *HJPAJC* 3.2:809–89; *ABD* 5:333–42; *CHJ* 3:877–900; *EDEJ* 1063–80; *ESTJ* 1:431–35. Also note extensive selections translated in Feldman et al., *Outside the Bible* (esp. 1:807–1133; 3:2447–2522); and in Embry et al., *Early Jewish Literature* (esp. 1:601–704; see Sourcebooks and Anthologies in pt. 1 of this bibliography).

Commentaries:

- Box, H. *Philonis Alexandrini in Flaccum*. Greek Texts and Commentaries. 2nd ed. London: OUP, 1939.
- Cadiou, R. *Philon d’Alexandrie: La migration d’Abraham*. SC 47. Paris: Cerf, 1957.
- Lanzinger, Daniel, ed. *Das Leben des Weisen: Philon von Alexandria, De Abrahamo*. Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionque pertinentia 36. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020. Commentary with interpretive essays.
- Niehoff, Maren R., and Reinhard Feldmeier, eds. *Abrahams Aufbruch: Philon von Alexandria, De migratione Abrahami*. Scripta Antiquitatis Posterioris ad Ethicam Religionque pertinentia 30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017. Translation, notes, and essays.
- Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill: 2001–. Current volumes include David T. Runia, *On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses* (2001; repr., SBL, 2006); Pieter Willem van der Horst, *Philo’s Flaccus: The First Pogrom* (2003; repr., SBL, 2005); Walter T. Wilson, *On Virtues* (2011; repr., SBL, 2012); Albert C. Geljon and David T. Runia, *On Cultivation* (2013); *ibid.*, *On Planting* (2019); Ellen Birnbaum and John M. Dillon, *On the Life of Abraham* (2020); Joan E. Taylor and David M. Hay, *On the Contemplative Life* (2020).
- Siebert, Folker. *Drei hellenistisch-jüdische Predigten*. 2 vols. WUNT 20, 61. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980, 1992. Vol. 1 German translation, Vol. 2 commentary on the (pseudo-) Philonic *De Jona* and *De Sampson*. Similarly note F. Siebert, et al., *Pseudo-Philon Prédications Synagogales*. SC 435. Paris: Cerf, 1999. Also note *De Deo* commentary in Siebert’s *Philon von Alexandrien*. WUNT 46. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988.
- Smallwood, E. Mary. *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

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

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

6.2 JOSEPHUS

This Judean politician, general, and revolutionary turncoat provides our most extensive source for Jewish history in the Second Temple period. His works are immensely informative, but also have to be weighed in light of Josephus's own authorial purposes, including his indebtedness to the Flavian emperors and his desire after the Jewish Revolt to defend Judaism amid pagan attacks. The extant (Christian) MSS of Josephus's works may betray some tampering, especially in the brief *Testimonium Flavianum* concerning Jesus. *The Jewish War* details the causes and history of the revolt of AD 66–73. The *Jewish Antiquities* covers biblical and intertestamental history until the outbreak of that revolt. The *Life* represents Josephus's self-defense against his opponents regarding his conduct during the Revolt. *Against Apion* produces an extended apologetic for Judaism against pagan attacks. Josephus's extant corpus is Greek from the turn of the 1st/2nd c. AD (likely he also produced an earlier Aramaic version of the *War*). Early translations also exist (esp. in Latin and Slavonic), with a section of the *Against Apion* (2.51–113) extant in Latin but not in Greek; also many authors in antiquity quoted and/or summarized Josephus (e.g. Hegesippus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, etc.). Briefly noted below is *Sefer Josippon*, a medieval Jewish history in three Hebrew recensions based on Josephus and other sources.

Bibliographies:

Feldman, Louis H. "A Selective Critical Bibliography of Josephus." *Josephus, the Bible, and History*. Ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata. Leiden: Brill, 1989, 330–448. A helpful annotated bibliography in narrative style.

Feldman, Louis H. *Josephus: A Supplementary Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1986. Supplements and corrects Schreckenberg (through 1984).

Feldman, Louis H. *Josephus and Modern Scholarship 1937–1980*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984; with corrigenda in ANRW II.20.2. Helpfully annotated (over 1000 pages!).

Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus: Supplementband mit Gesamtregister*. ALGHJ 14. Leiden: Brill, 1979. Corrects his 1968 bibliography, with additions up to 1975.

Schreckenberg, Heinz. *Bibliographie zu Flavius Josephus*. ALGHJ 1. Leiden: Brill, 1968. Chronological from AD 1470 with slight annotation and limited indexes.

See also: <https://pace.webhosting.rug.nl/york/york/index.htm> (= Project on Ancient Cultural Engagement at York University hosted by Steve Mason). See Steve Mason, "Flavius Josephus" in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>; publ. 2016).

Critical Texts (and selected studies on textual criticism of Josephus):

- Bader, Bernd. *Josephus Latinus: De Bello Iudaico. Buch 1*. Palingenesia 119. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2019. Critical edition of Latin text, with commentary on translation technique.
- Blatt, Franz. *The Latin Josephus I. Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I–V*. Acta Jutlandica 30.1. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1958. Critical edition of *Ant.* 1–5 in the Latin version.
- Boysen, Carolus. *Flavii Iosephi opera ex versione Latina antiqua, pars vi: De Iudaeorum uetustate sive Contra Apionem libri ii*. CSEL 37. Vienna: Tempsky, 1898. Critical edition of Latin version of *Contra Apionem*.
- Hansen, Günther Christian, “Textkritisches zu Josephus,” *Münsteraner Judaistische Studien* 2 (1998): 144–58. Among his other studies on Josephus.
- Leoni, Tommaso. “The Text of Josephus’s Works: An Overview.” *JSJ* 40 (2009): 149–84. Very useful survey of MSS and modern editions.
- Levenson, David B., and Thomas R. Martin. “The Latin Translations of Josephus on Jesus, John the Baptist, and James: Critical Texts of the Latin Translation of the *Antiquities* and Rufinus’ translation of Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* Based on Manuscripts and Early Printed Editions.” *JSJ* 45 (2014): 1–79. Critical edition of these passages in Latin, comparing to Greek; appendix corrects and supplements Blatt’s list of Latin MSS.
- Meshcherskii, N. A. *Istorii Iudejskoï voïny Josifa Flavii*. Moscow: Izdatel’stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1958. Russian critical edition of Slavonic *Jewish War* (Russian title: Значение древнеславянских переводов для восстановления их архетипов: на материале древнерусского перевода “Истории Иудейской войны” Иосифа Флавия).
- Niese, Benedictus. *Flavii Iosephi Opera: edidit et apparatv critico instruxit*. 7 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–1895; repr., 1955. NB: this is the *editio maior* with full critical apparatus, not the *editio minor* text by Niese (6 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1888–1895). Standard Greek text and more highly respected than Naber’s edition of the same vintage. Primarily employs just a few Greek codices. Available online at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu> (text only) and mostly downloadable at <http://archive.org>.
- Naber, S. A. *Flavii Iosephi Opera Omnia*. 6 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1896. Critical edition with eclectic text and separate textual apparatus. Available at <http://archive.org>.
- Schreckenberg, Heinz. “Textkritisches zum *Bellum Judaicum* des Flavius Josephus.” *JSJ* 42 (2011): 451–80. And “Textkritisches zu den *Antiquitates Judaicae* des Flavius Josephus.” *JSJ* 43 (2012): 42–57. Itemizes suggested corruptions in the MSS and in Niese’s text. See further Schreckenberg’s work in part 1 of his *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (ALGHJ 5; Leiden: Brill, 1972) and in the second part of his *Rezeptionsgeschichtliche und textkritische Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus* (ALGHJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1977).
- See also: The advancements on Niese by the Münsteraner Josephus-Team and the work by Labow (under Commentary), and revisions to Niese by Nodet et al. (under Text & Translation). Note trans. of the Slavonic *War*

by Leeming (under Translation). For J. Sievers's parallel text of *Bell. 1* and *Ant. 12–14* with 1 and 2 Maccabees, see above under "Apocrypha."

Texts and Translations:

Nodet, Étienne, ed. *Flavius Josèphe, Les Antiquités Juives*. 4+ vols. Paris: Cerf, 1990–. Important edition with helpful notes and revised Greek text, using data from Niese but sometimes suggesting different Greek readings. For studies see Nodet's *The Hebrew Bible of Josephus: Main Features* (CahRB 92; Leuven: Peeters, 2018) and his *Texte et Sommaires des Antiquités de Josèphe: Éditions multiples* (CahRB 89; Leuven: Peeters: 2017). Also in French see Théodore Reinach and Léon Blum, *Flavius Josèphe, Contre Apion* (Paris: Société D'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1930); and André Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe, Autobiographie* (Paris: Société D'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1959).

Pines, Shlomo. *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and its Implications*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1971. Text, trans., and important discussion of this short (but highly significant) passage. For a different assessment see Alice Whealey, "The Testimonium Flavianum in Syriac and Arabic," *NTS* 54 (2008): 573–90.

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

See also: Michel and Bauernfeind, and also Siegert et al. (under Commentaries).

Translations:

Cornfeld, Gaalya, et al., eds. *Josephus: The Jewish War: Newly Translated with Extensive Commentary and Archaeological Background Illustrations*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982. Esp. useful for beginning students.

Hammond, Martin, trans. *Josephus: The Jewish War*. Oxford World Classics. Oxford: OUP, 2017. With introduction and notes by Martin Goodman.

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

Whiston, William. *The Works of Josephus*. London: Printed by W. Bowyer for the author, 1737. Reportedly the first printing was 1736, but this is the earliest we found (at Cambridge Univ. Library). Frequently republished. Current Hendrickson 1987 repr. includes Loeb numbers. Kregel 1999 repr. (*The New Complete Works of Josephus*) with brief commentary by Paul L. Maier. *Carta's Illustrated The Jewish War* introduced by R. Steven Notley (Jerusalem: Carta, 2016) presents Whiston with maps and illustrations. Whiston's translation appears in electronic form in many Bible programs. Free web access at e.g. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>, <http://www.ccel.org>, <http://archive.org>, <http://www.sacred-texts.com>.

LCL translations (above) and the translations in the Brill commentary project (see below) are to be preferred for all academic work.

Williamson, G. A., trans. *Josephus: The Jewish War*. Rev. E. Mary Smallwood. New York: Penguin, 1981. Useful paperback edition with helpful notes by Smallwood, though does not indicate full Loeb numbers.

