

The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon

*A New Text and Translation with
Introduction and Special Treatment
of Columns 13-17*

DANIEL A. MACHIELA

BRILL

The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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Dedicated to
my wife Jody Louise Machiela
with utmost love, respect, and gratitude

קמו בניה ויאשרוה
בעלה ויהללה

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Daniel Machiela
Notre Dame, IN
March 2008

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>DJD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
<i>DJA</i>	<i>Dictionary of Judean Aramaic</i>
<i>DJBA</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic</i>
<i>DJPA</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic</i>
<i>DLZ</i>	<i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>EDSS</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Dead Sea Scrolls</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplement to <i>JSJ</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	Supplement to <i>JSP</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>KS</i>	<i>Kirjath Sepher</i> (קרית ספר)
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>SVTP</i>	<i>Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TSAJ</i>	<i>Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>



Map 1. New Reconstruction of a World Map Like That Underlying Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon

SECTION ONE

THE BACKGROUND AND TEXT OF THE
GENESIS APOCRYPHON

THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON: ISSUES AND OBJECTIVES

In 1947 a tattered, brittle, parchment scroll was found in a well-hidden cave near the Dead Sea. At first, it was unassumingly called the “Fourth Scroll,” since it was the last scroll to be unrolled of four manuscripts purchased by Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Metropolitan of Jerusalem.¹ As the contents of the scroll slowly unfolded, however, it came to be known as the Book (or Apocalypse) of Lamech, and later still “A Genesis Apocryphon” (abbreviated as 1QapGen, 1QapGen^{ar}, or 1Q20).² While this title has some shortcomings, it has become sufficiently entrenched to deter further change.³

In its present state, the Aramaic scroll tells the stories of the biblical patriarchs Enoch, Lamech, Noah, and Abram, mostly from a first person perspective.⁴ While the narrative is clearly related to Genesis 6–15, the two

texts are far from identical (as the scroll’s latest name suggests). For example, Moshe Bernstein has detailed a number of instances where the author of the scroll has rearranged, anticipated, and harmonized aspects of the biblical account.⁵ To this we might also append a number of additions and subtractions.

1.1. OBJECTIVES

The present study is composed of three main parts: 1) an introduction to previous research on the Genesis Apocryphon; 2) a new, annotated transcription and translation of the scroll, accompanied by textual notes; and 3) a case study of one area in which recently or newly published portions of text improve our understanding of the scroll—namely, geography. This thematic analysis will be followed by some brief, concluding observations on the nature and possible purpose of the scroll.

The introduction to prior research, put forth in the present chapter, synthesizes a number of issues and proposals surrounding the Apocryphon raised since its initial publication in 1956. My aim here is to contextualize ensuing parts of the dissertation within the current stream of research, and to provide a backdrop against which final conclusions may be proffered. In order to prevent clutter and repetition, this section is designed to be representative of previous scholarship, rather than exhaustive. However, an effort has been made to provide adequate bibliography for further research on each topic presented.

The text, translation, and notes are preceded by their own introduction, in which I explain the need for a new edition. My goal in the second chapter is to provide those interested in the Apocryphon with a

¹ It was originally found along with six others, but three of the scrolls were eventually purchased by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, through the arrangement of Professor Eliezer Lipa Sukenik.

² A more extensive history of the discovery and publication of the scroll will be recounted in Chapter 2. Also see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary* (3rd rev. ed.; Biblica et Orientalia 18/B; Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico [Pontifical Biblical Institute Press], 2004), 13–25. (Subsequent reference to Fitzmyer’s commentary will be to the 3rd edition, unless otherwise indicated). From this point forward I will use a definite article when referring to the scroll, a practice first adopted by E. Y. Kutscher shortly after its initial publication. See E. Y. Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon’: A Preliminary Study,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana IV; eds C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1958), 1–35; repr. in *מחקרים בעברית ובארמית* [Hebrew and Aramaic Studies] (eds Z. Ben-Hayyim, A. Dotan and G. Sarfatti; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 3–36.

³ See the opinions of D. Flusser, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon, Kiryat Sefer* (קרית ספר) 32:4 (1956–57): 379 n. 3 [Hebrew]; J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea* (Studies in Biblical Theology 26; trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 14 n. 1; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 16. They (and I) prefer the suggestion of B. Mazar, *ספר אבות* “Book of the Patriarchs.”

⁴ Hence, the Genesis Apocryphon is frequently part of discussions on ancient pseudepigraphic works. First person narration occurs in most, but not all, of the scroll. A brief but penetrating discussion of its mix between pseudepigraphic and third-person narrative is found in the early review of the original publication by Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, 379–83. Also see M. J. Bernstein, “Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; eds E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–26 [esp. 15–17]. The widespread phenomenon of first-person pseudepigraphy is helpfully placed in its broader Near Eastern setting by P. Machinist,

“The Voice of the Historian in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean World,” *Interpretation* 57:2 (April 2003): 117–137.

⁵ M. J. Bernstein, “Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon,” *DSD* 3:1 (1996): 37–57. This trait has often been compared to the autobiographical perspectives of the first portion of the Book of Tobit and the various patriarchal Testaments (e.g. the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, or the Jewish portions of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) composed during the second temple period.

more comprehensive, accurate, and serviceable edition than those currently available.

The third chapter focuses on only one of many areas in which new or recently published material from the Apocryphon impacts not only our knowledge of this scroll, but also of other early Jewish texts, and second temple Judaism in general. The subject of this chapter is the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon, particularly as it relates to geographic usage in the Book of Jubilees. While both of these texts appear to employ geography to similar ends, it will be seen that use of geography is more comprehensive in the Apocryphon, and that the two texts may not be as similar as many had previously assumed. The goals of that chapter are to highlight a major exegetical and theological motif in the Apocryphon, and to enhance our understanding of its oft noted relationship with Jubilees.

The concluding chapter is dedicated to offering some thoughts on the scroll's composition, date, and provenance, especially in light of newly published or emended portions of text and the results of the preceding chapters. Based on the contents and language of the Apocryphon, it is suggested that an early to mid-second century BCE date of composition is most plausible, and that the scroll was produced by a Judean group with a number of concerns that overlapped matters deemed important by the Qumran Essenes.

1.2. CURRENT ISSUES IN STUDY OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

As the contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls were revealed—a process that has taken over five decades—questions dear to modern text-critical scholars began to be asked of each work. What is this scroll about? How old is it? From which Jewish community did it initially emerge? Is it a product of the alleged Essene community at Qumran? How should it be classified? How does it fit into the history and literature of the period? How does it relate to the Bible? Ever since the initial publication of five of the Genesis Apocryphon's columns by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin in 1956, efforts to answer such questions vis-à-vis the Genesis Apocryphon have centered on three main issues: 1) literary genre; 2) relationship to Genesis; and 3) relationship to other ancient Jewish works.⁶ In an effort to

lay the proper groundwork for the following chapters these topics will be surveyed briefly below.

1.2.1. *Literary Genre*

Even before the first parts of the Genesis Apocryphon were published there was keen interest in what *kind* of text it is. It was immediately clear that the Aramaic scroll was tied to stories known from Genesis, but how? Avigad and Yadin first described it as “a sort of apocryphal version of stories from Genesis, faithful, for the most part, to the order of the chapters in Scripture.”⁷ Despite their use of the words “Apocryphon” and “apocryphal” to characterize the scroll, Matthew Black, Paul Kahle, and Otto Eissfeldt preferred to label it a “targum” (i.e. translation).⁸ Black and Kahle, however, later changed their minds and began referring to the work as a “midrash,” perhaps following the lead of S. Zeitlin.⁹ M. Lehmann, arguing that the Genesis Apocryphon proves the early existence of targums, maintained that the Apocryphon “fits squarely into the main stream of Targumim and Midrashim, and probably represents the oldest prototype of both available to us.”¹⁰ The classification “midrash” was eventually adopted by a bevy of scholars.¹¹

While some small, isolated sections of the scroll could be considered an Aramaic targum of Genesis, Fitzmyer stated correctly that “it is not really possible to label the whole composition a targum,” since most of its text is much freer and more expansionistic than any known targum, including the so-called Pseudo-Jonathan and Fragment Targums.¹² In the Noah section, for example, one can read for several columns (at least what is left of them) without meeting a strict translation of any known biblical version.

⁷ N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press and Heikhal Ha-Sefer, 1956), 38.

⁸ M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (London: Nelson, 1961), 193. Also see his “The Recovery of the Language of Jesus,” *NTS* 3 (1956–57): 305–13. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 697.

⁹ S. Zeitlin, “The Dead Sea Scrolls: 1. The Lamech Scroll: A Medieval Midrash: 2. The Copper Scrolls: 3. Was Kando the Owner of the Scrolls?” *JQR* [New Ser.] 47:3 (January, 1957): 247.

¹⁰ M. R. Lehmann, “1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim,” *RevQ* 1 (1958–59): 251.

¹¹ These included A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Goshen-Gottstein, J. van der Ploeg, G. Lambert, R. Meyer, R. de Vaux, E. Vogt, G. Vermes, A. Wright, S. Segert, and H. Kee. For complete references see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 19 n. 28.

¹² Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 18. This is also the opinion of R. Le Déaut, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary, Biblica* 48 (1967): 142.

⁶ I am certainly not suggesting that these are the only issues that have been, or deserve to be, discussed regarding the Apocryphon. However, these three topics do represent (or at least relate to) the brunt of scholarship on the scroll up to the present, and thus provide a good starting point for this study.

Although the term “midrash” may serve as a helpful description of the interpretive process used in the Genesis Apocryphon, it too has weaknesses. On the one hand, midrash can constitute a broad category roughly synonymous with “Jewish biblical interpretation,”¹³ while on the other it is frequently used to refer to a specific, rabbinic method of biblical interpretation, which cites a lemma and then seeks to explain it in a discrete segment of commentary.¹⁴ Although the broad definition would certainly include the Genesis Apocryphon, it risks anachronistic confusion with the more narrow rabbinic method of interpretation.

Attempts to avoid such confusion are reflected by various commentators on the Apocryphon. H. Lignée correctly specified that “c’est un midrash haggadique d’un genre spécial, qui n’est pas absolument semblable au midrash rabbinique...”¹⁵ A. Dupont-Sommer further posited that the scroll is “un précieux spécimen de midrash essénien,” although one might expect this distinction to belong rather to the sectarian pesharim.¹⁶ C. Evans aptly summarized the situation: “[t]he *Genesis Apocryphon* is certainly not a targum, nor is it midrash in the sense of text and commentary.”¹⁷

¹³ It was regularly employed in this broad sense by G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961 [2nd ed., 1973]). Also see A. G. Wright, “The Literary Genre Midrash (Part Two),” *CBQ* 28 (1966): 456. The term is set in an even broader context by R. Bloch, “Midrash,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vol. 5; eds L. Pirot, A. Robert, and H. Cazelles; Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1957), 1263–81. He traces the practice of midrash from its ancient Near Eastern origins, through Jewish Intertestamental works such as Jubilees, to its culmination in the rabbinic method. This important article has been translated into English by M. Howard Callaway in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism: Theory and Practice* (2 vols; Brown Judaic Studies 1; ed. W. S. Green; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 1:29–50.

¹⁴ In other words, the biblical passage and its interpretation are formally distinguished from each other. See, e.g., the definition in H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (trans. and ed. M. Bockmuehl; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992 [repr. 1996]), 235. Cf. G. J. Brooke, “Rewritten Bible,” in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2:777–80; and M. J. Bernstein, “Rewritten Bible: A Generic Category which has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 186. Also see the important distinction of C. Perrot, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques. Tome II* (SC 230; Paris: Cerf, 1976), 22–28. Perrot partially captured these two ways of understanding midrash by delineating two exegetical techniques: *texte expliqué* (i.e. lemmatized midrash) and *texte continué*. The latter term is equivalent to Vermes’ “rewritten Bible” (see below).

¹⁵ H. Lignée, “L’Apocryphe de la Genèse,” in *Les textes de Qumran: Traduits et annotés* (2 vols; eds J. Carmignac, É. Cothenet, and H. Lignée; Paris: Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1963), 2:215.

¹⁶ A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Paris: Payot, 1980), 293.

¹⁷ C. A. Evans, “The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 154. For a similar appraisal see D. J. Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten (Narrative),” in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (eds R. A. Kraft and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 239–47 [esp. 242].

In 1961, Geza Vermes introduced the term “rewritten Bible” into his discussion of Jewish midrashic texts.¹⁸ By “rewritten Bible,” he clearly meant a subcategory within the broader spectrum of midrash. He wrote that, “[i]n order to anticipate questions, and to solve problems in advance, the midrashist inserts haggadic development into the biblical narrative—an exegetical process which is probably as ancient as scriptural interpretation itself.”¹⁹ Included by Vermes under rewritten Bible were *Sepher ha-Yashar*, the Palestinian Targum, Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, the Book of Jubilees, and the Genesis Apocryphon. As later noted by Bernstein, a defining characteristic of Vermes’ description was a “recapitulation of the narrative...of the whole or a large part of the biblical story,”²⁰ as opposed to lemmatized commentary. Hence, in the works deemed rewritten Bible by Vermes, haggadic accretions are not formally distinguished from the biblical narrative.

Rewritten Bible has subsequently become a popular term, used to describe and categorize various ancient Jewish exegetical works, especially the Genesis Apocryphon.²¹ Unfortunately, it has not always been applied in a consistent manner, causing the genre to lose some of its usefulness.²² Especially confusing is the interchangeable and conflicting use of adjectives like “rewritten,” “parabiblical,” “midrashic,” “apocryphal,” “retold,” and “reworked” to describe ancient Jewish texts that interpret Scripture. For instance, the term “parabiblical” was coined in 1967 by H. L. Ginsberg:²³

I...approve of [Fitzmyer’s] rejection of such labels as “targum” and “midrash”... To the question of literary genre, I should like to contribute a proposal for a term to cover works, like *GA* [i.e. *Genesis Apocryphon*], Pseudo-Philo, and the *Book of Jubilees*, which paraphrase and/or supplement the canonical Scriptures: parabiblical literature. The motivation of such literature—like that of midrash—may be more doctrinal, as in the case of the *Book of Jubilees*, or more artistic, as in at least the

¹⁸ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 67.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁰ Bernstein, “Rewritten Bible,” 174.

²¹ J. Kugel prefers the term “Retold Bible,” thereby attending to the undoubtedly significant oral component of the process. He provides a helpful description of the exegetical process involved in these types of texts in J. L. Kugel, *In Potiphar’s House* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 264–68.

²² Bernstein’s “Rewritten Bible” is a welcome corrective to this trend. He also provides a survey of how the term has been used.

²³ H. L. Ginsberg, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary, Theological Studies* 28 (1967): 574–77 [574]. Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 20) prefers this term to rewritten Bible, although he calls the Genesis Apocryphon “a good example” of the latter.

preserved parts of *GA*, but it differs from midrashic literature by not directly quoting and (with more or less arbitrariness) interpreting canonical Scripture.

Ginsberg's use of "parabiblical literature" seems to be nearly the same as Vermes' employment of "rewritten Bible." However, when we turn to the more well-known use of "parabiblical" in Oxford's *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series, we find the two terms juxtaposed in a different way:²⁴

Within these volumes the parabiblical texts hold a special place since some of the literary genres represented by Qumran are becoming known only now, with the publication of the volumes. The volumes of the parabiblical texts contain various compositions which have in common that they are closely related to texts or themes of the Hebrew Bible. Some of these compositions present a reworking, rewriting, or paraphrase of biblical books.

Here parabiblical is used by E. Tov as an umbrella term, under which rewritten Bible would apparently be placed (i.e. more akin to Vermes' use of "midrashic"). Evans makes a similar swap, this time between midrash and rewritten Bible: "Therefore, the *Genesis Apocryphon* is part of what is sometimes called the 'rewritten Bible,' a broad category that includes targum, midrash, and rewritten biblical narratives."²⁵ In contrast, Vermes and Bernstein would place the more narrowly defined rewritten Bible under the broader heading of midrash, or biblical interpretation. The landscape of terms has obviously become cluttered and confusing.

To add to this dilemma, some have begun to question the validity of even using expressions like rewritten Bible or parabiblical literature at all. Such terms, they allege, imply a canonical situation that is anachronistic for many of the works typically gathered under them. John Reeves stated the argument forcefully:²⁶

²⁴ H. W. Attridge et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD XIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), ix. Cf. M. Broshi et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (DJD XIX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); G. Brooke et al., in consultation with J. C. VanderKam, *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4, XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD XXX; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

²⁵ Evans, "The Genesis Apocryphon and the Rewritten Bible," 154. An equally broad view is expressed by G. J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," 2:780b.

²⁶ J. C. Reeves, "The Flowing Stream: Qur'anic Interpretations and the Bible," *Religious Studies News: SBL Edition* 2.9 (Dec. 2001). Similar opinions have been expressed by B. Chiesa, "Biblical and Parabiblical Texts from Qumran," *Henoch* 20 (1998): 131–33; and J. P. Meier, "The Historical Jesus and the Historical Law: Some Problems within the Problem," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 57 n. 10.

The conceptual problem for modern researchers is further aggravated by a largely unreflective use of popular classificatory terminology like that of 'rewritten Bible' for works like Jubilees or 1 Enoch. One must first have 'Bible' before one can 'rewrite' it: the category presupposes and subtly endorses both a chronological sequence and an intertextual relationship.

...I would suggest that the notion of 'Bible' as a privileged category functioning as the fixed point of reference and discussion for the labeling, analysis, and evaluation of 'non-canonical' i.e., non-biblical works, requires a radical revision and reformulation. Our descriptive language should be altered in order to express this 'revisioning'; instead of biblical 'expansions' or 'rewritings,' we should perhaps speak of 'biblically allied,' 'biblically affiliated,' or 'biblically related' literatures. Moreover, our accustomed way of perceiving and categorizing how Bible interacted with parallel literary corpora will require a serious overhaul. Instead of measuring all biblically allied or affiliated literatures against the Bible and then assigning labels like 'expanded Bible,' 'rewritten Bible,' 'paraphrased Bible,' 'distorted Bible,' and the like to those exemplars which depart textually and/or thematically from the Bible of the Masoretes, we should rather consider the bulk of this material, both biblical and non-biblical, as one culturally variegated literary continuum which juxtaposes a number of alternative or parallel ways of recounting a particular story or tradition.

Reeves' advice serves as a healthy reminder of the fluidity of these traditions during the second temple period, and points out an important link to the equally contentious issues of canonicity and scriptural authority. Yet, few would argue that the authors of works typically considered rewritten Bible did not base their accounts on a relatively fixed, received scriptural tradition roughly analogous to one of the known "variant literary editions."²⁷ If this is granted, then rewritten Bible remains a practical and helpful (albeit somewhat anachronistic) designation, so long as it is clear where it stands in the taxonomy of classificatory terms.

Recently, Daniel Falk again addressed the problem of terminology within the broader discussion of canon formation (or lack thereof) and scriptural authority in early Judaism.²⁸ Not only does he provide a much

²⁷ This is, perhaps, more true for the Pentateuch than some other scriptural books. For a definition and defense of the term "variant literary edition" see E. C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans/Leiden: Brill, 1999), 99–120 [esp. 106–109].

²⁸ See his excellent, up-to-date introduction to the Genesis Apocryphon and "parabiblical" texts in general in D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (CQS 8; LSTS 63; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 1–25. Falk includes in his survey a number of scholars who have contributed to the present discussion, but are not included here

more thoroughgoing summary of preceding opinions on the status of these texts than is presented here, but also proffers his own set of definitions and conceptual framework for discussion. “Parabiblical,” he argues, is best employed as an umbrella term, encompassing a wide variety of literary genres and styles (i.e. much as Tov uses it). “Rewritten Bible” (or, better in Falk’s opinion, “rewritten Scripture”), meanwhile, cannot be spoken of as a literary genre *per se*, but should be viewed as an exegetical *activity*—part of what Falk calls “extending Scripture.” As he points out, such extension was apparently a booming industry during the second temple period.²⁹

In this study I will employ rewritten Bible as a subcategory of either biblical interpretation, midrash (in the broad sense of Vermes), or parabiblical literature (in the more generous views of Tov or Falk)—these three categories being roughly equivalent in my opinion. Under rewritten Bible I include the Genesis Apocryphon and any other ancient text seeking to interpret sacred Scripture by combining the biblical narrative and significant interpretive elements (haggadic or halakhic) without formally distinguishing between the two.

This definition leaves open two difficult questions, which I simply acknowledge here. First, how significant must the *interpretive element* be for a work to not be considered Scripture? Here a text such as 4QRe-worked Pentateuch (4Q364–367) is particularly thorny, since exegetical intrusions into the scriptural text are relatively minimal.³⁰ Second, and on the other end of the spectrum, how much *biblical narrative* must be present? 1 Enoch, Life of Adam and Eve, Ascension of Isaiah, 4 Ezra, Baruch, Aramaic Levi, and similar texts give pause in this regard, since their explicit scriptural grounding is very thin indeed.³¹ Both questions

ultimately pertain to “the degree of closeness of the exegetical composition to the biblical text,”³² and call for boundaries to be set at either end of the rewritten Scripture continuum if one wishes to define it as a genre. Wherever these outer limits may fall (and it is not my intention to set them here),³³ we may confidently place the Genesis Apocryphon within their range, since it is one of a handful of texts to be included in every published list of rewritten Bible thus far.

Of course, it is worth reminding ourselves that the Genesis Apocryphon’s status as rewritten Bible is valid only when viewing the scroll in its entirety. Were we to possess only the first few columns, we would probably not consider this text rewritten Bible, but an Enochic writing. If, on the other hand, we had only column 22 it could legitimately be considered a targum.

1.2.2. *Relationship to Genesis*

Closely bound to the question of literary genre is the way in which the Genesis Apocryphon “rewrites,” or “retells,” parts of Genesis. A host of scholars have summarized the general character of the scroll in relation to the ancient versions, noting, for example, that it expansively paraphrases, reproduces and supplements, or freely reworks and rearranges the biblical narrative.³⁴ Bernstein has recently begun to supplement these broad statements with careful, detailed studies of the specific exegetical techniques employed by the scroll, thereby filling a desideratum.³⁵ His studies

(e.g. F. García Martínez, L. H. Schiffman, S. White Crawford, M. Segal, B. Fisk, E. C. Ulrich, J. C. VanderKam, J. Maier, and J. G. Campbell).

²⁹ Ibid., 17.

³⁰ Studies aimed at what we might call the more “biblical” end of the rewritten Bible spectrum are those of E. Tov, “Biblical Texts as Rewritten in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QparaGen-Exod,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds E. C. Ulrich and J. C. VanderKam; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111–134; S. White Crawford, “The ‘Rewritten’ Bible at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts,” *Eretz-Israel* 26 [F. M. Cross Festschrift] (1999): 1–8; and M. Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28. Also see Bernstein, “Rewritten Bible”; and Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 107–119.

³¹ Such texts are included in the discussions of G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gor-

cum/Fortress, 1984), 89–156 [esp. 89–90]; and Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten (Narratives).” The case of 1 Enoch deserves special attention. While the composition as a whole may be excluded as rewritten Bible by most accounts, certain of its components—in particular the Animal Apocalypse—could fit into most definitions of the genre. Perhaps this distinction should be borne in mind as discussion regarding rewritten Bible continues.

³² Tov, “Biblical Texts as Rewritten,” 113.

³³ I find the summary of Philip Alexander a helpful move in this direction, and the best definition of the genre to date. See P. S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture. Essays in Honor of Barnabas Lindars* (eds D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121 [esp. 116–18].

³⁴ Some representative examples are Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 17; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 173; and VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), 277.

³⁵ See Bernstein, “Re-arrangement, Anticipation, and Harmonization,” 37–57; idem, “From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran. Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Research Group on Qumran, 15–17 January, 2002* (STDJ 58; eds E. G. Chazon, D. Dimant, and R. A. Clements; Leiden: Brill,

affirm earlier generalizations: the author of the scroll rearranged, anticipated, harmonized, added, and subtracted varied information from the scriptural narrative in order to provide a fuller, smoother, more coherent story. With this basic description of the scroll's *modus operandi* in mind, there are three issues worthy of brief treatment before proceeding: 1) the question of theological *Tendenz*; 2) variation in exegetical expansion; and 3) the narratological break at 1QapGen 21.23.

1.2.2.1. *Theological Tendenz*

Vermes, Fitzmyer, and others have understood the Apocryphon to be largely devoid of theological *Tendenz*, or interpretative activity driven by religious concerns and ideologies. Vermes' characterization of the scroll reflects vibrantly this viewpoint:³⁶

...it will be seen that Genesis Apocryphon occupies a privileged position in the midrashic literature in that it is the most ancient midrash of all. With its discovery the lost link between the biblical and the Rabbinic midrash has been found. Its freshness, its popular character, and its contribution to the understanding of the midrashic literary genre in its purest form, are unique. The pseudepigrapha related to it, or eventually dependent upon it (Jub., Enoch), as also most of the later midrashim, are too much concerned to graft upon the biblical story doctrines sometimes foreign to them. Beside Genesis Apocryphon they appear artificial and laboured, even though the relative weakness of their literary quality is often compensated by a greater theological richness...

The haggadic developments of Genesis Apocryphon are therefore organically bound to their biblical text. The author never attempts to introduce unrelated or extraneous matter. His technique is simple and he exercises no scholarly learning, no exegetical virtuosity, no play on words. His intention is to explain the biblical text, and this he does either by bringing together various passages of Genesis, or by illustrating a verse with

the help of an appropriate story. The resulting work is certainly one of the jewels of midrashic exegesis, and the best illustration yet available of the primitive haggadah and of the unbiased rewriting of the Bible.

In like manner, F. Rosenthal wrote that "for the time being, we can be pretty certain that the text contains little of an ideological nature," although he qualified this statement by noting that "the material preserved is limited."³⁷ He does, nonetheless, detect a concern over the purity of the priestly line in the insistence of Sarai's chastity while in Pharaoh's house, and further proffered that, "[a]fter publication of the entire scroll, similar ideological attitudes, I am sure, will be discovered in the work upon closer scrutiny." Fitzmyer agreed that "it is difficult to see what exegetical or doctrinal meditations were at work in the composition of this text."³⁸

Other commentators have shown less reservation in assigning various theological motivations to our author. We may cite as examples the contentions of P. Winter and R. Meyer that the scroll contains an anti-Samaritan prejudice.³⁹ While this suggestion is difficult to rule out completely, it lacks the evidence and argumentation to instill confidence. More convincing is Lignée's perception of a "tendance sacerdotale" and a "tendance apocalyptique," which he attributes to the work's Qumranic milieu.⁴⁰

An exception to these tenuous suggestions is the fine study of George Nickelsburg, who has outlined a number of techniques and tendencies employed in the Apocryphon's retelling of events in Genesis.⁴¹ First, he refers to several places where an "Enochic" perspective is clearly discernible—not only in the scroll's early columns, but also in the Abram story, where Abram instructs Pharaoh's underlings by reading "from the book of the words of Enoch."⁴² Second, he draws attention to a possible "eschatological *Tendenz*" based on an *Urzeit/Endzeit* typology also found in 1 Enoch, whereby the author associates the wicked generation of Noah and its impending punishment with his own age.⁴³ Third, the author of the Apocryphon exploits channels of divine revelation not found in Genesis, such as the

2005), 39–64; and idem, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; eds D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199–231 [esp. 206–210]. Others who have dealt in some depth with the exegetical techniques of the scroll are Vermes, "Scripture and Tradition," 96–126; Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," 104–107; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 172–77; and idem, "Patriarchs Who Worry about their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May 1996* (STDJ 28; eds M. E. Stone and E. G. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–58; repr. in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (2 vols; JSJSup 80; eds J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:177–99.

³⁶ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124–26.

³⁷ F. Rosenthal, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *JNES* 18 (1959): 82–84.

³⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23.

³⁹ P. Winter, "Note on Salem-Jerusalem," *NovT* 2 (1957–58): 151–52. R. Meyer, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 80 (1959): 586–87.

⁴⁰ H. Lignée, "L'Apocryphe de la Genèse," 2:211–12.

⁴¹ Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry."

⁴² *Ibid.*, 181–82, 190–91 (cf. 1QapGen 19.25).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 182.

figure of Enoch and symbolic dream-visions.⁴⁴ Fourth, there is a clear “psychologizing interest” in describing the interaction between characters in the narrative, especially patriarchs and their wives (e.g. Lamech/Batenosh; Abram/Sarai).⁴⁵ Other tendencies are noted as well, such as an interest in eroticism, demons and apotropaicism, and the portrayal of patriarchs through the lens of other Israelite figures, such as Joseph and Daniel. According to Nickelsburg, several of these factors indicate significant concern over the sexual purity of Israelite women, which may give us some hint of the social setting behind the scroll.

Nickelsburg has successfully shown that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon utilized certain literary techniques and theological perspectives in his rewriting of Genesis. However, he was not able to extensively incorporate the more recently published parts of the scroll into his analysis, instead having to focus on those parts first published by Avigad and Yadin in 1956. An investigation of the techniques and concerns reflected in these parts of the Apocryphon has yet to be undertaken. Such a study may help clarify Nickelsburg’s list, and perhaps add to it.

1.2.2.2. *Variation in Exegetical Expansion*

In passing, Nickelsburg mentioned a practice of the Genesis Apocryphon worth drawing further attention to here. While almost every commentator notes the expansive nature of the Apocryphon, he observed that there are at least two sections of the scroll which compress stories from Genesis: the story of Abram and Lot (Gen 13:1–13; 1QapGen 20.33–21.7) and the war of the eastern and Canaanite kings (Gen 14; 1QapGen 21.23–22.26).⁴⁶ Although not altogether surprising, this suggests that the author of the Apocryphon was more interested in some parts of Genesis than in others, that there was simply more haggadic material available to draw on for certain portions of the book, or that he was using sources which varied in their exegetical approach. Analysis of individual facets of the narrative, such as the mixed employment of divine names or the noticeable shifts in Aramaic syntax, suggests that the latter is quite probable.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid., 183, 188–89.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 183–84, 188.

⁴⁶ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 177.

⁴⁷ See the article by M. J. Bernstein, “Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon” (forthcoming). In it, he highlights a dramatic distinction between the divine titles and epithets employed in what he calls Part I (the Noah section [cols. 0–17]) and Part II (the Abram section [cols. 19–22]) of the scroll.

1.2.2.3. *1QapGen 21.23*

The autobiographical narration of the Genesis Apocryphon is one of its unique and most frequently cited attributes. Many scholars, however, have been careful to stress that this trait does not carry throughout the entire scroll, since at 1QapGen 21.23 there is a shift from the first to third person.⁴⁸ This shift is concurrent with the beginning of the story about the war of the four eastern kings against the five Canaanite kings (cf. Gen 14).

Fitzmyer, Vermes, and Alexander observed that this narrative break is accompanied by a more profound shift in the scroll’s style of biblical exegesis.⁴⁹ In contrast to the part of the scroll preceding 21.23, Fitzmyer noted that the portion following it “is marked by far less rewriting or embellishments than what is found in the preceding chapters of Genesis. Indeed, at times it is nothing more than a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text into Aramaic; yet even this sort of translation does not last long. It is rather a paraphrase, which stays close to the biblical text.”⁵⁰ Although this later segment of the Apocryphon still contains a large number of novel interpretive elements, Fitzmyer’s distinction remains essentially correct. This change in style is, no doubt, partly responsible for early disagreement over whether the scroll should be labelled a targum or a midrash.

1.2.3. *Qumran Origins?*

The most recent edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* inconspicuously states that the Genesis Apocryphon “is a good example of Essene biblical exegesis.”⁵¹ Yet, opinions over whether the Genesis Apocryphon was the product of the Essenes at Qumran have been decidedly mixed. Some, such as Michaud, Meyer, Lignée, de Vaux, and Dupont-Sommer perceived elements in the scroll suggesting a direct connection to the Qumran Essene community, whose theology is reflected in sectarian writings such as the Community

⁴⁸ Most introductions to the text mention this fact. For a summary see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 229–30.

⁴⁹ See Vermes’ treatment, “2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran,” in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols; trans., rev., and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), 3.1:318–25 [esp. 321]. Cf. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” 104.

⁵⁰ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 230. Cf. Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 33.

⁵¹ *The New Encyclopædia Britannica* (15th ed.; Chicago/London: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2005), 5:177.

Rule, the War Scroll, and the Pesharim.⁵² J. C. Reeves has suggested that part of Noah's sacrifice in 1QapGen 10.14 may also indicate that the Apocryphon was a sectarian or proto-sectarian product.⁵³ His proposed reconstruction of Noah burning fat upon the altar following the flood has since been confirmed, and may display a ritual affinity with Jubilees and the Temple Scroll.⁵⁴

Fitzmyer is among those who have questioned this stance, asserting that "[t]here is nothing in this text that clearly links it with any of the known beliefs or customs of the Qumran sect. There is practically no Essene theology in this work..."⁵⁵ This position appears to be correct, and has been held by a large majority of scholars who have studied the scroll, including P. Winter, F. Rosenthal, G. Vermes, D. Harrington, G. Nickelsburg, and D. Falk.⁵⁶ This conclusion may also gain support from the fact that the Apocryphon was written in Aramaic, since all Qumran writings of certain Essene origin were penned in Hebrew.⁵⁷ Although the Genesis Apocryphon was probably not composed by the Qumranites, there has been unanimous agreement that it originated in the land of

Israel. This is most clearly evidenced by the author's impressive knowledge of regional geography.⁵⁸

1.2.4. Relationship to Other Ancient Jewish Texts

Sustained efforts have been made to compare and relate the Genesis Apocryphon to other literary works of the second temple and rabbinic periods. Often-times, these are aimed at settling questions regarding the composition's date and provenance. A firm relative date, for instance, could help determine whether the Apocryphon was composed before or during the period when Qumran was settled, or with which Jewish group(s) it may have been associated. In addition, comparison with contemporaneous literature may help scholars conjecture what some of the gaps in the fragmentary scroll once contained. Below I will outline some of the most pertinent connections scholars have drawn between the Apocryphon and other ancient Jewish texts.

1.2.4.1. 1 Enoch and Jubilees

The Genesis Apocryphon's close relationship to the early Enochic literature on one hand, and the Book of Jubilees on the other, has been noted since its initial publication by Avigad and Yadin.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, 1 Enoch and Jubilees have often been uncritically grouped together as if they were a single work, especially by early commentators. This seems to rest on the unverified conclusion that the Genesis Apocryphon must either be a source for, or dependent upon, both 1 Enoch and Jubilees—i.e. the relationship must be the same for both works. The early statement of Avigad and Yadin is typical: "we may confidently emphasize the close connection between the scroll and many parts of the Book of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees, leading at times to the conclusion that the scroll *may have served as a source for a number of the stories told more concisely in those two books.*"⁶⁰

The frequent conflation of these texts renders any attempt to treat either one in terms of its own relationship to the Apocryphon difficult. In an effort to avoid repetition, I will present the opinions of those who treat 1 Enoch and Jubilees together under my section

⁵² H. Michaud, "Une livre apocryphe de la Genèse en Araméen," *Positions luthériennes* 5 (April 1957): 91–104 [esp. 101–2]; Meyer, review of Avigad and Yadin, 587; H. Lignée, "L'Apocryphe de la Genèse," 211–12; R. de Vaux, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, RB 74 (1967): 101; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Le Écrits esséniens découverts près de la mer Morte* (Bibliothèque historique; Paris: Payot, 1959), 293.

⁵³ J. C. Reeves, "What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X, 15?" *RevQ* 12.3 (1986): 415–19.

⁵⁴ The fact that fat is burned is hardly determinative, since this practice is also common in the Hebrew Bible. Reeves' observation that the Apocryphon employs a sectarian order for the sacrifices may be more meaningful, but its connection to the Temple Scroll does not seem particularly close. The sectarian status of the Temple Scroll has also been a matter of some debate. See L. H. Schiffman, review of Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (English edition), BA 48.2 (1985): 122–26.

⁵⁵ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23. Cf. H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1958), 150.

⁵⁶ Winter, "Note on Salem-Jerusalem," 151–52; Rosenthal, review of Avigad and Yadin, 83; Vermes, "2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran," 323; Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," 244–45; Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 177; and Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 29.

⁵⁷ See S. Segert, "Die Sprachenfragen in der Qumrängemeinschaft," *Qumrān-Probleme* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 42; ed. H. Bardtke; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 315–39 [esp. 322–23]; idem, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, JSS 13 (1968): 282; and A. Lamadrid, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *Estudios Bíblicos* 28 (1969): 169. Also see the more detailed discussion of language and date in Chapter 5.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124.

⁵⁹ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 38.

⁶⁰ Ibid. [emphasis theirs]. The widely acknowledged composite nature of 1 Enoch has also not always been adequately taken into consideration.

on 1 Enoch, referring back to them only as needed in the subsequent Jubilees section.

1.2.4.1.1. 1 Enoch

A vague connection between 1 Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon was first posited by John Trever in 1949.⁶¹ Commenting on the first legible piece of the scroll, he wrote that “Dr. W. F. Albright...suggested from key words appearing on it that it came from Enoch, though he found no exact parallels.”⁶² With this general connection suggested, a number of scholars have attempted further to clarify their relationship.

Genesis Apocryphon a Source for 1 Enoch

From Trever’s early report on the emerging contents of the Fourth Scroll it is clear that both Albright and Charles Torrey considered this “Book of Lamech” to be a source for the Book of Enoch. Torrey argued that:⁶³

The consistent use of the first person in the Fragment shows that it was truly a Lamech apocalypse, quite distinct from the book of Enoch. In my judgment, this framework was given up when this portion of the work was made a part of Enoch and adapted to it; for there, as you see, Lamech is spoken of only in the third person, while the only one who speaks in the first person is Enoch! My guess, then, would be that your Fragment represents the original form of the apocalypse.

Albright added that “[a] strong case can be brought for considering the so-called Book of Noah which is imbedded in Enoch (Chapters 6–11; 54–55:2; 60; 65–69:25; 106–107, according to Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. xlvii) as properly derived from the Book of Lamech.”⁶⁴ Unfortunately, he did little to clarify this “strong case” beyond pointing to some well-documented difficulties in the Noachic sections of 1 Enoch.

Avigad and Yadin were the first to analyze the most complete, persuasive parallel between the Apocryphon and 1 Enoch in detail.⁶⁵

[T]he first five columns of the scroll as we now have it, deal with the birth of Noah in a manner that has no relationship at all to the brief Biblical account in Genesis v, 28–29. On the other hand, the narrative

in the scroll resembles chapter cvi of the Book of Enoch in most essential points, though there are some significant additions in the scroll, such as the dialogue between Lamech and Bat-Enosh and Enoch’s long reply to Methuselah—some five times as long as the version in the Book of Enoch.

This fascinating story tells of Noah’s spectacular birth, Lamech’s suspicion that the child’s conception may be illegitimate, and the eventual assurance by Enoch that the infant is indeed his offspring (1QapGen 2–5.27; 1 En 106–7).⁶⁶ The fact that the story is significantly longer in the Apocryphon than in 1 Enoch led the editors to conclude that the former was probably contemporary with or previous to the composition of the latter—i.e. 1 Enoch is a later, condensed version of the story of Noah’s birth, perhaps based on the Apocryphon.

Vermes was the only scholar to offer explicit support for the proposal of Avigad and Yadin regarding 1 Enoch.⁶⁷ He went further than they did, however, in explaining his reason for this stance. For Vermes, the primacy of the Genesis Apocryphon is obvious based on “[i]ts freshness, its popular character, and its contribution to the understanding of the midrashic genre in its purest form.” It is “the most ancient midrash of all,” beside which other midrashic works like 1 Enoch and Jubilees “appear artificial and laboured, even though the relative weakness of their literary quality is often compensated by a greater theological richness.” Hence, it is the Apocryphon’s “unbiased rewriting of the Bible” that sets it apart, and proves its greater antiquity in relation to other similar works. It is surprising that Vermes cited Enoch as an example in this description, since he evidently based his estimation of the Apocryphon solely on passages paralleled in Jubilees and dealing with Abram. In fact, the more expansive passage of 1QapGen 2–5.27 would seem to contradict his blanket judgments.

More compelling is Vermes’ later defense of the Apocryphon’s priority, in which he noted a tendency in Intertestamental literature towards abbreviation.⁶⁸ His examples of this phenomenon are Psalm 151, the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch, and the Aramaic Testament of Levi.⁶⁹ Echoing earlier sentiments, he

⁶¹ J. C. Trever, “Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll from ‘Ain Feshka,” *BASOR* 115 (1949): 8–10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 n. 4.

⁶⁵ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 19.

⁶⁶ The story derives from an interpretation of Gen 5:29. See Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 16–19; and G. Sarfatti, “Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon,” *Tarbiz* 28 (1958–59): 254–55 [Hebrew].

⁶⁷ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124–26.

⁶⁸ Vermes, “2. The Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran,” 318–25.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 321.

further observed that it is easier to account for Jubilees' insertion of doctrinal tendencies (e.g. calendrical matters) into an unbiased work such as the Genesis Apocryphon than the other way round. He was also the only commentator to question the traditional dating of the scroll's language to the first century BCE, arguing that the only thing Kutscher had shown in his renowned linguistic analysis was that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon postdates that of Daniel.⁷⁰ Hence, he "slightly" preferred a date of composition in the early second century BCE. Despite these views, Vermes admitted that the opinion of others, who believed Jubilees to be the earlier text (see below), is also tenable.

Indeterminate Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch

A bevy of scholars reviewed the 1956 edition of the scroll by Avigad and Yadin, many exhibiting wariness at the possibility of pinpointing the direction of literary dependence between the Apocryphon and 1 Enoch. David Flusser was among the first to express doubt:⁷¹

The entire scroll bears a resemblance in its overall plot and in many details to parts of the Book of Jubilees and parts of the Book of Enoch, although not all of the composition's features are found in those two works. The question pertains whether the composition before us was used as a source for the works mentioned above. The editors of the scroll are inclined to answer this question in the affirmative. Yet I do not know if the small amount of material from the scroll published thus far makes it at all possible to answer this important question... It is difficult today to assess the ways in which the authors manipulated their sources in order to create this literature; it appears that the authors put the words of their compatriots to use in a way similar to scribes of the Middle Ages, i.e. they relied on the texts at their disposal, intermingled them, arranged them according to their fancy, and added or subtracted to the extent that it is sometimes difficult for us to determine whether what lies before us is a new version or a new composition.

Similar, albeit less developed, opinions were expressed by H. Bardtke, J. Hempel, and R. Meyer, the latter adding that Avigad and Yadin's hypothesis seemed to him "fraglich."⁷² There was a general consensus

among these scholars that publication of other parts of the Genesis Apocryphon may shed light on the issue of literary dependence. Although significantly more of the text is now available, few efforts have been made to explore what they may add to our knowledge on this topic.

Most recently, and since the publication of all available columns, Bernstein has noted an ongoing scholarly inability to accurately determine the relationships between the Apocryphon and other Jewish works.⁷³ Having pointed out a number of connections with Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Giants, and without giving up hope for future advances, he concludes that "we cannot yet determine any genetic relationship among them."⁷⁴

1 Enoch a Source for the Genesis Apocryphon

H. E. Del Medico was the first to disagree overtly with Avigad and Yadin's relative chronology, and his judgment has since emerged as the *communis opinio*.⁷⁵

At the moment, it is impossible to give a definite date for this manuscript, but there is a clearly marked tendency in all writings of this kind which should not be overlooked: whilst an author leaves out a story he does not know, the general rule stands that "no author abbreviates; all amplify"... Moreover, it hardly seems probable that our roll could have been earlier to, or contemporary with, the Book of Jubilees, Enoch, etc., which are given dates from the fourth to second centuries BC.

While Del Medico's proposal to invert the direction of literary dependence suggested by Avigad and Yadin has been accepted by others, his dating of the scroll has been widely dismissed. He assigned the scroll a second century CE date at the earliest based on its employment of the name Hyrcanus, which he understood to refer to a member of the Tobiad dynasty.⁷⁶

G. Lambert joined Del Medico in his rejection of Avigad and Yadin's proposed relationship, if not his controversial dating, "Personnellement nous avons

⁷⁰ For a significantly more skeptical assessment of the possibility of dating the Aramaic of the Apocryphon and other Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran see M. O. Wise, *Thunder in Gemini* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 103–51.

⁷¹ Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, 382–83 [translation mine].

⁷² Bardtke, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, TLZ 83 (1958): 346; Hempel, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, ZAW 69 (1957): 234; and Meyer, review of Avigad and Yadin, 587.

⁷³ Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood," 39–64.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 64.

⁷⁵ H. E. Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls* (trans. H. Garner; London: Burke, 1958), 177. Originally published as *L'énigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1957), 239–40.

⁷⁶ Del Medico, *The Riddle of the Scrolls*, 174–78. This Hyrcanus (son of Joseph and grandson of Tobias) was active during the late 3rd to early 2nd cents BCE. Del Medico claims that the legend of Hyrcanus and the literary environment must have had at least three centuries (!) to develop before reaching the stage found in the Apocryphon. Sheer conjecture would be a benevolent characterization of Del Medico's theory. It is also worth noting his obvious disdain for this text, passages of which he dubbed "highly improper."

plutôt l'impression que c'est notre auteur qui amplifie, à partir du Livre des Jubilés et d'autres sources, mais non l'inverse."⁷⁷ Like most commentators, Lambert discusses the Genesis Apocryphon's relationship with Jubilees almost exclusively, although he would presumably include 1 Enoch among his "autres sources."

Fitzmyer took the same stance in his 1966 commentary on the Apocryphon. Having explained Avigad and Yadin's position, he observed that "the editors have given no reasons for their 'assumption,'" leading him to assert that:⁷⁸

just the opposite seems to be more likely, i.e., that the work in this scroll depends on Enoch and Jubilees. Such a view is more in accord with the general tendency of the scroll to fill out and embellish the Genesis narrative. One gets the impression that the scanty details in Genesis, Enoch, or Jubilees are here utilized in an independent way and filled out with imaginative additions.

Although Fitzmyer cited no specific examples, he would undoubtedly consider the longer version of Noah's birth in the Genesis Apocryphon a "filling out" and "embellishing" of 1 En 106–107.⁷⁹ In 1984 K. Beyer followed suit, claiming that Enoch and Jubilees were used directly by the Apocryphon to fill out its retelling of Genesis.⁸⁰

Nickelsburg has offered the most comprehensive and well-reasoned argument for the priority of 1 En 106–107 to date. Based on earlier suggestions by J. T. Milik and F. García Martínez that both sources depend on an earlier Book of Noah (see below), Nickelsburg suggested that:⁸¹

[A] Noah book may have provided source material for 1 Enoch 106–107, whose author enhanced the figure of Enoch and added some eschatological material drawn from other parts of the Enochic corpus. The Apocryphon's author further elaborated the Enochic story with the haggadic motifs that were of interest to him and with the Enochic material, which has also influenced other parts of the Apocryphon.

⁷⁷ Lambert, "Une 'Genèse apocryphe' trouvée à Qumrân," in *La secte de Qumrân et les origines du christianisme* (Recherches Bibliques 4; Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 85–107 [esp. 106].

⁷⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1966), 14. He had earlier expressed the same view, but with less developed reasoning, in "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *CBQ* 22 (1960): 277–91 [esp. 277].

⁷⁹ Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 122.

⁸⁰ K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitate* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165.

⁸¹ Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry," 199.

Four reasons were proffered in defense of this claim: 1) The heated exchange between Lamech and his wife Batenosh (1QapGen 2) is paralleled by similar additions to the Abram story later in the scroll, indicating an authorial tendency rather than a remnant from an earlier tradition; 2) Lamech's first person narration fits the general technique of the scroll, and need not derive from a source; 3) The Apocryphon devotes more space to Enoch's discourse than 1 En 106–107, suggesting an Enochic rather than Noachic source for the Lamech version of the story; and 4) The superscription "The Book of the Words of Noah" in 1QapGen 5.29 (directly following the birth of Noah story) seems to preclude the earlier columns of the Apocryphon belonging to a Book of Noah. Moreover, the stories of Noah's life (col. 6) and Abram and Sarai in Egypt (cols. 19–20) incorporate Enochic motifs and language.⁸²

While point four does not directly apply to the present question, the first three claim that much of the material present in the Genesis Apocryphon, but not in 1 Enoch 106–107, may be attributed to broader authorial mannerisms displayed in the Apocryphon. Nickelsburg proposes that when these editorial tendencies are removed the remaining account more closely resembles that of 1 Enoch, suggesting the latter as a probable source for the former.

Nickelsburg has also argued that the Genesis Apocryphon relies on other parts of the Enochic corpus, such as the Book of Watchers (1 En 6–11), the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 92–105), and various other passages.⁸³ He clearly understands these Enochic passages to be earlier, influencing the Apocryphon's retelling. Except for perhaps the Book of Watchers (cf. 1QapGen 0–1), Nickelsburg's examples speak more to a shared ideological background than direct borrowing or quotation from 1 Enoch.

Most recently, Falk has joined the camp of scholars claiming that the Apocryphon seems most likely to depend on 1 Enoch and Jubilees.⁸⁴

Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch Dependent on a Common Source

Milik espoused a view unlike those presented above, arguing instead that the stories of Noah's birth in the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch are independently

⁸² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 76.

⁸³ Such as 1 En 72–82, 83–84, and 85–90, where Methuselah is the mediator of Enochic revelation. See Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 172–77.

⁸⁴ Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 29, 50–53, 106.

derived from a common source, which he called the “Book of Noah.”⁸⁵ He remarked that:⁸⁶

[I]n 106:7–8 Methuselah betakes himself, for a consultation on the miraculous birth of Noah, ‘to the limits of the earth’ where Enoch ‘dwells with the angels’. This so-called Noachic fragment is nothing but a summary which serves as a reference (a sort of catchword) to a work in which the birth and the life of the Hebrew hero of the Flood were recounted in greater detail.

This ‘Book of Noah’ was summarized in Aramaic, undoubtedly in its original language, by the compiler of 1QGenesis Apocryphon... A Hebrew version of such a summary may be preserved in fragments of 1Q19. In En. 106–7, and the corresponding fragments of 4QEn^c, we have a third, and the most reduced, résumé of the ‘Book of Noah’.

This statement posits no direct relationship between 1 Enoch and the Apocryphon. However, one gains the impression that Milik considered the account in GenAp 2–5.27 to be older than that of 1 En 106–107, or at least closer to its original Noachic source.⁸⁷

Excursus: The Date of 1 Enoch 106–107

Any attempt to date the Genesis Apocryphon relative to 1 Enoch 106–107 depends on a fixed date for the latter account. R. H. Charles isolated these chapters of Enoch as a fragment of a Noah Apocalypse, noting that they did not cohere with their surrounding context.⁸⁸ He therefore attributed them to a late stage of the book’s editing.

Milik agreed with Charles’ judgment, reporting further that the story was partially preserved in one of the copies of Enoch from Cave 4 of Qumran (4QEn^c 5 i 24–25).⁸⁹ Dated paleographically to the last third of the first century BCE, this discovery provides a *terminus ante quem* for the story’s composition. Following Charles and Milik, García Martínez wrote that these chapters “are clearly an insertion...and obviously represent a later addition.”⁹⁰ Both Milik and

García Martínez considered this interpolation an abridged form of an earlier Book of Noah.

Nickelsburg agreed substantially with his predecessors, but modified their position slightly by suggesting that 1 En 106–107 did not rely on an earlier Noachic source alone, but on a number of older traditions.⁹¹ One of these sources, he argued, was the Epistle of Enoch, which he dates to the mid to early second century BCE.⁹² Hence, the version of the story as it stands in 1 Enoch 106–107 may be dated to sometime between the first third of the second century BCE and the last third of the first century BCE. If Nickelsburg’s assessment is correct, a date between the mid second century and early first century BCE is plausible.

Although this does not tell us with any assurance when the Genesis Apocryphon’s version of the story was composed, it does provide a plausible touchstone for comparison. If Torrey, Albright, Avigad and Yadin, and Vermes are followed, we might expect the Apocryphon to be dated to the mid second century BCE or earlier. However, if scholars such as Lambert, Fitzmyer, Nickelsburg, and Falk are correct, a date around the mid first century BCE might be reasonably argued.

Summary: The Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch

Thus far Nickelsburg has marshalled the most impressive case for a specific, genetic relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and 1 Enoch, arguing that most “non-Enochic” elements in the former may be attributed to the literary techniques of its author. Yet, the brief remarks of Torrey and Albright leave one somewhat ill at ease in accepting this proposal. Indeed, an extension of Torrey’s reasoning turns one of Nickelsburg’s strongest points on its head by suggesting that there is ample motivation for the redactor of 1 Enoch to change the main character of the story from Lamech to Enoch (i.e., subsume it under an Enochic perspective) in order to integrate it into the Enochic corpus. This argument gains support from other passages in 1 Enoch (e.g. chapters 60 and 65) where the figure of Enoch either displaces Noah or narrates Noachic events, even though Noah was clearly the original speaker.⁹³

To counter another of Nickelsburg’s points, it would not be surprising if the Enochic redactor quietly left aside the somewhat risqué exchange between Lamech and Batenosh, in which she details her sexual arousal during intercourse. The question thus becomes where the story seems most at home in its literary surrounding, to which we must answer emphatically: the Gen-

⁸⁵ Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 55. The Book of Noah is an ancillary topic of significant interest to those who study the Genesis Apocryphon, but for reasons of economy it will not be explored further here. For a recent and judicious review of the scholarship and issues see M. E. Stone, “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah,” *DSD* 13.1 (2006): 4–23.

⁸⁶ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 55.

⁸⁷ See Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 56–57, 183–84), who considered chapters 106–107 to be an appendix to the Enochic corpus. Cf. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 27–28; and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 539.

⁸⁸ R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1893), 25, 32–33, 301. This is also the opinion of Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 55–57) and Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 542), although the reasons for separating these chapters from the Epistle of Enoch and assigning them a later date have never been fully articulated.

⁸⁹ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 55–57, 178–217.

⁹⁰ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 27–28.

⁹¹ Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 26, 542.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 427–28. Cf. Charles (*The Book of Enoch*, 264), who assumes a later date.

⁹³ See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 152–53, 169–70.

esis Apocryphon. In sum, one could plausibly argue (with earlier scholars) that the redactor of 1 Enoch altered and abbreviated the Apocryphon, which would suggest a late second century BCE date for the Apocryphon at the latest.

Arguments based primarily on the relative length of these two related accounts are also troubling. To state simply that the longer text should be considered the younger (so Del Medico and Fitzmyer) is extremely suspect, since this rule—if indeed it is a rule at all—is prone to have exceptions. As noted above, Vermes (no amateur to the field) believed just the opposite to be true: abbreviation, not expansion, is the rule. A good example of such abbreviation is found in Jubilees' rewriting of portions of 1 Enoch.⁹⁴

Judging by the preceding insights, the best we can muster at present is to say that the relationship between these texts remains highly debatable. While a clear connection between them exists, its specific nature is frustratingly elusive. Perhaps the most important point to take away from their relationship is a shared ideological and theological milieu, in which a common apocalyptic worldview is embraced and Enoch is seen as a major conduit of divine revelation. Some further thoughts on this relationship will be offered in Chapter 5.

1.2.4.1.2. *Jubilees*

Based on a large fragment of the Fourth Scroll, removed during its stay in the United States in 1949 (now col. 2), Trever observed that "[t]he combination of letters, *bt'nwš*, became the clue to the text, when I found that according to the Ethiopic Jubilees 4:28 the wife of Lamech was Bētēnōs."⁹⁵ Indeed, this was the first clue of many that the Genesis Apocryphon and Book of Jubilees share a special relationship. Some of the most significant parallels suggested to date are:

- i. The name of Noah's wife, Batenosh (1QapGen 5.3, 8; Jub 4:28)
- ii. Noah's expiatory sacrifice following the Flood (1QapGen 10.13–17; Jub 6:1–3)
- iii. The location (Mt. Lubar) and five-year chronology of Noah planting a vineyard and celebrating its produce (1QapGen 12.13–15; Jub 7:1–2)

- iv. The division of the earth between Noah's sons and grandsons (1QapGen 16–17; Jub 8:10–9:15)
- v. The construction of Hebron (1QapGen 19.9; Jub 13:12)
- vi. The seven-year chronology of Abram and Sarai during their sojourn in Egypt (1QapGen 22.27–29; Jub 13:10–12)⁹⁶

As with 1 Enoch, scholars have explained these parallels in at least four different ways.

Genesis Apocryphon a Source for Jubilees

The assumption of Avigad and Yadin and Vermes that the lengthier Genesis Apocryphon served as a source for 1 Enoch applied to Jubilees as well. While Avigad and Yadin partially relied on parallels with 1 Enoch to reach this conclusion, Vermes appears to have based himself almost exclusively on comparison with Jubilees. Vermes admits that "[t]he relationship between Genesis Apocryphon and the Book of Jubilees presents a particular problem which cannot be solved satisfactorily until all the fragments of GA have been published," but goes on to claim that "from the material already accessible it would appear—as the editors themselves believe (p. 38)—that the corresponding portions of the Book of Jubilees may be no more than an abridgement of Genesis Apocryphon."⁹⁷ In his opinion, Jubilees "should, perhaps, be regarded as a shortened, though doctrinally enriched, Essene recension of the original work."

Prior to Vermes, Paul Kahle had sided with Avigad and Yadin on the priority of the Genesis Apocryphon. Commenting on the manuscript's proposed first century BCE date he remarked, "I am convinced that it was composed earlier, as it seems to have been presupposed by the Book of Jubilees: the text actually found in the first cave may have been a copy of an older original."⁹⁸ He did nothing further, however, to defend this view.

In 1964 B. Z. Wacholder proposed an additional reason for considering the Genesis Apocryphon to be earlier than Jubilees.⁹⁹ After studying the comparative chronologies of Abram and Sarai's tumultuous sojourn in Egypt in both the Apocryphon and Jubilees,

⁹⁴ E.g. Jub 5:1–13//1 En 6–11. See Milik's (*Books of Enoch*, 183) assertion that the Epistle of Enoch was longer in the original than in the later versions. Also J. C. VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees and other Second-Century Sources," *SBLSP* (1978): 233–35.

⁹⁵ Trever, "Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll," 9.

⁹⁶ See B. Z. Wacholder, "How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?" *HUCA* 35 (1964): 43–56.

⁹⁷ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 124.

⁹⁸ P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed., Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), 199.

⁹⁹ Wacholder, "How Long did Abram Stay in Egypt?" 43–56.

Wacholder found reason to believe that the former preserves the more primitive scheme. Moreover, he understood a chronological recounting of Abram's journeys by the Lord in 1QapGen 22.27–29 to signify a period when this school of pentateuchal chronology was struggling for acceptance. He concluded that:¹⁰⁰

Genesis Apocryphon uses a relative system of dating; Jubilees an absolute one. Less obvious, but nevertheless real, differences are that in the former the dating is an integral part of the narrative; in the latter it is superimposed. The author of Genesis Apocryphon still feels the need to defend his chronology by invoking the Lord himself; the author of Jubilees takes the chronology for granted.

Although he believed the Genesis Apocryphon to be older than Jubilees, Wacholder withheld judgment concerning the precise nature of their relationship: “[o]n the basis of the available works, the chronology of Genesis Apocryphon is *directly or indirectly* the source of Jubilees.”¹⁰¹

Pierre Grelot made a very similar case in his 1967 review of Fitzmyer's commentary. Compared to the fully integrated calendrical system employed by Jubilees, Grelot considered the less developed scheme in the parallel portions of the Genesis Apocryphon to be “une chronologie plus archaïque.”¹⁰² Based on this observation he supposed that the Genesis Apocryphon does not depend on Jubilees at this point, proving that the latter must depend on the former, or both on a common source.

A more recent defense of the Genesis Apocryphon's priority was undertaken in a pair of articles by Cane Werman. In an essay dealing with the Book of Noah at Qumran she wrote that “the author of Jubilees was acquainted with the Genesis Apocryphon and even made use of it.”¹⁰³ She supported her claim by citing two incidents found in both texts: the planting of Noah's vineyard, along with the נטע רבעי (fourth year's fruit of a young tree in 1QapGen 12.14–19; Jub 7:1–4, 34–37), and the sacrifices offered by Noah after disembarking from the ark (1QapGen 10; Jub 6). Not only are both of these passages longer in Jubilees, but, Werman claims, both passages in Jubilees can be shown to alter the Genesis Apocryphon in accordance with a priestly agenda.

In a subsequent article Werman drew attention to the portions of land allotted by Noah to his sons Shem and Japheth (cf. 1QapGen 16–17; Jub 8:10–9:15) during his division of the earth. Jubilees' description, she argued, is longer, more detailed, and includes a greater admixture of Hellenistic scientific knowledge, thus revealing its dependence on the shorter and less scientifically informed Apocryphon.¹⁰⁴ A notable aspect of Werman's arguments is that they incorporate the more recently published portions of the scroll, which appeared only in the 1990's.¹⁰⁵

Esther Eshel also took up a detailed investigation of the geographic portions of the Genesis Apocryphon in comparison with Jubilees (and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*).¹⁰⁶ She has arrived at the same opinion as Werman based on similar reasoning, but her argument depends on different geographic clues within the two accounts. First, she understands 1QapGen 16–17 to reflect an older, Ionian schema of the inhabited earth, with its “navel” located at Delphi, while Jubilees has appended onto this picture the religiously motivated idea that Jerusalem is the earth's center. Second, she understands the Apocryphon, like Josephus, to apportion Asia Minor to Japheth, while in Jubilees decorum is spared by allotting it instead to Shem. These suggestions will be discussed at more length in Chapter 4.

An interesting aspect of the above survey is that contrasting assumptions by Avigad and Yadin on one hand, and Werman on the other, lead each to the same conclusion. While the former claim priority for the Genesis Apocryphon based on its greater length, Werman (and perhaps Wacholder) does so based on its shorter, simpler character. If nothing else, this serves as a warning that general statements about one work being longer or shorter than another may not accurately reflect the situation.

Indeterminate Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

A number of scholars who believed a verdict about the relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees to be premature have been listed above, in the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 52.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 53 [italics mine].

¹⁰² P. Grelot, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1, RB* 74 (1967): 103.

¹⁰³ C. Werman, “Qumran and the Book of Noah,” *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 172.

¹⁰⁴ Werman, “The Book of Jubilees in Hellenistic Context [Hebrew; ספר היובלים בהקשר הלניסטי]” *Zion* [ציון] 66:3 (2001): 275–96 [esp. 280–282]. This article has recently been translated into English in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* [Betsy Halpern-Amaru Festschrift] (JSJSup 119; eds L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁶ E. Eshel, “The *Imago Mundi* of the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, 111–131 [esp. 130–131].

section dealing with 1 Enoch (e.g. Flusser, Bardtke, Hempel, Meyer, and Bernstein). The 1957 assessment of de Vaux, dealing specifically with Jubilees, mirrors their sentiment:¹⁰⁷

...les rapports entre cet apocryphe et Jubilé ne sont pas entièrement clairs. Ce sont peut-être de oeuvres parallèles et le développement donné à certains passages ne prouve pas nécessairement que l'apocryphe soit antérieur aux Jubilé. Les textes de Qumrân nous apprennent de plus en plus que littérature était riche et que son histoire est complexe.

It bears repeating that most of these scholars expressed hope that the relationship would gain more clarity with the publication of the remaining parts of the Apocryphon—a task now essentially complete.

Jubilees a Source for the Genesis Apocryphon

As seen above, many scholars reacted with skepticism to Avigad and Yadin's claim that the Genesis Apocryphon served as a source for 1 Enoch and Jubilees, finding just the opposite arrangement to be more plausible (e.g. Del Medico, Lambert, Fitzmyer, Beyer, and Falk). Most of these cited the first century BCE to CE date of the manuscript and Kutscher's roughly comparable date for the scroll's language¹⁰⁸ in support of their claim.¹⁰⁹ That this view has gained preferred status is evidenced through its presumption by scholars such as Craig Evans and Nickelsburg.¹¹⁰

Another scholar to argue for the priority of Jubilees was Louis Hartman.¹¹¹ Like Wacholder and Grelot, Hartman drew on the comparative Abramic chronologies of the Apocryphon and Jubilees to help discern their relationship. His observations, however, brought him to the opposite conclusion. Since Jubilees incorporates the ten years of Abram's journey from Haran to Canaan into its broader chronological system of "weeks" and jubilees, Hartman understood it to be the earlier, more authentic account. The Genesis Apocryphon, in contrast, offers no special reason for its chronology, indicating that it must depend on a work containing such a motive—i.e. Jubilees.

Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees Dependent on a Common Source

In their chronological assessments, both Wacholder and Grelot left open the possibility that the Apocryphon and Jubilees might rely on a common source, rather than directly upon one another. García Martínez further posited that this is the *only* viable option, proposing that "both writings depend on a common source, which is more reliably reproduced in *1QapGen* than in *Jub*."¹¹² To prove his point, he provided two examples—one textual and one literary. First, he considered the toponym "Mountains of Asshur" in Jub 8:21 and 9:25 to be a scribal error for Mount Taurus—a mistake that occurred when translating this passage from Aramaic to Hebrew. Although he does not elaborate, presumably García Martínez believes that the author of Jubilees read the Aramaic תורא (Taurus, or Ox) as אַשור (Asshur) instead, thereby causing the mistaken identity.¹¹³ Secondly, he points to the term מרה שמיא (Lord of Heaven; GenAp 7.7), which is found in 1 En 106:11 but nowhere in Jubilees. In the opinion of García Martínez these examples rule out a direct relationship between Jubilees and the Apocryphon. Like Milik's suggestion for 1 Enoch, he believes the common source behind these two works to be the lost Book of Noah.

Jacques van Ruiten agrees that a common source is probable based on his observation that "[s]ince the structure and wording of the book of *Jubilees* and the *Genesis Apocryphon* are quite different, it is reasonable to suppose that both texts borrowed their material from a common tradition."¹¹⁴ Assuming a very close relationship between the Apocryphon and parts of 1 Enoch (presumably warranted by a Book of Noah underlying both), Ruiten adds that "[t]his is supported by the fact that in 1 En 85:3, the name of Enoch's wife is mentioned, although in a form which is slightly different from *Jubilees* (Edna)."

Excursus: The Date of Jubilees

As with 1 Enoch, any dating of the Genesis Apocryphon relative to Jubilees depends on a reliable date for the latter.

¹⁰⁷ R. de Vaux, review of N. Avigad and Y. Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *RevQ* 64 (1957): 624.

¹⁰⁸ Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon.'"

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Fitzmyer, "Some Observations on the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 277.

¹¹⁰ Evans, "Rewritten Bible," 162; Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry," 199 n. 45.

¹¹¹ L. F. Hartman, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*, *CBQ* 28 (1966): 495–98.

¹¹² García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1–44 [esp. 40–41].

¹¹³ García Martínez does little to defend his claim that the name Mountains of Asshur is a mistake, although his argument would benefit from such an effort. Although he asserts that the mistake would be "difficult to understand when taking the Hebrew... as a point of departure," one could argue that scribal confusion of השור (Ox, or Taurus) with אַשור (Asshur) makes better sense.

¹¹⁴ J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, *Primaevial History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 66; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 123. Also see page 332.

Here I do not intend to give an exhaustive defense or rebuttal of any one stance, but rather to present briefly the opinions of others who have more fully articulated the relevant issues. In my opinion the most convincing date is that proposed by VanderKam, who has argued for a date between 161 and 140 BCE, and more probably between 161 and 152 BCE.¹¹⁵ VanderKam's proposed date rests largely on Jubilees' incorporation of certain battles of Judas Maccabeus (active 167–160 BCE), along with other anti-Antiochian motifs, into parts of its narrative. He also takes into account which parts of 1 Enoch the author of Jubilees appears to know.¹¹⁶ Following his initial publication on the subject, part of a copy of Jubilees from the Qumran corpus (4Q216, or 4QJub^a) was paleographically dated to the mid to late second century BCE.¹¹⁷

Of course, this is not the only proposed date for Jubilees' composition. Nickelsburg leans toward an earlier date, circa 168 BCE, following the lead of L. Finkelstein and others.¹¹⁸ Those who espouse an early date do not find the references to Maccabean battles convincing and date Jubilees in relation to slightly earlier events, just preceding the Maccabean Revolt. Taking into account these objections, VanderKam concluded that "it now seems safe to claim that the Book of Jubilees was written between the years 170 and 150 BCE."¹¹⁹

A minority of scholars, such as Wacholder, D. Mendels, and Werman, follow Charles and Dillmann in assigning the book a later date—typically in the last third of the second century BCE.¹²⁰ However, the reasons offered for a later date vary considerably, some (e.g. Werman) proposing a connection with the Essenes at Qumran.

A related topic, appropriate to the present discussion, is the relationship between 1 En 106–107 and Jubilees. VanderKam has suggested that Jub 4:23 may draw some of its inspiration from the Enochic story of Noah's birth, since it records that Enoch was taken from human society by angels and placed in the Garden of Eden to write down a testimony against humanity.¹²¹ This observation is based on Enoch's statement in 1 En 106:8 that his son Methuselah came to him "at the ends of the earth," where

he dwelled with the angels.¹²² If Jubilees could be shown to use this portion of 1 Enoch it would have significant implications for the date of the latter, pushing it back into the early second century BCE. Unfortunately, the reference in Jub 4:23 is vague enough to leave serious doubt, and the matter must remain undecided. Nevertheless, any serious attempt to delineate the relationships between the Genesis Apocryphon, 1 En 106–107, and Jubilees should keep the statement of Jub 4:23 in mind.

Summary: The Relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

Although a majority of scholars now accept the priority of Jubilees over the Genesis Apocryphon, there has been little serious argumentation in defense of this view. The difficulties inherent in judging such a relationship based primarily on the relative length of parallel accounts have been broached above. Perhaps the most convincing argument for Jubilees' priority is the dating of the Apocryphon's language and manuscript, but this too leaves ample room for doubt, as I seek to show in Chapter 5. In sum, the argument for Jubilees' priority requires considerable bolstering in order to be persuasive. Rather than being founded on demonstration from actual parallels, it has survived largely on vague intuition.

It may not be coincidental that some who have argued for the opposite relationship—i.e. that Jubilees depends on the Apocryphon—believe Jubilees to be a product of the Qumran sect, and therefore significantly later than the early to mid-second century BCE date espoused by most scholars. This assumption clears the way for assigning the Apocryphon priority, and such priority, in turn, affirms a later date for Jubilees. Despite this questionable congruence of interests, scholars from this camp hold the advantage of having argued seriously for their position, and their opinions should be granted due consideration. It indeed appears that 1QapGen 12 and 17 contain more compressed forms of their respective stories than Jub 6–7 and 9, turning the already questionable argument of Del Medico and Fitzmyer on its head. Werman, however, does not take full account of the impressive differences that obtain for each of these parallels. Such differences might be better used to support the "common source" theory of García Martínez and others. The matter of comparative chronologies in the Abram account is intriguing, but here too a final judgment seems premature in the absence of corroborating evidence.

While the current evidence appears to point toward the priority of the Apocryphon or to the common

¹¹⁵ For a defense of this date see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 207–85 [esp. 283–85].

¹¹⁶ VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees."

¹¹⁷ See J. C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, "The First Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4: A Preliminary Publication," *JBL* 110/2 (1991): 243–70. One sheet of this manuscript is written in a late (c. mid-1st cent. BCE) Hasmonean hand, and the other in an earlier, semi-cursive script.

¹¹⁸ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 77–79. Cf. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies*, 212–13.

¹¹⁹ VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols; CSCO 510–11; *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87–88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 2:vi.

¹²⁰ See B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 41–62; D. Mendels, *The Land of Israel as a Political Concept in Hasmonean Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1987), 57–88; C. Werman, "The Book of Jubilees and the Qumran Community," *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 37–55 [Hebrew]; and idem, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 90.1 (Jan. 1997): 1–22.

¹²¹ VanderKam, "Enoch Traditions in Jubilees," 229–51.

¹²² A similar statement is made in 1QapGen 2.23.

source theory, it seems best to keep an open mind in studying the existing parallels and newly published material from the Apocryphon. As with 1 Enoch, the matter remains unsettled.

Review: Dating the Genesis Apocryphon

Based on the above survey it is evident that the date a particular scholar assigns to the Apocryphon is closely bound up with her/his opinion of its relationship to 1 Enoch and/or Jubilees. Those who believe the scroll to be later than these two works tend to embrace Kutscher's and Fitzmyer's dating of its language to the first century BCE (–first century CE).¹²³ In their estimation, this is the period of the scroll's composition.¹²⁴

Those who ascribe priority to the Genesis Apocryphon have either ignored the issue of language, assumed that the scroll's language evolved with copying, or disputed the first century BCE dating of Kutscher and Fitzmyer. While an estimated date of composition is not always given by these scholars, the late third to early second century BCE might be expected, unless a later date of Jubilees is espoused, in which case the date of the Apocryphon may also shift accordingly. Although not dealt with extensively in this study, it is evident that the language of the scroll is an important component of this debate, and an area ripe for reassessment.¹²⁵

Those who have understood the Apocryphon to be independent of 1 Enoch and/or Jubilees—i.e. based on a common Book of Noah—have not commented on the scroll's date. One gains the impression, however, that they hold the Apocryphon to be the earlier (or at least more accurate) representative of the Noah book, in which case an early second century BCE date might be expected. Taking account of all views surveyed above, a broad period between the late third century and early first century BCE appears relatively certain for dating the scroll. In the following chapters I will suggest that a date near the early end of this spectrum

(preceding Jubilees and perhaps even 1 En 106–107) is preferable.