See the list by J. Sievers entitled “New Resources for the Study of Josephus” at https://www.biblico.it/doc-vari/sievers_josephus.html#N_19_ for an accounting in 2000 of recent translations (many with notes or commentary) in Danish, Dutch, Modern Greek, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Spanish, and Modern Hebrew. Some of these also listed in the Mason bibliography at <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>.

Concordances:

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

Feldman, L. H., and J. R. Levison, eds. *Josephus' Contra Apionem: Studies in its Character and Context with a Latin Concordance to the Portion Missing in Greek*. AGJU 34. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Rengstorff, Karl Heinrich, ed. *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1973–1983. Includes German and English glosses to Josephus's Greek words. With a supplement volume by Abraham Schalit, *Namenvörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1968). Reprinted as a 2-volume unabridged “study edition” (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

See also: the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database for searchable Greek texts; also searchable text at the Perseus website (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>) of Niese text with Whiston translation. Searchable text modules available for Accordance and Logos software.

Lexicon:

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

Introductions:

Bartlett, John R. *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Josephus, Aristaeus, The Sibylline Oracles, Eupolemus*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200. Cambridge: CUP, 1985. Introduction and excerpts with commentary.

Bilde, Per. *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome*. JSPSup 2. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988. Important introduction to Josephus.

Chapman, Honora Howell, and Zuleika Rodgers, eds. *A Companion to Josephus*. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. John Wiley & Sons, 2016. Extensive series of articles introducing Josephus as author and historian, and discussing later reception of his work.

den Hollander, William. *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome*. AJEC 86. Leiden: Brill, 2014. Views Josephus through his experience in Rome and among Roman army; occasionally employs speculative reconstruction.

- Goodman, Martin. *Josephus's The Jewish War: A Biography*. Lives of Great Religious Books. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019. Discusses Josephus and the *Bellum*, sketching the history of the book's reception.
- Hadas-Label, Mireille. *Flavius Josephus: Eyewitness to Rome's First-Century Conquest of Judea*. Translated by Richard Miller. New York: Macmillan, 1993. Introductory biographical narrative.
- Klawans, Jonathan. *Josephus and the Theologies of Ancient Judaism*. Oxford: OUP, 2012. An intriguing proposal, suggesting theological analysis (in addition to historical study) of Josephus as a viable objective.
- Maier, Paul L. *Josephus: The Essential Works*. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 1994. Condensation of *Antiquities* and *War* with introductory sidebars and maps.
- Mason, Steve. *Josephus and the New Testament*. 2nd ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003. Argues that Josephus's writings need to be assessed critically in light of his aims as an author.
- Rajak, Tessa. *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*. 2nd ed. London: Duckworth, 2002. Views Josephus as a member of priestly aristocracy.
- See also: *HJPAJC* 1:43–63; *JWSTP* 185–232; *ABD* 3:981–98; *CHJ* 3:901–21; *EDEJ* 828–41; *ESTJ* 1:299–303; 2:398–400. Also note selections translated in Feldman et al., *Outside the Bible* (2:1137–1327; 3:2888–2919); and Embry et al., *Early Jewish Literature* (1:252–358)—on both, see Sourcebooks and Anthologies in pt. 1 of this bibliography.

Commentaries:

- Labow, Dagmar. *Flavius Josephus Contra Apionem Buch I: Einleitung, Text, textkritischer Apparat, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. BWANT 9/7. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005. Published doctoral thesis.
- Mason, Steve N., general ed. *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*. 10 vols. projected. Leiden: Brill, 1999–. Most important commentary series in English. Just over half of these volumes are currently available (some volumes have now been subdivided into vols. 1b, 6a, 7b, etc.).
- Michel, Otto, and Otto Bauernfeind. *De Bello Judaico: Der jüdische Krieg*. Munich: Kösel, 1959–1969. Critical Greek text, trans., brief commentary.
- Siebert, Folker, ed. *Über die Ursprünglichkeit des Judentums (Contra Apionem)*. 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008. The “Münsteraner Josephus-Team” (of the Josephus-Arbeitskreis des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum, Münster) produced this text (following Niese), introduction, and German translation with commentary and appendices.
- Siebert, Folker, Heinz Schreckenber, and Manuel Vogel, et al. *Aus meinem Leben (Vita): Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011. Continuation of the fine work of the Münsteraner Josephus-Team, with critical text, intro, and commentary.
- Troiani, Lucio. *Commento storico al “Contro Apione” di Giuseppe: Introduzione, commento storico, traduzione e indici*. Biblioteca degli studi classici e orientali 9. Pisa: Giardini, 1977. Historical commentary on *Contra Apionem* in Italian.
- See also Translations above. Older commentary with introduction on the *Jewish War* in Italian by Giuseppe Ricciotti, *Flavio Giuseppe tradotto e commentato*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1949 (1st ed. 1937 was 4 vols.). New translations in Danish, Dutch, Italian, Polish, and He-

brew contain commentary and/or notes (see Sievers link above under Translations).

Sefer Yosippon:

Flusser, David. *Sefer Yosippon*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 1978–1981 (in Hebrew). Edited, with introduction and notes.

For introduction and bibliography see *HJPAJC* 1.117–18. For impact on medieval Judaism, see Saskia Dönitz, *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon* (Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

6.3 PSEUDO-PHILO, *LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM*

This work, which does not actually claim to be written by Philo, constitutes a 1st-c.-AD Jewish rewriting of much of the material from Genesis through 1 Samuel. Originally it was probably written in Hebrew. The few Latin MSS, as faulty as they are, remain the best testimony to the original text. For other Pseudo-Philonic works (e.g. *De Jona* and *De Sampson*) not related to *LAB*, see Philo above. Brief introductions in M. De Jonge, *Outside the Bible*, pp. 6–25 (see under Pseudepigrapha); *EDEJ* 440–42; *ESTJ* 1:435–39.

Texts and Translations:

Harrington, Daniel J., et al. *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*. 2 vols. SC 229–30. Paris: Cerf, 1976. Vol. 2 contains an extensive commentary.

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

Text:

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

Translations:

James, M. R. *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*. London: SPCK, 1917; repr., New York: Ktav, 1971 (w/ “Prolegomenon” by L. H. Feldman). 1917 ed. is online at <http://archive.org> and <http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/bap>.

Esp. note Harrington's translation in Charlesworth, *OTP* 2:297–377; Dietzfelbinger in *JSHRZ* II.2; and Jacobson in Feldman et al., *Outside the Bible* 1:470–613.

Commentaries:

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

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

6.4 FRAGMENTARY WORKS AND OTHERS

Numerous fragments are known from other Jewish authors, especially from citations in Eusebius's *Praeparatio Evangelica* (on which see Karl Mras and Édouard des Places, eds., *Die Praeparatio Evangelica in Eusebii Werke*, vol. 8, 2nd ed., 2 vols., GCS 43.1–2 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1982]). For [the *Letter of*] *Aristeas* and the *Sentences* of Pseudo-Phocylides, and for further bibliography, see Pseudepigrapha above in Part 1.

Note that translations and introductions can also be found in Charlesworth's *OTP* (2:773–918); *JSHRZ* (vols. I.2, III.2, IV.3); and Feldman et al., *Outside the Bible* (1:669–749). Scripture indices in A. Lange and M. Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

Texts:

Denis, Albert-Marie. *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca*. PVTG 3. Leiden: Brill, 1970. Contains many of these fragmentary texts.

Texts and Translations:

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

Kuhn, Thomas. *Die jüdisch-hellenistischen Epiker Theodot und Philon: literarische Untersuchungen, kritische Edition und Übersetzung der Fragmente*. Vertumnus 9. Göttingen: Edition Ruprecht, 2012.

Stearns, Wallace Nelson. *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers: Collected and Edited with Brief Introductions and Notes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908.

Introductions:

JWSTP (passim); *HJPAJC* Vol. 3; *CHJ* 2:385–408; *EDEJ* (s.v.); *ESTJ* (s.v.).

Commentaries and Studies:

Bar-Kochva, Bezalel. *Pseudo-Hecataeus, On the Jews: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 21. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

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

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

Mülke, Markus. *Aristobulos in Alexandria: Jüdische Bibelexegese zwischen Griechen und Ägyptern unter Ptolemaios VI. Philometor*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 126. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018.

Wacholder, Ben Zion. *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*. Monographs of the Hebrew Union College. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1974. For Eupolemus see also Bartlett, *Jews in the Hellenistic World*, 56–71 (under Josephus).

Walter, Nikolaus. *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur*. TU 86. Berlin: Akademie, 1964.

7. RABBINIC LITERATURE

The editorial processes for the Mishnah, the Tosefta, and the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds appear to have been more complex than tradition allows, and this is often also true of the midrashim. Thus one must always be careful in dating rabbinic material. At times certain sayings in rabbinic literature are associated with particular rabbis. This can assist in the dating process, but modern talmudic scholarship is rightly cautious about accepting the accuracy of all traditional rabbinic attributions. Form-critical approaches, though attracting wide attention, also have not always produced verifiable results. Therefore, the scholar of Second Temple Judaism should exercise caution when arguing that a certain rabbinic teaching was commonly accepted in Second Temple times; perhaps the best approach involves identifying trends existing in pre-rabbinic literature (e.g. LXX, DSS, Apocrypha, Josephus, etc.) that are also reflected in rabbinic works, implying some historical continuity or trajectory. At the same time, this literature provides key testimony to Judaism from the Bar Kochba revolt until just before the Islamic conquest, even if it primarily represents Jewish adherents to rabbinic ideology (rather than the complete diversity of Judaism in those eras).

Dates given below are generally from Stemberger's *Introduction*. The immense manuscript finds from the Cairo Genizah have added textual witnesses not fully recorded in the critical editions listed below (cf. the respective sections in Stemberger's *Introduction*, and see Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*). While our focus remains on English resources, many important modern Jewish critical editions and studies appear in Hebrew or German (selected key items below).

As a reminder, many of the General Reference Tools at the beginning of Part One of this bibliography have substantive import for Rabbinic literature, including several dictionaries and encyclopaediae, surveys of Jewish literature, sourcebooks, and computer programs/websites. Especially note there: Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*; Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis*; Nadich, *Legends of the Rabbis*; Neusner, *Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees*; Ben-Eliyahu, Cohn, and Millar, *Handbook of Jewish Literature from Late Antiquity* [abbrv.: Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*].

General Bibliographies:

See Yair Furstenberg, "Rabbinic Literature" in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>; publ. 2013).

Also note RAMBI: *Index of Articles in Jewish Studies* (see below under Addenda to Part 1).