1.2.4.2. *Other Dead Sea Scrolls*

Scholars have linked several other manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Genesis Apocryphon, particularly in connection with the story of Noah's spectacular birth in 1QapGen 2. While not containing exact literary parallels, these texts have often been discussed as derivations from a source or tradition also underlying the Apocryphon.¹²⁶

1.2.4.2.1. *1Q19 (1Q Livre de Noé)*¹²⁷

Fragment 3 of this Hebrew text recounts an astounding birth, witnessed by Noah's father Lamech. Avigad and Yadin were the first to suggest a mutual relationship between this fragment, 1QapGen 1–5, and 1 En 106–107. Milik went on to specify that fragments of 1Q19 may be a Hebrew parallel to the Aramaic account in the Genesis Apocryphon. In his opinion, both are summaries of the lost Book of Noah, which is further abridged in 1 En 106–107.¹²⁸ This theory has been accepted by García Martínez and Fitzmyer. While the remaining text of 1Q19 3 is scanty enough to leave questions regarding its literary proximity to the Genesis Apocryphon, it is probable that it recounts the same general story.¹²⁹

1.2.4.2.2. *4Q534 (4Q Mess ar; 4Q Naissance de Noé^a ar)*¹³⁰

This incomplete Aramaic text recounts the birth, childhood, and physical characteristics of an astounding youth, hailed at one point as the “Elect of God” (בַּחִיר אֱלֹהִים). Among other things, this individual is said to study “the three books” (1 i 5), possess counsel and prudence (1 i 7), come to know the mysteries of

¹²³ Avigad and Yadin dated our copy of the scroll between the late first century BCE and middle first century CE on paleographic grounds. This was based primarily on comparisons with 1QM (the War Scroll). Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25–26) observed that their opinion was confirmed by J. T. Milik, F. M. Cross, and S. A. Birnbaum. This range subsequently gained affirmation from radiocarbon dating. See G. Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Atiqot* 20 (July 1991): 27–32. The data are also published in G. Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 34/3 (1992): 843–49. Cf. Chapter 5.

¹²⁴ Exceptions are Zeitlin and Del Medico, who believe the scroll to be significantly later than all other commentators do (Medieval and second century CE respectively).

¹²⁵ See the more detailed analysis in Chapter 5.

¹²⁶ A summary of these sources is provided by García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1–44.

¹²⁷ Published by Milik in D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 84–85.

¹²⁸ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 55.

¹²⁹ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 42; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 258.

¹³⁰ The most recent and thorough publication is that of E. Puech, “534. 4QNaissance de Noé^a ar,” in *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 129–52. Some earlier publications providing text and translation are J. Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” in *Ecole des langues orientales anciennes de l'Institut Catholique de Paris: Mémoires du cinquantième 1914–1964* (Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 10; Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964), 51–66; J. A. Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Elect of God’ Text from Qumran Cave IV,” *CBQ* 27 (1965): 348–72; and García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 1–44.

humanity and all living things (1 i 8), and have plans that will last forever (1 i 9). He is clearly an important figure for the text's authorizing community. In the following column, significant events are mentioned, including objects being destroyed (1 ii 13), waters ceasing (1 ii 14), and a subsequent building project (1 ii 15). The subject's activity is even compared with that of the Watchers (1 ii 15), which could be taken either positively or negatively.¹³¹ Presumably, the fantastic child and these events are linked to one another.

J. Starcky first took the child of 4Q534 to be the future, davidic messiah,¹³² with similar views intermittently espoused by A. Dupont-Sommer, J. Carmignac, I. D. Amusin, M. Delcor, and J. Zimmermann.¹³³ However, it did not take long for others to contest that the youth was, in fact, Noah. Fitzmyer first noted that "[i]n the Intertestamental Literature there is a certain fascination with the birth of Noah," leading him to wonder "whether we are not really dealing with another text belonging to the Noah literature of late Judaism."¹³⁴ Fitzmyer's speculative identification was subsequently adopted by A. Caquot, P. Grelot, Milik, García Martínez, Puech, and even a repentant Starcky.¹³⁵ Alternative suggestions for the child included Enoch (A. Caquot), and Melchizedek (J. C. Greenfield).¹³⁶ James Davila has preferred to leave the central character anonymous, stressing instead the text's prototypical relationship to Merkavah mysticism.¹³⁷

Those believing the "Elect of God" in 4Q534 to be Noah have generally drawn a connection with the beginning columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, supposing that the two reflect a common tradition venerating Noah's spectacular birth. Puech's statement is typical: "L'insistance sur les 'circonstances' de la naissance dans cet ouvrage semble correspondre à son aspect quasi-miraculeux dans d'autres textes (1 Hénoch 106, 1QApGn I–V et 1Q19 3)."¹³⁸ Despite this and like statements, however, it remains very

uncertain whether the child of 4Q534 actually refers to Noah. The gist of the text does compare favorably with 1QapGen 2–5.27, where Enoch lectures at surprising length (nearly three columns) about young Noah. Although this speech is mostly lost, in 5.10–13 we find mention of Noah's remarkable physical traits. The explicit connection of Noah to three books in the Samaritan *Asatir*, which appears to contain some early Jewish interpretive traditions, is another interesting coincidence.¹³⁹ Still, the very best we can say presently is that 4Q534 *might* be speaking about Noah. Even if so, there is no proof of any direct link between 4Q534 and the Apocryphon. At times, two other texts—4Q186 and 4Q561—have been considered different copies of the same work, but there is very little evidence to support this claim.¹⁴⁰

1.2.4.2.3. 4Q535–536 (4Q.Naissance de Noé^{b-c} ar)

In 1978, Milik listed two other fragmentary texts from Qumran—4Q535 and 536—alongside 4Q534.¹⁴¹ In 1992, he included all three works under the rubric "Naissance de Noé."¹⁴² The links between these three manuscripts has been subsequently confirmed by Puech, who lists two places where word for word correspondence occurs.¹⁴³ While 4Q536 2 ii 11 contains the words "and he will not die in the days of evil," which could be said of Noah, there is very little in these manuscripts to certify that Noah is the subject. Again, it is uncertain whether there is a direct connection between these compositions and the Apocryphon.

1.2.4.2.4. 6Q8

Both M. Baillet and F. García Martínez argued that this fragmentary Aramaic papyrus contains references to an extraordinary birth, Noah's father-in-law Barakiel, and Mount Lubar—all of which are present in various Noachic sections of 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and/

¹³¹ E.g., in Jub 4:15 they are presented positively, but in Jub 5 (cf. 1 En 6–11) negatively.

¹³² Starcky, "Un texte messianique," 59, 66.

¹³³ See E. Puech, "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction," *Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie: 4Q529–549* (DJD XXXI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 117–27 [esp. 117].

¹³⁴ Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text," 371.

¹³⁵ See Puech, "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction," 118–20.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ J. R. Davila, "4QMess ar (4Q534) and Merkavah Mysticism," *DSB* 5 (1998): 367–81.

¹³⁸ Puech, "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction," 124. Also see Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 260), who includes it in his latest appendix of texts related to the Genesis Apocryphon.

¹³⁹ In the *Asatir*, Noah studies the three Books of Creation for seven years: the Book of Signs, the Book of Astrology, and the Book of Wars (3:9). See M. Gaster, *The Asatir: The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses"* (Oriental Translation Fund New Series, Vol. 26; London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1927), 214 [11 (8^o) of Hebrew text].

¹⁴⁰ See Puech "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction," 121.

¹⁴¹ J. T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram," *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu, études présentées par M. Delcor* (BETL 46; Paris et Gembloux, 1978), 91–113 [esp. 94].

¹⁴² J. T. Milik, "Le modèles araméens du Livre d'Esther en la grotte 4 de Qumrân," *Mémorial Jean Starcky* (2 vols; RevQ 15; 1992): 2:357, 363–64. Cf. Puech "534–536. 4QNaissance de Noé^{a-c} ar: Introduction," 121–22, for more information.

¹⁴³ For Puech's text and commentary see "534. 4QNaissance de Noé^a ar," 153–170.

or the Genesis Apocryphon.¹⁴⁴ In the second edition of his commentary, Fitzmyer echoed the possibility that this “apocryphe de la Genèse” was related to the birth of Noah in the Genesis Apocryphon. However, he apparently retracted this opinion in his third edition.¹⁴⁵ Loren Stuckenbruck, arguing in defense of Milik’s earlier hypothesis that 6Q8 belongs instead to the Enochic *Book of Giants*, asserted that any reference to a miraculous birth is unlikely, and that the Baraq’el of 6Q8 frg. 1, line 5, is probably not the father-in-law of Noah mentioned in Jub 4:28.¹⁴⁶ García Martínez eventually sided with Milik’s identification as well.¹⁴⁷ Presently, the scholarly tide has turned toward identifying this scroll as a part of the *Book of Giants*, and a link to Noah’s birth appears very unlikely.

1.2.4.3. *Additional Texts*

Connections between the Genesis Apocryphon and other ancient Jewish exegetical texts have occasionally been suggested, although these are generally weaker than the parallels listed above. It is not my intention to give a detailed analysis of proposed connections with these texts, but simply to raise awareness of the broader spectrum of Jewish literature in which the Apocryphon has been discussed.

1.2.4.3.1. *Other “Rewritten” Biblical Works*

Other examples of rewritten biblical texts, such as Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, the Samaritan *Asatir*, and *Sefer ha-Yashar* provide logical points of comparison for the Genesis Apocryphon. The most in-depth comparison of these texts to date is Vermes’ study of Abraham’s life according to a number of the above works (what he termed a “retrogressive historical study”), and then according to the Apocryphon (a “progressive historical study”).¹⁴⁸ Throughout his analysis Vermes also made copious reference to rabbinic literature, the targums, and various other works of the period. In conclusion, he offered four categories by which one may evaluate the relationships between the Genesis Apocryphon

and other Jewish works: 1) interpretations proper to Genesis Apocryphon; 2) disagreement in exegesis; 3) partial agreement in exegesis; and 4) identical exegesis. While he states that the last category is “frequent and characteristic, and is represented on all levels,” most of his examples pertain to individual details rather than large blocks of narrative.¹⁴⁹ These parallels attest to a common Jewish exegetical milieu, in which biblical issues and inconsistencies are handled in similar ways across a spectrum of texts. Yet, never do these details suggest a close connection or dependent relationship with the Apocryphon in the way that 1 Enoch and Jubilees do. One comes away from this group of texts with a sense that their similarities with the Apocryphon stem from a common genre and exegetical approach to the Bible rather than a genetic kinship. Fitzmyer has also provided many pertinent references to the above works, among others, in his commentary.

1.2.4.3.2. *Rabbinic Midrashim and the Targumim*

Rabbinic midrashic works, such as *Genesis Rabbah*, *Tanhuma*, *Yalqut Shimoni*, or the tannaitic midrashim, have also been sporadically compared with the Apocryphon. These are typically placed alongside the various Aramaic Targumim, especially *Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Yerushalmi*. The studies of G. Sarfatti and M. R. Lehmann remain the most comprehensive comparisons available.¹⁵⁰ Although these texts and the Apocryphon often express a shared interest in specific exegetical issues, rarely do they provide the same solutions to these questions. Even the closest connections between the Apocryphon and these texts are distant compared to the parallels with 1 Enoch and Jubilees.¹⁵¹

More generally, a tenuous relationship seems to have existed between the rabbinic and targumic works on the one hand, and the so-called “outside books” (הספרים החיצוניים; somewhat analogous to our concept of Pseudepigrapha and Apocrypha) on the other. To the latter group belonged Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and perhaps other works like the Genesis Apocryphon.

¹⁴⁴ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 43; and M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân* (DJD III; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 117.

¹⁴⁵ He includes the fragments in his “Appendix 1: Related Literature” in the second edition (*The Genesis Apocryphon* [1971], 187–92), but not the third (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 258–60).

¹⁴⁶ L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 196–213. Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 300–301.

¹⁴⁷ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 101–102.

¹⁴⁸ Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 67–126.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 123. His examples include that Sarah was wise (Philo), Abraham wept and prayed after Sarah’s abduction (*Tanhuma*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*), royal presents were given to Abraham after the return of Sarah, Hagar was a gift of Pharaoh (*Genesis Rabbah*, *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*), and Salem is Jerusalem (targums, etc.).

¹⁵⁰ See G. Sarfatti, “Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon,” *Tarbiz* 28 (1958–59): 258 [Hebrew]; idem, “An addition to ‘Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon,’” *Tarbiz* 29 (1959–60): 192 [Hebrew]; and M. R. Lehmann, “1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim,” 251.

¹⁵¹ Sarfatti (following Theodor) has observed that the rabbis tend to distance themselves from exaltation of Enoch and Noah, who are considered to be of mixed character. See Sarfatti, “Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon,” 258.

The rabbis often distanced themselves from these writings, and explicitly shied away from drawing on them in standard rabbinic biblical interpretation.¹⁵² As with the texts mentioned in the preceding section, the relationships here belong primarily on the level of general exegetical phenomena, and not direct literary parallels. In fact, many of the parallels suggested in this category could be easily arrived at independently by different exegetes.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Ibid. Sarfatti writes, “The question ‘and was he [i.e. Lamech] a prophet?’ was a rhetorical question, whose answer was, ‘No.’ Neither Lamech, nor his ancestor Enoch, were prophets, so argues the midrash, and this argument fits with the opinion of all the ancient midrashim, which did not want to accord Lamech the highly privileged status in keeping with that tradition which was gathered in the apocryphal books and later legends (see, for example, *Genesis Rabbah* 25:1 and the comments there of Theodor).” [translation mine]

¹⁵³ One example, cited by Lehmann (“1Q Genesis Apocryphon,” 257), is Abram’s similar statements in 1QapGen 19.10 and *Tanhuma* that Egypt is well-stocked with food. This can be derived by a simple syllogism: 1.) there is a famine in Canaan; 2.) Abram and Sarai make for Egypt; 3.) there must be food in Egypt. While it is plain that both texts reacted to the same exegetical issue, there is no reason to suppose that the two interpretations are related in a direct way. This particular example may also be influenced by the Joseph story (Gen 41:55–42:1), which recounts a similar scenario.

CHAPTER TWO

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES

2.1. INTRODUCTION TO THE PRESENT EDITION

2.1.1. *History and Previous Editions*

Of the cache of scrolls discovered in Qumran Cave 1 the Genesis Apocryphon was the most badly damaged.¹ Because of this, the publication history of the scroll is lengthy and interesting, and deserves brief summary here. The following survey covers only major developments in the publication of the Aramaic text (i.e. transcription), and does not deal with the numerous translations available. Minor contributions, such as new readings suggested in book reviews or articles, will be mentioned only where appropriate.²

2.1.1.1. *Pre-publication History*

The Genesis Apocryphon was among the initial cache of seven scrolls discovered by a member of the Ta'amireh Bedouin tribe near the Dead Sea. It was one of the four manuscripts purchased from the Bedouin by Mar Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Metropolitan of Jerusalem, for approximately two hundred and fifty U.S. dollars.³

In late February, 1948, the Metropolitan's scrolls were wrapped in an Arabic newspaper, placed in a leather briefcase, and brought by a Syrian Orthodox monk and his brother from St. Mark's Monastery, in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City, to the American School of Oriental Research, outside Herod's Gate.⁴ Here they were inspected and photographed by John Trever and William Brownlee, who first recognized the significance of the find. Around this time

"a small leather fragment with disintegrated script," later called the "Trever fragment," separated from the Fourth Scroll and was photographed by Trever. This fragment provided the first hints that the scroll was written in Aramaic, rather than Hebrew.⁵ Another small piece of the scroll's outer layer was soon after removed by Trever, but no positive identification of its contents could be made.⁶ The three Hebrew scrolls were identified over the following weeks, but the leather of the Fourth Scroll was so brittle and bonded together that a decision was made to suspend further study until it could be unrolled by experts under the proper conditions.

Due to the tension in war-ravaged Jerusalem, the scrolls were temporarily moved by Mar Samuel to a bank vault in Beirut, and, in early 1949, arrived in New Jersey in Samuel's own possession. In April of that year, a much larger leaf from the outside of the scroll was removed by Trever, revealing enough text (26 partial lines) for him to conclude that it contained the previously lost "Book of Lamech," a title adopted in most early publications dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁷ This leaf (later designated col. 2) and its transcription were supposed to be published in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, but never were.

In the January 30, 1950 issue of *Time Magazine* it was announced that the Fourth Scroll, "whose cracked leather surface looks like a dried cigar," would travel to the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University in order to be opened and read. The magazine quipped that the scroll would be "on the operating table" for six months, but these plans also never materialized. Due to ongoing intrigue over the provenance and ownership of the scrolls, the Fogg Museum made financial demands deemed unacceptable by Mar Samuel.

On June 1, 1954, frustrated by the growing controversy surrounding the scrolls and the dire plight of his parishioners in Jerusalem, Mar Samuel finally placed

¹ For an early description consult J. C. Trever, "Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls," *BAJOR* 111 (1948): 3–16 [esp. 14–15].

² Many such contributions, however, are referenced in the notes accompanying the text.

³ A lively autobiographical account of the purchase and resale of the four scrolls to the State of Israel may be found in A. Y. Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), 141–201. The other three scrolls were sold to E. L. Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

⁴ The school is still under the auspices of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), but is now named the Albright Institute of Archeological Research. The Albright Institute is, appropriately, where the present text was prepared.

⁵ For more information on the fragment see J. C. Trever, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Personal Account* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), 26, 43, 52, 57, 65.

⁶ Trever, "Preliminary Observations," 14–16.

⁷ Trever, "Identification of the Aramaic Fourth Scroll," 8–10. He notes, however, that Noah is "the real hero of the story."

an advertisement in the *Wall Street Journal*.⁸ The now famous first lines read: “Miscellaneous For Sale: THE FOUR DEAD SEA SCROLLS.” All four scrolls were soon purchased by the fledgling State of Israel and brought to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem through the arrangement of Yigael Yadin and under the guise of a Chemical Bank and Trust Company official. The cost was \$250,000.⁹ Thus, the Genesis Apocryphon, yet unrolled, had travelled twice across the Atlantic Ocean only to finally rest approximately 14 miles from the site of its discovery.¹⁰

2.1.1.2. *Milik (Mil)*—1955

In time more fragments were excavated from the cave that produced the first seven scrolls.¹¹ These were published by Oxford University as the first volume in a series dedicated to the Dead Sea Scrolls and other finds from the Judean Desert.¹² Included in this volume were eight small fragments, belonging to the fourth scroll, which were bought from a Bethlehem antiquities dealer nicknamed Kando and edited by J. T. Milik.¹³ Milik named the work represented by these fragments *Apocalypse de Lamech*, based upon Trever’s identification, and gave it the publication number 20, which eventuated in the entire Genesis Apocryphon being designated 1Q20 by Fitzmyer.¹⁴

Milik was only moderately successful in reading these badly deteriorated fragments, but his effort did add some meagre information to the content of the scroll.

2.1.1.3. *Avigad and Yadin (AY)*—1956

Once at the Hebrew University, the task of unrolling the Fourth Scroll was entrusted to J. Biberkraut,

whose wife also took the earliest photographs of the manuscript as it was being opened. Biberkraut did a masterful job, facilitating an initial publication by Avigad and Yadin in 1956. In their preface, the authors specified that this was a “preliminary survey, dealing mainly with the last three columns which are very well preserved.”¹⁵ Elsewhere, they mentioned an upcoming final publication,¹⁶ which never came to fruition.

Avigad and Yadin’s edition includes plates, transcription, and translation (Hebrew and English) of cols. 2 and 19–22. Diacritical marks of either a single or double dash over the letter indicate uncertainty in readings. Their transcription was meticulously executed, and has stood up surprisingly well against subsequent re-readings and advances in photographic technology. The major limitation of this edition, of course, was that it presented only 5 of the 22 extant columns.¹⁷ Brief descriptions of the unpublished columns were, nonetheless, provided, and at times these included excerpts of easily readable text. A major contribution of Avigad and Yadin was their observation that the material concerning Lamech constitutes but a small part of the narrative, and that the scroll included stories about a number of the patriarchs of Genesis, stretching from Enoch to Abram. In addition, several intriguing parallels with the books of 1 Enoch and Jubilees were identified. All of this, along with its obvious dependence on the biblical book of Genesis, led Avigad and Yadin to rename the text *A Genesis Apocryphon* (מגילה חיצונית לבראשית in Modern Hebrew). Several valuable corrections or alternate readings were provided by Kutscher (Kut)¹⁸ and H. Ginsberg (Gin)¹⁹ in response to this edition, and it was at this time that a definite article was added to the scroll’s title.

In 1984, Yadin unexpectedly died of a heart attack, leaving the work of final publication to Avigad alone. Shortly thereafter (1988), Avigad handed over the responsibility for publication of the unpublished columns to the Israeli scholars Jonas Greenfield and Elisha Qimron.

2.1.1.4. *Fitzmyer*—1966

In 1966, Joseph Fitzmyer published a commentary on the Genesis Apocryphon, focusing largely on the

⁸ This is according to Mar Samuel (*Treasure of Qumran*, 173–201). A less flattering account is given in Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 7.

⁹ Ironically, \$150,000 of this amount was donated by the Jewish philanthropist D. Samuel Gottesman, who held family connections to the ASOR, Jerusalem, where the scrolls were first inspected by Trever and Burrows (personal communication with Dr. S. Gitin).

¹⁰ The scroll is currently stored in the vault at the Shrine of the Book (at the Israel Museum) in Jerusalem.

¹¹ See O. R. Sellers, “Excavation of the ‘Manuscript’ Cave at ‘Ain Fashkha,” *BASOR* 114 (1949): 5–9.

¹² Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD I; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4. It is unclear whether the Bedouin returned to the cave and excavated the fragments, or whether they had simply fallen off the scroll while in Kando’s possession (Kando was one of Mar Samuel’s parishioners, and had initially served as mediator between the Metropolitan and the Bedouin).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 86–87. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 15 n. 14.

¹⁵ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁷ There are now thought to be 23 columns (cf. below).

¹⁸ Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon.’”

¹⁹ H. L. Ginsberg, “Notes on Some Old Aramaic Texts,” *JNES* 18 (1959): 143–49 [esp. 145–48].

language and exegetical traditions of the available text.²⁰ It included a transcription and English translation based primarily on the *editio princeps*, although the excerpts from the unpublished columns, mentioned by Avigad and Yadin only in their commentary section, were incorporated by Fitzmyer into the body of his text (i.e. small portions of cols. 1, 3, 5–7, 10–12 and 16–17). In addition, he included a number of emendations that had been suggested by subsequent reviewers, and offered fuller restorations in some places. The fragments published by Milik as 1Q20 were placed prior to col. 1, since they clearly came from the outside layer of the scroll, but Fitzmyer was not able to place them in any more specific context than this. Unfortunately, no diacritical marks were used to indicate the certainty of readings. It is clear that Fitzmyer's primary purpose was not to produce a new edition of the text, but simply to re-present and analyze what was already at his disposal.

2.1.1.5. *Fitzmyer—1971*

Fitzmyer produced a second, revised edition of his commentary in 1971.²¹ The revisions pertained almost solely to the introduction and commentary, although a few changes were also made in the transcription, translation, and reconstruction based upon reviews of his first edition by scholars such as Ginsberg (Gin²²). Muraoka (Mu¹) followed this edition with a significant discussion of the scroll's syntax and morphology, but few new readings were offered.²³ Again, no diacritical marks were used.

2.1.1.6. *Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude (J)—1976*

The transcription and English translation of Bastiaan Jongeling, Casper Labuschagne and Adam van der Woude, produced in Groningen, the Netherlands, covers the columns first published by Avigad and Yadin (i.e. 2 and 19–22; without the other excerpts or 1Q20).²⁴ While agreeing largely with the editions of Avigad-

Yadin and Fitzmyer, the editors must be commended for offering fresh readings at certain points, based on the photographic plates available in Avigad and Yadin's edition. Less laudable is the lack of diacritical marks, although the authors indicate that this is meant only as a study edition. An important review is that of Puech (Pu), who offered several new readings.²⁵

2.1.1.7. *Beyer (B^{1/2})—1984/1994*

In 1984, Klaus Beyer produced a transcription and German translation of the Genesis Apocryphon as part of his large collection of Aramaic texts from the Dead Sea.²⁶ His edition differs in several respects from its predecessors. First, Beyer uses a single diacritical sign (a circlet) for uncertain letters. This is a welcome addition and noteworthy improvement over Fitzmyer and Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude. Second, based on his many deviations from earlier editions it is clear that Beyer undertook an entirely fresh reading of the available photographs. A number of his new proposals are incorrect, but this is partially offset by those instances where a correct reading is offered, or attention is called to a previously unnoticed textual issue. Like Fitzmyer, Beyer incorporated the additional excerpts from Avigad and Yadin's commentary and Milik's 1Q20 fragments into his text, although this was done in an extremely confusing manner.²⁷ In a 1994 *Ergänzungsband*, Beyer updated a few readings in the text's early columns and incorporated col. 12, which had meanwhile been published by Greenfield and Qimron (see below). He also took into account Muraoka's second study on the scroll (Mu²).²⁸

2.1.1.8. *Wise and Zuckerman—1991*

In the early 1990's Michael Wise and Bruce Zuckerman endeavored to arrange the eight fragments of 1Q20 and the Trever Fragment into a more coherent order.²⁹ The result was a new reconstruction that has

²⁰ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Biblica et Orientalia 18; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966).

²¹ J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary* (Biblica et Orientalia 18A; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971).

²² Ginsberg, review of Fitzmyer.

²³ T. Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon," *RevQ* 8 (1972–75): 7–51.

²⁴ B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Semitic Study Series 4; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 77–119.

²⁵ E. Puech, review of B. Jongeling, C. J. Labuschagne, and A. S. van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, *RevQ* 9 (1977–78): 589–91.

²⁶ K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitate* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 165–86 [*Ergänzungsband* (1994), 68–70].

²⁷ Particularly in his cols. 0–1. Cf. the textual notes to these columns, below.

²⁸ T. Muraoka, "Further Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 39–48.

²⁹ Unfortunately, their work has been published only in newsletters that are rather difficult to obtain (they are not, so far as I can tell, available on the internet). See M. Lundberg and B. Zuckerman, "New Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave

gained general acceptance by subsequent scholars working on the scroll, and will be followed in this edition. In their reconstruction, a good deal more of what are now called cols. 0 and 1 may be read, with Milik's 1Q20 mainly comprising parts of col. 0, and the Trever Fragment being placed in the lower portion of col. 1.

2.1.1.9. *Qimron (Qim^{1/2})—1992/1999*

In 1992, Elisha Qimron published an article outlining a plan to complete the protracted publication of the remaining columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, which he and Greenfield had inherited from Avigad.³⁰ After a brief survey of previous editions, he offered eighteen useful textual notes, including some new readings, to cols. 2 and 19–22. These are presented as a sample of what the new edition will contain. In a 1999 article, following the untimely death of Professor Greenfield, Qimron reiterated these plans. The work was now to be completed with the help of a newly organized team of experts, including Matthew Morgenstern, Daniel Sivan, Gregory Bearman and Sheila Spiro.³¹ This later article also includes a few new textual suggestions.

2.1.1.10. *Greenfield and Qimron (GQ)—1992*

The first major advance since Avigad and Yadin came in 1992, with the publication of col. 12 by Greenfield and Qimron.³² Trailing the *editio princeps* by over 35 years, the authors provided a transcription with diacritical dots and circlets to indicate the certainty of readings, as well as an English translation. Textual notes, focused mainly on grammatical and lexical issues, accompanied the text. This article was intended as the first in a series dedicated to presenting the scroll's unpublished columns. Pending the publication of this new material, a comprehensive, revised, and annotated edition of the text was to be issued.

One," *CAL-News* 12 (1996): 1–5. A photograph of the new arrangement may be found in B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg, "Ancient Texts and Modern Technology: The West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California," *AJS Perspectives* (Fall/Winter 2002): 14. A drawing of col. 0 (1Q20) by Zuckerman is included in Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 115.

³⁰ E. Qimron, "Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JSP* 10 (1992): 11–18.

³¹ E. Qimron, "Toward a New Edition of *1QGenesis Apocryphon*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; eds D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 107–109. The paper, although published in 1999, was presented shortly before the publication of the outstanding columns in 1995.

³² J. C. Greenfield and E. Qimron, "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII," *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Abr-NahrainSup 3; 1992), 70–77.

Unfortunately, the untimely death of Greenfield in the spring of 1995 slowed this process, and a new team including M. Morgenstern and D. Sivan was formed by Qimron to complete the task.

2.1.1.11. *Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan (MQS)—1995*

The remainder of the unpublished columns appeared in 1995, although only in preliminary form.³³ Following a brief discussion of content, grammar and vocabulary, a transcription and partial English translation were provided for the readable portions of cols. 1, 3, 4–8, 10–11 and 13–17. In general, the readings presented are reliable, although there are places where improvements should be made and mistakes emended. Modeled on the publication of Greenfield and Qimron, diacritical dots and circlets were employed, as well as a supralinear dash to indicate ambiguity between the similar letters *yod* and *vav*. In contrast to the publication of col. 12, however, the authors did not include textual notes. Presumably, this was due to their admirable desire to publish the text as quickly as possible, since it was originally intended that a more complete edition would follow. It now appears that these plans have been abandoned.³⁴

2.1.1.12. *García Martínez and Tigchelaar (GMT)—1997*

The most widely available compilation of texts from Qumran is undoubtedly Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar's *Study Edition*, which provides transcriptions and English translations of the non-biblical scrolls and fragments.³⁵ The project was to include a complete reevaluation of the available photographs for each text. For most of the Genesis Apocryphon, however, it appears that this was not done, likely due to difficulties obtaining photos for much of the text. Rather, the authors appear to have drawn heavily upon their academic forebears in Gron-

³³ M. Morgenstern, E. Qimron, and D. Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon [with an appendix by G. Bearman and S. Spiro]," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1995): 30–54.

³⁴ In 1996, M. Morgenstern completed his (unpublished) M. A. thesis at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The thesis is published in Hebrew, but bears the same name as the 1995 article published along with Qimron and Sivan (העמודות שטרם התפרסמו מן מגילה חיצונית לבראשית). In it, a text nearly identical to that of the article is presented (although the copy at the National and University Library at the Givat Ram campus of the university contains multiple hand-written corrections by Morgenstern), along with much helpful material regarding the grammar and vocabulary of these new columns. Included is a concordance.

³⁵ F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, 1997–98), 1:28–49.

ingen (Jongeling, Labuschagne and van der Woude) for the initially published columns, and Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan for the more recently published material. Milik's 1Q20 was presented apart from the text of the Genesis Apocryphon, although the Trever Fragment was incorporated into col. 1.³⁶ García Martínez and Tigchelaar's text contributes little in the way of novel readings and omits freely where there are not extended sections of coherent text. As such, this is not the best edition for those wishing to investigate seriously the scroll (as the editors themselves admit).³⁷ Still, it is apparent that they have weighed the various textual options while compiling their transcription, and for this reason they are included in my textual notes. Unfortunately, they do not employ diacritical marks.

2.1.1.13. *Fitzmyer (F)*—2004

A third edition of Fitzmyer's now standard commentary was issued in 2004.³⁸ Its main contribution, of course, was the inclusion of the newly available columns published by Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan. It also incorporated cols. 0–1 as reconstructed by Wise and Zuckerman. The new portions of text were reproduced without significant revision, to the point of perpetuating a number of mistakes from previous editions. Again, this may be partially attributed to the fact that there was no easily accessible set of photographs for the more recently published columns. The revised edition also contains commentary on the new material, although it is generally of a less thorough nature than the comments brought over from previous editions. One step forward is the employment of a single, diacritical dot to mark uncertain letters, although these are simply imported from the editions on which this text relies. Fitzmyer appears to have done little fresh paleographic work, especially on the newer material, but has attended mainly to the presentation of a continuous text and comprehensive commentary. This is no slight contribution, and to date his text remains the best available. In the following textual notes I incorporate only the text from the third edition, since it seems best to use his most recent judgments on the matter. This has also kept the notes from becoming unwieldy.

³⁶ For 1Q20 see *ibid.*, 26–7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, ix.

³⁸ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*.

2.1.1.14. *Beyer (B³)*—2004

Recently, Beyer has added a *Band 2* to his *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*.³⁹ In it, he re-presents and updates some of his text of the Genesis Apocryphon in light of the publications of Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, Sivan, and others. Included are parts of cols. 1, 3–8, 10–17 and 19, again with a single, diacritical circlet for uncertain characters. The character of Beyer's transcription and German translation are similar to that of his earlier volumes—creative, but erratic. Due to the uneven, and sometimes contradictory, character of the portions of text included in each of Beyer's volumes (in contrast to Fitzmyer), all three are included in the textual notes.

2.1.1.15. *Abegg and Wise (AW)*—2005

Martin Abegg and Michael Wise's transcription and English translation of the Genesis Apocryphon is the most recent complete edition of the text.⁴⁰ Wise was responsible for transcribing cols. 0–1, and Abegg for the remainder of the scroll. Happily, they have employed diacritical dots and circlets throughout. Abegg notes that for cols. 2, 12 and 19–22 he relied mainly on García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, while cols. 3–8, 10–11 and 13–17 are based on Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan. The entire translation is that of Wise. This is among the least reliable editions of the scroll, especially in the early portions of the text and its translation. One is occasionally impressed that originality is being sought over accuracy, while previous mistakes are frequently followed and added to. In addition, the spacing of the transcription is regularly misleading.

2.1.1.16. *Falk (Flk)*—2007

Daniel Falk recently published an introduction to Jewish parabiblical literature from the second temple period (particularly the Dead Sea Scrolls) in which he included an extensive, detailed treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon.⁴¹ Incorporated into his analysis are a number of new readings based upon an

³⁹ K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairo Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitate: Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 89–101.

⁴⁰ M. Abegg and M. Wise, "1Q20 (1QapGen ar)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Part 3. Parabiblical Texts* (eds D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 2–35.

⁴¹ D. K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; CQS 8; London: T & T Clark, 2007), 26–106.

examination of some of the available photographs of the scroll. Several (but not all) of his proposals agree independently with my own, and at other junctures I have been persuaded to follow his reading. In general, it is clear that he has taken great care in his assessment of the text.

2.1.1.17. *Other Commentators*

Occasionally, I have drawn upon the textual suggestions of various scholars who have dealt in some way with the Genesis Apocryphon, but were unmentioned in the preceding survey. These are incorporated into my textual notes and catalogued below in the list of abbreviations.

2.1.2. *The Present Edition*

2.1.2.1. *The Need for a New Edition*

With so many editions available, why is there need for a new one? From the above survey it is clear that the “preliminary” editions of Avigad and Yadin, Greenfield and Qimron, and Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan have served as the basis for nearly every subsequent edition of the Apocryphon, typically with little revision. This significant interdependence of previous editions on each other, rather than being based on a close reading of the manuscript, is the main reason for my re-examination of the evidence. Admittedly, Beyer is a relatively independent voice, and frequently suggests original readings. However, many of these do not inspire confidence in his text as a whole, and leave one skeptical about whether it is an improvement over the preliminary publications.

For those columns first published by Avigad and Yadin, the far better condition of the text, numerous reviews, and successive editions have produced what may be satisfactorily called a “final form” of the text (keeping in mind, of course, that details can be quibbled over endlessly). The same is not true, however, for the columns published in the 1990’s. These have been largely overlooked, textually and palaeographically speaking, by subsequent scholarship, and it was only through my perusal of some photographs of these columns (on the advice of professor VanderKam) that I realized the need to undertake a comprehensive rereading of the entire manuscript. This need may be illustrated by one of my first examinations of a photograph of the scroll, upon which I realized that the beginning of 14.17 could be filled in significantly in relation to the text presented by Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan. Hence, where they read לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה

לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה I now read לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה. Many other such divergences are presented in the following edition.