General Scripture Index:

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

Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* volumes can also provide access to Rabbinic haggadic expansions of OT narratives.

Thematic Index (in the form of NT commentary):

Strack, Hermann L., and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*. 6 vols. in 7. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1922–1961. Right-

ly criticized for not properly dating its NT “background” material, but still a very useful tool for locating potential rabbinic parallels. Some recent projects are seeking to accomplish similar objectives, but with greater claim to first-century results (e.g. works by Chilton and by In-stone-Brewer above under “Sourcebooks” [§1.3]).

Internet Sites and Computer Software:

Cairo Genizah digital collection at *Cambridge Digital Library* from Cambridge University Library. Digital images with search engine, planned to include all holdings (currently over 18,000 MSS) from Taylor-Schechter, CUL Oriental, and Jacques Mosseri collections, with searchable bibliography database. <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/genizah/1>.

Cooperative Development Initiative of the Saul Lieberman Institute of Talmudic Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary and Bar Ilan University’s Institute for Computerization in Jewish Life. Expensive subscription database of searchable texts and MSS of Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud, and some midrashim. <https://www.lieberman-institute.com> (website in Hebrew and English).

The Friedberg Jewish Manuscript Society. Images, records, and bibliography on Cairo Genizah MSS; images and transcripts of extant Babylonian Talmud MSS with synopsis; also access to MSS in Judeo-Arabic, MSS from the Yemenite Genizah, synoptic edition of Maimonides (Rambam) *Mishneh Torah*, and the Mahadura Website. <https://fjms.genizah.org>.

HebrewBooks.org. Classical Hebrew books for free download, including much rabbinic literature; website in Hebrew. <http://www.hebrewbooks.org>.

The Judaic Classics Deluxe Edition CD-ROM from Davka Software. Older CD-ROM collection for Windows Vista (and before) or early versions of Mac OS X. Included most rabbinic texts from standard (non-critical) Hebrew/Aramaic editions, allowing for character string searches. Apparently no longer marketed or supported.

Ktiv: The International Collection of Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts from the National Library of Israel. Lists more than 78,000 Hebrew MSS around the world, including early rabbinic works, with links to digitized images of texts where available online (website in Hebrew or English). See <https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript>.

Maagar Sifrut ha-Kodesh website on Snunit. Free Hebrew website includes Bible, Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmud Yerushalmi, Talmud Bavli, some Midrashim, and Rambam (with hyperlinks to biblical references). Easy to navigate; not critical texts. See <http://kodesh.snunit.k12.il/i/tr/t0101.htm>.

Maagarim website of the *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* by the Academy of the Hebrew Language. Presents a concordance of Hebrew writings from the Bible through the Geonic period, with additions of modern and medieval texts; the menus are all in Hebrew. See <https://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il>.

Mechon-Mamre.org. Free access to Hebrew Bible and to HTML Hebrew/Aramaic texts of Mishnah, Tosefta, Yerushalmi, and Bavli; with Tosefta and Bavli from Vilna ed. See <http://www.mechon-mamre.org>.

Midrash Project of the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies. In addition to announcing published critical editions of some midrashim, the website freely provides critical synoptic editions of MSS of several midrashim (currently *Midrash Shmuel*, *Esther Rabbah*, *Shir HaShirim Rabbah*, *Kobelet Rabbah*, *Kobelet Zuta*, and *Ruth Rabbah*). <https://schechter.edu/the-midrash-project>.

Primary Textual Witnesses to Tannaitic Literature webpage (in Hebrew) of Bar Ilan University. Transcriptions and images of MSS of Tosefta and the Halakhic Midrashim are freely available, though the interface from 2012 is quite dated. See <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tannaim>. Officially now integrated into the subscription service from *Cooperative Development Initiative*.

RabbinicTraditions.com website maintained by David Instone-Brewer (posted 2008, but still active). Provides free access to Mishnah, Tosefta, Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds by tractate and chapter with Hebrew or Aramaic text (from Maagar Sifrut ha-Kodesh website) and Neusner or Soncino English translations. <http://www.rabbinictraditions.com>.

The Responsa Project (The Global Jewish Database) at Bar-Ilan University. Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmudim, midrashim, medieval commentaries [e.g. Rashi, Rashbam], and case-law responsa, etc., with Hebrew search engine and hyperlinks (current version 28, 2020); quite expensive. See <http://www.biu.ac.il/jh/Responsa> (English language site, though mostly Hebrew/Aramaic); download or purchase USB “key” through <https://www.jewishsoftware.com>.

Sefaria.org. Many classic works in Hebrew and Aramaic (some with matching English translation); menus in English. <https://www.sefaria.org/texts>

Seforim Database. Selection of links to PDF Jewish manuscripts from various eras, with further pages “Bavli Online,” “Tosefta Online,” and “Yerushalmi Online” that link digitized MSS and commentaries on those talmudic works. <https://www.seforimonline.org>.

Wikisource.org. A collection of Hebrew texts, including talmudic literature and other Tannaitic and Amoraic texts, data-entered by volunteer contributors. <https://he.wikisource.org>.

For more English translations of rabbinic literature see below, and note links at <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/index.htm> (Internet Sacred Text Archive).

Lexicons:

Krauss, Samuel. *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum.* Corrected by I. Löw. 2 vols. Berlin: Calvary, 1898–1899; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1964. Available at archive.org. Classic source on loanwords in rabbinic literature. Compare with subsequent loanword work (on more limited lexical entries) by Sperber and by Löw.

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

Löw, Immanuel. *Die Flora der Juden.* 4 vols. Vienna: R. Löwit, 1924–1934; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967.

Sperber, Daniel. *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature and Nautica Talmudica*. Jerusalem: Bar-Ilan, 1984.

Be sure to see above in Part 1 under Targumim: Dictionaries by Sokoloff, Jastrow, Dalman, and Levy; and note the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon. For further recommendations see chaps. 7–8 in Shimeon Brisman, *History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 2000.

Grammars:

Pérez Fernández, Miguel. *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew*. Translated by John Elwolde. Leiden: Brill, 1997; paperback Brill, 1999. Spanish original *La lengua de los sabios*. Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1992.

Segal, M. H. *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1927; repr., Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001.

See also: Aramaic grammars above under Targumim and below under Babylonian Talmud. Surveys in *CHJ* 4:369–403; Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 567–625.

General Introductions:

Eisenberg, Ronald L. *Essential Figures in the Talmud*. Lanham, MD: Jason Aronson, 2013. Short biographical sketches of ~250 key rabbis.

Fonrobert, Charlotte Elisheva, and Martin S. Jaffee, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*. Cambridge: CUP, 2007. Studies historical contexts, rabbinic genres, and modern hermeneutics.

Goodman, Martin, and Philip Alexander, eds. *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine*. Proceedings of the British Academy 165. Oxford: OUP, 2010. Articles concerning use of rabbinic texts in writing history, and especially on *status quaestionis* of study of Mishnah, Tosefta, halakhic midrashim, and Jerusalem Talmud. [Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*]

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

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

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

Porton, Gary G. *Understanding Rabbinic Midrash: Texts and Commentary*. Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1985.

Safrai, Shmuel, ed. *The Literature of the Sages: Part 1: Oral Tora, Halakha, Mishna, Tosefta, Talmud, External Tractates*. CRINT 2.3a. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987. Important introductory articles. [Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*]

Safrai, Shmuel, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, Peter J. Tomson, eds. *The Literature of the Sages: Part 2: Midrash and Targum, Liturgy, Poetry, Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature*. CRINT 2.3b. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 2006. Very useful extensive introductions. [Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*]

Stemberger, Günter. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Translated by Markus Bockmuehl. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996 [=Stemberger,

Introduction]. A wonderful volume, full of detailed discussion and bibliography; consult regularly. The original *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* is now in a 9th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2011) with updated bibliography.

Young, Brad. *Meet the Rabbis: Rabbinic Thought and the Teachings of Jesus*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007. Introduction for lay people.

See also: *HJPAJC* 1:68–99; *CHJ* 4:299–368, 663–77, 840–76; *ESTJ* 1:382–85, 516–21, 538–39; 2:499–500.

7.1 TALMUDIC LITERATURE

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

The Mishnah (and consequently the Talmuds) is divided into 6 *sedarim* (or “orders”) and 63 *massekhTOT* (“tractates”), though not all tractates receive *Gemara* in the Talmuds. There also exist several Mishnaic Hebrew “Minor Tractates” and other “Extra-canonical Tractates” (or “External Tractates”) not in the Mishnah but traditionally appended to the Talmud. There is a long legacy of traditional religious/ethical commentaries on all this literature, but in the modern era increasingly source-critical and historical commentaries are produced (our focus below).

7.1.1 Mishnah (c. AD 200)

The foundational compilation of (principally) legal judgments in Hebrew. Traditionally associated with Rabbi Judah the Prince, most scholars date its essential compilation to around AD 200. However, certain parts, most notably the famous tractate *Aboth* (“Sayings of the Fathers”), were appended later. Each Mishnah tractate is further divided into chapter (*perek*) and paragraph-size (*mishnah*) units.

Critical Editions:

Beer, G., et al., eds. *Die Mishna: Text, Übersetzung und ausführliche Erklärung*. 36+ vols. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1912–. This “Giessen Mishnah” with German translations provides eclectic critical texts in early volumes (MS Kaufman is the basis for later volumes). Often supplies helpful commentary.

Goldberg, Abraham. *Commentary to the Mishna: Shabbat: Critically Edited and Provided with Introduction, Commentary and Notes*. Reprint: Jewish Theological

Seminary, 1976 (in Hebrew). He also produced similar works on tractates *Obaloth* (Magnes, 1955), *Erwin* (Magnes, 1986), and *Tosefta Bava Qamma* (Magnes, 2001).

Sacks, Nissan, et al., eds. *The Mishnah with Variant Readings Collected from Manuscripts, Fragments of the 'Genizah' and Early Printed Editions and Collated with Quotations from the Mishnah in Early Rabbinic Literature as well as with Bertinoro's Commentary from Manuscript*. 2 vols. Jerusalem, 1971–1975. Just on Seder Zera'im. From the Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud [=Mekhon ha-Talmud ha-Yisra'eli ha-shalem] and Yad Harav Herzog. For individual tractates see: Stemberger, *Introduction*, 143–44.

Text:

Albeck, Chanoch. *Shishab Sidre Mishnah*. 6 vols. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1952–1958. Standard text, traditional commentaries, and Albeck's notes. See also: Many of the internet sites and software programs noted above.

Texts and Translations:

Artscroll Mishnah Series (aka Yad Avraham Mishnah). *The Mishnah: A New Translation with a Commentary, Yad Avraham, Anthologized from Talmudic Sources and Classic Commentators*. Rev. ed. 44 vols. Brooklyn, NY: Artscroll Mesorah Publications, 2000–2008 (or 71 vols. in “pocket size” ed.). Vocalized Hebrew, English translation, and anthologized traditional commentary by R. Avrohom Yoseif Rosenberg et al. (1st ed., 1979–1994).

Blackman, Philip. *Mishnayoth*. 2nd ed. 7 vols. New York: Judaica, 1964. Includes brief notes and occasional textual variants; Vol. 7 contains indexes, a short grammar section, and various lexical helps. Available on <http://hebrewbooks.org>. Quite useful and relatively compact.

Schottenstein Mishnah Elucidated Complete Set. 23 vols. Brooklyn, NY: (Artscroll) Mesorah Publications, 2019. Also available in 38 vols. in 6 sets (following the 6 tractates). Vocalized Hebrew, English translation, 16th-c. commentary by R. Obadiah Bertinoro, other aides.

Other similar editions are being published (often connected with Orthodox rabbinic circles), such as one with mid-20th-c. Modern Hebrew commentary from R. Pinhas Kehati (English trans., 21 vols.; Jerusalem: Eliner Library, 1987–1996). Be careful with *The Mishnah: A New Integrated Translation and Commentary* (10 vols.; Jerusalem: Machon Yisrael Trust; Lakewood, NJ: Israel Bookshop Publications, 2007–; online at eMishnah.com), since this inserts bracketed interpretations (based on R. Obadiah Bertinoro) into the translation itself (effectively a paraphrase).

See also: the important project by David Instone-Brewer (*TRENT*) under Sourcebooks (see §1.3 above in Part 1).

Translations:

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

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

Concordance:

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

See also “Midrashic Units in the Mishnah” webpage, providing a searchable database of rabbis, texts, and “rabbinic techniques of interpretation” (following categories of Alex Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah*, Oxford: OUP, 2002); <http://mishnah.llc.manchester.ac.uk>.

Introductions:

Albeck, Chanoch. *Mavo le-Mishnah*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1959 (in Hebrew). German translation: *Einführung in Die Mishna*. Studia Judaica 6. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971. Introduction by editor of key modern edition. Engages with source critical views of Jacob N. Epstein (which should also be consulted, but continue to circulate only in Hebrew).

Neusner, Jacob. *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*. BJ 129. 2nd ed. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988. Aims to depict the kind of Judaism expressed in the Mishnah (among his several treatments of the Mishnah).

See also: Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*, 211–81; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 108–48; *CHJ* 4:299–315; Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*, 91–115; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 23–26; and above introductions to rabbinic literature.

Modern Commentaries:

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

Safrai, Samuel, Chana Safrai, and Ze’ev Safrai. *Mishnat Eretz Israel*. Jerusalem: E. M. Lifshitz College/Herzog Academic College/Bar-Ilan University, 2008– (in Hebrew). Projected 55 volumes (approx. half already published), with plans for digital edition at <https://kotar.cet.ac.il>. Prints Kaufmann MS and the Naples edition. Provides extensive historical and social commentary.

See also: the “Giessen Mishnah” above under Critical Editions, and bibliography in Stemberger’s *Introduction*, 143–48. Several traditional religious commentators (drawing on talmudic *gemara*) are often printed in Hebrew Mishnah editions, including: Maimonides (=Rambam, 12th c.), R. Obadiah Bertinoro (16th c.; see Schottenstein Mishnah above), R. Yom-Tov Lipmann Heller (17th c.), Solomon ben Joshua Adeni (“Melekhet Shlomo,” 17th c.), R. Israel Lipschütz/Lifshitz (“Tiferet Yisrael,” 19th c.).

7.1.2 Tosefta (3rd–4th c. AD?)

While following the general order of the Mishnah, the Tosefta contains further tannaitic material, many portions of which are not in the Mishnah. The relationship between the Tosefta and the Mishnah is debated, with significant research now focusing on individual Tosefta tractates in comparison with their mishnaic counterparts. Where available, the critical editions should be consulted for text, otherwise Zuckerman is the standard edition.

Critical Editions and Commentaries:

- Kittel, Gerhard, Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, et al., eds. *Rabbinische Texte. Erste Reihe: Die Tosefta*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933–. With commentary and German translation. Some early fascicles are superseded by later releases in the same series.
- Lieberman, Saul. *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah: A Comprehensive Commentary on the Tosefta*. 12 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1955–1988. Only complete for the first three orders plus the first three tractates of the fourth order. Includes critical text (he also published a critical text separately with Jewish Theological Seminary).
- For individual tractates see: Stemberger, *Introduction*, 161 (many with modern commentary).

Texts:

- Brody, Robert. *Mishnah and Tosefta Ketubbot: Text, Exegesis, and Redaction*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2015. Introduction, parallel edition of tractate Ketubbot in Mishnah and Tosefta, with select variants and notes.
- Zuckerman, M. S. *Tosefta: Based on the Erfurt and Vienna Codices*. 2nd ed. Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1937. Reprints 1882 edition with “Supplement to the Tosefta” by Saul Liebermann. Includes indexes and a Hebrew-German glossary. Available online at <http://www.hebrewbooks.org/20419>.
- See also: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/>; transcriptions of manuscripts at <http://www.biu.ac.il/JS/tannaim/tosefta>; and numerous texts, photographic images, and translations at <http://www.toseftaonline.org>.

Translations:

- Neusner, Jacob. *The Tosefta: Translated from the Hebrew*. 6 vols. New York: Ktav, 1977–1986; repr., Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990–1999; 2-volume repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002. Excerpted from his *History of the Mishnaic Law* series (see under Mishnah).
- English translations also exist of Mishnah and Tosefta tractates *Berakoth* (A. Lukyn Williams; SPCK, 1921), *Sukkah* (A. W. Greenup; SPCK, 1925), and *Sanhedrin* (H. Danby; SPCK, 1919). Each are available online at <http://www.toseftaonline.org> (see there for further Hebrew commentaries and extended bibliography).

Concordance:

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

Introductions:

- Brody, Robert. *Mishnah and Tosefta Studies*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2014. In addition to text-critical work on the Mishnah, Brody challenges previous theories on Tosefta textual history and its relationship to the Mishnah.
- Fox, Harry, Tirza Meacham, and Diane Kriger, eds. *Introducing Tosefta: Textual, Intratextual and Intertextual Studies*. FS Menachem Rotman. Hoboken, NJ:

Ktav Publishing, 1999. Articles on sources, historical context, relationship to Mishnah, and parallels in Talmuds.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Tosefta: An Introduction*. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 47. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. Among Neusner's other works that discuss the Tosefta.

See also: Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*, 283–302; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 149–63; *CHJ* 4:316–35; Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*, 117–27; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 27–28; and above introductions to rabbinic literature.

Modern Commentaries:

Goldberg, Abraham. *Tosefta Bava Kamma: A Structural and Analytic Commentary with a Mishna-Tosefta Synopsis*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001. (In Hebrew, with English preface).

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

7.1.3 Jerusalem Talmud (5th c. AD?)

Though the Yerushalmi, edited in Palestine, is generally considered the older of the two Talmuds, its study has often been neglected in favor of the Babylonian Talmud. A typical Yerushalmi citation looks like this: *y. Sanh.* 6:9 [23c] (= tractate Sanhedrin, on Mishnah 6:9, folio 23, column c). There are four columns (a–d) per folio (two on the front [verso] side of the folio leaf and two on the back [recto], lettered right to left). The *editio princeps* is the Bomberg edition (Venice, 1523–1524); but the best known edition is from Krotoshin (1866). A synoptic edition of manuscripts is largely complete.

Bibliographies:

Bokser, Baruch M. “An Annotated Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Palestinian Talmud.” In *ANRW* 2.19.2. Edited by Wolfgang Haase, 139–256. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979.

Goodblatt, David. “A Generation of Talmud Studies.” In *The Talmud in Its Iranian Context*. Edited by Carol Bakhos and M. Rahim Shayegan, 1–20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010. Covers both Yerushalmi and Bavli.

See Leib Moscovitz, “Palestinian Talmud/Yerushalmi” in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>; publ. 2019).

Critical Editions:

Ginzberg, Louis. *Sridei Ha-Yerushalmi*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1909. Early collection of Cairo Genizah fragments.

Katz, Menachem. *Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Qiddushin: Critical Edition and a Short Explanation*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, 2016 (in Hebrew & Aramaic).

Lieberman, Saul. *Hayerushalmi Kīphshuto: A commentary based on manuscripts of the Yerushalmi and works of the Rishonim and Midrashim in Mss. and rare editions. Tractates Shabbath, 'Erubin, Pesahim*. 3rd ed. Edited and supplemented by Menachem Katz. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2008. Lieberman also published editions of *Seder Neziqin* (Jerusalem, 1931), a commentary on tractates *Berakhot* and *Ketubbot* (Jewish Theological Seminary, 1947), and a facsimile ed. of Vatican MS 135 (Makor, 1970).

Sussmann, Yaacov, ed. *Talmud Yerushalmi: According to Ms. Or. 4720 (Scal 3) of the Leiden University Library with Restorations and Corrections*. Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2001. Transcription of the important (and complete) Leiden MS, with corrections, critical notes, and Hebrew introduction.

Synoptic Edition:

Schäfer, Peter, and Hans-Jürgen Becker, eds. *Synopse zum Talmud Yerushalmi*. 7 vols. TSAJ. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991–2001. Transcribes manuscript traditions in parallel columns of the first four orders (*Zera'im*, *Mo'ed*, *Nashim*, *Neziqin*).

Texts and Translations:

Guggenheimer, Heinrich W. *The Jerusalem Talmud*. 17 vols. Studia Judaica. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000–2015. Text, translation, with brief notes. Should be the standard academic English translation.

Schottenstein Talmud Yerushalmi—English Edition. 49+ vols. Brooklyn: ArtScroll Mesorah Publications, 2005–. Hebrew/Aramaic text interspersed with English translation and notes (from a traditional rabbinic perspective).

See also: Internet resources noted earlier.

Translations:

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

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

Concordances:

Kosovsky, Moshe. *Concordance to the Talmud Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud)*. 10 vols. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1979–2004. Vol. 9 is a *Onomasticon* of cited Rabbis; vol. 10 provides a scripture index.