There are other, more minor reasons to produce a new transcription of the scroll. For instance, there is no current edition which lays out, in an easily accessible format, the various and sundry transcriptional disagreements between all editions now available. It is for this reason that I include extensive textual notes. In addition, the spacing and relative line length of the manuscript are not adequately reflected in any of the previous publications, save that of Avigad and Yadin. I hope to have filled some of these voids in the present edition.

For the above reasons it seemed unwise to proceed to a study of the scroll’s contents without gaining more confidence about what is written in it. Of course, the badly damaged nature of the scroll regularly mitigates against this, and I must stress that throughout my work I have been deeply indebted to the scholars listed in the survey above. Any contributions that my edition may make are merely adornments on the edifice they have constructed.

2.1.2.2. *Spacing*

As mentioned above, previous editions have regularly ignored the factors of proper spacing and line length in relation to the manuscript.⁴² Because of this, I have tried to be as precise as possible regarding the spacing of words and lacunae, as well as the length of lines, in my transcription. Of course, absolute precision is impossible using a standardized font, so that at times line length has been slightly adjusted to accommodate the proper spacing of words or lacunae, and vice versa.

2.1.2.3. *Diacritical Marks*

I have chosen to use the same diacritical marks employed by the DJD series. This includes a dot (◌̣) to indicate that a letter is relatively sure, but partially missing or obscured, and a circlet (◌̣), specifying that the letter is significantly missing or obscured, and that the reading is tentative. Readings of letters with supra-linear circlets should, in fact, be viewed as no more than educated guesses. Where there is evidence of a letter, but no certain identification can be reasonably ventured, a circle (○) will be transcribed.

⁴² This is less of a problem in Avigad and Yadin, since they include plates alongside their transcription.

2.1.2.4. *Reconstruction and Tenuous Readings*

My approach to the reconstruction of missing text is conservative, limited mainly to the completion of phrases and expressions common elsewhere within the scroll. Use of brackets indicates both where the leather is completely eaten away and where leather remains but there is no legible text. This is somewhat unfortunate, but was done to avoid confusion between parts of the manuscript that were effaced by time and those that were originally left blank by the scribe. The latter are indicated by the Latin word *vacat*.

When one stares at a manuscript as long as an edition such as this requires, especially one as fragmentary and damaged as the Genesis Apocryphon, it becomes easy to imagine readings based on very little physical evidence. This makes it most difficult to decide when to include a less than certain reading. I have endeavored to tread the fine line between speculation and what I consider a valid suggestion to the best of my ability. Still, I must stress that letters with diacritical circlelets are merely suggestive, and not authoritative, readings. It is my great hope that these readings will be tested by other scholars who take recourse to the photographs and manuscript. Eric Turner, speaking about the practice of paleography and its classification into “styles”, has put his finger on one of the realities of reading ancient manuscripts:⁴³

...paleography is neither a science nor an art, but works through a continual interaction of the methods appropriate to both approaches. And in the last resort a judgment has to be made—and judgment is fallible.

Such “last resorts” have been reached at a number of junctures during my work on the Apocryphon, and my own fallibility will undoubtedly be evidenced as others seriously engage the scroll.

2.1.2.5. *Translation*

In translating the Aramaic of the scroll I have aimed at correctness rather than originality, and have derived much from my predecessors. Fitzmyer deserves special mention in this regard, providing an exemplary translation that is often best left untouched. I am also heavily indebted to my mentor, James VanderKam, who made numerous translation suggestions and revisions. His expertise in such matters is indisputable, and has been happily received. Unlike the transcription, I have not attempted to reflect accurately the spacing

and line length of the manuscript in the translation, since this seemed redundant and would take up much extra space. Translating is effectually an act of interpretation, since any word—especially a Semitic word—may bear several or more meanings. This is compounded in the Genesis Apocryphon, where the words are commonly partial or tenuous. In a certain sense, therefore, my own translation may be viewed as a commentary of sorts on the language and contents of the scroll.

2.1.3. *Textual Notes*

Due to the poor condition of a large portion of the manuscript, there have often been disagreements among previous editions over the reading of words and letters. This has necessitated a textual apparatus in which various readings are displayed, and my own readings defended. The notes are not exhaustive. Rather, I have sought to include only those differences which impact our understanding of the text. For instance, I have typically not included disagreements over letters in a context whose meaning would be unclear, whatever the reading. The notes are intended to be primarily “textual,” and consequently deal with exegetical aspects of the text only where it proves useful for the establishment of a reading.

2.1.3.1. *Photographs*

I have availed myself of all obtainable photographs in order to produce the most reliable text possible. The ensuing list follows roughly the order of the scroll’s columns:

– *DJD 1, Plate XVII*

The black and white photographic plate presented in DJD 1 is not exceedingly helpful, since the script is somewhat blurred. Later, infrared photographs are far more useful.

– *Inscriptifact Photographic Plates*

Among the photographs currently available to scholars on the Inscriptifact website (www.inscriptifact.com)⁴⁴ are a number of plates containing 1Q20 (i.e. cols. 0–1). These photographs are superb, and represent the gamut of photographic technology available, from black and white to color, natural light to narrowband infrared. They are significantly more useful than the

⁴³ E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 24.

⁴⁴ As of summer 2006. The site is being added to continually and will hopefully contain all of the Genesis Apocryphon photographs in due time.

plate in DJD 1, and are denoted here by the prefix “ISF_DO_”.

– *Avigad and Yadin Photographic Plates*

The black and white plates in the *editio princeps* are still among the most useful for the columns represented (2 and 19–22). They are taken in wideband infrared light, and present the parchment at the earliest recorded stage relative to the scroll’s modern discovery, before its subsequent decomposition.

– *Israel Museum Negatives*

The Israel Museum in Jerusalem retains a number of negatives of the Genesis Apocryphon at the Shrine of the Book. Included in these are the original photographs for all of the columns, contemporary with those used by Avigad and Yadin. There are also more recent photos. A number of photographic technologies are represented. Among the most important of these photos for this project is the fine photograph of the Trever Fragment (IMneg. 6 × 6), while the many pictures of the scroll before and during its opening by Biberkraut are both charming and noteworthy. Photographs from this eclectic collection will be prefixed with “IMneg.” or “IMneg. x” in the textual notes. The numbers are those assigned by the museum.

– *Bearman and Zuckerman Photographs*

In 1994 Gregory Bearman, from the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at NASA and the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, California together with Bruce and Ken Zuckerman, from the West Semitic Research Project at the University of Southern California, produced a useful set of narrowband infrared photos of the Genesis Apocryphon. The photographs cover the standard columns of scroll (1–22), but do not include Milik’s 1Q20 or the Trever Fragment. These photos are especially helpful for the columns published in the 1990’s (i.e. not included in Avigad and Yadin). Photographs from this collection will be prefixed with “BZ” in the textual notes.

– *Bearman Photographs*

Gregory Bearman also took a different set of narrowband infrared photographs in 1997. These have been utilized in the few places where the BZ set was not available (i.e. cols. 7–8).

– *Note on Digital Enhancement*

All photographs, except the plates in DJD 1 and Avigad and Yadin, have been used in a digital format. Due to this, I have frequently enhanced portions of the manuscript in order to read its contents more easily. This entails manipulation of the size, contrast

and brightness of a letter or word. Unfortunately, it has been impractical to recreate such enhancements for the reader, but I have tried to use these tools equitably, and have often called attention to their use in the textual notes.

2.1.3.2. *List of Abbreviations for Sources Consulted in the Textual Notes*

- AW Abegg and Wise, “The Genesis Apocryphon,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Parabiblical Texts*, 2–35.
 AY Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*.⁴⁵
 B¹ Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Band 1* (1984), 165–86.
 B² Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband* (1994), 68–70.
 B³ Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Band 2* (2004), 89–101.
 Bern Bernstein, “Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon,” *DSD* 3:1 (1996): 37–57.
 C Caquot, “Suppléments Qumrâniens à la Genèse,” *RHPR* 80 (2000): 339–58.
 Ck Cook, “The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty*, 359–78.
 dMed del Medico, *L’Enigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 515.
 Du-SO Dupont-Sommer, *Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte*, 298.
 Esh Eshel, “Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the Genesis Apocryphon,” *DSD* 13:1 (2006): 38–45.
 Esh² Eshel, “The *Imago Mundi* of the Genesis Apocryphon,” in *Heavenly Tablets*, 111–31.
 Flk Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts. Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 36–87.
 F Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)* [3rd ed.].
 Gin Ginsberg, “Notes on Some Old Aramaic Texts,” *JNES* 18 (1959): 146.
 GMT García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Vol. 1, 26–7 [1Q20] and 28–49 [1QapGen ar].
 GQ Greenfield and Qimron, “The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII,” in *Studies in Qumran Aramaic*, 70–77.
 Gre Grelot, “Parwaïm des Chroniques à l’Apocryphe de la Genèse,” *VT* 11 (1961): 30–38.
 J Jongeling, Labuschagne, and van der Woude, *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, 77–119.
 Kis Kister, “Some Aspects of Qumranic Halakha,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, 583–86.
 Kut Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon’: A Preliminary Study,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1–35.
 M Morgenstern, *The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon* [Hebrew], 13–26.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Citations of readings offered in the introduction, rather than the main text, will be indicated by page numbers (for both the English and Hebrew introductions) in parentheses.

⁴⁶ This is Morgenstern’s unpublished M.A. Thesis, completed at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1996. The copy consulted was that available at the University and National Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem’s Givat Ram campus. Most of the contributions from this work come from the marginal notes, which were added in handwriting by Morgenstern before submitting the thesis, and typically differ from (and improve on) the version published with Qimron. Such marginalia will be indicated by “(margin)” following the citation.

- MBE Milik, *The Books of Enoch*.
 Mil Milik, "20. Apocalypse de Lamech," in DJD 1, 86–7.
 Mi-To Michelini Tocci, *I manoscritti del Mar Morto*, 294.
 MQS Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan, "The Hitherto Unpublished Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," *Abr-Nahrain* 33 (1996): 30–54.
 Mu¹ Muraoka, "Notes on the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon," *RevQ* 8 (1972–75): 7–51.
 Mu² Muraoka, "Further Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," *RevQ* 16 (1993–95): 39–48.
 Pu Puech, review of Jongeling, et al., *Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, *RevQ* 9 (1977–78): 589–91.
 Qim¹ Qimron, "Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JSP* 10 (1992): 11–18.
 Qim² Qimron, "Toward a New Edition of *1Q Genesis Apocryphon*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 107–109.
 Ros Rosenthal, review of Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, *JNES* 18 (1959): 84.
 Ste Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2 (1995): 66–71.
 vdW van der Woude, *Bijbelcommentaren en bijbelse verhalen*, 96.
 VK VanderKam, "The Textual Affinities of the Biblical Citations in the Genesis Apocryphon," *JBL* 97:1 (1978): 45–55.

2.1.4. *The Manuscript*

2.1.4.1. *Description, Length, and Dimensions*

When discovered, the Genesis Apocryphon was somewhat flattened. It had a softer, more pliable side, and a brittle, more disintegrated side. Both ends were brittle and crumbling.⁴⁷ This unevenness in the scroll's preservation is likely due to its lying exposed (i.e. not inside a jar like some other scrolls) during its long tenure in Cave 1, during which one side was more susceptible to the environment. For this reason the unrolled scroll alternates between better and worse states of preservation. As expected, the manuscript condition improves near the center of the scroll (i.e. the higher numbered columns).

An extensive physical description of the parchment and script is provided by Avigad and Yadin, including a report of the strange, whitish material found covering the lower part of cols. 10–15.⁴⁸ Much of this material has now been removed by experts at the Israel Museum, facilitating the work of Greenfield, Qimron, Morgenstern, and Sivan in publishing these columns in preliminary form.

The scroll currently contains four sheets of parchment, which are very finely executed. The tanning, ruling, joint stitching, and script are among the fin-

est found in the eleven caves at Qumran. The final sheet of leather is worthy of note, since it is clear that another sheet was originally sewn to it, but that it was cut off with a sharp instrument in antiquity (it was at the center of the rolled scroll). The motive for this cut is unclear, and has been the cause of some speculation.⁴⁹ Whatever the reason, it is obvious that the scroll originally included at least one more parchment sheet of five or more columns. Logic would suggest that the scroll continued at least through the Abram and Sarai cycle.

In 1996 Morgenstern suggested that the beginning of the scroll would have included another 14 to 15 sheets (70–105 columns!) based on the letters **ב**, **ז**, and **ק** discovered at the top right corner of the last three sheets.⁵⁰ This proposal has not been widely accepted, and the letters might be better explained as part of the leather preparation process (and, therefore, having nothing to do with the content of the scroll).

2.1.4.2. *Present Condition*

On May 25, 2006, I had the opportunity to examine the manuscript in detail at the Shrine of the Book, the Israel Museum of Jerusalem.⁵¹ To the naked eye the manuscript is now almost completely unreadable, rendering my attempts to clarify tenuous or problematic readings largely unsuccessful. In fact, the script has continued to deteriorate while in storage, even in comparison with the narrowband infrared photographs taken by Zuckerman and Bearman in the mid 1990's.

The ongoing deterioration of the script only (while much of the surrounding leather remains in-tact) may be linked to scribal use of a bronze inkwell instead of the more well-known ceramic models.⁵² Other such

⁴⁹ The most widely proposed explanation seems to be manuscript repairs, although this is merely speculative. For a summary of the current views see E. Schuller, "Response to 'Patriarchs Who Worry about their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon,'" in *George W. E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (2 vols.; JSJSup 80; eds J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:209–11.

⁵⁰ M. Morgenstern, "A New Clue to the Original Length of the Genesis Apocryphon," *JJS* 47 (1996): 345–47.

⁵¹ I would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Adolfo Roitman, current curator of the Dead Sea Scrolls at the Shrine of the Book, who allowed me access to the manuscript, and especially to Irène Lewitt, who provided the most gracious of assistance (not to mention coffee) throughout my visits to the Shrine.

⁵² This idea was first suggested to me in personal communication with Dr. Hanan Eshel, of Bar-Ilan University. High levels of copper (Cu) and lead (Pb) were found in inks from some of the scrolls at Qumran, as Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi have shown. They linked this phenomenon to the storage of ink in bronze, rather than ceramic, inkwells. See Y. Nir-El and M. Broshi, "The

⁴⁷ See the early report of Trever, "Preliminary Observations," 15. Also Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 12–13.

⁴⁸ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 12–13.

inkwells are known from this region during the period, and even from Qumran.⁵³

The final and best preserved columns, published by Avigad and Yadin in 1956, are now in far worse condition than when the photographic plates for their *editio princeps* were taken. Portions of the scroll (most notably the left side of col. 17 and central parts of col. 13) have chemically broken down, turning into a reddish-black pitch type of material. The most well preserved areas of leather retain a medium chestnut color. Unfortunately, the continued corrosion of the scroll—especially its script—makes it unlikely that future technological advances in photography will help salvage more of the Genesis Apocryphon's text. Consequently, we must rely primarily on the sets of photographs that have already been taken.

Black Ink of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 3:2 (1996): 157–67 [esp. 161–62]. DeVaux found one such inkwell *in situ* in locus 30 at Qumran, while a second (now part of the Schøyen collection), more elaborate example is purported to have come from the site. See T. Elgvin in collaboration with S. J. Pfann, "An Incense Altar from Qumran?" *DSD* 9:1 (2002): 20–33. Ceramic inkwells from the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been found in Jerusalem, Meiron, Qumran, and elsewhere. See S. Goranson, "68. Inkwell," in *Sephoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (eds R. Martin Nagy et al.; Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 202.

⁵³ N. I. Khairy, "Ink-wells of the Roman Period from Jordan," *Levant* 12 (1980): 155–62. S. Goranson, "Qumran—a Hub of Scribal Activity," *BAR* 20:5 (Sept./Oct. 1994): 36–39. Elgvin in collaboration with Pfann, "An Incense Altar from Qumran?" 21.

2.2. ARAMAIC TRANSCRIPTION WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION

COLUMN 0

[	◦◦זכ[ו]לנא מן	◦למ◦	]	1.
[	די בכול נקבל גיזר		]	2.
[	דְּ	<i>vacat</i>	]	3.
[	כול די תמ◦ל◦		]	4.
[	ם רגזך תתקף ותתקיאם ומן הוא		]	5.
[	ם חמת רגזך	<i>vacat</i>	די]	6.
[	פ[תִּיא ומכיא ושפליא דאלין וזאעין		]	7.
[	זכען הא אנחנא אסירין		]	8.
[	ל◦◦◦◦יִה דנא		]	9.

1. []... and a[l]l of us from...
2. []that in every (way) we might undertake an adulterous act
3. [] *vacat*
4. []al]l that you shall...
5. []... you will intensify your anger and will be unrelenting, for who is there
6. [who...]... the heat of your anger *vacat*
7. []the [sim]ple and the humble and the lowly ones quiver and tremble
8. [] And now we are prisoners!
9. []...this

Column 0: This column has been tentatively reconstructed by B. Zuckerman and M. O. Wise, and was subsequently incorporated into F's commentary (3rd ed.). The fragments used were those originally published by Milik as 1Q20 in DJD 1. While I have followed the general placement of fragments in the reconstruction, I differ with some of the specific readings based on the excellent, scaleable set of photographs now available through Inscriptifact (www.inscriptifact.com). The original readings of Milik are incorporated into the notes where available, as are two re-readings of the 1Q20 fragments published prior to their reconstruction: GMT (listed as 1Q20, p. 26) and B¹ (listed as col. 0 of "Das Genesis-Apokryphon," p. 166). The material in B¹ is extremely confusing, since he includes under col. 0 the beginning of some lines from what is now termed col. 1 (= col. II in Milik!).

0.1: 𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌 𐤓𐤏 𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌 [] Mil [] 𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌 [] 𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌 / F/AW [] 𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌
𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤌𐤍𐤁𐤌. In infrared photo ISF_DO_0067 the bottom of a *lamed* precedes what Milik read as a *nun* (I follow him, although the top of this letter is missing). The horizontal base stroke of a possible *mem* begins the next word, which is followed by a final *nun*. This letter is difficult to discern unless magnified, since it runs into the top of the *lamed* below it (line 2). In Zuckerman's drawing of the reconstructed column (cf. F, p. 115), the fragment containing the top margin (1Q20, frg. 6) is flipped over, so that the back side is viewed—a mistake pointed out to me by Daniel Falk. This seems to have skewed the placement of the *lamed*

in the final word of the line, although a *lamed* is also present when the fragment is flipped back to the front (approx. 1 letter space closer to the margin line). When flipped back over, the placement of the earlier *lamed* is also confirmed.

0.2: וְכוּל מִקְבֵּלָא B¹; וְכוּל ◦קבלא F/AW | מיל בכול נקבל:

0.4: לִבְנֵי דִי תַמְסִלְסִל [בן] Mil לְדִיתָם [; B' לְדִיתָ [; F/AW דִי תַמְסִלְסִל [בן] חמ[ד]. The fragment (1Q20, fig. 3) is torn at this spot, but when placed back together a *mem* and a *lamed* are clear in the final word. Milik's reading of a *tav* to begin this word seems best, based on the left upper and lower corners of the ink remains. Remnants of at least one letter follow the *lamed*.

0.5: תתקף B¹/F/AW | Mil תת° GMT תתסך.

0.5: **ותתקיים** B/F/ÅW] Mil **ותתקיים**; GMT **ותתקיים**. The penultimate letter is too large to be a *yod*, and fits well the expected shape of an *aleph*.

0.5: **מל**/B¹/GMT/F] **אמ**. The *vav* is clear on the original photos, as initially detected by Milik.

0.7: **ומביא** B¹/AW **ומביא** Mil/GMT/F **ומביא**. A crack runs from top right to bottom left of the first three letters. When enlarged, the left downstroke of the *mem* and lower right bend of the *kaph* are easily seen.

0.8: אֲנִי B1/F/AW] Mil/GMT. The outline of a final *aleph* is clear on ISF_DO_0665. In addition, the preceding two letters appear to be separated, making a penultimate *lav* unlikely.

עתינ ורזא די	]	3.
לא[א נחנ[א לא מדעין	]	4.
לא[	]	5.
רא עד	]	6.
רזא אנ אנן	]	7.
קין רברבין	]	8.
ם ל[	]	9.
מן קצת	]	10.
די על	]	11.
ארי	]	12.
וא[	]	13.
א[	]	14.
		15–17.

3. [	]times, and the mystery that
4. [	]w[e]did not make known
5. [	]... not
6. ...[	]... until
7. the day whi[ch	]the mystery, whether they
8. are all your sons, and[	]... great...,
9. medicines, acts of sorcery, and divi[nations	]...
10. the earth, and that I will seek to...[	] part of
11. the deed that until n[ow	]...which is upon
12. the dry land, to establish[	] see,
13. I have given all of them [	]and if
14–17.	

1.3: עתינ[] B¹ עתון[; B³ שתון[; MQS ל[; F תִּתִּן[; AW סתין[. The *ayin* is relatively clear on IMneg. 3854, although a *shin* should not be ruled out absolutely. It is certainly not a *samekh*, as transcribed by AW.

1.4: In MQS/F/AW, the letters שתון[precede לא תִּתִּן[. This is apparently a mistake first made by MQS, and followed by F and AW, in which letters belonging to the previous line were included on this line instead (i.e. my עתינ[of the previous note). The mistake is apparently attributable to IMneg. 3853, on which a fragment from line 3 is askew, and appears to be part of this line. The correct placement is clear on all other photographs. Very little remains before the word לא, certainly not enough to read confidently the letters suggested.

1.4: לא תִּתִּן[B¹/F] MQS/GMT/AW תדעין[; B³ תרעון[. The last word of this line is uncertain, despite the lack of indicators to this effect in some previous editions (neither B¹ nor F include diacritical marks above the final two letters). Only the top of the first letter remains, and it does not have the flat, horizontal stroke expected of a *tav*. The *dalet* and *ayin* are certain. The penultimate letter has a vertical tear through it, but appears to be a *yod*. Although the lower part of the final *nun* is difficult to discern, it is visible on IMneg. 3853 (which is the best photograph of this word).

1.7: MQS/F/AW have mistakenly skipped a line here. Their lines 6 and 8 (my line 7) clearly follow one another in the photographs, and account for a disagreement in our line numbering until 1.23 (cf. note below). B¹'s numbering is correct for those portions of col. 1 not originally included in Mil's 1Q20. However, B¹

inexplicably places Mil's col. II (the right side of col. I elsewhere) in his col. 0! The problem remains uncorrected in B³.

1.7: הן[B¹]אן[B³]אן[. The *aleph* is clear, especially on IMneg. 3853.

1.10: לא תִּתִּן[B¹]אן[B³]אן[. Mil תִּתִּן[B¹(0:26)]אן[B³]אן[. On ISF_DO_0067 several unidentified letters can be made out. What all others have read as a *tav* I have broken into a *vav* and *dalet*, since the initial vertical stroke is leaning to the left and does not have the left leg expected of a *tav*. The ink of this word appears very blurred on the original photos, but is clarified by infrared photography.

1.11: עובדא GMT/F/AW]עובדא[B¹(0:27)]עובדא[.

1.11: עובדא[F]עובדא[. The three letters are close together, but the bottom of a *kaph* for the third letter is clear on ISF_DO_0067. There is no paleographic evidence for the bottom horizontal stroke of F's *bet*. Another possible reading is עובדא["they] arranged."

1.12: יבשתא למקם B¹(0:28)]יבשתא למקם[; Mil/GMT/F/AW]יבשתא למקם[. Both יבשתא and יבשתא are paleographically possible, but the latter makes much better sense following the preposition על at the end of line 11. The final three letters of למקם are uncertain, with only their very top portions remaining.

1.13: והא כול B¹(0:29)/F]והא כול[; Mil]והא כול[. There are horizontal rips through both words, making this reading far from sure. More letters are required than the readings of Mil/B¹/F provide, and it appears that two words should be read on ISF_DO_03796, 00661, and 00665. The letters with circlets are speculative, and the final *nun* certain.

COLUMN 2

- [1. הא באדין חשבת בלבי די מן עירין הריאתא ומן קדישין זרעא ולנפילין]
 [2. ולבי עלי משתני על עולימא דנא] *vacat*
 [3. באדין אנה למך אתבהלת ועלת על בתאנוש אנתתי וא[מרת לה
 4. אָנָא יַעַד בעליא במרה רבותא במלך כול ע[למים
 [5. [חד מן] בני שמין עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני הן]
 [6. [בקושטא] תחוינני ולא בכדבין חדא ברא מנג'
 [7. במלך כול עלמים עד בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבין]
 [8. אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת ובכתי
 [9. ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי דכר לך על עדינתי אָנָא יַעַד]

1. Then suddenly it occurred to me that the conception was from Watchers, and the seed from Holy Ones, and to Nephil[
 2. and my mind wavered concerning this infant. *vacat*
 3. Then I, Lamech, was upset, so I approached Batenosh my wife and sa[id to her]
 4. ...I bear witness by the Most High, by the Mighty Lord, by the King of all A[ges]
 5. [one of] the sons of Heaven, until you recount truthfully everything for me, whether[]
 6. you must recount [truthfully] for me, without lies. The son (born) from you is unique (?) []
 7. by the King of all Ages until you will speak truthfully with me, without lies.[]
 8. Then Batenosh my wife spoke with me very harshly, and wept[]
 9. and she said, "O my brother and my husband, recall for yourself my pleasure...[]

Column 2: The first of the columns originally published by AY, col. 2 has been widely commented upon, accounting for the many sources cited in the textual notes. Col. 2 exists on a single leaf of parchment, detached from the "soft side" of the scroll by Trever in 1949. Photos for this column are found in the AY, IMneg, and BZ collections.

2.1: הריאתא AY/J/MBE/Pu/GMT/F/AW] Kut הריאתא; B¹ הריתא; Qim' הריאתא. Kutscher's suggestion is impossible based on available space. Although Qimron's reading is attractive on linguistic grounds, the left leg of what I read as *taw* appears too close (and the foot too short) to the following *aleph* to be a *nun*. Since an Aramaic form similar to ours is known from 11QgJob 4:9 (הריתא), it seems that in this line we find the standard Aramaic word, while that employed in 2.15 (הריונא) is a Hebraism.

2.1: זרעא Qim' /F/AW] AY א[; J/GMT הריא; MBE העדיא; B¹ רזא; B³ דינא/רוא. The readings of B¹ and MBE are incorrect based simply on space considerations and the letter remains. B³ is no improvement. Qimron was the first to point out that what is read by AY/J/GMT as a *heh* is actually the combination *zayin-resh*. Indeed, the upper horizontal stroke of the *resh* is visible on BZ1-2T, as is the following *ayin*, which is split apart by a crack in the leather.

2.4: אָנָא יַעַד AY/F/AW] Pu איעד [מסות [; B¹ ועד [; J/GMT/AW מועד אנה. The reading of J/GMT/AW is the least likely, since what they transcribe as *mem* does not have the horizontal bottom stroke required of that letter in BZ1-2T or IMneg. 3853 (their reading seems to favor grammatical considerations over the physical evidence). Puech reads the *aleph* as part of the following word (i.e. a 1 sg. *aph'el* imperf.), which is grammatically possible. However, the word break discerned by all others is quite clear, and the imperfect would seem strange

in this context (direct speech to Batenosh). The preceding letters of his reading also do not look correct to me. I largely agree with the readings of AY/F/B¹, but opt for a *yod* instead of *vav* in יַעַד. F noted the enigmatic nature of this form, which he leaves untranslated, and argues that the preceding letters אָנָא cannot be the 1 sg. pers. pro. (as J/GMT/AW and I read), since in this period it always ends with *heh*. In his discussion of orthography (p. 263), however, he notes the substitution of *aleph* for an expected *heh* in numerous other places, raising the possibility that this was a scribal slip based on phonetics. The form אָנָא is widespread in subsequent Palestinian Aramaic (cf. Sokoloff, DJPA, p. 64). F also observed that "some word like 'swear to me' is expected before בעליא." I tentatively take יַעַד to be a (unique) denominative part. related to the noun עַד "witness, bearer of testimony."

2.6: חדא AY/J/GMT/F/AW הדא; B³ חדר. The final two letters are very clear on the plate of AY and IMneg. 3854#1. The top of the initial *het* is clearly visible in IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1, but is difficult to discern in AY's plate. The letters following this word can be seen on the IMneg. photos.

2.9: דכר לך AY/J/F/GMT/AW דכרלך; B¹ רכילך. What all others have read as one word may justifiably be split into two based on the very close spacing between words elsewhere in the scroll (e.g. לעלת על in 2.3 and לעלת מת in 2.23). The right horn of the *daleth* is clear in BZ1-2T.

2.10: קודם J/Pu/F/GMT/AW] B¹ בחום. Either reading is possible, since the text is badly damaged here (although one would not gather this from J/GMT). Yet, the overall ink remains seem to fit בחום slightly better. The best photograph is IMneg. 3854#1, in which the downstroke of a *qoph* appears tenable in the first position. It may well be that neither suggestion is correct.

10. בְּחֹם עֲנַתָּא וְנִשְׁמַתִּי לָגוּ נִדְנָהָא וְאִנְהָּ בְּקוּשְׁט כּוּלָּא אֲ[חֻינָּ] ִּיִּיִּיִּי []
11. [] דָּא בְּכּוּלָּא וּשְׁגִי לְבִי עַלִּי אֲדִין אֲשַׁתְּנִי *vacat* []
12. וְכַדִּי חֲזַת בְּתֶאֱנוּשׁ אֲנַתְתִּי דִּי אֲשַׁתְּנִי אֲנִפִּי עַלִּי בְּרִיגָּ[זִי]
13. בְּאֲדִין אֲנִסְתָּ רּוּחָהָּא וְעַמִּי תַמְלִל וְלִי תֹאמֶר יֵא מְרִי וִיָּא אֲחִיִּי []
14. עֲדִינְתִּי יֵאמִיָּא אֲנָה לֶךְ בְּקִדִּישָׁא רַבָּא בְּמִלְךְ שְׁ[מִיָּא]
15. דִּי מִנְךְ זֶרְעָא דִּן וּמִנְךְ הִרְיוֹנָא דִּן וּמִנְךְ נִצְבַּת פְּרִיָּא [דִּן]
16. וְלֹא מִן כּוּל זֶר וְלֹא מִן כּוּל עִירִין וְלֹא מִן כּוּל בְּנֵי שְׁמִי [לְמֵא צִלְם]
17. אֲנַפִּיךְ כְּדָנָא עַלִּיךְ שִׁנָּא וּשְׁחַת וְרוּחְךְ כְּדִן עַלִּיכָּא [] אֲנָה
18. בְּקוּשְׁט מִמְלָלָא עֲמָךְ *vacat* [] רִשְׁתָּ
19. בְּאֲדִין אֲנָה לִמְךְ עַל מִתּוּשְׁלַח אֲבִי וְכּוּלָּא לֵהָ [ח] וִיִּיִּיִּי [לְחֻנּוּךְ]
20. אֲבוּהִי וְכּוּלָּא מִנָּה בִּיעֲבָא יִנְדַּע בְּדִי הוּא רַחִים וְרִיִּיִּיִּי [] וְעַם קִדְשִׁיָּא
21. עֲדָבָה פְּלִיג וְלֵה מַחְוִין כּוּלָּא וְכַדִּי שְׁמַע מִתּוּשְׁלַח [ח] אֲבִי
22. רִשְׁתָּ עַל חֻנּוּךְ אֲבוּהִי לְמִנְדַּע מִנָּה כּוּלָּא בְּקוּשְׁטָא []

10. in the heat of the moment, and my panting breath! I [am telling] you everything truthfully...[]
11. []... entirely.” Then my mind wavered greatly within me. *vacat*
12. Now when Batenosh my wife saw that my demeanor had changed because of [my] ang[er]
13. Then she controlled her emotions and continued speaking with me. She was saying to me, “O my husband and my brother,[]
14. my pleasure. I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of He[aven]
15. that this seed is from you, and from you this conception, and from you the planting of [this] fruit[]
16. and not from any stranger, nor from any of the Watchers, nor from any of the sons of Hea[ven. Why is the appearance of]
17. your face changed and contorted like this, and your spirit...[] upon you like this? [I]
18. am speaking truthfully with you. *vacat* []
19. Then I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father and [t]ol[d] him everything[] to Enoch]
20. his father in order to learn everything from him with certainty, since he is a beloved and ...[] and with the Holy Ones]
21. is his lot apportioned, for they make everything known to him. When Methusel[ah my father] heard[]
22. he ran to Enoch his father to learn everything truthfully from him[]

2.11:] AY וְלִיִּיִּי [] דָּא בְּכּוּלָּא . When enlarged, IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1 show clearly that there is no letter between the *lamed* and *aleph* at the end of the word. The first two letters of the last word have the long, horizontal base strokes expected of a *bet*, *kaph*, or *mem*. Puech asserts that this word is “précédé sans doute” by עַד, although the negative imprint of an *aleph* is quite plain.

2.17:] AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW עֲלִיבָּא . I am convinced that the penultimate letter is a *kaph*, and not a *bet*. עֲלִיבָּא seems paleographically preferable when IMneg. 3854 and 3854#1 are enlarged (although a *bet* cannot be ruled out absolutely), and mirrors the syntax used earlier in the line. A *plene* spelling is also used for this suffix in 5.9 (where it is subsequently corrected) and 20.26 (with a *heh*), showing that it was pronounced “*kha*” by the scribe/community who wrote or copied the scroll. This type of ending is common in Qumran Hebrew (see Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 58–9).

2.20:] AY וְרִיִּיִּי B¹ ; J/GMT/AW וְרִיִּיִּי . At least one letter can be seen following the *resh*, but the ink is blurred severely. Puech noted that J/GMT/AW’s reading “est une lecture paléographiquement exclue,” with which I agree. There is not the sweeping right to left downward stroke expected of an *ayin*, but a more vertical stroke (possibly the *gimel* suggested by F). In any case, the basic idea suggested by both J and F seems plausible (i.e. a word roughly parallel to רַחִים).

2.22:] AY] AY] לְחֻנּוּךְ ; J/GMT/AW לְחֻנּוּךְ . Two facts are fairly clear: 1) there is a space between the *lamed* and חֻנּוּךְ; 2) there are at least four letters preceding חֻנּוּךְ at the beginning of the line. This rules out the readings of AY/J/GMT/AW, while leaving F/B^{2/3}’s proposal quite tenable. The *ayin* is more easily discerned than the preceding 2 (or 3) letters, which are highly speculative.

- [23. רעותה ואזל לארְךְ מַת לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקץ אַ[רעא
[24. [ו]אמר לחנוך אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי די אנה לךְ אַתְ[ית
[25.] לוֹ וְאָמַר לךְ דְּאַל תִּרְגֹּז עָלַי דִּי לְתִנָּא אֲתִית לְבִ[עִי]ךְ
[26. דחיל לעליךְ]
[27. לוֹ לֹּ לֹּ לֹּ
28–36?

23. his will. And he went through the length of the land of Parvain, and there he found the end of [the]
ea[rth]
24. [and] he said to Enoch his father, “O my father and my lord, I have co[me] to you[]
25. []...to me, and I say to you, do not to be angry that I came here to s[ee]k you[out]
26. fearful of you[]
27–36(?).

COLUMN 3

- לא [1.
כֹּל צִוְּיָא וְלֹא לְאוֹרְכָא] 2.
אֲרִי בְיוֹמֵי יֶרֶד אֲבִי] 3.

1. [] not
2. [] all ... and not for the length
3. []for in the days of Jared my father

2.23: *לַה קְדַמַּת* Du-So/Gre; *לְאַרְךְ מַת* AY; *לְאַרְךְ מַת* J/B¹/F; *לְאַרְךְ מַת* dMed; *לְאַרְכַּת* MBE; *לְאַרְכַּת* GMT; *לְאַרְכַּת* AW. The readings of GMT and AW are easily dismissed on physical grounds, since more than one letter would be required between the *qoph* and *tav* of GMT, and the lower extension of a final letter form is seen clearly in the third or fourth space (contra AW). It appears that AW have strictly followed MBE's (p. 41, n. 1) suggestion that these letters represent the word *לְאַרְכַּת* “the upper layer, stratum (of the three).” Not even Milik, however, ignored the final *kaph*, confessing that his reading was “in spite of the final form of the Kaph in the middle of a word (which does occur occasionally in the script of the Qumran manuscripts).” He ignored to mention, however, that this practice never occurs elsewhere in the Genesis Apocryphon, which may have caused GMT to propose the even less plausible *לְאַרְכַּת*. The other readings (except for AY; cf. note on 2.9 above) are also paleographically untenable, in addition to being unlikely on other grounds (cf. Ligneé, *Textes*, pp. 223–5; and F, p. 137 for discussion). These words are fairly clear on IMneg. 3854#1, and F's interpretation remains the most reasonable.
2.23: *לפרוין* vdW AY/J/B¹/F/GMT/AW] See F, pp. 136–7 for discussion.
2.23: *לחנוך* B¹; *אבוהי* J/F/GMT/AW; *ל* AY] *לקץ אַ[רעא*] *לואת*]. The word *קץ* is surprisingly clear at the end of this line in BZ1–2T. Although *לחנוך* makes good sense here, it is surprising that this reading has been perpetuated, since even the plates of AY show it to be untenable on paleographic grounds. My reading is supported by the parallel in 1 En. 106:8, “And when Methuselah heard the words of his son, he came to me at the ends of the earth.”

2.25: *לִי וְאָמַר* AY/F; *לִי וְאָמַר* J/GMT; *לִי וְאָמַר* B¹; *לִי וְאָמַר* AW. The *lamed* is much closer to *אמר* than it seems in the transcriptions of AY and F, with only one small letter separating them. This also renders the proposals of B¹ and AW untenable.
2.25: *דָּבַל* B¹; *דָּבַל* AY; *דָּבַל* J/GMT/F/AW; *דָּבַל* Gin. Both *דָּבַל* and *דָּבַל* are materially possible, but the latter is preferable on grammatical grounds. B¹'s proposal may stem from his misreading of the preceding *ואמר* (without the *vav* and following *די*), which then forced him to provide a *vav*, rather than a *dalet*, to make sense of the phrase. Here the *dalet* introduces direct discourse (cf. F, p. 138). Ginsberg argues that this word is written *junctim* with the following *תרגז*, but this is quite unlikely.
2.25: *לְתִנָּא* B¹/Qim¹/F; *לְתִנָּא* AY/J/GMT/AW. Qimron finds this reading materially preferable, although the word is blurred and difficult to read. His suggestion finds support in the *תנה* of 22.28. It is truly remarkable that those including diacritical marks in their text do not make use of them here. Happily, the meaning remains the same in either case.
2.25: *לִי וְאָמַר* B¹; *לִי וְאָמַר* J; *לִי וְאָמַר* AY] *לִי וְאָמַר* J/GMT/AW; *לִי וְאָמַר* F. The readings of B¹ and F can be excluded with certainty, since the second letter has a bottom, horizontal stroke not characteristic of an *aleph* or final *kaph*. The extended downstroke of the last letter assures that it is a final form.
Column 3: This column is very badly damaged, with the most helpful photos being the BZ set. There are a number of lines in the lower portion of this column (cf. BZ3–4B or IMneg. x 86–4447) that have not been transcribed by MQS, F, AW, or B³. They contain little readable text.

4.	]	ל[	וִתְבִּין בְּנִי	]
5.	]	[	<i>vacat</i>	שְׁמִין
6.	]		וְעַד יוֹם	
7.	]		וְלִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי יוֹם וְלִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי	
8.	]		וְעַל וְעַל [א] הִסְסִי	
9.	]		וְעַל לְהוֹה עַל אֶרֶעָא כּוֹלְהָא	
10.	]		וְעַל בְּאַרְעִי לִימָא דִּן	
11.	]		וְעַל אֶרֶעָא פְּרִיָא חֲדָא יְשִׁים אֶרֶעָא	
12.	]		וְעַל אֶרֶעָא קְרִי עֲמָהּ וּבְעֵן אֶזֶל	
13.	]		וְעַל בְּקִשׁוּט דִּי לֹא בְּכַדְבִּין	
14.	]		וְעַל לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי [א] לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי	
15.	]		וְעַל וְדַבְּק דָּא בְּעֵין לִפְנֵי אֶרֶעָא וְעַל לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי	
16.	]		וְעַל לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי כּוֹלְהָא וְעַל יְעֵם	
17.	]		וְעַל הִוָּא דִּי יַפְלַג כּוֹל אֶרֶעָא וְעִם מִין	
18.	]	[	<i>vacat</i>	
19–23.				

4.	[	...the sons of
5.	[Heaven] (were) dwelling [	<i>vacat</i>
6.	[	...until the day of
7.	[	]... ... and they will be for you
8.	[	]...the houses of manki[nd]...[]and upon...
9.	[	]...will be over all the earth
10.	[	]...in my land to that sea
11.	[	]...he will place all of it as one fruit. The earth
12.	[	]...the earth...he called his people. Now go
13.	[	]... ...truthfully that without lies
14.	[	]...[]...[]...[]...
15.	[	]... And... reaches as a spring to... ...
16.	[	]... everything ...with
17.	[	] he is the one who will divide the entire earth, and with...
18.	[	<i>vacat</i>
19–23.		

3.4:] וִתְבִּין בְּנִי [MQS/F/AW] הִוָּא בְּנִי B³. The *bet* of my] וִתְבִּין is easily discernable on BZ3–4T, ruling out the transcription of B³.

3.10:] בְּאַרְעִי לִימָא [MQS/AW] אֶרֶעָא לִימָא B³; F אֶרֶעָא לִימָא B³. The *yod* at the end of the first word is quite clear when enlarged, and there is not enough room to accommodate an *aleph* before the following *lamed* (contra F). The question remains as to what this word may mean. MQS does not translate it, and AW's translation, "lower for this sea," fails to convince. I believe that it must either be the noun אֶרֶע "land, earth" plus the 1 sg. possessive suffix ("my land"), or a *peal* inf. const. of the verb אֶרַע "visit, happen upon," also followed by the 1 sg. suffix (lit. "in my happening upon"). I have opted for the former because of the frequent use of אֶרֶעָא throughout this section and the scroll in general. The following דִּן is used alternately as both the near ("this") and far ("that") demonstrative pronoun in the scroll. B³'s suggestion is not plausible.

3.11:] שֵׁם אֶרֶעָא B³] שֵׁם אֶרֶעָא MQS/F/AW] יְשִׁים אֶרֶעָא. All four letters of] יְשִׁים are read with confidence on IMneg. x 86–4447, 4453.

3.12:] עֲמָהּ B³] אֶרֶעָא. B³'s reading is not correct. Perhaps he is referring to the clear אֶרֶעָא earlier in the line?

3.15:] דָּא בְּעֵין לִפְנֵי אֶרֶעָא וְעַל לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי B³] דָּא בְּעֵין לִפְנֵי אֶרֶעָא וְעַל לִפְנֵי לִפְנֵי. The text is in very poor shape here. Apart from the initial מן, the only word of B³ containing any plausibility is the last. His overall reading falls several letters short of the number required by the available space.

3.17:] פִּלְג כּוֹל אֶרֶעָא וְעִם מִין MQS/F/AW] פִּלְג כּוֹל אֶרֶעָא וְעִם מִין B³] פִּלְג כּוֹל אֶרֶעָא בְּדָם מִתְּמִין B³. Scrutiny of BZ3–4M and IMneg. x 86–4447, 4453 reveals that B³ has read the first word incorrectly. The *gimel* is especially decisive in this regard. The *ayin* of וְעִם is also quite clear, and the *bet* and *dalet* of B³ may be dismissed on material grounds—there is no base stroke for the first letter, while the second clearly has a break in the top (i.e. the valley between the two strokes of my *ayin*).

24.	[	בִּין אִּלְמָאֲכָל וְלִמָּאֲכָל	]
25.	[		]
26.	[	נִרְ יִהֲב לְמִתּוֹשׁ[לַח בְּרָה	]
27.	[	וְיִהֲב לְמִתּוֹ[שְׁלַח בְּרָה שְׁכַל וִי	]
28.	[	תִּת לְחִלִּים[לֵה דִי בְּכָל יָם	]
29.	[	יִנְתֵּן[לְה] מְרָה לְשֵׁם קִי[י] לְעִרְיָן	]
30.	[	יִנְתֵּן וְעַד דִּי	]
31.	[	מִן מְעָא[מ] מִן מְעָא	]
32.	[	עַד וְעַל וְהִי שְׁמִי[לְמִי וְיִהֲב לִי]	]
33–36.			

24.	[	]	... and for food...
25.	[	]	
26.	[	]	... he gave to Methus[elah his son
27.	[	]	and he gave to Methu[selah his son understanding and...[]...[]
28.	[	]	...[]to him th[at] in every sea[]
29.	[	]	[the Lord[will give]to [him] for an ever[las]ting name... ... forests ...[]
30.	[	]	...and unt[il
31.	[	]	... [fr]om the womb... ...[]
32.	[	]	]until...and on his... name (?)...[]... and he gave to...[]
33–36.			

COLUMN 4

1.	וְכַעַן וְהִי	]
2.	וְשִׁמְרָא בְּמִי	]
3.	לְעַל לְל	]
4–10.		

1.	Now... [	]	... they will cause much trouble
2.	and... [	]	... and why...[]... []
3.	above... [	]	... for all ages... ...much, and the evil
4–10.			

3.24: **וְלִמָּאֲכָל**] MQS/F/AW. The reading of MQS/F/AW cannot be correct. It is clear on BZ3–4M that there are three letters between the two *lameds*, and there is far too much space for the second *lamed* to be followed by the pronominal suffix *-הון* alone. The *mem* and *aleph* are quite clear, while the *kaph* could also be a *bet*.

3.29: **לְעִרְיָן**] This word is very clear on BZ3–4B, with the only question being whether the final letters are **רִיָּן** or **רִיָּן** (I first read the latter, but the foot of the left leg required by a *tav* seems to be missing). I have settled tentatively on the former, which I translate as the plural of **יער** “forest, reed marsh,” and which may again allude to the dominion over creation given to Noah. The latter option (i.e. with a *tav*) would comprise a suffixed verbal form from **לעי** “study, work” (i.e. “I studied them”), also possible in this context. Reading **לי ערין** as two words (“...to me cities”) is unlikely, since the *yod/vav* runs directly into the *ayin*.

Column 4: This is another poorly preserved column, of which only some parts along the outer edges remain. It is the last column

of the present sheet of parchment. By following the left margin we are able to determine that, like the next sheet, it contained 36 lines per column. The BZ photos and IMneg. 3838 are most helpful.

4.1: **וְכַעַן**] MQS/AW **מן**; F **מן**. There is clearly a letter before what I read as a *kaph* (and the others as a *mem*), contra F. Due to a crack in the leather running through the word in BZ3–4T, the tops and bottoms of the letter are unaligned. However, the sloping line on the left side of MQS/F/AW’s *mem* has a noticeable convex shape to it, suggesting that it is, rather, the right stroke of an *ayin*. Indeed, the top of the *ayin*’s left stroke can be seen next to the top of the final *nun* in the photographs.

4.1: **שוי** B³ **שוי**. Either reading is possible, but it is astonishing that B³ has not included any diacritical marks. The second letter is almost completely missing in every available photograph, yet the remaining right, slanting stroke appears to me to be that of a *gimel*.

11. חזית למעבד דין ומ[שפט] עֵל []
 12. דִּי קִ[ד] יִשָּׂא רבא וקן []
 13. לֹא לֵן []
 14. []
 15–36.

11. I decided to enact judgment and ju[stice] upon []... the name
 12. of the Great H[o]ly One, and an end []...them from the face of the earth
 13. not.. []...
 14. [] upon them...
 15–36.

COLUMN 5

1. וכתב כולהון במגילא לזכירן כול []
 2. ולך מתושלח ב[רי] *vacat*
 3. דן הא כדי אנה חנוך []
 4. שמן להן מן למך ברך []
 5. ובדמא לא הווא []
 6. ולא []
 7. חוזה דחל למך ברך ואף מן [] ובקושת []

1. He wrote all of them in the scroll as a remembrance, all... []
 2. *vacat* Now to you, Methuselah [my] so[n] ... of this
 3. child, for when I, Enoch,... [] n[ot] from the sons
 4. of Heaven, but from Lamech your son []...
 5. and in resemblance he is not... []
 6. and not... [] because of]
 7. his appearance your son Lamech was afraid, and also from... [] and truly... []

4.11: למעבד MQS/F/AW] B³ לעבד. B³ has not transcribed the *mem*, which is evident on all photographs.

4.12: להון מן MQS/F/AW] להון מן B³. The lower stroke of a final letter at the end of the second word is readily seen on IMneg. 3838.

Column 5: This column begins a new sheet of parchment containing columns of 36 lines. The majority of preserved text for this column adjoins the right margin. A small *peh*, written in a different scribal hand, may be seen in the top, righthand corner of the sheet. This, along with similar markings in the same corner of cols. 10 and 17 (both also at the beginning of new parchment sheets), must have been part of the manuscript preparation process. All three letters were written rather crudely in comparison to the neat hand of the scribe(s) of this manuscript, and were first noted by M. Morgenstern, "A New Clue to the Original Length of the Genesis Apocryphon," 34–47. I do not see a need to presume that the sheets comprising this manuscript began with the letter *aleph*, as Morgenstern claims. It seems more likely that the letters were by penned by those who initially prepared the leather, in order to assure proper joinery. One might envision a large stack of such sheets from which some were taken (beginning with the next letter in

the stack) when a new manuscript was commissioned. For more on the manuscript preparation process see Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, pp. 14–16, 33–43.

5.1: וכתב עליהון B³ וכתב] MQS/F/AW] וכתב כולהון. The reading of B³ is implausible for two reasons: 1) where he has the combination *taw-space-ayin* there is clearly a letter with a flat, horizontal base stroke (my *kaph*), followed by a *yod/vav*; 2) there is no *yod* between the *lamed* and *heh*.

5.1: במגילא לזכירן] This is a highly speculative reading, since there is a crack running through the entire phrase in BZ4–5T and the correct alignment of letters is difficult to ascertain. Further work on this line may yield more certain results.

5.3: חנוך] I follow the reading of AY (18), B¹ et al. with some reservation. In support of this proposal, the 1 sg. pronoun is typically followed by a proper name (but cf. 5.9).

5.5: ובדמא B³] MQS/GMT/F/AW ומדמא. The horizontal top stroke of the *bet* (as opposed to sloping stroke of a *mem*) is clear on BZ4–5T.

5.7: ובקושת B³] Although I follow B³ here, the reading is extremely tenuous (more than B³'s transcription suggests). His foregoing words, הריון[א דן], appear unlikely.

8. בקושט מהימן די 〇〇〇〇 *vacat*]
9. וכען לכ{א} אנה אמר ברי ולך אנה מְחוּה כֹּל דִּי] 〇〇〇〇 בקושט]
10. אזל אמר ללמדך ברך די] מֶן לֶךְ] עו[ל]ימא בק[ו]שט] ו[ל]א] מֶן בְּנֵי] שמינ
11. ורְמוּהי בארעא וכול עובד שופֹט אֲהָב לָהּ]
12. לאנפּוּהי נסבא בִּי ודנחא עינוהי כשֹׁמֶן]שא
13. עולימא דן נור וְהוּא לֹא 〇〇〇〇]ל
14. זֶרְעָא מִן זֶרֶךְ]
15. אֲבִים 〇〇〇〇]
16. הא באדין ישתבשון ויתכלון]
17. עלמא יהבין כְּטַמְאָתְהוֹן לִמְקֻם 〇〇〇]
18. עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די]
19. ישלקון וכול שבילי חמס 〇〇〇 מֶן 〇〇〇]

8. truly trusting that... *vacat* []
9. Now I am talking to you, my son, and making known to you all th[at], then truthfully... []
10. Go, say to Lamech your son, [“The chi]l[d is t]r[ul]y from you [and]n[ot] from the sons[of Heaven...”]
11. and his heights (?) on the earth, and every act of judgment I will entrust to him...[]
12. he lifted his face to me and his eyes shone like [the] su[n]
13. this child is a light, and he...[]
14. the seed from a stranger[]
15. ... []
16. Then they will be ensnared and destroyed []
17. forever, giving according to their impurity to... ...[]
18. doing much violence, they will act (thus) until[]
19. they will boil over, and every path of violence... from...[]

5.8: 〇〇〇〇 MQS/F/AW] B³ חִיִּית. The letters have a large, horizontal crack running through them, and are unreadable. At best, B³'s reading should be viewed as a reconstruction.

5.9: מְחוּהָ אֲדִין MQS/AW] מְחוּהָ כֹּל דִּי] 〇〇〇 אֲדִין בקושט. מְחוּהָ כֹּל דִּי שֵׁאִי לִי אֲדִין בקושט B³; מְחוּהָ אֲדִין בקושט F; בקושט. The transcription of F is misleading, since there are at least two intervening words between מְחוּהָ and בקושט (not including the supralinear אֲדִין). B³ is incorrect in reconstructing שֵׁאִי לִי, since there are clearly one or two letters placed between the *lamed* and *bekush*.

5.11: עוֹזִיזָא וְחָבֵל B³] שׁוֹפֹט אֲהָב לָהּ] MQS/F/AW] 〇] יְחִידָאֵי. The initial *shin* is plainly visible in BZ4-5M and IMneg. x 86-4445, ruling out the reconstruction of MQS/F/AW. B³'s confident reading is unwarranted, and a simple letter count proves it incorrect. It is relatively clear that the first word contains the letters for שׁוֹפֹט, although the *peh* is least certain. The following words are less sure—the *aleph* may actually belong with שׁוֹפֹט, the *bet* could also be a *peh*, and there may be a word break after the *lamed*. Whatever the case, the initial word indicates a different implication for this line than that first suggested by MQS or B³, revealing that Noah, not the giants or Watchers, is the subject.

5.12: בֵּי MQS/F/AW] B³ בֵּה. The second letter is certainly a *yod/vav*. See IMneg. x 86-4445.

5.14: זֶרְעָא מִן זֶרֶךְ] B³] כֹּא 〇〇〇 מֶן. For a similar expression see 2.15-16.

5.16: אֲשִׁתְּבִשׁוּן M (margin)] MQS/F/AW] וִיתְּכַלּוּן. Examining IMneg. x 86-4445, it is clear that M (followed independently by B³) is correct in transcribing a *yod* rather than an *aleph* for the imperfect prefixes of these two verbs. There is not enough room, however, for both *bet* and *heh* between the *tav* and *lamed* of B³'s וִיתְּכַלּוּן.

5.17: בִּטְמָאֲתָהוֹן] MQS/F/AW] 〇〇〇 בִּשׁ; B³ בִּטְמָאֲתָהוֹן. B³'s reading is pleographically plausible, but remains far from certain. The first letter appears to be a *kaph* rather than a *bet*.

5.18: שִׁגִּיא GMT/B³] MQS/F/AW] שִׁגִּיא. In BZ4-5M the *yod* of שִׁגִּיא has a vertical crack running through it, and is also blurred, making it appear larger than a typical *yod*. This has resulted in MQS/F/AW's tenuous *aleph*.

5.19: שְׁלִקֹן B³] MQS/F/AW] 〇ִסְלִקֹן. The suggestion of B³ is confirmed by IMneg. x 86-4445, where the tops of all of the letters are discernible. Especially notable is the top of the *shin*, where the join between the left, upright stroke and the short, intermediate stroke is visible. A question lingers regarding a noticeable basestroke standing between the *lamed* and *qoph*, which remains unaccounted for in my transcription.

ללמד]	20. וכען לך אנה מְחֹה בְרִי]
די]	21. ברך אחוי ברזא דנא כֹּל]
[	22. ביומֹהִי יתעבד וְהָא]
[	23. מברך למרה כולא ה]
[	24. וכדי שמע מתושלח מְ]
[	25. ועם למך ברה ברז מְלִל]
[	26. וְכִדִּי אֲנֵה לִמְךָ שְׁ]
[	27. חִדִּי דִּי מִנִּי אֲנִפִּיק מְרִה]
[	28.] <i>vacat</i>
[	29.] [פִּרְשָׁן] וְכָתֵב מִלִּי נֹחַ]
[	30.] לִי]
	31–36.

20. And now I am making known to you, my son, ...[	to Lamech]
21. your son make known by this mystery all...[	that]
22. will be done in his days. And look,...[	]
23. blessing the Lord of All...[	]
24. When Methuselah heard [my] w[ords	]
25. and he spoke with Lamech his son of a mystery[	]
26. And when I, Lamech, h[ear]	]
27. rejoicing that from me [the] Lor[d of ...] had brought forth[	]
28. <i>vacat</i> [	]
29. A [c]o[p]y of the book of the words of Noah [	]
30–36.	

5.20: בְרִי F/B³] MQS/GMT/C/AW. The *resh* is relatively sure on both BZ4–5M and IMneg. x 86–4445. However, what MQS/GMT/AW read as *zayin* appears to be more plausibly a *yod* based on the larger head and shorter downward extension typical of the latter. בְרִי also fits better the normal syntax of the scroll.

5.22: עֹבְדָא דנא B³; עֹבְדָא וְהָא MQS/F/AW. BZ4–5M reveals that the illegible letter of MQS/F/AW/B³ is a *yod*. According to their reading, this would have to be the definite object marker ית, which is not found elsewhere in the scroll. It is preferable to read this as a 3 m. sg. impf. *itpe'el* from עבד “be done.” B³’s reading is incorrect, since there is undoubtedly a space after the *dalet* of יתעבד, and no evidence for the base stroke of his *nun*.

5.24: מְלִי] MQS/F/AW; מְלִי B³; בְּרִה B³. No *lamed* is visible on BZ4–5M or IMneg. x 86–4445. Rather, the right, lower corner of what may be a *mem*, *bet*, or *kaph* appears less than one full letter space after מתושלח. Consequently, the reading of MQS/F/AW may be ruled out, while my and B³’s suggestions remain speculative.

5.27: חִדִּי דִּי B³] MQS/F/AW; חִדִּי דִּי B¹; דִּי GMT. B¹ has missed the first word here, although the mistake is remedied in B³. The *dalet* of B³ appears to be correct on IMneg. x 86–4445, and fits the context well.

5.27: אֲנִפִּיק מְרִה] AY (19/טז)...אֲנִפִּיק; MQS/F/AW] אֲנִפִּיק; GMT] אֲנִפִּיק. B¹ אֲנִפִּיק; B³ אֲנִפִּיק. The *yod* of

אֲנִפִּיק is quite clear in the photographs, but has been overlooked by AY and B¹/B³. The first letter of the following word is tentative, both *mem* and *bet* fitting the scant ink remains.

5.29:] [פִּרְשָׁן] וְכָתֵב מִלִּי נֹחַ] Ste/GMT.] [פִּרְשָׁן] וְכָתֵב מִלִּי נֹחַ] MQS/F/AW. The central words מְלִי נֹחַ are easily read on the infrared photographs. The surrounding words, however, are more difficult to discern because of an additional layer of parchment covering them. The name נֹחַ is assured based on the work of Bearman and Zuckerman, even though the word cannot be seen on the plates available to me (cf. Ste, 66). The photographic evidence, however, may be found in VanderKam’s popular work, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, opposite p. 83. The initial word is almost completely obscured by the overlaying piece of leather, and so no conclusion can be reached with certainty. Nevertheless, in BZ4–5B some ink traces can be seen through this layer, appearing to represent the upper, left corner of a *shin* (in the ante-penultimate position) and perhaps a final *nun*. If we reconstruct the name מתושלח based on its occurrence five lines earlier, it is approximately 1.5 letters too long for the space available between the right margin and כתב. This renders B³’s suggestion unlikely. The word פִּרְשָׁן, on the other hand, fits much better, and agrees with usage in roughly contemporaneous Aramaic texts (4Q543 1a–c.1; and 4Q545 1 ai 1; cf. 4Q203 8.3).

1. from infancy, and through the uterus of she who bore me I burst forth for uprightness, and when I emerged from my mother's womb I was planted for righteousness.
2. All of my days I conducted myself uprightly, continually walking in the paths of everlasting truth. For [the] Holy One had instructed me (?) to...[]
3. in the ways of the paths of truth and to keep myself away from the highway of deceit, which lead to everlasting darkness, and to c[ons]ider whether
4. I would... the Lord. So I girded my loins in the vision of truth and wisdom, in the robe of supplication, and...[]
5. []...[]... all the paths of violence. *vocat*
6. T[h]e[n] I, Noah, became a grown man. I held fast to righteousness and strengthened myself in wisdom ...[]

6.6: **בְּחִכְמָאֵי** B³] Here I follow the reading of B³, which fits suitably the letter remains and narrative context.

13. [אֵלֵי וְעִירָא רְבָא לִי בְעִיר וּבְמִשְׁלַחַת קְדִישָׁא רְבָא עָלֵי]]
14. [אֵלֵי וְחִזְיוֹן עָמִי מְלִל וְלִקְוֹבֵלִי קָם וְכַבֵּד אִמְרֵי לָךְ יָא נֹחַ]]
15. [וּבְמִשְׁלַחַת קְדִישָׁא רְבָא לִי קַל אֲשַׁמַּע לָךְ אֲמַרִין יָא נֹחַ]]
16. [לִי קוֹדְמִי וְחִשְׁבַּת כּוֹל לַכַּת בְּנֵי אֲרַעָא יִדְעַת וְחִזִּית כּוֹל]]
17. []]
18. []]

13. [] ... to me, and the great Watcher to me through an errand, and by an emissary of the great Holy One to me[]
14. [] he r[ev]ealed, and he spoke with me in a vision. He stood before me and said loudly (?), "To you, O No[ah]"
15. [] And through an em[issary] of the great Holy One to me a voice proclaimed, "To you they are speaking, O Noah, ...
16. [] ... before me. So I considered all the behavior of the sons of the earth. I understood and saw all of[]
17. [] ... they would succeed, and they chose among them... []
18. [] ...two weeks. Then was sealed up... []

6.13: **וְעִירָא** MQS/AW/B³] GMT/F. The *bet* of GMT/F is incorrect, as plainly seen on all photographs. It appears that this line contains a poetic triplet of corresponding phrases, describing who is speaking to Noah in his vision. In this configuration, each figure is paired with a descriptive nominal clause ("on/by a...") and the suffixed preposition **עָלֵי**, all of which must have been preceded by a (now lost) verb at the beginning of the line. This explanation alleviates much of the trouble previous commentators have had making sense of the line. It should be noted that AW has misplaced the superscripted *ayin* of the second **עָלֵי**.

6.13: **רְבָא** MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ **רְמָא**. Although the letters *mem* and *bet* often look similar in this scroll, the second letter is better read as a *bet* (see especially BZ6T).

6.13: **בְּעִיר** MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ **בְּצוֹר**. B³'s interpretation of **צוֹר** (which is paleographically possible) as the city "Tyros" (Tyre) is very unlikely given the similarity in meaning between **צִיר** "errand" and the following **מִשְׁלַחַת** "visitation, sending," and the general structure of this line (see note to 6.13: **וְעִירָא**, above).

6.13: **וּבְמִשְׁלַחַת** MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ **וּמִשְׁלַחַת**. B³ has mistakenly omitted the preposition *bet*, which is clearly seen on BZ6T (although it is less clear on the other photographs).

6.13: **רְבָא לִי** B³] **רְבָא עָלֵי**. There is an intervening letter after **רְבָא** and preceding B³'s **לִי**. A sweeping right to left stroke, discernible on BZ6T, suggests the possibility of an *ayin*.

6.14: **וְכַבֵּד**] This could also be read **וְכַבֵּר**. The meaning is uncertain, and may be meant to serve as either an adverb (i.e. "solemnly, loudly"), or a subject (cf. **קַל** in the following line).

6.15: **קַל אֲשַׁמַּע**] I (along with AW) take this as a subject followed by the 3 m. sg. *aphel* of **שַׁמַּע**, which makes better sense of the line than other suggestions.

6.16: **לִי קוֹדְמִי**] MQS/F/AW **רְמָו** [; B³ **רְמָו**]. The right horn of the *dalet* is clear in BZ6B, as are slight ink remains of the lower extension of the *qoph* and the upper extension of the *lamed*. The

final letter could also be a *vav*, although the 1 sg. suffix makes better sense in this context.

6.16: **וְחִשְׁבַּת כּוֹל**] MQS/AW **כּוֹל** **וְחִשְׁבַּת**; GMT/F **וְחִשְׁבַּת** **כּוֹל**. There is a large crack running vertically between these words in BZ6B and IMneg. x 86–4447, but neither the space nor ink remains suggest two additional letters here.

6.16: **לַכַּת** MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ **לַכַּת**. Although not impossible, B³'s reading is paleographically and contextually less satisfying than the initial transcription of MQS.

6.16: **וְחִזִּית** M (margin)] MQS/GMT/F/AW/B³ **וְחִזִּית**. The third letter is quite clearly a *zayin*, as noted by M.

6.17: **וְחִזְיוֹן עָמִי**] MQS/F/AW **וְחִזְיוֹן** **עָמִי**. A single, vertical line can be plainly seen following the *resh* in BZ6B. The bottom portion of a *bet*, or similar letter, is also clear at the beginning of the following word. A *bet* is to be preferred, since in Hebrew the verb **בָּחַר** regularly takes this preposition with the direct object when meaning "choose, select" (perhaps another Hebraism; cf. Jastrow I, p. 155).

6.18: **מִסְתָּם** MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ **מִחַתָּם**. The second letter is clearly read as a *samekh* on BZ6B and IMneg. x 86–4447. This word may indeed be based on the verbal root **סָתַם** "seal, close up," as suggested by MQS/GMT/F/AW (most likely as a *pael* act. part. [AW], and not the assimilated preposition **מִן** plus the pass. part. [F]). In this context, however, it is also possible that we have a phonetic parallel to the biblical and Qumran Hebrew noun **מִשְׁטָמָה** "hostility, hatred, enemy." This noun is used only twice in the Hebrew Bible (Hos 9:7–8) to describe the sin of the adulterous and idolatrous Israelites, who by their deeds have brought near the day of God's vengeance. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls the word enjoys wider usage, both as a general noun (e.g. 1QS 3:23; 1QM 13:4; 4Q286 fig. 7 ii:2) and a proper noun (e.g. 1QM 13:11; 4Q390 1:11; cf. also Jub. 11:3–7, 19:28). The form **מִשְׁטָם** is found in 4Q475, line 5. (Cf. DDD, 1033–35).

- עד די ק [] מעיד דמא די אשדו נפיליא שפית וקוית [] 19.
 [] 20.
 [] 21.
 [] 22.
 [] 23.
 [] 24.
 [] 25.
 [] 26.
 [] 27.
 28–36

19. [] bearing witness to the blood that the Nephilin had poured out. I was
 silent, and waited until... [] ...
 20. [] ... holy ones, who with the daughters of me[n]
 21. [] making (it) un[cl]ean by the divinatory arts. And I approached [one] of
 them and he said, “To you... []
 22. [] ... and examining ... []
 23. [] But I, Noah, f[ou]nd grace, prominence, and justification in the eye[s] of
 [the] L[ord of ...]
 24. [] ... And ... the eternal people, and the blood of je[al]o[usy] the Most
 High, who ... []
 25. [] ... unto the gates of heaven, which the Kin[g] of a[l]l [Ages]
 26. [] ... to humans and cattle and wild animals and birds and []
 27. [] the[enti]re deed, and [ever]y... []
 28–36.

6.19: מעיד] MQS/F/AW מעיו; B³ מטו. I find no evidence for a fifth letter in this word. The lower part of the vertical stroke that others read as a *vav* should be read as a *dalet* or *resh*, since an upper, horizontal stroke is visible on IMneg. x 86–4447, 4452. This also rules out B³'s suggestion. Here Noah is referred to as a witness to the bloodshed set in motion by the Watchers.
 6.19: שפית MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ שכית. A horizontal crack runs through the word on all photos, but a *peh* appears to fit the upper remains of the letter better than a *kaph*.
 6.21: קסמא] MQS/F/AW קסמא; B³ קטפא. The *samekh* is clear in all photographs, while a *peh* remains paleographically possible (along with *nun*) in the penultimate position.
 6.21: מה] א[ט]מא. This word is uncertain, but makes sense in conjunction with the preceding קסמא. If correct, this is an irregular usage of the root טמא in the *aphel*, perhaps with an object suffix.
 6.21: ואמר לך] MQS/F/AW ואילן; B³ אילן. The *vav*, *aleph*, and *lamed* are the only sure letters in this reading. I admit that for my proposal to be correct the leather would have to be shrunken (as is often the case near the end of lines in this column), or the two words placed very close together, since there does not appear to be enough room for these words as typically written and spaced. The final letter does not have the curved tail typical of a final *nun* in this scroll.

6.23: רבו וקושט] MQS/F/AW] B³ שג. קודם קדישא [רבה] קודם קדישא. The reading is very difficult, and remains tentative. The first word (and especially the first letter), however, disprove the proposal of B³. Additionally, there is no sign in any of the photographs of his second *qoph*.
 6.24: עליא יום קל] MQS/F/AW] B³ עליא יום קל. The reading of MQS/F/AW is surprising for several reasons, not least the certainty ascribed to their final two words, both of which cannot be correct. Their *יום* is actually ודם, with the top of the *dalet* visible in BZ6B. What they read as three letters following this word can be no less than five, with the *lamed* followed directly by *yod* and *aleph*. Both MQS/F/AW and B³ have the *lamed* following the *qoph* too closely. My suggested קינא is quite uncertain, but it seems that a noun in construct relationship with ודם is needed. The expression דם חמה וקנאה “blood of anger and jealousy” is found in Ezek 16:38 to express the coming judgment of God on Israel the harlot (זונה). The bottom stroke a *mem*, or similar letter, can be seen in the third position of MQS/F/AW/B³'s עליא. My later עליא may refer to burnt offerings sacrificed by Noah rather than the Most High, in which case the following words may be reconstructed די קרבת.
 6.25: ולק] MQS/F/AW] לק. The extended downstroke appears too far left of the *lamed* to be a final *kaph*.

COLUMN 7

1.	]	○○○[	תש[ל[ט]	עליהון ארעא וכול די עליהא בימא ובטוריא
2.	]	○○○	לדא	כול מזלת שמיא שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא
3.	]	○○○	י[	ובכול שנא דנה ויובלא ושני עוב[ד]הון ויזמן
4.	]	○○○	ש	בדיל לך ול○○○○ מן כולהון
5.	]	○○○	יקר ואגרי	אנה משלם לך
6.	]		<i>vacat</i>	
7.	]	○○○	לקדישא רבא	וחדית למלי מרה שמיא ואצחת
8.	]	○○○	לש	שח לבן וכולא ועם שא ל○○○○○ ת על דנה
9.	]		<i>vacat</i>	דשני ועדה לי
10.	]	○○○	עד	מללו כ○○○ דמא

1. [] ... [you shall r]u[le] over them: the earth and all that is upon it, in the seas and on the mountains
2. []every heavenly body: the sun, the moon and the stars, and the Watchers
3. [] ... and throughout this entire year, and the jubilee, and changing their activ[ity] and ...
4. [] ... on account ofto you and tofrom all of them
5. [] ... honor, and my reward I am paying to you
6. [] *vacat*
7. [] ... the great Holy One. Then I rejoiced at the words of the Lord of Heaven, and I cried out
8. [] ... and everything, and withconcerning this
9. [] he caused me to prosper and testified (?) to me. *vacat*
10. [] ... until they proclaimed ... the blood

Column 7: This column is missing much of its righthand side. The piece of parchment containing what remains of col. 7 also preserves most of the top and left margins, in addition to the right edge of col. 8. There are no BZ photographs for this column, and so I have relied primarily on the IMneg. set. These are quite good in all parts save the leftmost edge of the column, where they are slightly blurred.

- 7.2: [לדא] MQS/GMT/F/AW B³ דא○○; B³ בה במועדא [ויחשוכן]. There certainly existed more at the beginning of this line than allowed by the reconstruction of B³. I do not find convincing evidence for his במועדא בה, especially for his *ayin*, which appears to me to be the lower portion of a *lamed*.
- 7.2: [ועיריא] GMT/F/AW/B³ begin a new sentence with this word, which is certainly possible. However, for the conflated relationship between the stars and Watchers in Enochic literature cf. 1 En. 18:14–16, 21:1–6.
- 7.3: [עוב[ד]הון] MQS/F/AW/B³ עוב[ד]הון (“their passing/course”) would also make good sense here.
- 7.4: [כולהון] MQS/F/AW/B³ עליהון. Either reading is paleographically tenable, but I favor כולהון based on the ink remains at the beginning of the word.
- 7.5: [ואגרי] MQS/F/AW/B³ די.
- 7.8: [לש] MQS/F/AW/B³ לכולא. There are clearly other letters between the *lamed* and the word כולא (that is, if

MQS/F/AW are referring to the same *lamed* as read in my preceding word—I see evidence of no other).