Moscovitz, Leib. *The Terminology of the Yerushalmi: The Principal Terms*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2009 (in Hebrew). 200+ key terms analyzed according to all their occurrences.

See also indices to parallels from the Yerushalmi in the Hebrew Bible, Mishnah, Tosefta, tannaitic midrash, Bavli, and elsewhere in Yerushalmi at the webpage: <https://biu.ac.il/js/tl/yerushalmi/index.html>.

Introductions:

See: Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*, 303–22; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 164–89; *CHJ* 4:663–77; Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*, 143–64; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 29–32; and above introductions to rabbinic literature.

Commentaries:

Ginzberg, Louis. *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud*. 4 vols. Texts and Studies of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America 10–12, 21. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1941–1961 (in Hebrew and some English). Just on tractate *Berakhot*.

See also listing in Stemberger, *Introduction*, 186–89. Also Neusner translations for brief form-critical analysis. And classic commentaries listed at <https://www.yerushalmionline.org>. Adin Steinsaltz has begun editing an edition with a Modern Hebrew traditionalist commentary.

7.1.4 Babylonian Talmud (6th c. AD?)

The official Talmud of Judaism and a product of the Babylonian academy (often simply called “the Talmud” or “Bavli”). A typical citation looks like: *b. Sanh.* 44a (= tractate Sanhedrin, folio 44, side a). There are two sides to each folio leaf (a and b = front [verso] and back [recto]). The Vilna/Wilna printed edition (AD 1880–1886) is the standard for a variety of recent editions; for academic study this text should be complemented with the critical apparati from the Mekhon ha-Talmud ha-Yiśra’eli ha-shalem (for *Seder Nashim*) or from Rabinovicz, *Variae Lectiones*, or (better) from the modern critical commentaries (where they exist).

Bibliographies:

Sussmann, Yaacov. *Otsar kġtve-ba-yad ha-Talmudiyim* [= *Thesaurus of Talmudic Manuscripts*]. 3 vols. Friedberg Genizah Project. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2012. Listing of known extant MSS.

See also both Joshua Ezra Burns, “Talmud” (publ. 2017) and Mira Wasserman, “Narrative in the Talmud” (publ. 2015) in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/>). See introductions below, and note Goodblatt, “A Generation of Targum Studies” (above under Yerushalmi bibliography).

Critical Texts:

מכון התלמוד הישראלי השלם [= Mekhon ha-Talmud ha-Yiśra’eli ha-shalem, Yerushalayim = Institute for the Complete Israeli Talmud, Jerusalem]. Publisher of Talmud Bavli tractates from *Seder Nashim*, employing Vilna edition with critical apparatus citing MSS, Genizah texts, and quotations; edited by Moshe Hershler (*Ketubbot*, 2 vols. 1972–1977; *Nedarim*, 2 vols. 1985–1991), Avraham Liss (*Sotah*, 2 vols. 1977–1979; *Yevamot*, 4 vols. 1983–1996), Hillel Porush et al. (*Gittin*, 4 vols. 1999–2013), and Bin-yamin Hirshman et al. (*Qiddushin*, 2 vols. 2011–). Also note the Minor Tractate *Kutim* edited by Yitzhaq Goldstein (2010).

Rabinovicz, Raphael N. ספר דקדוקי סופרים: *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*. 16 vols. Munich: H. Roesl, 1867–1897. Records variants in medieval MSS from Vilna edition (except *Seder Nashim*).

See also further list of individual tractates in Stemberger, *Introduction*, 213; and note projects listed under S. Friedman in Modern Commentaries below.

Texts and Translations:

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

The Talmud: The Steinsaltz Edition. 45 vols. New York: Random House, 1967–2010. Pointed text with Rashi, a “literal translation,” and commentary by Adin Steinsaltz (translated from his Modern Hebrew edition) with notes. Reference guide in the final volume.

Talmud Bavli: The Schottenstein English Edition. 72 vols. Brooklyn: ArtScroll Mesorah Publications, 1990–2005. Text of Vilna edition with English translation and notes (from a traditional rabbinic perspective).

See also: For online texts and digitized MSS, see internet resources noted above. Also David Golinkin, *Ginzei Rosh Hashanah: Manuscript Fragments of Bavli Rosh Hashanah from the Cairo Genizah. A Facsimile Edition with a Codicological Introduction* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2000).

For an extensive listing of manuscripts and texts (critical and otherwise), see Stemberger, *Introduction*, 207–13; and note internet resources above.

Translations:

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

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

See also: Michael L. Rodkinson public domain abridged translation at Internet Sacred Text Archive (<http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/talmud.htm>). Use Soncino translation instead if at all possible!

Concordances and Indices:

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

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

Retter, Daniel. *HaMaftach* [= המפתח]: *Talmud Bavli indexed reference guide: A-Z*. Jerusalem: Koren, 2012. Helpful subject index in English.

Lexicons:

Frank, Yitzhak. *The Practical Talmud Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Jerusalem: Ariel, 1994. Brief glosses, but more helpful than Jastrow for beginning translation. Similarly, see Ezra Zion Melamed, *Aramaic-Hebrew-English Dictionary* (Hamodia, 2005).

However, for better lexicography, see works by Sokoloff, Jastrow, and Levy; and the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (all in the general bibliography to Part 1 of this bibliography).

Grammars:

Bar-Asher Siegal, Elitzur A. *Introduction to the Grammar of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Lehrbücher orientalischer Sprachen III,3. 2nd ed. Ugarit-Verlag, 2016. Best current academic introductory textbook.

Frank, Yitzhak. *Grammar for Gemara and Targum Onkelos: An Introduction to Aramaic*. Expanded ed. Jerusalem: Feldheim, 2003. This is an expansion of his 2nd ed. *Grammar for Gemara* (Jerusalem: Ariel, 1995).

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

Introductions (selected recent):

Kraemer, David C. *A History of the Talmud*. Cambridge: CUP, 2019. Discussion of predecessors, talmudic formation, and reception history.

Neusner, Jacob. *Invitation to the Talmud: A Teaching Book*. Rev. and exp. ed. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1984; repr., Wipf & Stock, 2003.

Neusner, Jacob. *The Reader's Guide to the Talmud*. Leiden: Brill, 2001. Among Neusner's many other introductory works.

Schäfer, Peter. *Jesus in the Talmud*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. Among the many books on this subject, this provides a readable and informed introduction (note his bibliography).

Secunda, Shai. *The Iranian Talmud: Reading the Bavli in its Sasanian Context*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. Examines rabbinic interaction with the heterogeneous religious and ethnic communities of pre-Islamic Iran.

Wimpfheimer, Barry S. *The Talmud: A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018. Brief intro to formation, contents, and reception.

See also: Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*, 323–66; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 190–224; *CHJ* 4:840–76; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 32–42; and above introductions to rabbinic literature. Also note David Goodblatt, “The Babylonian Talmud,” in *ANRW* 2.19.2, ed. Wolfgang Haase (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979), 257–336. And see all books listed under “Selections” (below).

Modern Commentaries:

Friedman, Shamma, ed. *Talmud Ha-Igud*. 10+ vols. Jerusalem: Society for the Interpretation of the Talmud [Igud le-farshanut ha-Talmud]/Mosad Byalik, 2006– (in Hebrew). Critical commentaries (textual, legal, literary) by various authors on individual chapters of tractates (currently *Berakhot* 1, *Shabbat* 7, *Erubin* 10, *Pesahim* 6, *Gittin* 5 & 9, *Sanhedrin* 5, *Sukkah* 4 & 5,

Bava Batra 3). Further Hebrew commentaries like this, often originally Ph.D. dissertations (each with subtitle Critical Edition and [Comprehensive] Commentary), are available from Mosad Byalik on *Sanhedrin* 3 (M. Sabato, 2018) or from Jewish Theological Seminary on *Shevu'ot* 3 (M. Benovitz, 2003), *Pesahim* 3 (S. Wald, 2000), and *Bava Metz'ia* 6 (S. Friedman; 1990–1996).

- Halivni, David. *Sources and Traditions: A Source Critical Commentary on the Talmud: Moed*. 3 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1974–1982. And his earlier similarly-titled volumes (Hebrew: *Mekorot u-masorot*) on *Seder Nashim* (Tel-Aviv: Devir, 1968), and later on *Bava Qamma* (Magnes, 1993), *Bava Metz'ia* (Magnes, 2003), *Bava Batra* (Magnes, 2007), and on *Sanhedrin*, *Shevu'ot*, *Makkot*, *Avodah Zarah*, *Horayot* (Magnes, 2012). For his broader theories, see his Hebrew introduction *Mevo'ot li-mekorot u-masorot* (Magnes, 2009), and his *The Formation of the Babylonian Talmud* (trans. and annotated by J. L. Rubenstein from Halivni's introduction to his study on *Bava Batra*; Oxford: OUP, 2013).
- Ilan, Tal, Tamara Or, Dorothea M. Salzer, Christiane Steuer, and Irina Wandrey, eds. *A Feminist Commentary on the Babylonian Talmud* [FCBT] series. 7+ vols. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007–. Commentaries by prominent female academic talmudic scholars.
- Segal, Eliezer. *The Babylonian Esther Midrash: A Critical Commentary*. 3 vols. BJS 291–93. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994. Translation and commentary on tractate *Megillah*.
- See also Neusner translations for brief form-critical commentary. For the wide array of earlier traditional commentaries see Stemberger, *Introduction*, 215–22.

Selections:

- Bokser, Ben Zion, et al. *The Talmud: Selected Writings*. Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist, 1989.
- Cohen, Abraham. *Everyman's Talmud: The Major Teachings of the Rabbinic Sages*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949. With frequent reprints.
- Schechter, Solomon. *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*. New York: Macmillan, 1909; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1998. Available online at <http://archive.org>.
- Solomon, Norman. *The Talmud: A Selection*. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin, 2009.
- Steinsaltz, Adin. *The Essential Talmud*. Translated by Chaya Galai. New York: Basic Books, 1976 (“30th anniversary edition,” 2006).
- Stemberger, Günter. *Der Talmud: Einführung, Texte, Erläuterungen*. 5th ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 2019.