- 7.9: [דשני] I have taken this as a verbal form (with suffix) from the root דשן “he caused me to prosper.” It may also be a 3 m. sg. *peal* perfect verb from שני, followed by a 1 sg. pronominal suffix and preceded by the relative ד, although this seems less likely given the more regular use of the full form די in the early columns of the scroll. The most common meaning of this verb is “to be sharp,” but it can also mean “to teach diligently, speak distinctly, memorize” (cf. Jastrow II, 1607).
- 7.9: [ועדה] Both the reading and meaning of this word are far from certain. I have translated it as a denominative *peal/pael* verb from the noun(s) עד/דה “witness/testimony.” This, however, is typically a Hebrew word only, with my proposed meaning found only in the *hiphil* conjugation.
- 7.10: [מללו כ○○○ דמא] MQS/F/AW/B³ מללת. I do not find the *tav* of MQS/F/AW’s מללת convincing, since there appears to be only one vertical stroke at the end of the word. If the following word once read כתב/כתב, this could be connected to a “Book of Noah” mentioned in the Greek Mt. Athos ms. of the Aramaic Levi Document, “For thus my father Abraham commanded me, for thus he found in the writing of the book of Noah concerning the blood.” (Cf. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, pp. 90–91, 180).

[	]	.11
○○○○○ עַל זְכִי בְדָמָא	]	.12
ע[מָהּ לְהוּהָ	]	.13
○○○○○ לְהָ שְׁ	]	.14
○○ לְכֹל אֲנָשָׁא בְךָ	]	.15
<i>vacat</i> [	]	.16
אֲ שְׁגִי	]	.17
וּבְעָ אֲ בֹצְלִין דִּי בְעִי	]	.18
אֲ חֶ לְחַד שְׁפִירָא	]	.19
לִּם לְסַעְדוּתִי וּלְמַבְנָה	]	.20
ד[חִלְמַת וּבְרַכְתָּ קִדְ[י] שְׁא רְבָא	]	.21
○○○○○ שְׁכֻלּוּתָא	]	.22
○○ וּמִצִּית כּוֹל עוֹבֵד	]	.23
מ[לֵל עֲמִי וְאַחֲ[וּהָ] לִי וּלְמַגְלָא כּוֹל	]	.24–36
אֶלֶם יְהוֹן וּבְנֵיהוֹן וּכְנִישַׁת	]	

11. [	]
12. [	] ...he will render this pure by the blood upon...
13. [	with him will be ... for him...
14. [	] ... to all humanity through you ...
15. [	] <i>vacat</i>
16. [	] ... to you [] ... much
17. [	] ... [] ... branching off (?), which he sought
18. [	] ... and who will force him to... [] ... the beautiful one immensely (?)
19. [	] the heavens very much, and the ends of... [] ... to assist me and to build
20. [	concerning wh]at I dreamt. So I blessed the great Hol[y O]ne, and... the insight
21. [	] ...and I... every deed of
22. [	sp]oke with me and made k[nown] to me, and revealing all
23. [	] ... and their sons, and the assembly of
24–36.	

7.17: **בֹּצְלִין** B³ **דִּכְלוֹן** [. The first letter is obscured, but the lower stroke of what may be a *bet* is visible in IMneg. x 86–4444 and 4446. The third letter is almost certainly a *tsade*, with the small, upper stroke also perceptible in these photos. The second letter could also be a *zayin*. Although very tentative, I take this word as a 3 m. participle from the root **בצל** “split, divide, branch off.” If this were the case, the use of *vav* would constitute a Hebrewism.

7.17: **בְעִי** [An alternative meaning of this root (**בעי**) in Hebrew is “lay bare,” which makes good sense in this context but is typically found only in the *hiphil*.

7.18: **לְחַד שְׁפִירָא** B³ **לְחַד שְׁפִירָא** MQS/F/AW [חֶ לְחַד שְׁפִירָא. Without better context it is unclear how to understand this phrase. **לְחַד** may be an irregular form of the adverb **לְחַדָּא** (cf. the following line), in which case it should be preceded by a verb. I have translated as such (following F), but we would typically expect the object (apparently **שְׁפִירָא**) to precede the adverb (cf. 13.15; 20.33; 22.32), since **לְחַדָּא** regularly stands at the end of a phrase. Perhaps **שְׁפִירָא** begins a new phrase. It is also possible that **לְחַד** and **שְׁפִירָא** stand in a partitive relationship (“to one of the beautiful ones”), although we would expect an intermediate **מִן** if this were the case (cf. 10.12; 19.11; 22.1, 33). MQS/AW translate **שְׁפִירָא** as an adjective modifying **לְחַד** (“one beautiful”), but this seems unlikely. B³’s initial **לְחַד** is quite plausible (which would change the dynamics of the phrase’s meaning), although his final word **וּטוֹרָא** is not correct (the first letter is not a *vav*, but has the sloping right stroke of a *shin*, or, less likely, an *ayin*).

7.19: **לְסַעְדוּתִי** B³ **לְהַעְדִּיתִי** MQS/F/AW [. The *samekh* of B³ is probable in the second position (providing the meaning “to help/assist me”; cf. 22.31) based on the right, sloping side of the letter seen in IMneg. x 86–4444 and 4446. A penultimate *nun*, however, is not present on either photograph—the *yod* directly follows the *tav*. Presumably, the final *yod* is still a (defective) form of the 1 sg. pronominal suffix.

7.20: **חִלְמַת** B³ [דְּ] **וְאַחֲלַמַת**. One very obscured letter may be seen preceding the possible *het*, but I see no evidence to support the overconfident reading of B³.

7.20: **שְׁכֻלּוּתָא** B³ **שְׁפֻלּוּתָא** MQS/F/AW [. Although its top slightly overlaps the following *lamed*, the second letter is quite clearly a *kaph*.

7.21: **וּמִצִּית** B³ **וּנְצַחַת**. The *tsade* and *tav* are very close together, leaving too little space for a *het*.

7.22: **וְאַחֲ[וּהָ]** B³ **וְאַחֲ[וּהָ]**. A horizontal crack runs through the word, but a *vav* can be seen preceding the *aleph* in IMneg. x 86–4444. There is no *lamed* present. I adopt B³’s following **לְמַגְלָא**, although with some reservation.

7.23: **וּבְנֵיהוֹן** B³ **וּרְפִיהוֹן**. In this and the following word I have used the narrowband infrared photograph of Gregory Bearman #0325 (1997), which gives a much clearer reading than the IMneg. set. A letter, probably *vav*, precedes B³’s *resh* (my *bet*), which might also be read as a *dalet*.

7.23: **וּכְנִישַׁת** B³ **וּכְנִישַׁת** MQS/F/AW [. The *tav* is very clear in Bearman #0325 (cf. previous note), although it could be easily mistaken for an *aleph* in the IMneg. set.

וְשֵׁשׁ עָשָׂר וְהוּא כֹּל
לְ

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

[

L

L

L

1. אַנטתה בתרה ח־מֹר ב־וֹוֹוֹ

2. בִּשְׁשֵׁי לִקְצָן

3. אֲדִיָּן אֲנִי הֵן נוֹחַ

4. עלמא 10

$$1\frac{1}{2} \quad .5$$

.6–8

9. ובכול מְבֹלָא]○○○○

10. דִּי ִּיִּי נִי בְּמִלְךְ שְׁמִי א

11. בַּד וְעַמִּי 1000

12. ○○○ ○○○ דז וכול

13. וְהָרָא ׀׀׀ ׀׀׀

၂၀၂၁ ၀၀၇၁ .14

1000000	15
---------	----

16. בַּשְּׁבַעְתְּכֶם אֵלַי

1. its mate after it,... ...[]...[]... sixteen, and each was
2. in... to the end of[]... ...
3. The[n I, Noah,]
4. forever ...[]
- 5-8.
9. and throughout the entire flood ...[]
10. ... that ... you by the King of Heav[en]
11. by you. And with me...[]
12. ... this... and all[]
13. and he showed (?)... []
14. and... ...[]
15.[]
16. in your week ...[]

Column 8: Very little is preserved of this column and the script is badly disintegrated. A few words cling to the right margin of the fragment containing partial remains of col. 7. For this portion I have used Bearman #0324 and the IMneg. photographs. A bit of text from the upper two lines adjoins the left margin of the column on a separate piece of parchment, containing remains of col. 9. The same is true of eight lines in the lower portion of the column. The BZ set of photographs are extraordinarily clear for what remains of the upper portion of this side, while the lower eight lines are preserved only on the IMneg. photos. It should be noted that Flk's numbering is off by one line following 8.9.

8.1: **אתתה בתרה**] It is quite possible that this is a reference to the animals entering the ark, rather than to Noah and his wife (as F and Flk assume). In Gen 7:2 the phrase **איש ואשתו** is used twice to speak of an animal and its mate.

8.1:]^ooo^oב^oמ^oר^oח^o Flk]מ^oר^oו^oמ^oהא^o]ח^o. This area is badly effaced and very difficult to read with any certainty.

8.1: והוא^{B3} ; ה והוא^{B3} MQS/F/AW [ש שת עשרה והוא כול] Flk. I have changed substantially my original reading based on the perceptive suggestion of Flk. What MQS/F/AW read as the lower extension of a final *nun* (and I originally as a *qoph*, based on the slanting stroke of the *ayin*) appears to be a slight scratch/mark in the leather, as under

the preceding *tav*. The *tav* suggested by others at the end of הָאֵת is very unlikely. Rather, this letter has the base stroke of a *kaph/mem/lsade*. The negative impression of a *lamed* is plainly seen to the left of the margin line in BZ8–9, prompting my reading לְהָאֵת. On a possible connection with Jub. 5:23 cf. Flk. p. 36.

8.9: מְבֹרֵשׁ] MQS/F/AW/B³/Flk [מש]. This reading is uncertain, and would require the *bet* to be contorted somewhat by the shrunken leather. An *aleph* at the end of the word appears quite tenable based on Bearman #0324, and the possible traces of a *lamed* may be discerned on IMneg. 3839#1.

8.16: אֲשַׁתֵּי בָהָא] Flk (8.17)] בְּשַׁבְעַתְכֶם אֵלֶיךָ. This word, along with the following lines, can be read on both Bearman #0324 and IMneg. x 86–4444. It is also possible that the preposition here is a *kaph*, rather than a *bet*. Based on the content of the following lines—apparently a teaching concerning the dispensation of weeks (cf. Jubilees)—I understand this to be a defectively spelled form of שבוע “week” with a 2 m. pl. pronominal suffix (which is also a stark Hebraism). The m. form of the number seven (שבעה) is another possibility, but it is difficult to make sense of with a suffix. It may alternatively derive from the roots שבע “to swear an oath” or שבע “to satiate, satisfy.” I find Flk’s *aleph* and *tav* very unlikely, and the final *mem* of my own reading determinative.

[	]oooo oooo o[	]ooooo oooo	.17
[		וכשבועה וכתבִּיהָ דִּי	.18
[		שבועֶהָ וִסְבּוּעָה	.19
[		וכתלת שבועִין	.20
			.21–28
לִּי אֶלְמָא [	לְקִיָּם [		.29
oooo לְכוּל [	לִי [		.30
וִסְבּוּעָה בְּגִין וִסְבּוּעָה	הִלִּין וִסְבּוּעָה		.31
דִּי וִסְבּוּעָה קח לך ולִי	צִוְקָמָא		.32
לְכוּל מִן בְּתִרְךָ			.33
אֶל תְּדַחַל וְאֶל תִּהְךָ			.34
מִן אֲדִין אֶלְמָא			.35
אֶלְמָא			.36

17. ...	...[	]... ...[	]
18. and according to its week and a written account, wh[ich			]
19. its week, and... ...[			]
20. and about three weeks [			]
21–29.			
30. [	]...[	]... to every...	
31. [		]... these, and... in a garden and...	
32. [		]... take for yourself and for your...	
33. [		]... to your sons after you for all	
34. [		]... do not fear and do not go	
35. [		]... Then I went	
36. [		]...	

8.18: וכשבועה וכתבִּיהָ דִּי Flk (8.19) oooo. While many letters in this phrase are clearly visible, some crucial ones are obscured. The prepositional *kaph* of the first word could equally be a *bet*, “and in its week,” since the distinguishing lower right corner of the letter is blurred in Bearman #0324. The key fifth letter of the following word is now little more than a large smudge of ink, with the preceding letter certainly being a *yod* or *vav*. I had first read this as “וכתורה”, which would also make sense in this context, but the lower and upper horizontal strokes of a *bet* or *kaph* appear to be present on IMneg. x 86–4446. Flk has independently arrived at a very similar reading, although he translates the first word as “oath” (cf. preceding note).

8.20: ופתלת שניִתָּה עִי Flk (8.21) oooo. Despite the opinion of Flk that “the first word is certain” I find a *kaph* (or, less likely, a *bet*) much more probable for the second letter. The *bet* in the second position of the following word is also relatively sure.

8.29: Here begin eight lines of text from a floating fragment which, according to its placement in IMneg. x 86–4444/4446 and

IMneg. 3839/3839#1, belongs to the lower, lefthand portion of column 8, and should be attached to the right margin of col. 9. This portion of text was apparently available to B³, since he includes words and phrases from it in his edition. The line numbering is unsure, although the first line should be placed approximately here according to the fragment’s position in the above mentioned photos. B³ begins his transcription at line 22, which does not appear to be correct. Bearman #0327, 0328 and 0329 also contain this fragment, although there the script is further disintegrated and more difficult to read.

8.33: לְכוּל בְּנִיךָ B³ (8.26) כּוּל בְּנִיךָ. A space is visible preceding the *lamed* in IMneg. x 86–4444 and 4446, while the *lamed* itself is touching the following *bet*.

8.34: תִּהְךָ B³ (8.27) תִּהְךָ. The first two letters are nearly imperceptible. I follow B³ with reservation.

8.35: מִן אֲדִין אֶלְמָא B³ (8.28) טֶן דְּכִין חִילַת. B³’s *tet* and *het* may be ruled out based on the physical remains. The first two letters of my אֲדִין are very difficult to read, and may be incorrect.

1. ׀ֿ אֲבִיכֶם ׀ֿ לֹמֶה *vacat*]
2. ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ בֹאֹ ׀ֿ כֹל לֹא יִפְצֵא וְאֵ ׀ֿ כֹל ׀ֿ]
3. [׀ֿ לֹד ׀ֿ [וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנה ל ׀ֿ]
4–9
10. ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ ׀ֿ מִן איא תחומא וְאֵ]
11–37

1. ... your father... to his... *vacat* []... ...
2.all he will not save, and... all...[]... to... and to ...
3. []...to you, [and] I [am gi]ving this authority to[you] ...[]
4-9.
10. from the coastlands. The border...[]
11-37.

1. רבא *vacat* באדין ברבך[ת] למררה כולא די מני מ⁰⁰⁰ב⁰⁰ל ושלם⁰⁰]

2. לנזח⁰⁰ א⁰⁰ לל מלין כולהו[ן] [ב⁰⁰⁰⁰]

1. great. *vacat* Then [I] blessed the Lord of All, who from me... and kept safe...[]
2. to Noah ... words, all of th[em] in... []... *vacat*

10.2: לָנוּחַ בְּלִילִיָּא MQS/F/AW לָנוּחַ אֶל מְלִין כּוֹלֵהוֹן B³] לָנוּחַ בַּה בְּלִילִיָּא. While my reading is far from certain, the reading of MQS/F/AW/B³ is impossible. First, between the end of לָנוּחַ (the last letter of which is undoubtedly a *het*) and the following *lamed* there are no less than four letters. Second, the letter between the two *lameds* of their בְּלִילִיָּא is definitely not a *yod*, since in BZ10T a lower, horizontal stroke is readily apparent in this position (i.e. a *mem*, or similar letter). Finally, it is clear that there is a word break between the *nun* of my מְלִין and the following letter. Following this phrase there appears to be a short segment of text (3–4 letters) which has been effaced.

3. בליליא לִלִּיָּא לִלִּיָּא לִלִּיָּא [] בִּאֲדִין אֲזִלְ []
4-6.
7. [] זִאֲזִלְ בִּזְמַן וְהִלְלִי וְשִׁבְחִי וְאֲרִי יִדְּ בְרִיא []
8. [] וְזִמְּיָן [ע] דִּי כֹל אֲרִיָּא וְשִׁמְעִי לִי
9. [] לְמֶלֶךְ כֹּל עֲלָמִיא לְעֵלְמָא וְלַעַד עַד כֹּל עֲלָמִים
10. [] בִּאֲדִין הָוּאָא עַל אֲרִעָא וְנִסְבָּ מִן []
11. [] מִשְׁכַּח אֲרִי בְמִיָּא [י] אֲ סִלְּדִי טְהָא עַל נְהָ []
12. [] לִי סִלְּדִי לְקַדְמָה לִי
13. [] [שעיר] הֵא לְקַדְמִין וְבִתְרָה אֲתָה עַל סִלְּדִי []
14. [] [בא] דִּין סִלְּדִי כֹלָה דִּמְהוֹן לִיסוּד מִדְּבַחָא וְאֲשִׁדְ [ת ו] כֹּל בִּשְׂרָהוֹן עַל מִדְּבַחָא אֲקִטְרַת וְתִלִּיתִי לְבִנִי שְׁפִנְיָנָא
15.

3. in the night... [] ... Then [I] went []
4-7.
8. Now (you all) go... and give praise and glory, for... the Creator... []
9. ... [u]ntil all... ...and listen to... [] all of you to your Lord, and...
10. to the King of all Ages forever and ever, unto all ages. [] vacat
11. Then (it) was on the earth... ...and he took from... []
12. finding, for in the wa[ter]... ...upon... [] the ark rested on one of the mountains of Ararat, and the eternal fire ...
13. ... [] ... and I atoned for all the earth in its entirety. To begin, the [he-goat] was
14. placed u[pon] [] first, and after it came upon... [] ... and I burned the fat upon the fire. Second, ... []
15. [Th]en... all of their blood to the base of the altar and [I] poured (it) out, and all of their flesh I burned upon the altar. Third, I offered the young turtledoves

10.3: בליליא MQS/F/AW/B³] I follow the reading first offered by MQS with reservation. There appears to be too much space between the *lamed*s for a *yod* alone, but BZ10T is very difficult to read here. Additionally, the *lamed*s of בליליא in 20.12 are also spaced farther apart than one might expect.

10.8: ית דכרון B³ ברכא MQS/F/AW] וארי יד בריא: מרכון. The transcription of B³ may be safely ruled out based on ink remains and the fact that nowhere else does the scroll use the (later) definite object marker ית. The word בריא could also mean “sound, healthy.”

10.9: ושמעו MQS/AW] ושקוט; F ושמעו; B³ ושמעו. The final two letters are surprisingly plain on IMneg. 3840 (most notably the join of the *ayin*’s two strokes), but difficult to read on the other photographs.

10.9: למרכון MQS/F/AW/B³] The second letter is not absolutely clear on any of the photographs, and למרכון “to your son” should not be ruled out completely.

10.9: ורוממו B³] B³ ורוממו. B³’s reading is not impossible, but the word is too obscured to posit with any certainty.

10.11: הווא MQS/F/AW] B³ ותא. There is not enough space for B³’s reading.

10.11: הווא על ארעא] If this phrase is correct, a subject would need to be supplied. Perhaps ארעא following תבותא?

10.12: האררט MQS et al.] AY (20/12) The second letter is clearly not *aleph*, but *vav* (cf. 12.8 for the same spelling).

10.13: לכול ארעא MQS et al.] AY (20/12) The first letter is clearly a *vav* in all photographs, and is probably used here in its temporal sense.

10.13: בראיש B³ MQS/F/AW] B³ בראיש. The first letter is clearly a *vav* in all photographs, and is probably used here in its temporal sense.

10.13: רמה B³ MQS/F/AW] B³ אתה. I read רמה because it makes good sense in the present, sacrificial context. The tops of the letters are eroded, so that the proper reading could also be רבה or דנה. The middle letter has the long base stroke of a *bet/mem/nun*, and not a *tav*, while the first letter has a single downstroke (contra B³). The best photo here is IMneg. x 86–4451.

10.14: אתה ל MQS/F/AW] B³ אתה. Although slightly obscured, it is clear in BZ10M that there is at least one other letter between the *heh* and *lamed*. In the IMneg. photos it is distinguished as an *ayin* with more certainty.

10.14: אנפי B³] B³ אנפי. The *samekh* is unmistakable in IMneg. 3840 and x 86–4451. The other letters are much more difficult to discern.

10.14: תרבה B³ MQS/GMT/F/AW] B³ תרבה. The *heh* is clear in the IMneg. photos.

10.15: לון B³ MQS/F/AW] B³ לון. The reading is very uncertain, but B³ cannot be correct based on the spacing of the *lamed*s (to name only one reason).

10.15: לאיסוד] The superscripted *aleph* is of a different scribal hand.

10. [] ארבע vacat
11. [אדין] אנה נוח נפקת והלכת בארעא לאורכהא ולפותיהא
12. [] עליהא עדן בעליהון ובאנבהון וארעא כולהא מליא דתא ועשב ועבור אדין ברכת למרה
13. [שמיא] די שבח עמד לעלם הוא ולה תשבחתא ותבת וברכת די רחם על ארעא ודי אעדי ואבד מנהא
14. כול עבדי חמסא ורשעא ושקרא ופלט לגבר צדיקא ל vacat חד ולכול קנה בדילה
15. וא[תחזי] לי שמיא מלל עמי ולי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח עמד אנה ועם בניך די להון כואתך לעלמים
16. [פ] רי ושגזי ומלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון בימיהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא ובכול די בהון והא אנה
17. [י] הב לך ולבניך כולא למאכל בירקא ועשבא די ארעא ברם כול דם לא תאכלון אימתכון ודחלתכון
18. [לעלמים] אמר ל vacat שנין []

10. [] ... four. vacat
11. [Then] I, Noah, went out and walked throughout the land, through its length and through its breadth, [] ...
12. [] upon it; rejuvenation in their leaves and in their fruit. The entire land was full of grass, herbs, and grain. Then I blessed the Lord of
13. [Heaven,] whose praise endures forever, and to whom (be) the glory! Once again I blessed the one who had compassion on the land, and who removed and obliterated from it
14. all those doing violence and wickedness and deceit, but rescued the righteous man ... one, and he obtained all for his sake. vacat
15. And ... a[ppared] to me from heaven, speaking with me and saying to me, "Do not fear, O Noah! I am with you and with those of your sons who will be like you forever.
16. [] be fr]uitful and multiply, and fill the land. Rule over all of all of them; over its seas and over its wildernesses, over its mountains and over everything that is in them. I am now
17. [gi]ving to you and to your sons everything for food; that of the vegetation and herbs of the land. But you shall not eat any blood. The awe and fear of you
18. [] forever. He said to ... [] ... years []

11.13: עבד] MQS/AW/Flk; עבד. MQS/AW's reading of the *dalet* appears correct (contra F), while the preceding two letters are very obscured. A *mem* is certainly possible in the second position (*mem* and *bet* are often remarkably similar in the scroll) and helps make sense of the phrase, which I take (with F) to be in a periphrastic relationship with the following הוא (part. + pron.).

11.14: לעבד צדיקא] B³ MQS/F/AW. The first word is too disintegrated to read with certainty. The bottom of the *yod* in צדיקא is perceptible in BZ11TM.

11.15: לי] MQS/AW; שמיא] F; לי] MQS/AW; שמיא] F. There is too much space between לי and שמיא (approximately 6 letters, depending on which they are) for F's reconstruction to be correct. The words קדישא and עירא (cf. 6.13) seem equally implausible in this gap and would not be expected based on other usage of divine titles in the scroll (cf. Bernstein, "Divine Titles"). A possible *mem* stands before the word שמיא, but there is not enough room following it for both a *resh* and a *heh*. I have taken the following, faint, vertical stroke as a final *nun* (so also B³), although this is far from certain. This מן would leave מרה as a possibility between it and לי. AW follows F's translation but not his transcription.

11.16: ארעא] MQS/F/AW; ארעא] F; רי ושגזי ומלי ארעא] B³; ואמר לי פושן] MQS/F/AW; ואמר לי פושן] Flk; ואמר לי פושן] B³.

B³'s reconstruction is too short to start at the beginning of the line. In addition, it is clear in BZ11TM that the word ומלי directly precedes ארעא. Flk's suggested reading is more tenable, although a few of his letters are unlikely. Of special concern is the *lamed* of his לי, since the leather is fully preserved and there is no indication of the upper part of this letter (which is regularly found elsewhere). I also find his *samekh* doubtful paleographically (based on BZ11BM).

11.16: בכולהא] B³ MQS/GMT/F/AW/Flk. The suffix is prospective, referring to the following list of geographic features. It is best read in BZ11TM or BZ11BM.

11.16: בימיהא] MQS; בימיהא] F; בימיהא] B³; בעפריהא] B³; בעפריהא] F. F's suggested reading fits the context and letter remains well, however there is too much space for a *yod* and *mem* only at the beginning of the word. A preceding *bet* fits the letter spacing well and mirrors the following prepositions. This word also begins the comparable list of 7.1. Flk admits the possibility of this reading, but prefers not to transcribe a *mem* in the third position. He has also not transcribed the following ובטוריהא (mountains), although the word is represented in his accompanying translation.

11.18: ל] Perhaps לנוח, as the second letter has the bottom portion of *nun*, *bet*, *kaph* or *peh*. Certainly not לי.

[] 19.] אנה לך 〇〇 בשנין בניך 〇〇 [] 20–35.

19. [] ... I am for you... through years (?) your children... [] 20–35.

COLUMN 12

1.] 〇〇〇〇 הא קשתי [בענין] הַבַּת וְהוֹאֵת לִי לֹאֵת בַּעֲנָנָא וְלִמְהוּהָ 〇〇〇 אַת []
 2.] 〇〇 אֲרַעָא []
 3.] שְׁגִיָּאֲנִי וְבַעַת אַתְחַזִּיאת לִי []
 4.] 〇〇 לְמַרְהָ 〇 [] לִמְלָא 〇〇〇 〇〇〇 ל []
 5.] []
 6.] 〇 [] *vacat*
 7.] 〇〇 הָ בְרִי [] בְּטוֹרִי []
 8.] הוֹרֶרֶט 〇〇〇 בְּטוֹרִי הוֹרֶרֶט וּמֵן בְּתַר כֵּן נַחַתַּת לְשִׁפּוֹלִי טוֹרָא דֵּן אֲנָה וּבְנֵי וּבְנִינָא []

1. [] ... See, I [hav]e now placed my bow [in a cloud]; it has become a sign for me in the cloud, in order to be...
 2. [] the [ea]rth
 3. [] many. And... was revealed to me
 4. [] ... the Lord... [] ... [] ...
 5. []
 6. [] ... *vacat*
 7. [] ... my son... [] on the mountains of
 8. [Ararat] ... on the mountains of Ararat. After this, I went down to the base of this mountain, my sons and I, and we built

11.19: בְּשִׁנִּי 〇〇] MQS/F/AW יִשְׁנִי [די]. In BZ11BM there appears to be a horizontal top stroke before the *shin* of MQS/F/AW, suggesting that it is not a *yod/vav*. If בְּשִׁנִּי is correct, it may refer to the period of time in which something occurred (i.e. “in the years of your sons”), as in 12.13 (לְשִׁנִּי אַרְבַּע); also cf. F, p. 161), although we might then expect a construct phrase. The *shin* may (less) possibly be a *tet*.

Column 12: Here begins the column first published by Greenfield and Qimron (hence the switch from MQS to GQ). The lefthand, central portion is its best preserved part, with much of the surrounding area being severely disintegrated. The BZ photographs are glossy, and are at times difficult to read.

12.1:] 〇〇 [בענין] הַבַּת GQ/F] There does not appear to be room for all the letters suggested by GQ, nor is there any evidence of a final *nun*, even though the leather where it should be is in-tact. I follow their proposal with hearty reservation, although the general import is, no doubt, correct.

12.1:] 〇〇 [בענין] הַבַּת GQ/B^{2/3}/F] GMT/AW] B³ The *aleph* is certain.

12.1:] 〇〇 [אֲנָה וְלִמְהוּהָ GQ/F/AW] B³ וְלִמְחֻזָּה הוֹאֵת. Either reading is possible for the first word, with the crucial fourth letter being badly damaged. A horizontal crack runs through the final word, but there appear to be more than two letters preceding the *aleph*.

12.3:] 〇 [בְּשִׁנִּי] GQ/F] There seems to be space for at least two letters at the beginning of this word. The left downstroke of the

ayin can be faintly seen, while a full *shin* would nearly overlap the following *aleph*.

12.7:] 〇 [בְּטוֹרִי] הוֹרֶרֶט F] GQ] There is not sufficient room for to be reconstructed at the end of this line.

12.8:] 〇〇 GMT/AW] GQ/F] 〇 [תַּ כְּרָם; B^{2/3}] 〇 [תַּ. The leather has a wide, horizontal split in it, and the penultimate *kaph/nun* (?), along with a following letter (*resh/dalet*?) are easily mistaken for a final *mem* (so GQ/F/B^{2/3}). In BZ12T the letters preceding this are unreadable. The mention of a vineyard (*כְּרָם*) here would be odd, given its introduction in line 13.

12.8:] 〇 [בְּטוֹרִי] הוֹרֶרֶט GQ/B^{2/3}/GMT/F/AW] 〇 [בְּטוֹרִי] הוֹרֶרֶט Flk ובנופא. The *aleph* is clear on BZ12T and IMneg. 3841, ruling out the reading of GQ *et al.* While the top of the penultimate letter is slightly obscured in the photos, it is almost surely a *nun*, or less likely a *kaph* or *peh*. The 2 m. sg. ending (*-כא*) is grammatically acceptable, but makes little sense in this context, and Flk's suggestion is also awkward. A *nun* seems preferable to me in all respects, thus representing a 1 pl. perf. form of the verb *בָּנִי* “we built” (for other examples of this form cf. 12.16, where the *nuns* are paleographically comparable to that found here)—a reference to the more widespread tradition that Noah and his sons built a city/cities after leaving the ark (cf. Jub. 7:14–17, 35; 4Q244 frg. 8; and further the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* and *Book of the Bee*).

9. מִדְּיָנָא [אֲרִי צְדוּתָא הוּאָת שְׂגִיָּא בֹאֲרַעָא וּלְיִדּוֹ לְ[בְנֵי בְנִי] וּב[נִן מִן בְּתֵר מְבֹלָא
 10. לְ[שֵׁם] בְּרִי רְבָא יְלִיד לָהּ בְּרִי לְקַדְמִין אֲרַפְכְּשָׁד תְּרִתִּין שְׁנִין בְּתֵר מְבֹלָא וְ[הוּוֹ] אֲ כוֹל בְּנֵי שֵׁם כוֹלְהוֹן
 11. [עִיל] ס וְאַשּׁוּר אֲרַפְכְּשָׁד לֹד וְאַרְס וּבְנֵן נִקְבֵן חֲמֵשׁ וּבְ[נֵי חָם כוֹשׁ וּמִצְרַיִן] וְפֹט וּכְנַעַן וּבְנֵן
 12. נִקְבֵן שִׁבְעָ וּבְנֵי יַפֶּת גּוֹמֵר וּמַגּוֹג וּמַדַּי וְיוֹאֵן וְתוֹבֵל וּמִשּׁוֹךְ וְתִירָס וּבְנֵן נִקְבֵן אַרְבַּע
 13. [וְ] שְׂרִיתָ אֲנָהּ וּבְנֵי כוֹלְהוֹן לְמַפְלַח בֹּאֲרַעָא וְנִצְבַת כְּרֵס רַב בְּלוּבֵר טוֹרָא וּלְשִׁנֵּין אַרְבַּע עֲבָד לִי חֲמֵר
 14. שְׂגִיָּא וְכוֹל חֲמֵרָא אִיתָת *vacat* וְכַדִּי אִתָּהּ רְגֵלָא קַדְמִיָּא בְּיוֹם חַד לְרְגֵלָא קַדְמִיָּא דִּי בְּחֹדֶשָׁא
 15. [קַדְמִיָּא] ○ בְּכַרְמִי וּבְגוֹ כְּרַמִּי כְּזִמְרָא דִּן פִּתְחָת וְשְׂרִיתָ לְמִשְׁתָּהּ בְּיוֹם חַד לְשִׁתָּא חֲמִישִׁיתָא
 16. [בְּתֵר נִצְבָה דִּי] כְּרַמָּא בְּיוֹמָא דִּן קְרִיתָ לְבְנִי וּלְבְנֵי בְנֵי וּלְנִשִּׁי כוֹלְנָא וּלְבִנְתָּהוֹן וְאַתְכַּנְשֵׁנָא כַּחְדָּא וְאַזְלָנָא
 17.] מַדְבַּח[אִ וְהָיִיתָ מְבָרַךְ לְמֵרָא שְׁמִיָּא לֹאל עֲלִיוֹן לְקַדִּישָׁא רְבָא דִּי פִלְטָנָא מִן אַבְדָּנָא

9. a ci[ty] for the devastation on the land was great. Then [son]s[and daugh]ters were born to[my sons] after the flood.
 10. To my oldest son [Shem] was first born a son, Arpachshad, two years after the flood. And all the sons of Shem, all together, [wer]e
 11. [Ela]m, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram, as well as five daughters. The s[ons of Ham (were) Cush, Mitzrai]n, Put, and Canaan, as well as
 12. seven daughters. The sons of Japheth (were) Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, as well as four daughters.
 13. [Then] I, along with all of my sons, began to cultivate the earth. I planted a great vineyard on Mount Lubar, and in four years it produced abundant wine
 14. for me, and I brought forth all of the wine. *vacat* When the first feast came, on the first day of the first feast, which is in the
 15. [first] month,[]... in my vineyard, and inside of my vineyard I opened this vessel, and began to drink from it on the first day of the fifth year
 16. [after the planting of]the vineyard. On that day I called together my sons, my grandsons, and all of our wives and their daughters. We gathered together and went
 17. []the[altar]. I was blessing the Lord of Heaven, the Most High God, the great Holy One, who saved us from the destruction

12.9: [בְּנֵי בְנִי] וּב[נִן מִן בְּתֵר מְבֹלָא] GQ [בְּנֵי בְנִי] GMT/AW [בְּנֵי בְנִי] [בְּנֵי בְנִי] B^{2/3}/F [בְּנֵי בְנִי] Bern ... [בְּנֵי בְנִי] B^{2/3}/F. This area is badly damaged and any reconstruction is speculative. The suggestion of GMT/AW can be ruled out based on available space (at least 8–9 letters between the *lamed* and the final bracket), while the reconstruction of GQ makes little sense at this point in the narrative (Noah begets his sons and daughters already in col. 6!). B^{2/3}/F's proposal is attractive, and is essentially followed here, although the spacing for this phrase does not seem quite right (perhaps due to distortion of the leather). The phrase **בְּנֵי בְנֵי**, commonly employed in the scroll, is not possible based on space and remains. Bernstein's suggestion (p. 41) is based on the reading of GQ et al. at the end of the previous line (cf. preceding note), and is therefore doubtful.

12.14: כוֹל שְׂגִיָּא וְכוֹל חֲמֵרָא אִיתָת GQ/GMT/AW כוֹל שְׂגִיָּא וְכוֹל חֲמֵרָא אִיתָת B^{2/3}/F. In general, the reading first offered by B² fits the slight ink remains quite well. F's addition of an *aleph* at the end of **שְׂגִיָּא** is speculative, since the very beginning of the line is gone. It is kept here only because it fits better the conventional orthography of the scroll. B^{2/3}/F's **אִיתָת** is unlikely based on available space and ink remains, although there may be one vertical stroke between the *aleph* and upper right corner of the penultimate *tav*

(there is a tear in the leather here)—perhaps a *yod*. This word should probably be read as an *aphel* 1 sg. perf. form of **אִתָּהּ**.

12.15: [שְׂבִיעִיָּא] Kis/B^{2/3}/F] GQ [שְׂבִיעִיָּא]. The reconstruction is based on Jub. 7:2 (cf. F, pp. 161–62 for discussion). GQ base their reconstruction on Jub. 7:1 instead.

12.15: דִּי כְּרַמִּי וּבְגוֹ כְּרַמִּי GQ/B^{2/3}/GMT/F/AW. The word **וּבְגוֹ** (as well as the preceding **בְּכַרְמִי**) are clearly visible on BZ12M, but blurred beyond recognition in the IMneg. photos.

12.15: חֲמִישִׁיתָא AY (21/יח)/GQ/B^{2/3}/GMT/F/AW. There would have to be at least 8 letters in this word if it includes two *yods*. The *aleph* preceding the *tav* is clear on BZ12M, and mirrors the morphology of **תְּנִינָא** in 10.14 and 21.1.

12.16: [בְּתֵר נִצְבָה דִּי] כְּרַמָּא GQ [בְּתֵר נִצְבָה דִּי] B^{2/3}/F. The letter remains do not support the suggestion of B^{2/3}/F. Most conspicuously absent is the *lamed*. The occurrence of **כְּרַמָּא** here (best seen in BZ12M) also disproves GQ's reconstruction.

12.16: בַּחְדָּא AY (21/יח) GQ et al. The bottom of the first letter plainly has the bend of a *kaph*, not the sharper joint of a *bet*. The same expression (with *kaph*) is found at 21.21, 25; 22.1.

12.16: וְאַזְלָנָא GQ et al. AY (21/יח) GQ et al. There is no doubt that the word ends with an *aleph*, as is typical of this verbal form in the scroll.

18. []... []... us, and for all... his..., which my fathers hid and... until[]...
 19. ... beautiful...[]... by my righteousness. And I lay down upon my bed and fell asleep []...
 20. []... pure and...[]...
 21. []...[]...[]... I... from you, who... the Most High God
 22. []I stirred...[]...
 23. [] which I, Noah, ...[]...
 24. []...
 25. [] *vacat* []...
 26. []...
 27. []... every year on...
 28–35.

18. []... []... us, and for all... his..., which my fathers hid and... until[]...
 19. ... beautiful...[]... by my righteousness. And I lay down upon my bed and fell asleep []...
 20. []... pure and...[]...
 21. []...[]...[]... I... from you, who... the Most High God
 22. []I stirred...[]...
 23. [] which I, Noah, ...[]...
 24. []...
 25. [] *vacat* []...
 26. []...
 27. []... every year on...
 28–35.

COLUMN 13

- [] מְלֹכָא וְשִׁירִי [] אֶלְזָ [] .3
 .4–6

3. []... and to you [] the king, and... began[]
 4–6.

12.17: [] GQ אֶלְזָ [] למדבּח מרה; B^{2/3} [] למדבּח מרה. None of the previously suggested reconstructions is satisfying. First, there is far too much space for any of them to fit as proposed – somewhere between 15 and 20 letters. Furthermore, there is no trace of the top of a *lamed*, as reconstructed by GQ/B^{2/3}/F. I find no evidence for B^{2/3}'s שְׁמִיא. My own suggestion is speculative and based on context.

12.18: [] אבּוּתִי אַחְדוּ. The base stroke of the left leg of the *tav*, as well as the letter combination *het-dalet-vav* of אַחְדוּ, are plain on BZ12M.

12.19: [] בְּקֶשְׁטִי וּשְׁכַבְתִּי עַל מִשְׁכְּבִי. The first word is uncertain, although the *tet* is quite clear. Only the vertical stroke of the *qoph*, read by GQ/F as a final *nun*, remains. There does not appear to be room for a *vav* (i.e. full orthography) between the *qoph* and *shin*. Alternatively, it may read מִן שְׁטִי, which would have to mean either “my folly” or

“my drinking” (spelled with a *tet* rather than the typical *tav*), but this seems unlikely. Remains of the upper, horizontal stroke of a *kaph* are faintly visible in וּשְׁכַבְתִּי, as well as the tops of *shin* and *kaph* in מִשְׁכְּבִי. The following וּדְמַכְתִּי was kindly suggested to me by M. Bernstein, and fits the context and physical remains exceedingly well (I had first read וְחִמְרָא).

12.27: [] שְׁנָה בְּלֹ. The bottom stroke of a letter other than *yod* can be distinguished preceding the *lamed* in BZ12B.

Column 13: Most of the right margin of this column is shared with the left side of col. 12, forming one, large leaf of parchment. Large portions of the upper and lower sections of the column are completely eaten away, leaving us to wonder about the full content of Noah's dream. In addition to the BZ photographs, IMneg. x 86–4449 is especially useful.

7. [] ◦ ואִזְדָּא [] אֶפְ [] כְּהָ לְכוּל []
8. [] ◦ אֶעָ [] צָ [] עוֹ [] שְׁמִיא וְחִיּוֹת בְּרָא וְ[] בְּעִי [] אֶדְמָא וְרַחֲשׁ יִישַׁתָּא הֶלְכִין [] []
9. [] אֶ [] ◦ ◦ אֶבְנִיא וְחִסְפִּיא הוּוּהוּ קִצִּין וְנִסְבִּין לְהוֹן מִנָּה חוּזָה הוּיָת לְדַהֲבִיא וְלִכְסָ [] פִּי [] אֶ
10. לִ [] ◦ ◦ ◦ ◦ אֶ לְפָרְזָלָא וְלֵאִילְנִיא כּוֹלְהוֹן קִצִּין וְנִסְבִּין לְהוֹן מִנָּה חוּזָה הוּיָת לְשִׁמְשָׁא וְלִשְׁהָרָא
11. וְלִכּוּכְבִּיא קִצִּין וְנִסְבִּין לְהוֹן מִנָּה חוּזָה הוּיָת עַד דִּי אִסְיָוְהִי שְׂרָץ אֶרְעָא וְשְׂרָץ מִיא וְסָף
12. מִיא וְסָף *vacat*
13. וְאַתְפַּנִּית לְמַחְזָה זִיתָא וְאִלִּי הָא זִיתָא גְבַר בְּרוּמָה וְשַׁעַן שְׁגִיאַן בְּבַעִי עֲנַפִּיאַן שְׁגִיאַן ◦ [] [] ◦
14. אֶנְ [] בָּא [] רְבִירָב וְשִׁפִּיר וּמַתְחָזָה בָּהֵן מַתְבוֹנָן הוּיָת בְּזִיתָא דִּן וְאִרִּי מִשְׁגִּית עֲלוֹהִי []
15. [] כּוֹלָא וְשִׁדִּיאַן קִשְׁרָן בָּהּ וְהוּיָת תְּמָה עַל זִיתָא דִּן וְעֲלוֹהִי שְׁגִי לְחֻדָּא תְּמָהַת עַד דִּי [] []

7. [] ... and the decree... [] ... [] ... to all
8. [] ...the wood [] the bir[ds] of the heavens, the wild beasts of the field, the [livesto]ck of the soil, and the creeping things of the dry ground going... [] ...
9. [] ... the stones and the clay objects (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. As I continued watching, the gold, the sil[ver],
10. the ..., the iron, and all of the trees (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. As I continued watching, the sun, the moon,
11. and the stars (they) were chopping and taking of it for themselves. I kept watching until they brought to an end the swarming creatures of the earth and the swarming creatures of the water.
12. So the water ceased, and it ended. *vacat*
13. I turned to see the olive tree, and how the olive tree had grown in height! [This continued] for many hours, with a bursting forth of many branches... [] ...
14. good and beautiful fr[uit] ... and appearing in them. I was pondering this olive tree, and the great abundance of its leaves[] ...
15. [] everything, and tying ropes (?) onto it. Now I was very greatly astounded over this olive tree and its leaves. I continued staring in amazement until[]

13.8: אֶדְמָא [] B³ אֶרְעָא. The right horn of the *dalet* and base stroke of the *mem* are plainly seen on BZ13T.

13.8: הֶלְכִין [] MQS/AW; חֶלְפִין [] F/B³. The reading is very uncertain, but the *peh* of MQS/AW/F does not appear to me correct based on the fragmentary top portion of the letter.

13.11: שְׂרִין אֶרְעָא [] MQS/F/AW; שְׂרָץ אֶרְעָא וְשְׂרָץ [] GMT/B³. The small, right strokes of the final *tsades* are quite plain on IMneg. 3843, solving the interpretive conundrum of F (p. 164).

13.11–12: וְאִרִּי עֲדָה [] B³ MQS/GMT/F/AW; מִיא וְסָף. The first two letters of the first word are almost entirely missing on the photographs, but the two legs expected of the lower portion of an *aleph* are absent. מִיא is more certain, with the left side of the *mem* and the full *yod* visible on IMneg. 3843.

13.13: בְּרוּמָה [] M (margin)/B³/AW [] MQS/GMT/F. The *heh* is clear on BZ13TM and IMneg. 3843.

13.13: בְּעִי עֲנַפִּיאַן [] F; עֲנַפִּיאַן [] GMT; בְּזִי עֲנַפִּיאַן [] MQS; בְּזִי עֲנַפִּיאַן [] B³. This phrase has obviously puzzled commentators, although much may be garnered from a careful study of the infrared photographs. The initial *bet* is abundantly clear on BZ13TM and IMneg. 3834, as is the base stroke of another *bet* following it. A full *ayin* may be discerned in the next position, the sloping lower line of which renders all previous proposals most unlikely. An obscured (but small) letter finishes the word, likely a *yod*, making it probable that here we have an infinitive construct (acting nominally) of בְּעִי/בּוּעִי “a bursting forth.” This makes good sense in the present context. The first letters of the next word are somewhat

obsured, but the top of the second letter does not resemble a typical *vav/yod*, and a bottom stroke is visible running into the base of the following *peh* (cf. especially IMneg. 3834). The word עֲנַפִּיאַן “branches” also fits the context well (for use of this same root cf. line 16).

13.14: אֶנְ [] בְּרִירָב [] MQS/AW; אֶנְ [] בְּרִירָב [] GMT; אֶנְ [] בְּרִירָב [] F; אֶנְ [] בְּרִירָב [] B³. Every letter of the word *ושפיר* except the *yod* is clear in BZ13TM. The letters *רב* of my *רב* are starkly visible in IMneg. 3834, although the area preceding these letters is mostly missing. F's reconstruction of *אנב* works with the available space, despite the spacing proposed by MQS and B³ (the former with too much and the latter with too little). *רב* is known as an alternate form of the adjective *רב*, but is often used as an *itpaal* verbal form (so B³), which should not be absolutely ruled out here.

13.15: וְשִׁדִּיאַן [] MQS/F/AW; וְשִׁדִּיָּא [] B³. Significantly more text is preserved on IMneg. x 86-4449 than on the other available photographs, although the ink is somewhat blurred. The final letters of MQS/F/AW appear to be correct there, while the *vav-kaph* combination of B³ may be confidently ruled out. The meaning of this word is not entirely clear, although it may reflect a binding activity involving woven ropes or cords (cf. 1 En. 10:4), which fits the limited context well. Jastrow (II, p. 1524) cites the related meaning “yarn”.

13.15: תְּמָהַת [] MQS/GMT/F/AW [] B³ has apparently skipped this word by mistake. It is clear on BZ13TM.

16. [ארבע] רוחי שמיא נשבן בתקוף וחבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה ויתברן לה לקדמין עברת [רוח] מן
17. ם מערב וחבטתה ואתרת מן עלוהי ומן אנבה ובדרתה לרוחיא ובתרה [עברת רוח] ם
18. ורוח צפון מן] ם ומן אנבה א] ם
19.] ב ם הדב ם לא] [
20.] ב ואנבה] [
21.] ם תנ] [
22.] [
23.] [
24.] א ל] ם ה עד
25-35.

16. the [four] winds of heaven blowing powerfully and violently against this olive tree, knocking off its branches and breaking it to pieces. First, [a wind] swelled up from...
17. ... west. It struck it, caused some of its leaves and fruit to fall from it, and scattered it to the winds. And after this [a wind swelled up]...
18. and a northern wind from[]... and some of its fruit...[]...
19. []
20. []... and its fruit[]
- 21–35.

COLUMN 14

4.] אֲנִי [ה] תַּתְּבוֹנוּ [א] עֲא חֹב מַעַ [נ]י מִן
5.] תִּגְּ [תִּגְּ
6.] כו[ל נופי [א] וְכֹל אֲ[נב]י עֲלֶה
7.] מֵא רִמֶּ בִּמְּ [לִמְּ [א] נִחֲנֵא יִדְעִי הִלִּי

- [illegible]

13.16: מֶן [רוח] עֲבֹרָתָ [אתה]; F B³: עֲבֹרָתָ. B³'s reading seems correct based upon IMneg. x 86-4449, but he and others do not transcribe a number of other letters following this word. The final word appears to be מֶן, making it likely (but not certain) that the intervening word is רוח, and arguing against previous reconstructions of the beginning of the following line.

13.17: **רוחא מערב** ^{oooo}MQS/AW **מערב** ^{oooo}; **רוחא מערב** ^{oooo}GMT. The proposals of GMT, F and B³ are incorrect, since the letter preceding **מערב** is neither *aleph* nor final *nun*. A final *mem* is more likely, but not assured. This line may begin with the word **יד**.

13.18:] םװ אַנבֿה אװ] MQS/F/AW and אַרבעֿװ B³; The *nun* of אַנבֿה is fully preserved in IMneg, x 86–4449. The ink traces of the following word do not fit B³'s אַרבעֿװ.

Column 14: This column has no top, bottom, or right margins but is attached to col. 15 by its partially intact left margin. Even the available IMneg. photographs appear to have been taken some time after the unrolling of the scroll and are in an advanced state of deterioration. In general, the BZ set is superior for this column.

14.9: רבּ די הוּא] מֻQֹS/AW אִׁׁׁׁׁ ׁׁׁׁׁ; GMT...רבּ; F
רבּא די חוּיָתָא B³. The bottom of the word דִּי, as

well as the letter *heh*, are visible on BZ14T and BZ14M. There is insufficient room for the transcription of B³.

14.9: **בחלמך** B³] MQS/GMT/F/AW **בחלם**. The final *kaph* is plainly seen on BZ14T.

14.9: **טורא דן** B³; **טוריא** J F; **MQS/GMT/AW** **טורים**. Portions of the final *mem* (especially its right, lower bend and left, upper protrusion) are visible on BZ14T.

14.10: **הַלְפָּה** B³] MQS/GMT/F/AW **הַלְפָּה**. If the letter following the *lamed* is a *peh* (which is not entirely clear), there must be another letter between it and the *aleph* based on spacing and ink remains. The left portion of an upper, horizontal stroke can be seen near the *aleph* in BZ.14T, suggesting that this is probably the emphatic form of **הַלְפָּה**, as in lines 11, 14 and 15. A *tav* fits the existing ink remains well.

14.10: **בניד** [ני] MQS/GMT/F/AW; **בניד** B³. Either reading is possible, since the top of the final letter is missing.

14.10: **בואתך** M (margin) **כי אֵסַךְ** MQS/GMT/F/AW **] מִיָּא מֶן** **׀**
The word **מִיָּא** is relatively clear on BZ14T.

14.10: **ג** **צ** **ל** **ל**] Four letters appear in the middle of the margin separating cols 14 and 15 at this point. The last letter, which may have a space between it and the others, is a *gimel*. Might this be a mark from scribal preparation of the manuscript?

16. *vacat* [] לִּמְאֻלָּא וּמִן קִצַּת נֹפֶהָן עָלִיל בְּגוּ נֹף קִדְמִיתָא תְּרִין בְּנִין אֲנִיִּם פִּיסִּי[גִי]־
 17. [] חֵד לִימִין אֲרַעָא וְחֵד לְשִׁמְאָל אֲרַעָה וְדִי חֲזִית מִן קִצַּת נֹפֶהָן עָלִיל בְּגוּ נֹף קִדְמִיתָא
 18. [] אֲ דִחִילְפִתָּא דָּא הֻוּוּהָ יְתַבִּין בְּאֲרַעָה וְכָל אִיאֵ הֵל לִים רַבָּא וְלֹא [] הֵּ הֵּ [] תְּבֹוּ בְּגָא [א]יָא
 19. [] מִ[] לְהַשְׁתַּכְלֵ לְרִזָּא הֻוּוּהָ לֶךְ סָף [] מִמֶּת תְּפִלָּה אֲנִיִּם חִוּוּ אֲמִיאֵ דִי יִבְּדִי []
 20. [] וְרִזָּא מִ[] וְרִזָּא מִ[] יִיאֵ [] עָלִיל בְּהָ וְקִדְמִיתָא [א] מִ[] לֵה כָּל אִלִּם דִּי לִיִּן []
 21. [] לֵלֵל לְבִּי אֲ לֵה אֲ יִיִן בְּעֵדָב בְּאֲמִיָּא יְד עִילִם [] מִא [ר] בְּהָ מִ[]
 22. [] פִּלְחָ לְקִדְמִין שְׁלַחְפָּא עֲדָבָה לְעֵדָב [] קִ[]
 23. []
 24. []
 25. []
 26. []
 27. [] לְאֲרִזָּא
 28–34.

16. *vacat* ... the darkness, and part of their bough entering into the midst of the bough of the first one, (concerns) two sons... its... ...bra[nch]es
 17. [] ... one to the south of the earth and one to the north of the earth. As for the fact that you saw part of their bough entering into the midst of the bough of the first one
 18. [] ... of this shoot were settling in his land and all the coastlands... to the Great Sea, and not... ...they [se]ttled in the midst of the [coas]tlands
 19. [] ...to comprehend the mystery, there will be for you an end... you will scatter (?)... ...water which... ...[]
 20. [] and the mystery... ...entering into it, and [the] first one... for himself their every god (?) which... []
 21. [] ... for himself... ...in an allotment in Amania, next to Elam... the [Gr]eat [S]ea ...[]
 22. [] ...serve; first, exchanging his allotment for an allotment ...[]
 23–24.
 25. [] by a mira[cle] ...[]
 26. [] and a seed []
 27. [] the cedar tree[]
 28–34.

14.19: חֲזִיתָא [ה] לְרִזָּא עֵד MQS/F/AW [חֲזִיתָא] לְרִזָּא עֵד (margin) [חֲזִיתָא] לְרִזָּא עֵד. This phrase is largely effaced on BZ14T and BZ14M, but, when contrast-enhanced, the remains of a *lamed* can be seen preceding the *lamed* of לְרִזָּא. In addition, the two rightmost, slanting arms of a *shin* are visible preceding the *tav* of לְהַשְׁתַּכְלֵ, making חֲזִיתָא/חֲזִיתָה very improbable. Just as unlikely is the preposition עֵד, proposed by MQS/F/AW. I must stress the uncertainty of my own proposal for this word,

although the initial *heh* and *yod/vav* (the *heh* may even be preceded by a small additional letter) are fairly certain. The subsequent *lamed* of לֶךְ is also unsure, and it is possible that these letters should be read as a suffix attached to the preceding word.

14.22: לְקִדְמִין שְׁלַחְפָּא MQS/F/AW [] שְׁלַחְפָּא. Two letters attached to the end of שְׁלַחְ are visible in BZ14B, making it probable that this word is a form of the *shaphel* verb שְׁלַחְ “to exchange, change.”

COLUMN 15

5. [] ברשע לכול מ... []
 6. [ע]ד הוא שח ב... []
 7. רחמנא לרח... מ... מ... ל... []
 8. ואנון לכול ה... [] מנהון נבע און וישבין ב[אר]עד[]
 9. קצי ארעא ודי חזיתא כולהון יבבין וסורין משגיתיהון להון רשיעין ודי חזיתא []
 10. לגברא רבא אתה מן ימין ארעא מגלא בידה ונורא עמה ארעין כול []
 11. רב[] ל... ומרה רבותא הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעא []
 12. [] לפדיא ורשעא ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא] []
 13. ויתחבון לדקירת וישפין [] רא ודי חזיתא עדדו [] ימין []

5. [] with evil to all... []
 6. [un]til there was... []
 7. the Merciful One to... ...[] these[]
 8. and them to all... [] from them a profusion of wrongdoing, and settling in your [lan]d...
 9. the ends of the earth. As for the fact that you saw all of them crying out and turning away, the majority of them will be evil. As for the fact that you saw []
 10. the great warrior coming from the south of the earth, sickle in hand and fire with him, he has crushed all... []
 11. ...[] ... and the Mighty Lord, he is the one who will come from the south of the earth[] ...
 12. [] the torches (?) and the evil one. And he threw all [the] rebel[lious] ones onto the fire[]
 13. and they will seal... (?), and... [] the... As for the fact that you saw (that) they plucked up...[] south

Column 15: Although parts of each margin are preserved, this column is badly damaged and missing most of its upper and lower sections. Much of the text is eaten away by the corrosive ink in the available photographs (BZ and IMneg; IMneg. 3844 and IMneg. x 86-4448 were taken when the column was in slightly better condition).

- 15.9: עמין [] MQS/AW []: GMT []: F []: B³ עמין. It is clear that there are at least four, and likely five, letters in this word. Two horizontal base strokes, belonging to two *bets* or similar letters, are visible in BZ15T. In IMneg. 3844 the ink remains of the first letter rule out an *ayin* (contra B³).
 15.9: וסורין [] MQS/GMT/F/AW []: וסורין; B³ וסורין. The reading of MQS/GMT/F/AW may, of course, be correct, but I have transcribed the word thus because of the preceding word, which is itself uncertain. In addition, there is a dot of ink above the penultimate *yod/vav*, which is likely only an accidental spill. B³'s transcription is simply incorrect.
 15.9: משגיתיהון [] MQS/GMT/F/AW [] B³ משגיתיהון. B³ has presumably transcribed this word incorrectly due to the ink at the top of the *tav* (and previous three letters) being eroded away. In fact, the base stroke of the left leg of the *tav* (B³'s *nun*) would instead require the transcription *משגייהון*, and not that of B³. The statement at the end of this line appears to have a parallel in 2 En. 35 (recension J).
 15.10: לגברא רבא [] MQS/GMT/F/AW/B³ לגברא. There is simply too much space for *לגברא* alone to be written. This is most evident in IMneg. x 86-4448, where 8-9 letters are clearly discernible (even if some of them are difficult to read). The base stroke of the *bet* of *רבא* is visible in the same photo.
 15.10: ארעין כול [] MQS/AW []: ארעין; B³ ארעין. Even a casual glance at BZ15M and BZ15T shows that B³'s

transcription is impossible (albeit creative), and that there can be no doubt about the proposal of MQS *et al.* The meaning of this word has troubled commentators (cf. the various translations, or lack thereof), but this must begin a descriptive phrase concerning the "great warrior" mentioned at the beginning of the line. The root *רצץ* can mean "squeeze, crush," and is translated by F as "oppress".

- 15.11: ומרה רבותא [] MQS/AW []: ומרה רבותא; B³ ומרה רבותא. Although F was correct in his reconstruction, he placed these words at the beginning of the line when there are at least three words preceding them. A letter directly preceding the *mem* of *מרה* is visible in the photographs, but is too obscured to be read with certainty. B³'s suggestion is safely ruled out based upon the clear base stroke of the *bet* in *רבותא*.
 15.12: ורמי [] MQS/F []: ורמי; GMT/AW []: ורמי. Although any of these options may potentially be correct, *ורמי* is preferable paleographically. The first letter extends even farther down than is typical for a *vav/yod*, while the final letter is particularly short.
 15.13: ויתחבון לדקירת [] MQS/GMT/F/AW []: ויתחבון לדקירת; B³ ויתחבון לקושטא. These words are more difficult to read than they first appear. On IMneg. x 86-4448, the first seven letters appear to form one word. The important fourth and fifth letters are likely *het* and *bet*, although this is not absolutely certain (I see no evidence for an intervening *yod*, as transcribed by B³). The second word definitely has one letter (*dalet* or *resh*) standing between the *lamed* and *qoph*, and ends with a *tav*. This argues against previous transcriptions, yet it remains unclear what this word is or means. There may be a base stroke (i.e. a *bet* or similar letter) in the penultimate position. I take the first word to be a 3 pl. imperf. *hitpe'al* from *חבי*.

- [illegible]

14. ...[]... a chain on them, four mighty angels[]
15. []... for them a chain, from all the peoples of the earth who will not have power over[]
16. ...[]the [ag]itated one because of their conduct, their inadvertent error, their wavering on account of much blaspheming, and their fruit...
17. ... such that he may couple this people to himself. He will cut out a great mountain, and from it he will consecrate and separate between...
18. ... []between all the peoples, and all of them will be serving them and getting entangled...[]all
19. *vacat* You, Noah, do not be amazed at this dream, and may there not be added upon it []
20. []I have related everything to you in truth, and thus it is written concerning you[]
21. and I will j[oi]n some of your people to you... to you. [Then I], Noah, [awoke] from my sleep. The sun rose, and I, [Noah,]
22. to bless the Everlasting God. And[]I[we]nt to Shem, my son, and relat[ed] everything to [him]
23. []... to you... ...to you... the righteous one[]to make known what... to you[]

15.13: עירא B³ עירא; M³ Q³ S³/F/AW] עדיו. The reading of M³ Q³ S³/F/AW is understandable when examining the manuscript. The head of the *dalet* has split apart on several of the photographs, making it look like the partial loop of a *qoph* (but see IMneg. x 86–4448, where the *dalet* is unmistakable). The downstroke of the following *resh*, which extends no further down than any of the other letters, was taken instead as belonging to the *qoph*. It is also conceivable that this should be read as the common prepositional phrase עד די.

15.14: שור MQS/F/AW] B³ עוד. The *shin* and *resh* are abundantly clear on BZ15M.

15.15: עֲמִי] There is a hole in the leather here, distorting all letters but the final *yod*. The two middle letters (which may even be the first and second of three) have base strokes typical of *mem*, *bet* or other such characters. Another possibility is רְבִי.

15.16: [ושגהן] MQS/F/AW ושגיאן; B³ שגיאן. The left leg of the second *gimel* is partially effaced, but the joint is very comparable to that preceding it (and is too low for the stroke interchange of a *yod*). The *heh* is also obscured, but discernible.

Each photograph has proven helpful for this word, depending on which letter is being examined.

15.16: בְּמִגְדֹּם] The superscripted *mem* is most visible on BZ15M.

15.18: **וּמִשְׁמֵשֵׁן**] B³ **וּמִשְׁמֵשֵׁן**. This word is made out with certainty on BZ15M.

15.19: $\text{עליה למאן } B^3] \text{MQS/F/AW}$ B^3 is to be credited with this perceptive reading, which is most easily distinguished on IMneg. x 86–4448.

15.19: **הָא יִרְבֶּה** B^3 $\text{QMS}/\text{F}/\text{AW}$ Y° Y° ; **יִרְבֶּה** Y° . The first three letters of this *aphel* verb are discernible in all of the photos, especially when the contrast is enhanced.

15.20: אַחוּיִנֵךְ B³] MQS/F/AW אַחוּיִנֵךְ. The *tav* is clear in BZ15M.

15.22: לשם בריובולא M (margin)] MQS/F/AW בדיוזים לא
 The best photograph here is BZ15B, where the reading of the last two words is relatively clear despite the damaged parchment. The word לשם is first suggested by M, and makes good sense in this context.

[	לִקַּח לָךְ אֵל עַל־יוֹן	].24
		.25–27
זֶה בְּהֵ	]מִנְתָּהוֹן ׀׀׀׀׀׀ ׀׀׀׀׀׀׀׀	.28
		.29–35

24. to you[	]to take for yourself the Mo[st High] God[	]
25–27.		
28. [	]their...	[
29–35.		]... in it

COLUMN 16

8.	[	כְּעֵין בְּ	]מַעְיָן	[עד	דִּי דִבַּק	]ל	לִקַּח				
9.	דִּמָּא	די	מִן	בִּינְהוֹן	רֵאשִׁי	מַחֲקָא	עַד טִינָה	[נֶהֱרָא	וְעָבֵר	כְּעֵין	אוֹרְכִנָּא

8. []as a spring in[w]est[un]til it reaches []...
9. of the sea that is between them; the source of (the) Mahaq, up to the Tina [R]iver. It then passes as a spring the length

Column 16: This column is the last of this sheet of parchment, and is significantly narrower than those surrounding it. Like the preceding columns, it is missing a sizable portion of its upper and lower parts. The BZ photos for this column are washed out in places, but remain very valuable in others. In general, the IMneg. set is read more easily.

16.9: **לִשְׁנָא** [דִּימָא] MQS/GMT/F/AW **לִשְׁנָא**; B³ **פִּיא** [כ; Esh **לִשְׁנָא**]. Whatever the letter preceding the *aleph*, it does not appear to be a *nun* or *yod*. On BZ16M and IMneg. 3844 there is a clear upper, horizontal stroke, assuring that it is either a *kaph* or a *mem*. Graphically, the letter looks more like a typical *kaph*, but the following *mem* of **מן** looks very similar, and a *mem* makes better sense of the word. It is preceded by the bottom of a short, vertical stroke—almost surely a *yod*. I see no clear evidence of a *lamed* at the beginning of the word in any of the photographs.

16.9: **בִּינְהוֹן** MQS/GMT/F/B³/AW] Esh **בִּינְהוֹן**. The penultimate *vav* is visible on BZ16T, BZ16M, and IMneg. x 86–4450.

16.9: **מַחֶק** [MQS/F/AW/Esh **בְּעֵין**; GMT **מַעְיָן**; B³ **מַעְיָן**. Scrutiny of the photographs indicates that previous readings are not correct (this reading has been reached in consultation with J. VanderKam). First, the initial letter is almost certainly not a *bet* (contra MQS/F/AW/Esh), but quite plausibly a *mem*. In IMneg. x 86–4450 and BZ16M the upper part of this letter, with its characteristic upward slanting (from left to right) stroke and small horn in the upper, righthand corner, is plainly seen. This judgment is confirmed when closely compared with *mems* from this and surrounding lines. It appears that the slanting, upper stroke of this *mem* has been mistaken as the rightmost stroke of an *ayin* by others. Second, the last letter is not a final *nun*, as transcribed in previous editions, but a *qoph*. This is especially clear on IMneg. 3884, but can be discerned on any of the photographs by examining the letter's lower extension in comparison with surrounding *qophs* and final *nuns* (the *qoph* of **דִּבַּק**, almost directly under this word, provides the nearest example). The *nun* has a characteristic right to left curve at the end of the tail, while the *qoph* is straight throughout. When these factors are taken into account, it is most plausible that the central letter is a *heh* or *het*, the right leg of which has been taken by previous readers as the left stroke of the *ayin*. The left leg has been transcribed as a *yod/vav*. This is further confirmed by

a horizontal stroke connecting the two legs at the top, visible in IMneg. 3845. Perhaps the most convincing refutation of the proposals **בְּעֵין** and **מַעְיָן** is a simple comparison with the assured occurrence of **כְּעֵין בְּ** later in the line.

This leads to my proposed **מַחֶק**, which appears to be a parallel to the “Mauq Sea” of Jub. 8:22, 26 and exhibits a spelling similar to a Syriac Chronicle containing this portion of Jubilees (ܡܚܩܐ; cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1.266 and 2.54 [n. to 8:22]), who argues for the Syriac being a better witness to the text at this point). When it is recognized that the Genesis Apocryphon is describing Japheth's allotment in the opposite direction as Jub. 8:25–29, it becomes clear that this reference fits nicely with the placement of the Mauq in Jubilees.

16.9: **וְעוֹד** B³ **וְעוֹד**. The base stroke of the *bet* is seen clearly in IMneg. x 86–4450.

16.9: **כְּעֵין** M (margin) [MQS/GMT/F/AW/B³/Esh **כְּעֵין**. The letters *bet* and *kaph* look very similar in this portion of the manuscript, and while the first letter of this word has an angular bend at its lower, right corner (presumably causing others to transcribe it as *bet*), there are nearby instances (e.g. **כוֹלֵהָא** in line 10) where an assured *kaph* has precisely the same attribute. In fact, if any single factor distinguishes *bet* from *kaph* in this section of the scroll it is the height of the letter—the *bet* being shorter and more compressed than the *kaph*. If this trait is taken into account, the present letter should certainly be read as a *kaph*. Furthermore, when compared to the word in line 17, transcribed by all as but Esh as **כְּעֵין**, one recognizes that almost no difference exists between the first letters of the two words. Whatever one judges this letter to be, the two occurrences should be read the same. In addition to these paleographic factors, I prefer *kaph* because a geographic adverb seems probable in both cases, and a translation such as “regarding sight” (cf. the use of **כְּעֵין** in Ezek 1, 8:2, 10:9 and Dan 10:6) or “as a spring” (so F) makes the best sense in this context. Notably, M has corrected his initial reading of **בְּעֵין** to **כְּעֵין** in the margin of the copy of his M.A. thesis (available in the Judaica Reading Room of the University and National Library at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Givat Ram).

16.9: **אוֹרְכִנָּא** [Another word plainly follows **כְּעֵין** at the end of the line in BZ16M, and especially BZ16T.

10. כול ארע צפונא כולהא עד די דבק לראיש [] ועד אר[ע] נא
 11. [ו]עבר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא עד די דבק לג[ד]רא ויבםל
 12. ונזה חלק בעדב ליפת ולבנוהי למירת ירותת עלמים
 13. vacat
 14. לשם נפק עדבא תניאנא למירת לה ולבנוהי ל[ירותת ע]ל[מים] ל[]
 15. [] נפק מי טינה נהרא דנא עד בםא [] כעין []
 16. [ע]ד טינה נהרא די אם בםלם בם מאזתא די דבק לשן
 17. ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן כעין מי לשנא דן די
 18. לאם [] עד לשן ימא די פנה למצר[י]ן ועבר []
 19. [] [] [] [] מן עד די דבק לעדב ל[] עלמ[] בא[]
 20. יבם [] [] [] [] [] [] למדנחא
 21. [] כיעין [] בני הון [כ]ול בני נוח [] יבין []

10. of the whole land of the north, in its entirety, until it reaches (the) source of [] and up to the lan[d] ...
 11. This boundary line crosses the waters of the Great Sea until it reaches Ga[de]ra, and ...
 12. And Noah divided (it) by lot for Japheth and his sons to receive as an everlasting inheritance.
 13. vacat
 14. For Shem emerged the second lot, for him and his sons to receive as[an ever]l[asting inheritance] ...
 15. [] the waters of this Tina River emerge, until ... [] ... as a spring[]
 16. [up] to the Tina River, which ... the Maeota Sea, which reaches ... the gulf of
 17. the Great Salt Sea. And this boundary goes as a spring from this gulf, wh[ich] ...
 18. to ... [] up to the gulf of the sea that faces toward Eg[yp]t. It then passes ... []
 19. [] ... [] ... [] ... until it reaches the allotment of [] ... [] ...
 20. ... [] ... [] to the east
 21. [] ... [] their [sons], [a]ll the sons of [Noah] ...

16.11: לא[ר]עא[ר]ע; B³ עא[ר]ע; GMT/F/רא[ר]ע; B³ עא[ר]ע; MQS/AW/לא[ר]ע; B³ עא[ר]ע. The *gimel* and *resh* are badly damaged, but fit the remaining ink traces well. I do not find enough space for both *dalet* and *yod*, as reconstructed by GMT/F/Esh. The penultimate letter is definitely not an *ayin*, as transcribed by B³. Esh has apparently forgotten to add brackets around the letters *dalet* and *yod*.

16.12: חלק [די] חלק; B³ חלק; MQS/GMT/F/AW/חלק. This reading was arrived at with the gracious and expert assistance of E. Eshel, and is attributable to her. There is a wide, horizontal crack running through these words, and the bottom portion has shrunk and shifted significantly in relation to the top. MQS *et al.* begin the line with חלק, but when looking below the crack it becomes obvious that other letters precede this word. Once this is recognized, the letters *nun*, *vav* and *het/heh* may be made out, thereby supplying the subject of the verb.

16.12: ירותת [די] ירותת; B³ ירותת; MQS/GMT/F/AW/ירותת. The order of the last three letters is evident in all of the photographs.

16.12: עלמים [] Slight traces of an effaced *lamed* may precede this word.

16.15: עד די [] עד די; B³ עד די. The letter following the (uncertain) word עד has a base stroke, and should be read as a *bet* despite the frequent employment of the prepositional phrase עד די throughout this section.

16.17: ים [] ים; B³ ים; MQS/GMT/F/AW/ים. There is a vertical split

in the leather along the margin line, but I do not see evidence of a *lamed* preceding the word ים.

16.17: בעין [] בעין; B³ בעין; MQS/GMT/F/AW/B³ בעין. See note to 16.9 above. Esh (41, n. 16) mentions בעין as F's reading alone, but it is also espoused by MQS and others. The initial letter, which she reads as *bet*, is indeed "clearly visible". That it is a *bet* is less sure, however. Like the same word in line 9, the letter is taller than a typical *bet* in this part of the scroll, and is almost certainly a *kaph*.

16.17: מן [] מן; B³ מן; MQS/F/AW/מן; GMT/מן. B³ is correct in transcribing מן, as seen especially on BZ16M. The join between the two leftmost strokes of the *shin* is visible on IMneg. 3845, especially when the contrast is enhanced.

16.18: ימא [] ימא; F's reconstruction is untenable, since the final *nun* preceding ימא is plainly seen on BZ16M.