7.1.5 Minor Tractates and External Tractates

Fourteen tractates that are not in the Mishnah are appended at the end of order *Neziqin* in most printed editions of the Bavli. Some are deemed “Minor Tractates” and others are called “External Tractates” (=“Extra-Canonical Tractates”; not considered of talmudic authority in modern Judaism). For texts and translations, see the Soncino edition listed under the Babylonian Talmud above (and note fur-

ther Stemberger, *Introduction*, 225–32; Safrai, *Literature pt. 1*, 367–409; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 45–60). The best known External Tractate is *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* [= ARN]. This haggadic work (resembling Mishnah tractate *Abot*) exists in two versions (ARN A and B), which vary in size and in likely date of recension (anywhere from 3rd c. to 9th c. AD). Also of significance is the tractate on mourning and burial rites known as “*Šemaḥot*” or “*Ebel rabbati*.”

Texts of ARN:

- Becker, Hans-Jürgen, and Christoph Berner. *Avot de-Rabbi Natan: Synoptische Edition beider Versionen*. TSAJ 116. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006. Places textual witness in parallel for ARN A and B. Updates Schechter’s ed.
- Becker, Hans-Jürgen, Christoph Berner, Wolfram Drews, and Ulrike Kämpf. *Geniza-Fragmente zu Avot de-Rabbi Natan*. TSAJ 103. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Schechter, Solomon. *Abot de Rabbi Nathan: Edited from Manuscripts with an Introduction, Notes and Appendices*. Vienna: Lippe, 1887; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1979. Classic edition of the text. Important “New edition” of Schechter with introduction and additional textual variants by M. Kister (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1997).

Translations of ARN:

- Becker, Hans-Jürgen. *Avot de-Rabbi Natan B*. TSAJ 162. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016. German translation of ARN B by key editor of the text.
- Goldin, Judah. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. Translation of ARN A.
- Neusner, Jacob. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan: An Analytical Translation and Explanation*. BJS 114. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986. Translation of ARN A.
- Saldarini, Anthony J. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan (Abot de Rabbi Nathan) Version B: A Translation and Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Text and Translation of Šemaḥot:

- Zlotnick, Dov. *The Tractate “Mourning” (Šemaḥot)*. Yale Judaica Series 17. London: Yale University Press, 1966. Includes introduction, text, translation, and commentary.

Texts, Translations, and Notes on Other Minor and External Tractates:

- Higger, Michael. *Seven Minor Treatises: Sefer Torah; Mezuzah; Tefillin; Zizit; ‘Abadim; Kutim; Gerim; and treatise Soferim II: Edited from manuscripts with an introduction, notes, variants and translation*. New York: Bloch, 1930.
- Higger, Michael. *The Treatises Derek Erez: Masseket Derek Erez, Pirke Ben Azzai, Tosefta Derek Erez: Edited from manuscripts with an introduction, notes, variants and translation*. New York: Divre Rabanan, 1935.
- van Loopik, Marcus. *The Ways of the Sages and the Way of the World: The Minor Tractates of the Babylonian Talmud: Derekh ‘Eretz Rabbah, Derekh ‘Eretz Zuta, Pereq ha-Shalom: Translated on the basis of the manuscripts and provided with a commentary*. TSAJ 26. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991.
- Higger, Michael. *Masekhtot Kalah: ve-ben Masekhet Kalah, Masekhet Kalah rabati*. New York: Divre Rabanan, 1936. Text of Kallah and Kallah Rabbati.

Higger, Michael. *Masekhet Soferim*. New York: Divre Rabanan, 1937. Text and translation of this tractate on rules for writing and reading the Tanakh.

7.2 MIDRASH

The Midrashim vary widely in date and style. The earliest “Halakhic Midrashim” may date from the time of the Mishnah, whereas other midrashic works frequently (and perhaps problematically) cited by Second Temple and NT scholars may be as much as 1000 years later than the NT.

Bibliographies:

Bakhos, Carol, ed. *Current Trends in the Study of Midrash*. JSJSup 106. Leiden: Brill, 2006. Articles from varying perspectives intending to present “comprehensive view of the kinds of questions and issues scholars in the field are engaging.”

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

See also: Carol Bakhos, “Midrash” in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>; publ. 2012). And consult: Stemberger, *Introduction*, 233–325; Ben-Eliyahu, et al., *Handbook*, 61–95.

Introductions:

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

Neusner, Jacob. *Imitation to Midrash: The Workings of Rabbinic Bible Interpretation*. New York: Harper & Row, 1989; repr., University of South Florida, 1998. Alongside Neusner’s other introductory books.

See also: Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 3–229; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 233–325; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 61–95; and above general intros on rabbinic literature. Recent Hebrew introduction by Anat Reizel, *Mavo la-Midrashim* (Israel: Herzog College, 2011).

7.2.1 Halakhic Midrashim

Also known as the “Tannaitic Midrashim,” these exegetical/legal treatments of the Pentateuch are largely thought to come from the time of the codification of the Mishnah and Tosefta (c. 3rd c. AD), though with later tampering in many cases (note respective entries in Stemberger, *Introduction*); some scholars contend for a significantly later dating. There are four principal Halakhic Midrashim, corresponding to the books of Exodus through Deuteronomy (the *Mekhilta* [of R. Ishmael], *Sifra*, *Sifre Numbers*, and *Sifre Deuteronomy*). However, medieval evidence points to the parallel development of four (or more) other midrashim based on the same four biblical books but displaying a different editorial viewpoint; these have been reconstructed through medieval quotations or through fragmentary MSS (esp. from the Cairo Genizah). The results have often been divided into juxtaposed rabbinic schools of R. Ishmael and R. Aqiva, though see Stemberger, *Introduction*, 247–75

(esp. 247–51). Helpful introduction in *CHJ* 4:336–68; Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*, 129–42; and esp. Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 3–105.

Halakhic Midrashim Manuscripts:

Kahana, Menaḥem. *Otsar Kitve-Yad Shel Midreshe ba-Halakhab*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1995 (in Hebrew). English title: *Manuscripts of the Halakhic Midrashim: An Annotated Catalogue*.

Kahana, Menaḥem. *Kit'e Midreshe Halakhab min ba-Geniza*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2005. Transcribed Cairo Genizah manuscripts of *Mekhilta*, *MRS*, *Sifre Num.*, *Sifre Deut.*, *Sifre Zuta Num.*, and *Mekhilta Deut.*

MEKHILTA DE RABBI ISHMAEL (on Exodus)

Critical text:

Horowitz, H. S., and I. A. Rabin. *Mekhilta D'Rabbi Ismael*. Corpus Tannaicum III.1.3. Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann, 1931; 2nd ed. repr., Jerusalem: Bamberger and Wahrman, 1960.

Critical text and translation:

Lauterbach, Jacob Z. *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1933–1935; repr. in 2 vols., 2004. Hebrew text, textual notes, and excellent English translation.

Translations:

Neusner, Jacob. *Mekhilta According to Rabbi Ishmael: An Analytical Translation*. 2 vols. BJS 148, 154. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

Stemberger, Günter. *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Jishma'el: Ein früher Midrasch zum Buch Exodus*. Berlin: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010. Important German translation, with useful notes.

Concordance:

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

Other:

Goldin, Judah. *The Munich Mekilta: Bavarian State Library, Munich, Cod. Hebr. 117*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1980. Facsimile edition.

Goldin, Judah. *The Song at the Sea: Being a Commentary on a Commentary in Two Parts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971. English translation and commentary on Mekhilta section on Shirata (Exod 15).

Teugels, Lieve M. *The Mesbalim in the Mekhilot: An Annotated Edition and Translation of the Parables in Mekhilta de Rabbi Yishmael and Mekhilta de Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai*. TSAJ 176. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019. Synoptic text and translation (with notes) of rabbinic parables in the two halakhic commentaries to Exodus. Further volumes are planned for parables in other tannaitic rabbinic works.

Older edition by M. Friedmann, *Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ismael* (Vienna: Holzwarth, 1870) available at <http://archive.org>.

SIFRA (on Leviticus)

Critical Texts (incomplete):

Finkelstein, Louis. *Sifra on Leviticus*. 5 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1983–1991. Only covers approximately the first third.

Shoshanah, Abraham, ed. *Sifra on Leviticus*. vol. 1. Cleveland/Jerusalem: Mekhon Ofek, 1991–. Incomplete, with classical commentaries. This and the Finkelstein ed. are often catalogued under *Sifra d'vey Rav*.

Texts:

Sifra or Torat Kobanim. With Hebrew introduction by Louis Finkelstein. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1956. Facsimile of 9th–10th c. Vatican Codex Assemani 66.

Weiss, Isaac Hirsch, ed. *Sifra d'vey Rav*. Vienna: Jacob Schlossberg, 1862. German title: *Sifra: Commentar zu Leviticus aus dem Anfange des III. Jahrhunderts*. Only complete edition (best to compare with Codex Assemani 66).

Translation:

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifra: An Analytical Translation*. 3 vols. BJS 138–40. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

Concordance:

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

SIFRE NUMBERS

Critical Texts:

Kahana, Menaḥem Yitshak. *Sifre Bamidbar: mabadurah mevo'eret*. 4 vols. in 5. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2011–2015 (in Hebrew). English title: *Sifre on Numbers: An Annotated Edition*. Important critical text and detailed commentary.

Horovitz, H. S., ed. *Siphre ad Numeros adjecto Siphre zutta: Cum variis lectionibus et adnotationibus*. Corpus Tannaicum III.3. Leipzig: Gustav Fock, 1917. With German introduction. Hebrew title *Sifre de-ve Rav*.

Texts, Translations, and Commentaries:

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

Pérez Fernández, Miguel. *Midrás Sifré Números: Versión crítica, introducción y notas*. Biblioteca midrásica 9. Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1989.

Translation:

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

Concordance:

Kosovsky, Biniamin. *Otzar Leshon Hatannaim: Thesaurus "Sifrei" Concordantiae verborum quae in "Sifrei" Numeri et Deuteronomium reperiuntur*. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1971–1974.

Scripture and Rabbinic Index:

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

Other:

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

SIFRE DEUTERONOMY

Critical Text:

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

Text and Translation:

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

Translations:

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

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

Concordance:

See above under Sifre Numbers.

Other:

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

MEKHILTA DE RABBI SIMEON BEN YOḤAI (on Exodus)

Composite Text:

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

Translation:

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

Other:

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

SIFRE ZUTA (on Numbers)

Composite Text:

See Horovitz under Sifre Numbers.

Text, Translation, and Commentary:

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

Translation:

Neusner, Jacob. *Sifré Zutta to Numbers*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009. Note also Neusner's documentary study in *Comparative Midrash: Sifré to Numbers and Sifré Zutta to Numbers* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2009).

Commentary:

Lieberman, Saul. *Sifre Zuṭa': Midrashab shel Lod*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1968. Hebrew commentary. English title: *Siphre Zutta (The Midrash of Lydda)*.

MIDRASH TANNAIM (on Deuteronomy; aka *Mekhilta Deuteronomy*)*Composite text:*

Hoffmann, D. *Midrasch Tanna'im zum Deuteronomium*. 2 vols. Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1908–1909. Reconstruction based on *Midrash Hagadol*; further Genizah fragments now known (see above Kahana, *Kit'e Midreshe Hala-khab*).

SIFRE ZUTA (on Deuteronomy)

Composite Text:

Kahana, Menaḥem. *Sifre Zuṭa Devarim*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2002 (in Hebrew). Compiled from quotations in Karaite Deuteronomy commentary. Said to be of same branch of Aqivan school as *Sifre Zuta* on Numbers.

7.2.2 Midrash Rabbah

The collection entitled *Midrash Rabbah* (“Great Midrash”) consists of midrashim on each of the books of the Pentateuch and on the five *Megillot* (Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther). These midrashim all have different styles and origins; even their subsections are often dated to different periods. While the *Midrash Rabbah* on Genesis (= *Bereshit Rabbah*), Lamentations, and Leviticus are all potentially from the fifth century AD, the other books in the *Midrash Rabbah* may be considerably later (e.g. those on Exodus, Numbers). Aside from the non-critical standard Hebrew editions, key published critical texts are noted below (see further Stemberger, *Introduction*, 276–321; Ben-Eliyahu, *Handbook*, 78–95; Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 107–229).

Critical Texts (in canonical order):

Rabinowitz, Zvi Meir. *Genze Midrash: The Oldest Forms of Rabbinic Midrashim According to Geniza Manuscripts*. Tel-Aviv: University of Tel Aviv, 1976 (in Hebrew). Author's name also transliterated Rabinovitz or Rabinovits.

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

- Shinan, Avigdor. *Midrash Shemot Rabbah Chapters I–XIV: A critical edition based on a Jerusalem manuscript with variants, commentary and introduction*. Tel-Aviv: Devir Yerushalayim, 1984. Only the first portion of *Exodus Rabbah*, which is more exegetical than the second part.
- Margulies, Mordecai. *Midrash Wayyikera Rabbah: A Critical Edition Based on Manuscripts and Genizah Fragments with Variants and Notes*. 5 vols. Jerusalem: Louis M. and Minnie Epstein Fund of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1953–1960; repr., (under name Mordecai Margalioṭ) 2 vols. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1993. Critical text of *Leviticus Rabbah*.
- Lieberman, Saul. *Midrash Debarim Rabbah: Edited for the first time from the Oxford ms. no. 147 with an introduction and notes*. 3rd ed. with addl. notes and corr. Jerusalem: Wahrman, 1974. (Note 2nd ed. was repr., Jerusalem: Shalem, 1992). This text of Deuteronomy Rabbah (based on Oxford Bodleian MS 147) varies significantly from texts and translations based on traditional printed editions.
- Hirshman, Marc G. *Midrash Qobelet Rabbah 1–6*. Jerusalem: Mekhon Shekḥter, 2016 (in Hebrew). Critical edition, incl. Genizah fragments, from Midrash Project at the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies; rev. and exp. from Ph.D. diss. (which covered 1–4); also includes *Midrash Qobelet Zuta*.
- Buber, Salomon. *Midrasch Echa Rabbati: Sammlung agadischer Auslegungen der Klagelieder*. Wilna, 1899; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967. This recension of Lamentations Rabbah varies significantly from texts and translations based on traditional printed editions. Available online at <http://archive.org>.
- Tabory, Joseph, and Arnon Atzmon. *Midrash Esther Rabbah*. Jerusalem: Makhon Shekḥter, 2014 (in Hebrew). Critical edition from the Midrash Project at the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies.
- See also online synoptic edition of *Leviticus Rabbah* MSS (note the caveats in the website intro): <https://www.biu.ac.il/JS/midrash/VR>. And see general Rabbinic Literature internet sites above (esp. the Midrash Project of the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies for online synoptic editions of MSS of Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther Rabbah).

Translations:

- Freedman, H., and Maurice Simon, eds. *Midrash Rabbah*. 10 vols. London: Soncino, 1939. Important English translation.
- There are also Jacob Neusner translations (with Scholars Press) of the *Midrash Rabbah* on Genesis (3 vols., 1985), Ruth (1989), Song of Songs (2 vols., 1989), Lamentations (1989), and Esther (1989; 1 vol. completed). Also note his *Genesis and Judaism: The Perspective of Genesis Rabbah: An Analytical Anthology* (Scholars, 1985); and *Judaism and Scripture: The Evidence of Leviticus Rabbah* (Univ. Chicago Press, 1986; with trans. of *Lev. Rab.*).

7.2.3 Other Older Midrashim

The two *Pesiqta* volumes below represent homiletical midrash on the readings for special Sabbaths and festivals. *Tanḥuma* (sometimes called *Yelammedenu* or *Yelamdenu*) is a series of Pentateuchal sermons with a complex redactional history

(perhaps with origins in the 5th c.). Though the complex history of transmission actually led to much variation, the *Tanḥuma* tradition is published in two main recensions: a standard edition and an edition known by its editor's name (Buber). Perhaps less widely known is the *Baraita deMelekheth haMishkan* (discussing the Exodus tabernacle and furnishings).

BARAITA DE-MELEKHET HA-MISHKAN (3rd–4th c.?)

Critical Texts, Translations, Commentaries:

Friedmann, Meir. *Baraita di-Mlecbeth ha-Mishkan: Tannaitischer Kommentar zu den Vorschriften über den Bau des Heiligtumes und das Lager Israels in der Wüste: Kritisch beleuchtet und erläutert*. Vienna: Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt, 1908. Important commentary.

Kirschner, Robert S. *Baraita De-Melekheth Ha-Mishkan: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Translation*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992. With English translation and notes.

PESIQTA DE RAB KAHANA (5th c.?)

Text:

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

Translations:

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

Neusner, Jacob. *Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana: An Analytical Translation*. 2 vols. BJS 122–23. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.

PESIQTA RABBATI (6th–7th c.?)

Synoptic Text:

Ulmer, Rivka. *Pesiqta Rabbati: A Synoptic Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati Based upon all Extant Manuscripts and the Editio Princeps*. 3 vols. Vols. 1–2 South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 155. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997–1999. Vol. 3 Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2008. All three volumes available from University Press of America. Ulmer has now released vol. 1 of *A Bilingual Edition of Pesiqta Rabbati* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017) in Hebrew and English.

Text:

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

Translation:

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

MIDRASH TANḤUMA (Standard edition)

Text:

The Vilna/Wilna edition (1831) is commonly reprinted.

Translation:

Berman, Samuel A. *Midrash Tanhuma-Yelammedenu: An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu with an Introduction, Notes, and Indexes*. Hoboken: Ktav, 1996.

MIDRASH TANḤUMA BUBER

Text:

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

Translation:

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

7.2.4 Medieval Midrashim (commonly cited)

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

MIDRASH PSALMS (= *Midrash Tehillim*, some material may be Amoraic)*Text:*

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

Translation:

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

MIDRASH PROVERBS (= *Midrash Mishle*, post-talmudic)*Critical Text:*

Visotzky, Burton L. *Midrash Mishle*. New York: Bet ha-midrash le-rabanim ba-Amerikah, 1990; repr., Jewish Theological Seminary, 2002. Includes short commentary.

Translation:

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

PIRQE DE RABBI ELIEZER (8th–9th c.)*Critical Texts:*

Horowitz, C. M. *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer: A Critical Edition, Codex C. M. Horowitz*. Jerusalem: Makor, 1972. Facing pages of Venice edition with Horowitz's own handwritten text-critical notes. For more information on this and other editions, see Stemberger, *Introduction*, 330.

Treitel, Eliezer. *Pirke de-Rabi Eli'ezer: Nusah 'arikhah ve-dugmat sinopsis shel kitve ha-yad*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2012 (in Hebrew). Text, redaction, and a sample synopsis.

For digital facsimiles of three key manuscripts, see the Pirke Rabbi Eliezer Electronic Text Editing Project of Hebrew Union College, now at USC Dornsife (<https://dornsife.usc.edu/pre-text-editing-project>).

Translations:

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

Friedlander, Gerald. *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer (The Chapters of Rabbi Eliezer the Great)*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916; repr., New York: Sepher-Hermon, 1981. Available online at <http://archive.org>.

AGGADAT BERESHIT (c. 10th c.)

Text:

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

Translation:

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

MIDRASH ON SAMUEL (c. 11th c.)

Lifshitz, Berachayu. *Midrash Shemu'el*. Jerusalem: Makhon Shekhter, 2009 (in Hebrew). Critical edition, expanding on 1893 work by Solomon Buber, from the Midrash Project at the Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies.

MIDRASHIM ON ESTHER (various)

Börner-Klein, Dagmar, and Elisabeth Hollender. *Rabbinischen Kommentare zum Buch Ester*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000. German translations of Panim Acherim A & B, Midrash Megillat Ester, Midrash Megilla, Midrash Abba Gurion, and Esther Rabbah; as well as Esther texts in Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer, Leqah Tov, the Yalkut Shimoni, Sepher Josippon, and Midrash Psalms. Also translates the Mishnah, Tosefta, and Bavli tractates Megillah. For original texts see Stemberger, *Introduction*, 318–21; Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 176–229.

8. OTHER EARLY WORKS FROM THE RABBINIC PERIOD

8.1 MEGILLAT TA'ANIT

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

Critical Texts:

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

Lurie, Benzion. *Megillat Ta'anith, with introduction and notes*. Jerusalem: Mosad Byaliq, 1964. In Hebrew (author's name also transliterated Ben-Tsiyon Lurya).

Noam, Vered. *Megillat Ta'anith*. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003. Critical edition of text with scholion, and with editor's analysis. In Hebrew.

Translations and/or Discussions:

Elizur, Shulamit. *Lamah tsammu?: Megilat Ta'anit Batra u-reshimot tsomot ha-kerovot lab*. Jerusalem: ha-Igud ha-'olami le-mada'e ha-Yahadut [=World Union of Jewish Studies], 2007 (in Hebrew). Translated title: *Wherefore Have We Fasted?: "Megilat Ta'anit Batra" and similar lists of fasts*.

Zeitlin, Solomon. *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Philadelphia, 1922; repr., Gorgias, 2007. From *JQR* n.s. 9–10. With translation. Available at <http://archive.org>.

8.2 SEDER OLAM RABBAH

This work presents an account of the history of the world from creation until the Bar Kokhba revolt. Attributed to the 2nd-c. rabbi Yose ben Ḥalafta, the work may have been (further?) redacted in late antiquity. It is of interest both for its mid-rashic interpretation of biblical events and for its representation of the Second Temple period. See Safrai et al., *Literature Pt. 2*, 231–37; Stemberger, *Introduction*, 326–27; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 140–41.

Critical Text, Translation, and Commentary:

Milikowsky, Chaim. *Seder Olam: Critical Edition, Commentary, and Introduction*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013. In Hebrew. Key resource, arguing late 1st-c. date for the work. Drawing on author's English Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1981), which was previously the go-to critical text.

Text and Translation:

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

8.3 MYSTICAL AND MAGICAL LITERATURE

Considerable mystical speculation is known from the talmudic and post-talmudic period. Primarily this focused on either the Creation (as in the potentially 3rd-c.-AD *Sefer Yeşirah*) or on heavenly visions of God's throne chariot (Merkavah mysticism, as in the Hekhalot literature). While some portions from the Hekhalot literature have been dated to the talmudic period (and even have been considered pertinent NT background), recent assessments are assigning many of these works to the Middle Ages. Most Kabbalistic works (esp. the *Zohar*), despite some of their internal claims, are typically late medieval, thus falling outside our period. A few other Jewish apocalyptic texts (not represented below) may be debatedly dated to the close of Late Antiquity (for these, see Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 148–155).

The magical texts associated with the rabbinic period are also difficult to locate in time (e.g. *Sepher Ha-Razim* has been dated anywhere from the 3rd to the 7th

c.), but many scholars are convinced of the great antiquity of magical speculation in certain Jewish circles. Significant testimony to Jewish magic exists outside what is listed below (e.g. Cairo Genizah texts, incantation bowls, papyri, and in Graeco-Roman accounts; see Alexander's introductions noted below). On all these works, see helpful comments by Stemmerger in *JLA* 28–38; also cf. his *Introduction*, 343–50; and note Peter Schäfer, et al., eds. *Magische Texte aus der Kairoer Geniza* (3 vols.; Mohr Siebeck, 1994–1999). On Second Temple antecedents, see: *ESTJ* 2:446–48.

SEFER YEŠIRAH

Critical Texts:

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

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

Translations:

Glotzer, Leonard R. *The Fundamentals of Jewish Mysticism: The Book of Creation and its Commentaries*. Northvale, NJ: J. Aronson, 1992. English translation of text and many classical kabbalistic commentaries.

Kaplan, Aryeh. *Sefer Yetzirah = The Book of Creation*. Rev. ed. York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1997. Not a recognized scholarly publisher or edition (Hayman above would be preferred for academic work). Includes medieval commentaries. Other English translations noted in *EncJud* 16:787–88.

Weiss, Tzahi. *Sefer Yeširah and its Contexts: Other Jewish Voices*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. Discussion of origins and reception, with text and translation.

Introductions:

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

HEKHALOT LITERATURE

Synoptic Text:

Schäfer, Peter, ed. *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. TSAJ 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981. §§1–80 contain 3 Enoch.

Translation of Synoptic Text:

Schäfer, Peter, ed. *Übersetzung der Hekhalot-Literatur*. 4 vols. TSAJ 17, 22, 29, 46. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987–1995. Vol. 1 (*3 Enoch*), Vol. 2 (*Hekhalot Rabbati*), Vol. 3 (*Hekhalot Zutarti, Ma'ase Merkava*), Vol. 4 (*Harba de-Moshe, Merkava Rabba, and Shi'ur Qoma*).

Texts:

Cohen, Martin S. *The Shi'ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*. TSAJ 9. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985.

Schäfer, Peter, ed. *Geniza-Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. TSAJ 6. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984.

Texts and Translations:

Herrmann, Klaus. *Massekhet Hekhalot: Traktat von den himmlischen Palästen: Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. TSAJ 39. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.

- Odeberg, Hugo. *3 Enoch or The Hebrew Book of Enoch*. Cambridge: CUP, 1928; repr., New York: Ktav, 1973. Odeberg's views should be reevaluated in light of more recent assessments. Available online at <http://archive.org>.
- Reeg, Gottfried. *Die Geschichte von den Zehn Märtyrern: Synoptische Edition mit Übersetzung und Einleitung*. TSAJ 10. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985. Story of 10 rabbis killed by Roman emperors, appears in *Hekhalot Rabbati*.

Translations:

- Cohen, Martin S. *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1983. With commentary.
- Davila, James R. *Hekhalot Literature in Translation: Major Texts of Merkavah Mysticism*. Supplements to The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy 20. Leiden: Brill, 2013. Translates critical texts of most major Hekhalot documents and Cairo Genizah fragments.

Concordance:

- Schäfer, Peter, ed. *Konkordanz zur Hekhalot-Literatur*. 2 vols. TSAJ 12–13. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986–1988.

Introductions:

- Davila, James R. *Descenders to the Chariot: The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature*. JSJSup 70. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*. AGJU 14. Leiden: Brill, 1980. Compare and contrast with articles by P. Schäfer (collected in Schäfer's *Hekhalot-Studien*, TSAJ 19, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988).
- Halperin, David J., ed. *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's Vision*. TSAJ 16. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988. Extensive treatment of the visionary motif, including OT, NT, intertestamental, and Hekhalot literature.
- Schäfer, Peter. *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009. Seeks to delineate a history of pre-Kabbalistic mysticism, even prior to the Merkavah materials; intended for specialists and a broader audience.
- Further bibliography in Stemberger, *Introduction*, 346–49; Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 96–108; Safrai et al., *Literature pt. 2*, 393–420.

MAGICAL LITERATURE

Bibliography:

- See Gideon Bohak, "Ancient Jewish Magic" in *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (<https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com>; publ. 2012).

Text, Translation and Commentary:

- Rebiger, Bill, and Peter Schäfer, eds. *Sefer ha-Razim I und II—Das Buch der Geheimnisse I und II*. 2 vols. TSAJ 125, 132. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009. Volume 1 critical text (also incorporating Cairo Genizah MSS); volume 2 introduction, translation, and commentary.

Translation:

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

Introductions:

- Bohak, Gideon. *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*. Cambridge: CUP, 2008. Historical account for Second Temple and Late Antique periods.
- Harari, Yuval. *Jewish Magic before the Rise of Kabbalah*. Translated by Batya Stein. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017. Based on author's dissertation at Hebrew University. Seeks a definition of Jewish magic, then illustrates this through a detailed analysis of a variety of sources.
- Swartz, Michael D. *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. Examines Medieval magical texts in the Hekhalot literature (see p. 18, n. 58 for a helpful list of sources and introductions on Jewish magic in Late Antiquity).
- See especially:* P. S. Alexander in *HJPAJC* 3:342–79; *CHJ* 3:1067–78; 4:699–720.

8.4 TOLEDOT YESHU

Multiple versions exist of this satirical and polemical counter-biography of Jesus's life found in medieval (and later) manuscripts. It is best understood amid the Jewish and Christian controversies in late antiquity, including Christian *adversus Iudaeos* literature, popular anti-Semitic sentiment, and Byzantine (and medieval) legal acts to suppress Jews. Jewish polemic can potentially be traced back through censored sections in the Babylonian Talmud and to the *Birkat haMinim* (i.e. benediction concerning the heretics in the *Amida*). Some features of the *Toledot Yeshu* traditions have remarkable parallels to earlier Jewish polemic, even as early as Celsus's Jewish source (whom Origen sought to refute); thus some argue that traditions in these medieval texts may well originate from the early rabbinic era. For context, see W. Horbury in Goodman et al., *Rabbinic Texts*, 353–76.

Texts, Translations, and Commentaries:

- Meerson, Michael, and Peter Schäfer, et al. *Toledot Yeshu = The life story of Jesus*. 2 vols. TSAJ 159. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014. Vol. 1 Introduction and translation; Vol. 2 Critical edition of various recensions. Includes access to a database of extant manuscripts.
- Callsen, Brigitta. *Das jüdische Leben Jesu, Toldot Jeschu: Die älteste lateinische Übersetzung in den Falsitates Judeorum von Thomas Ebendorfer: Kritisch herausgegeben, eingeleitet, übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 39. Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2003. Ebendorfer's Latin translation with facing German translation.
- Schlichting, Günter. *Ein jüdisches Leben Jesu: Die verschollene Toledot-Jeschu-Fassung Tam u-mu'ad: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, Motivsynopse, Bibliographie*. WUNT 24. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1982.
- Horbury, William. "A Critical Examination of the Toledoth Jeshu." Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1971. Very worth getting access to a copy.
- Krauss, Samuel. *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen: Hrsg. und erläutert*. Berlin: S. Calvary, 1902; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1977. Text of several versions.
- See Ben-Eliyahu et al., Handbook*, 144–47 for further important texts & MSS.

Translation:

Schonfield, Hugh J. *According to the Hebrews: A New Translation of the Jewish life of Jesus (the Toldoth Yesbu)*. Not academically reliable (use Meerson et al. instead), especially dubious is his connecting this to *Gos. Heb.*

Relevant Studies:

Barbu, Daniel, and Yaacov Deutsch, eds. *Toledot Yesbu in Context: The Jewish "Life of Jesus" in Ancient, Medieval, and Modern History*. TSAJ 182. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.

Krauss, Samuel. *The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the Earliest Times to 1789. Vol. 1: History*. Ed. and rev. by William Horbury. TSAJ 56. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996. Provides helpful context (esp. concerning ancient sources) of the manifold Jewish and Christian interactions in the era.

Schäfer, Peter, Michael Meerson, and Yaacov Deutsch, eds. *Toledot Yesbu ("The Life Story of Jesus") Revisited: A Princeton Conference*. TSAJ 143. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.

9. ADDENDA TO PART 1

General Bibliography Listings:

RAMBI—Index of Articles on Jewish Studies from the National Library of Israel. <https://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/infochannels/catalogs/bibliographic-databases/rambi/pages/rambi.aspx>.

(Pseudo-) Aristeas Commentary:

White, L. Michael, and G. Anthony Keddie. *Jewish Fictional Letters from Hellenistic Egypt: The Epistle of Aristeas and Related Literature*. WGRW 37. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018. Greek text, translation, commentary, and comparison to similar works.