16.18: למדנחא [] למדנחא; B³/Esh² למדנחא; MQS/GMT/F/AW/למדנחא. This word is badly eroded, with only the very tops (and a few other bits) of its letters remaining. The best photo is IMneg. x 86-4450, where the top of the *tsade* is very clear, and too high relative to the surrounding letters to be the valley of an *ayin*. A "Branch of the Egyptian Sea" is mentioned in the parallel account of Jub. 8:14.

16.19: עלמא [] עלמא; Esh² עלמא; קדמא ראש עלמא [] עלמא. While some letters of Esh²'s appear to be correct (particularly for עלמא) I do not find the reading as a whole to be tenable.

22. [ל[ג]וּחַ שְׂאָ]] .22
 23. [וּאִלְ]] .23
 24. [] קִלְ []] .24
 25. []] .25
 26. [עלמי] [ול[בנוהי] [למִרְתָּ לֵהּ] []] .26
 27. [ע] [ג] [יחו] [נהרא] [צ] [דבֿק עֵד [דרו]] .27
 28. [לְדָאָ] .28
 29–35.] .29–35

22. [] to [N]oah...
 23. [] and went
 24. [] ... [] ... between [] ... [] ... []
 25. [] ...] .25
 26. And for Ham [there eme]rged [the thi]rd [share] ... to inherit for him [and his sons ... everlasti]ng
 27. [] up] to the G[iho]n [River] ... reaches to [the sou]th (of)
 28. [] ... Shem
 29–35.]

COLUMN 17

- []] .5
 []] .6
 []] .7

5. [] to Meshech and the sons of (?) []
 6. [] ... []] .6
 7. [And] Shem divided his [po]rtion among his sons. There fell first to [E]lam (an area) in the north, along the waters of the Tigris River, until it reaches the Erythrean] .7

16.22: [ל[ג]וּחַ שְׂאָ] Esh² קדמא. In this and the preceding note Esh² has provided a suggested reading without critical marks, which makes it difficult to gauge her certainty. I find her reading here unlikely.

Column 17: This column begins a new sheet of parchment containing 34–35 lines per column. It is in similar condition as col. 16, although less of the top and bottom margins remain. It is also among the wider columns of the scroll. A *qoph*, written in a scribal hand very different than that of the scroll's main text, is easily seen in the upper, righthand corner of this sheet. The BZ photos are again more washed out than the IMneg. set, but prove useful in several crucial areas.

17.5: [לְדָאָ] Esh²] I do not have access to the fragment on which this reading is based, but follow Esh² in her proposal (she

has shown me the fragment and her reading of לְמִשְׁחָ appears quite certain). Because she only provides a translation the diacritical marks are merely a conservative guess. As argued in Esh² (pp. 116–117), this may actually be part of a description of Canaan's apportionment (across the Straits of Gibraltar).

17.7: [לְדָאָ] GMT/F] MQS/B³/AW בְּרִי. There is almost nothing left of these letters, save some slight ink remains from their lower parts. The first letter could be either *bet* or *peh*, while the others are too fragmentary to reach a definite conclusion. Supplying a verb, along with GMT/F, seems to me the better option (cf. Jub. 9:2a and F, 173).

17.7: [לְדָאָ] GMT/F] MQS/AW [י]מֵא B³ לִי. There is a vertical crack along the margin, and it appears that the word לִימֵא has simply pulled apart at the *mem*.

8. שְׁמֹקָא לראישה די בצפונא ובת[רה] למערבא לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא [] 0000 ל וּבְתָרָה
 9. לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהריא עד די דבק לראיש טור הוּר[רט] בקרית דא וּבְתָרָה ללוּד 0 ט
 10. נפל טור תורא דן ועבר חולקא דן למערבא עד דבק למגוג כול ליד[לשנא] 0000 ל די בים מדנחא
 11. בְּצִפּוֹנָא די מחען לשנא דן דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא לדרומ[א] דן לארפכשד 0000 ל ע[ד] דבְּק
 12. 0000000000 די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא די משקה פורת וכול מְ 0000000000 [] 0000000000 ל

8. Sea, to its source which is in the north. And aft[er him] (there fell) to Asshur (the area) toward the west, until it reaches the Tigris... []... And after him
 9. (there fell) to Aram the land that is between the two rivers until it reaches the peak of Mount Ar[arat], in that region. And after him to Lud...
 10. fell this Mount Taurus. This portion passes to the west until it reaches Magog; everything al[ong] the... gulf that is by the Eastern Sea,
 11. in the north, adjoining this gulf—that which is above the three portions to its south. For Arpachshad (there fell)... ...un[til] it reaches
 12. to... ...which turns to the south; the entire land irrigated by the Euphrates, and all... []...

17.8: [ובת[רה]] MQS/GMT/F/AW וּסְחָר; B³ [וּסְחָר]. The second letter of this word does not resemble a *samekh*. The lower, right corner (which should be gently sloping from right to left if MQS *et al.* are correct) is clearly the angular corner of a *bet*, *mem*, *kaph*, or *nun*. Nor does the spacing favor reading וּסְחָר, which would fall short of filling the available space. Both the spacing and ink remains support reconstructing ובתרה, as we find at the end of the line and elsewhere in the column.

17.8: [ובתרה...לחדקלא] AY (22/יט) ...לחדקל; MQS/F/AW לחדקל. The remaining ink traces and spacing do not correspond to B³'s suggested reading. The definite article (*aleph*) at the end of לחדקל is plain on BZ17T and IMneg. x 86–4450, making it unlikely that נהרא followed this word. ובתרה fits well the existing tops of the letters at the end of the line. This possibility is further strengthened by the following לארם, thus mirroring the repetitive syntax of this section.

17.9: [הוּר[רט]] MQS/F/AW [אשור]. It is quite clear on BZ17T that the word following טור is אשור. Rather, the word begins with two parallel vertical strokes (of which only the bottoms are visible), which I read as *heh*. This is followed by another vertical stroke, which appears to be a *resh* or *dalet*, making the designation הוררט likely. Ararat is mentioned as a range elsewhere in the scroll (cf. 10.12; 12.8), but as a single mountain here and in 17.14.

17.9: בְּקָרָה [בְּקָרָה] MQS/F/AW 0000000000 ובתרה ליקטן; B³ [בְּקָרָה] ובתרה ליקטן; B³ [בְּקָרָה] ובתרה ליקטן. The first two words close the description of Aram's portion, the word בקרית being especially clear on BZ17T. The end of this line solves the problem of where Lud fits into the apportionment among Shem's sons, and has been independently noted by Esh² (p. 118) in her recent translation of this section. In IMneg. x 86–4450 the final three words are read with much more confidence than in BZ17T, where the letters are badly skewed and blurred. There is no sign of a *qoph* (or final *nun*), as transcribed by B³, which is one of several reasons that his proposal should be rejected. The letters following ללוּד, at the end of the line, are enigmatic and difficult to contextualize. The *tet* is quite certain, and I had first read לֵט, although it is unclear what this might mean. I continue

to wonder if the scribe had begun a word (e.g. לטור—note the phrase at the beginning of the next line), but then abandoned it for some reason.

17.10: [למערבא] MQS/F/GMT/AW B³ דן למערבא. These words are easily recognizable on BZ17T.

17.10: [כול ליד] MQS/F/AW 0000000000 ול[שנא] ולת[ן] בל. There seems to be too much space and ink for מגוג alone to precede the *yod/vav* of my כול. The *lamed* of כול is followed directly by another in BZ17T, although its upper portion is effaced. Mention of Tubal (B³) makes very little sense at this point in the description, while the next line seems to require previous mention of a לשן—hence, my לשנא. In general, the last half of this line is in very poor shape.

17.10: [ול...] MQS/F/AW 0000000000 ולדרום. While B³'s reading is not impossible (although the spacing does not seem quite right to me), it seems better to take this as mention of an “Eastern Sea.” This would make better sense in connection with בְּצִפּוֹנָא at the beginning of the next line (what would the phrase “and to the southeast in the north” mean?). If correct, this must be a reference to the modern Caspian Sea.

17.11: [דעל] MQS *et al.* AY (22/יט) ועל. Although irregular in the scroll's morphology, there is no doubt that here the relative pronoun די has elided with the preposition על (cf. also 17.7; 20.7; 21.29; 22.14, 21).

17.11: [לדרומ[א]] MQS/GMT/F/AW ליד ימא דן; B³ לדרומ[ה] ון. B³ is certainly correct in reading the second letter as a *dalet* rather than a *yod*, since the head of the letter (with its two horns) is easily seen on IMneg. x 86–4450. Hence, we must have here a reference to the direction “south.” This makes good sense in describing Lud's portion, which we would expect to run along the north of the “three portions” (i.e. Aram, Asshur, and Arpachshad) mentioned in this line. MQS *et al.* appear to be correct, however, in reading the penultimate letter as a *dalet* (or *resh*—the upper, righthand corner is missing) rather than *yod/vav*. This is best seen on IMneg. x 86–4450 and BZ17T.

17.12: [לתחומא] MQS/F/AW 0000000000 לתחומא; B³ [לתחומא] לתחומא. The suggestion of MQS *et al.* does not fit the ink traces or the context particularly well. The spacing, however, is approximately correct for their reconstruction.

23. [] .23
 [] .24
 25–35.] .25–35

23. [] ...
 24. [] ... []]
 25–35.

COLUMN 18

COLUMN 19

6. [] .6
 7. [] .7
 8.] .8

6. [] ... [] ...
 7. [] ... I called there on the na[me of G]o[d], and I said,
 “You are
 8. God... ...and King of Etern[i]ty.” [And] he spoke with me in the night “... and take strength
 (?) to wander; up to now you have not reached the holy mountain.” So I set out

Column 18: While a significant portion of the middle of this column is partially extant, the leather where writing once was has been almost completely destroyed by the ink, leaving nothing but long shreds of unscripted leather between each line. Consequently, there is nothing left to recover but stray letters here and there. The right and bottom margins are completely missing.

Column 19: This column resumes once again the columns first published by AY, and has, therefore, been commented upon by many more scholars than most of the preceding columns. It has been conventional to follow the line numbering of AY for this column, even though it was observed multiple times that their numbering is one line off (e.g. line 7 should actually be line 6). I have chosen to observe this convention in order to avoid confusion. The plate of this column in AY (i.e. IMneg. 3856) remains very useful, but recourse to the scaleable photos of the IMneg. and BZ sets has proven crucial at certain junctures. For the remaining columns the BZ photographs show the scroll with a netting over it, presumably intended to help keep the leather in-tact and prevent further disintegration.

19.7:] .7 A final *nun* is easily identified preceding the word] .7 in IMneg. 3856 and BZ19TM. This rules out the reconstruction first suggested by J and followed by F/AW. AW has apparently made a curious scribal error by placing this reconstruction in line 6 instead of line 7, as it is situated (but not numbered) in J. This may be attributable to the confusion over line numbering mentioned in the preceding note.

19.8:] .8 J/GMT/AW] .8 Du-So/

Mi-To/F] .8 B³] .8. It is difficult to know where to begin when critiquing previous reconstructions of this line, but it must be admitted at the outset that the beginning several words are almost entirely missing and may never be recovered with any certainty. Consideration of all the photographic evidence proves every reconstruction to date untenable, and unfortunately reveals more about what is *not* there than what is. Rather than try to reconstruct a coherent text in this line (my actual readings should be viewed as tentative) I have attempted to reflect as accurately as possible the extant letter remains and spacing. This is no small task, since many parts of the line have split and pulled away from each other. Particularly troubling is the reconstruction of Du-So/Mi-To/F, who seem to have spent very little time assessing the spacing of the line. I can find no grounds for their transcription] .8 at this point in the line. Furthermore, it can be clearly seen in BZ19TM and IMneg. 3856 that the letter preceding] .8 is not a final *mem*, but a *dalet*. The proposal of J/GMT/AW is slightly better, but still far from accurate, while that of B^{1/3} is impossible. Suffice to say that at any point in this line where I differ in transcription with any of the previous reconstructions (which is nearly every letter) it is purposeful and meant as a rejection of their reading. The word] .8 seems an allusion to the mantra that the Israelites are commanded to recite in Deut 26:5, “A wandering Aramean (] .8) was my father...,” understanding the Aramean to be Abram, rather than Laban or Jacob (so too Rashbam). The statement in Deut goes on to refer to a subsequent descent into Egypt (soon to follow in the Apocryphon), although the plain sense of the entire passage quite clearly alludes to Jacob.

15. palm, having sprout[ed] together from [one] roo[t]. And m[en] came seeking to cut down and uproot the [ce]dar, thereby leaving the date palm by itself.
16. But the date palm cried out and said, “Do not cut down the cedar, for the two of us are sp[rung] from o[ne] root!” So the cedar was left on account of the date palm,
17. and they did not cut me down. *vacat* Then I awoke in the night from my sleep,
and I said to my wife Sarai, “I dreamt
18. a dream, (and) on acco[unt] of this dream I am afraid.” She said to me, “Tell me your dream, so that I may know (about it).” So I began to tell her this dream,
19. and I said to [her], “... this dream... ...that they will seek to kill me, but to spare you. There-
fore, this is the entire kind deed

19.19: בָּרִם Gin/J/Pu/Qim¹/GMT/F/AW/B³] AY [בִּי] B¹ בָּהִים. Gin, J, GMT and AW reconstruct the first letter, which is no longer necessary. Although a hole has disintegrated most of the *bet*, all three letters can be discerned on BZ19BM (the last two clearly).

20. ד[י ת]עבדן עמי בכול ערות די [נתה] ל[הן] אמ[ר]י עלי די אחי הוא ואחא בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי
 21.] [ב]עון לאעדיותכי מני ולמקטלני ובכת שרי על מלי בליליא דן
 22. 〇〇〇〇 כדי ע[ל]לנא למדי[נ]ת מ[צרין] 〇〇 〇פרעו צע[ן] 〇〇 [ל]ן ב[אד] 〇〇 עי שרי למפנה לצען
 23. 〇〇〇 [ו]דחלת [י]תירא בנפשה די לא יחונה כול בר אנוש[חמ] ש שנין ולסוף חמש שניא אלן
 24. 〇〇〇〇〇 〇〇 לי ותלתא גברין מן רברבי מצרין 〇〇 [ו]הי 〇〇〇 בפרע[ו] צע[ן] על מלי ועל חכמתי והווא יהבין

20. th[at you] must do for me: in all cities (?) that [we will enter s[a]y of me, 'He is my brother.' I will live under your protection, and my life will be spared because of you.
 21. [t]hey [will s]eek to take you away from me, and to kill me." Sarai wept because of my words that night
 22. ... when we en[ter]ed into the dist[ri]ct of E[gypt]...]... And Pharaoh Zoa[n]... t[he]n... Sarai to turn toward Zoan
 23. ...[and] she worried herself [g]reatly that no man should see her (for) [fiv]e years. Now at the end of those five years
 24. to me, and three men from the nobles of Egypt... his[]... by Phara[oh] Zoan because of my words and my wisdom, and they were giving

19.20: ערות AY []; Gin/J/F [אתר]; B¹/GMT/AW ִּאֲתָר. The word ִּאֲתָר is not correct. A hole in the leather has destroyed part of each of the letters, but in BZ19TM the last letter clearly has a left leg, which appears to belong to a *tav*. In any case, it is not a *resh*. The first letter has the right to left, sloped stroke of an *ayin*, while the two (or perhaps one?) middle letters, of which only the very tops remain, are compatible with my reading.

19.20: [נתה] ל[הן] Gin [נתה לתמן]; J/F [נהוה בה]; B¹/GMT/AW ִּנְהוּהָ. My own reconstruction is obviously very tenuous, but draws attention to some shortcomings of earlier suggestions. For example, the upper remains of a *lamed* are visible (ruling out the proposal of J/F), and there appear to be two letters between it and the *aleph* of אמרי. Fortunately, the basic meaning is clear from the surrounding context.

19.20: ואחי B¹/F AY/Gin/J/GMT/AW ִּוֹאחִי. The ink traces seem to cover too large an area to be those of a *yod*, although there is a hole in the leather here.

19.20: בטליכי AY/Gin/J/GMT/F/AW B¹ ִּבְטַלְיִכִּי. The *tet* is obvious in all photographs.

19.22: אפרעי AY B¹/GMT/F/AW J ִּאֲפַרְעִי. The letters following this phrase, combined with the clarity of the reading on BZ19BM, leave no doubt that this is a reference to Pharaoh Zoan.

19.22: שרי 〇〇〇 AY/F J ִּשְׂרִי; שרי 〇〇〇 B¹ ִּשְׂרִי. What I have read as *yod* at the end of the word preceding שרי may equally be placed at the beginning of the next word (where it would be read as a *vav*), as AY/F propose. B¹'s שגי is not correct, since on BZ19BM it is seen that his *gimel* does not have the righthand leg required by that letter. In addition, the letter preceding it does not have the characteristics of a *sin*. This may instead be a verb meaning something like "be reluctant, fear," referring to Sarai's reticence to go to Zoan. F's reconstructed לא עוד, earlier in the line, does not appear correct due to the lower extension of a final letter following the *lamed*.

19.23: עמי [עמי והסתמרת] J/GMT/AW ִּעַמִּי; דחלת [ארי דחלת] 〇〇〇 [ו]דחלת 〇〇〇. This reading is highly uncertain, but the upper remains of a *lamed* appear in approximately the expected place

for F's proposed דחלת, and the other ink traces do not contradict such a reading. The word עמי is not implausible at the beginning of the line.

19.23: [אנש חמש שני] J/GMT/AW ִּאֲנֹשׁ חֲמֵשׁ שָׁנִין; B¹ [בר אנש ויתבת תמן חמש שנין] F ִּאֲנֹשׁ דִּי פִּרְעֹן צִעֲן. J/GMT/AW's suggestion is too short to fill the available space, while F's is much too long. B¹'s reading does not fit the ink remains, some of which are visible on BZ19B. These remains roughly fit the letters and spacing proposed here, although the spacing would admittedly have to be compact.

19.23: ולבתר Qim¹/GMT/F/AW/Flk AY/J/B¹ ִּוּלְבַתֵּר. This mistake in the earlier transcriptions was first noted by Qimron, and is obvious on the photographs.

19.24: תלתא [אתו] B¹ [] ִּתְּלַתָּא; GMT/AW תלתא [אתו] F ִּתְּלַתָּא; Pu had already noticed the *lamed* preceding ותלתא, apparent even on the plates in AY, but this observation went unheeded by all but F. Furthermore, the space before this word is far too large to read simply אתו. The line may, however, begin with this word, since what remains of the first letter could be interpreted as an *aleph*. The upper portion of the *aleph* in ותלתא is apparent in BZ19B (despite F's assurances to the contrary), as is the *vav* at the beginning of the word. Mu¹ also reads תלתא.

19.24: די פרע[ו] AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW Flk ִּדִּי פִּרְעֹן [ו] בִּפְרָעֹן. In BZ19B it appears to me that a *bet* precedes the possible word פרעו, and that the previous word is not די, since a horizontal, bottom stroke can be clearly seen as part of the last letter. It may be that others have read my [והי] (the left leg of the *heh* is clear in BZ19B) as a די, which it resembles. B¹'s foregoing transcription מן מן בני ביתא is not plausible.

19.24: אנתתי AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW Flk ִּאֲנַתִּיתִּי. This reading is amazingly plain on BZ19B, although it appears more obscured (albeit still discernible) on the plates of AY. Here is an instance where a mistaken reading (without any critical marks!) has been passed along for some time without being noticed. Flk and I arrived at the reading independently.

8. יאא וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי די פס חד תלתהון ממללין שגי רחמה ושלה
 9. לעובע דברהא וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא ונסבהא לה לאנתא ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי
 10. למלכא דאחי הוא כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא ושביקת אנה אברס בדילהא ולא קטילת בבית אנה
 11. אברס בכי תקיף אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בליליא כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס *vacat*
 12. בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה אל עליון מרי לכול
 13. עלמים די אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט למעבד בכולהון דין וכען
 14. קבלתך מרי על פרעו צען מלך מצרין די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף עבד לי דין מנה ואחזי ידך רבתא
 15. בה ובכול ביתה ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמא אנתתי מני וידעוך מרי די אנתה מרה לכול מלכי
 16. ארעא ובכית וחשית בליליא דן שלח לה אל עליון רוח מכדש למכתשה ולכול אנש ביתה רוח
 17. באישא והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל למקרב בהא ואף לא ידעאה והיא עמה
 18. תרתין שנין ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא ועל כול אנש ביתה ושלה
 19. קרא לכול חכמי[י] מצרין ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי מצרין הן יכולון לאסיותה מן מכתשא דן ולאנש
 20. ביתה ולא יכלו כול אסיא ואשפיא וכול חכימא למקם לאסיותה ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון

8. is lovely! Now when the king heard the words of Herqanosh and his two companions—that the three of them spoke as one—he greatly desired her, and sent someone
 9. to be quick in acquiring her. When he saw her he was dumbfounded at all of her beauty, and took her for himself as a wife. He also sought to kill me, but Sarai said
 10. to the king, “He is my brother,” so that I would benefit on account of her. Thus I, Abram, was spared because of her, and was not killed. I,
 11. Abram, wept bitterly—I and Lot, my brother’s son, with me—on the night when Sarai was taken from me by force. *vacat*
 12. That night I prayed and entreated and asked for mercy. Through sorrow and streaming tears I said, “Blessed are you Most High God, my Lord, for all
 13. ages; for you are Lord and Ruler over everything. You are sovereign over all the kings of the earth, having power to enact judgment on all of them. So now
 14. I lodge my complaint before you, my Lord, concerning Pharaoh Zoan, king of Egypt, for my wife has been taken from me forcefully. Bring judgment against him on my behalf, and reveal your mighty hand
 15. through him and all of his house, that he might not prevail this night in rendering my wife unclean for me! Thus, they will come to know you, my Lord, that you are Lord over all the kings
 16. of the earth.” So I wept and was deeply troubled. During that night the Most High God sent a pestilential spirit to afflict him, and to every person of his household an evil
 17. spirit. It was an ongoing affliction for him and every person of his household, so that he was not able to approach her, nor did he have sexual relations with her. She was with him
 18. for two years, and at the end of two years the afflictions and hardships grew heavier and more powerful over him and every person of his household. So he sent
 19. a message to all the wise me[n] of Egypt, and to all the magicians, in addition to all the physicians of Egypt, (to see) if they could heal him and (every) person
 20. of his household of this affliction. But all of the physicians and magicians and all of the wise men were not able to succeed in curing him, for the spirit began afflicting all of them (too),

20.17: והיא F] AY/J/B¹/GMT/AW והוא. F understands this to be the 3 f. sg. ind. personal pronoun, rather than a 3 m. sg. *pe'al* perf. verb. His position accords better with the following עמה, since others must either take והוא to be a mistaken verbal form

(i.e. it is meant to be the feminine הוואת; so AW?) or the suffix of עמה to be feminine, despite its typical orthography (הא-) in the scroll.

21. וערקו *vacat* באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש ובעא מני די אתה ואצלה על
 22. מלכא ואסמוך ידי עלוהי ויחה ארי בחלם חז[ני] ואמר לה לוט לא יכול אברם דדי לצליא על
 23. מלכא ושרי אנתתה עמה וכען אזל אמר למלכא וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלה ויצלה עלוהי ויחה
 24. וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא ונגדיא *vacat*
 25. אלן די מתכתש ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי אנתת אברם יתיבו נה לשרי לאברם בעלה
 26. ויתוך מנכה מכתשא דן ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א לי ואמר לי מא עבדתה לי בדיל [מא] הוית אמר
 27. לי די אחתי היא והיא הוואת אנתתך ונסבתהא לי לאנתה הא אנתתך דברא אזל ועדי לך מן
 28. כול מדינת מצרין וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישתא וצלית על[והי] די ארפא

21. so that they fled the scene! *vacat* At this point Herqanosh came to me asking that I come pray over
 22. the king and lay my hands upon him, so that he would live. This was because he had seen [me] in a dream... But Lot said to him, "Abram, my uncle, cannot pray over
 23. the king while his wife Sarai is with him! Now go and tell the king that he should send his wife away from himself to her husband; then he (Abram) will pray over him so that he might live."
 24. *vacat* Now when Herqanosh heard the words of Lot, he went (and) said to the king, "All these afflictions and hardships
 25. that are afflicting and troubling my lord the king are due to Sarai, the wife of Abram. Just return Sarai to Abram her husband
 26. and this affliction and the spirit of foulness will depart from you." So the [k]i[ng] called me and said to me, "What have you done to me?! Why were you saying
 27. to me 'she is my sister' when she was your wife, so that I took her as a wife for myself?! Here is your wife. Take her, go and get yourself out of
 28. every district of Egypt! But now pray over me and my household, that this evil spirit may be driven away from us. So I prayed over [hi]m, that I might heal

20.22: [חז[א] כן] B¹ [חז[ני] J/GMT/F/AW]. Even the plate in AY reveals that חזני alone does not fully account for the available space. B¹'s suggestion is more acceptable with regard to space, but still falls approximately one letter short.

20.25: איתבו AY/Gin/J/GMT/F/AW B¹ איתבו. The slight ink remains visible on BZ20M and IMneg. 3859 do not allow a decisive judgment regarding B¹'s proposed *aleph*. The first letter is almost completely effaced, and his reading remains possible. However, the *yod* of an imperf. form would fit better the expected syntax and morphology.

20.26: ויתוך AY/B¹/J/GMT/F/AW Kut/Gin. The reading of Kut/Gin is not paleographically plausible. ויתוך was first suggested to Kutscher by Moshe Greenberg (cf. Kut, p. 31).

20.26: שחלניא J/B¹/GMT/F/AW AY. The penultimate letter is clearly read as a *yod* in all of the photographs.

20.26: [מ]ל[כ]א J; ל[כ]א AY/F/Qim¹ [מ]ל[כ]א B¹. While B¹ may be overoptimistic in his ability to read these letters, his proposal makes good sense, both supplying a subject for וקרא and fitting the available space and ink traces. Qim¹ vigorously defends the reading of AY and F, but he does not adequately deal with the large space (well over a typical word division) between the preceding וקרא and the first *lamed*, which is also a problem for J. Moreover, both Qim¹ and F (p. 210) go on at length, without great success, to explain the anomalous form אלו. J's proposal may be safely ruled out, as previously noted by Puech (p. 590).

20.26: [הוית אמר] B¹/Qim¹/F AY/J/GMT/AW [שר]י

ותאמר. The reading of AY/J/GMT/AW is implausible for two reasons. First, Qim¹ noted the oddity of a converse imperfect such as ותאמר, which is not known elsewhere from Qumran Aramaic. Second, the word שרי would fall at least one letter short of filling the available space. The proposal of B¹/Qim¹/F is preferable by all accounts.

20.27: דעמי Ros/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW AY. The reading adopted here is supported by several of the targums (*Onqelos*, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, and *Neofiti* 1; cf. F, p. 211).

20.28: [די]ת[רפא] על J/GMT/F/AW [דנא] AY [על]והי [די] ארפא B¹ על[והי] [די]ת B³ על [מר]דפא F על[והי] [על] רפאו²⁹ B¹ על[והי] [די]ת B³ על [מר]דפא F על[והי] [על] רפאו²⁹ B¹. The faint remains of an *aleph* can be seen at the beginning of my ארפא on BZ20B when enlarged and contrast-enhanced. Even if not deemed an *aleph*, the ink remains of this letter exclude the reconstructions of J/GMT (already disputed by Puech) and F. F's proposal is also too short. There does not appear to be a word break before the *resh*, as posited by B¹. He likely broke the word here (and created an additional *vav* at the end of the word) based on his belief that this word is continued on the following line – something which happens nowhere else in the manuscript. The word והו, at the beginning of the next line, is better understood as an aberrant form of the 3 m. sg. pronoun (cf. F, p. 212). AW's transcription is difficult to make sense of, and appears to have incorporated two distinct readings from variant editions of the text—one which read על and the other עלוהי—to begin the phrase. There are definitely not two occurrences of על here.

29. הו וסמכת ידי על [ר]אִיִּשָּׁה ואתפלי מנה מכתשא ואתגערת [מנה רוחא] באִישָׁתָּא וְחִי וקס וְיָהֵב
 30. לי מלכא בִּי[ומא דנ]אֵ מנתנ[ן] שְׁגִינָא וימא לי מלכא במומה די לא יִדְעָהּ ו[לא ט]מִיָּהּ ואתִיב לי
 31. לשְׂרִי ויהב לה מלכא כ[ספ וד]הב [ש]גִיָּא ולבוש שגי די בִּזְךְ וּאִרְגָּזָאן דִּי ִּבְשׁ ִּבְשׁ ִּבְשׁ ִּבְשׁ []
 32. קודמיהא ואף לחגר ואשְׁלֵמָהּ לִי ומני עמי אנוש די ינפְקִי[ן] מן מצרי[ן] ל[] לְעִמְךָ לְךָ []
 33. *vacat* וגבלת אנה אברס בנכסין שגיאיִן לחדא ואף בכסף ודהב וסלקת מן מְצָרִי[ן] ו[ואז]ל[ן] לוט
 34. בר אחי עמי ואף לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאיִן ונסב לה אנתה מן בִּנְתּ מְצָרִי[ן] והוֹיִת שרָה [עמה]

29. him, and I laid my hands upon his [h]ead. Thus, the affliction was removed from him, and the evil [spirit] driven away [from him]. The king recovered, rose up, and gave
 30. to me on t[hat da]y many gift[s], and the king swore to me by an oath that he did not have sexual relations with her, [nor] did he [de]file her. Then he returned
 31. Sarai to me, and the king gave to her [m]uch si[lver and g]old and much clothing of fine linen and purple, which... ..
 32. before her, as well as Hagar. Thus he restored her to me, and appointed for me a man who would escort me [from Egypt] to []... to your people. To you []
 33. *vacat* Now I, Abram, grew tremendously in many flocks and also in silver and gold. I went up from Egy[p]t, [and] my brother's son
 34. [Lot wen]t with me. Lot had also acquired for himself many flocks, and took a wife for himself from the daughters of Egy[p]t. I was encamping [with him]

20.29: וְחִי וקס [הו]דע AY B¹/F J/GMT/AW וְחִי וקס וְיָהֵב. The first word is badly damaged and very difficult to read, and the transcription of B¹/F should not be excluded absolutely. The word וְיָהֵב at the end of the line is graphically tenable and makes better sense than AY's דע [הו].

20.30: מנתנ[ן] שְׁגִינָא J/B¹/GMT/AW AY [] מנת; F [] מנת. In reaction to J's transcription of שְׁגִינָא, F states that "the adj. is not found on the photograph of this column" (p. 214). He is, however, mistaken, as recognized by all other editions. A full word is plainly visible immediately following [] מנתנ[ן] on the plate in AY.

20.30: האֵאֵן J; [] האֵי J/GMT/AW ...[] האֵאֵן. I follow the suggestion of B¹ with due hesitation, since on all photographs there appears to be a final *kaph* approximately where the *dalet* of יִדְעָהּ would be placed. It is nearly impossible, however, to tell what was written in this area.

20.32: ואשְׁלֵמָהּ B¹/Qim¹/F AY [] למה Gin/J/GMT/AW וא[ש]למה. The root שלם, first suggested by Ginsberg, appears to be correct. The ending, however, must be longer than a *heh* alone based on space and ink traces (despite a crack in the leather between this and the following word).

20.32: ינפְקִי מִן B¹; ינפְקִי וְנִי J; ינפְקִי AY [] ינפְקִי מן מצרי[ן] ינפְקִי וְנִי J/GMT/AW ינפְקִי מן מצרי[ן] F [] ינפְקִי מן מצרי[ן] וְנִי. The second half of this line is largely effaced, accounting for the wide range of readings to date. Some issues can, however, be resolved. First, there is clearly no *vacat* at the end of the line, as GMT/AW suggest. The ending וְנִי, first proposed by J, is not at all sure (contra GMT/AW), and one might more tenably expect a sg. verb to go with the sg. noun

אנוש. Later in the line, the remains of what may be a final *nun* and then a *lamed* may be discerned, where I read the end of [] מן מצרי[ן]. B¹'s proposal, apparently reading the final letter at the end of the line as the end of the word מְצָרִי, is grossly inaccurate with regard to available space, and also does not take due account of the *lamed* less than halfway between ינפְקִי and the end of the line.

20.33: ואזלת J/B¹/GMT/AW ואזלת AY/F. What is perceptible with difficulty on AY's plate is starkly obvious on BZ20B. The second and third letters are very clearly *gimel-bet*, not *aleph-zayin* (the bottom of the *bet* is also easily seen on IMneg. 3859). The typical Aramaic meanings of this verb are "knead, create, grow in size [used only of parasites]" (Jastrow I, p. 207; Sokoloff, DJPA, p. 119). While the last meaning must be the general sense in which the word is used here, this attestation represents a novel usage and so adds to our knowledge of the Aramaic lexicon during this period. Context dictates the meaning to be something such as "I grew/expanded, became wealthy,"—a meaning which seems distantly related to the nominative meaning "border, outer limits" (i.e. the bounds of Abram's possessions were positively affected).

20.33: [ואזל לוט] J; [ולוט] AY/GMT/AW [ואזל לוט] B¹ [ואזל לוט]. The best view of the *lamed* is found on AY's plate, which shows only the negative imprint where the ink has eaten away the leather. This imprint looks too far away from the *nun* of מצרין (approx. 2–3 letters) to have a *vav* alone intervening.

20.34: שְׂרָא J/GMT/AW ש[ר]א B¹ J/GMT/AW שְׂרָא. A single, vertical stroke is visible following the *resh* on BZ20B, making a *heh* likely. The spelling שְׂרָא is, however, found in 22.13.

COLUMN 21

1. כל אתר משריאתי עד די דבקת לבית אל לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחא ובניתה תניאני
 2. לֹ וקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה לאל עליון וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמא והללת לשם אלהא וברכת
 3. לֹאלהא ואודית תמן קודם אלהא על כול נכסא וטבתא די יהב לי ודי עבד עמי טב ודי אתיבני
 4. לארעא דא בשלם *vacat*
 5. בתר יומא דן פרש לוט מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא וכול נכסוהי
 6. עמה ואף אנה אוספת לה על דילה שגי והוא רעה נכסוהי ודבק עד סודם וזבן לה בסודם בי
 7. ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל ובאש עלי די פרש לוט בר אחי מן לואתי
 8. *vacat* ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור די על שמאל
 9. בית אל אתר די אנתה יתב ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא וחזי כול

1. (at) every place of my (former) encampments until I reached Bethel, the place where I had built the altar. I built it a second time,
 2. ... and offered upon it burnt offerings and a meal offering to the Most High God, and I called there on the name of the Lord of the Ages. I praised the name of God, blessed
 3. God, and gave thanks there before God because of all the flocks and good things that he had given to me, and because he had worked good on my behalf and returned me
 4. to this land in peace. *vacat*
 5. After this day Lot parted from me due to the behavior of our shepherds. He went and settled in the Jordan Valley along with all of his flocks,
 6. and I also added a great deal to his belongings. As he was pasturing his flocks he reached Sodom, and bought a house for himself in Sodom.
 7. He lived in it while I was living on the mountain of Bethel, and it was disturbing to me that Lot, my brother's son, had parted from me.
 8. *vacat* Then God appeared to me in a vision in the night, and said to me, "Go up to Ramat-Hazor, which is to the north of
 9. Bethel, the place where you are living. Lift up your eyes and look to the east, to the west, to the south, and to the north, and see this entire

Column 21: Only a small portion of the bottom of this column is missing. The text is otherwise in excellent condition compared with the rest of the scroll.

- 21.1: כל J AY/GMT/F/AW כל[ב]; Ros/Qim¹/B¹ על J; בכל J. The split in the leather at the inscribed margin line appears to be quite clean, and I am unconvinced that an entire letter has been lost. J certainly did not see an intact *bet* when viewing the photograph, and should have placed this letter in brackets. The letter preceding the *lamed* is unlikely to be an *ayin* judging from the length of the stroke still visible, which is not intersected by another line. If two strokes did intersect above what is currently visible, the space between letters would be rather large. Qim¹ is undecided on whether this letter is an *ayin* or *kaph* but agrees that there was no letter preceding it. The only other defective spelling of כול is in 20.6.
 21.2: וקרבת J AY/J/GMT/AW וקרבת B¹ [ו]אקרבת F ואקרבת F. It is puzzling that no previous editions have incorporated what is quite clearly the upper portion of a *lamed* at the beginning of this line. This letter can be seen in both

AY's plate and BZ20B. It appears that the *lamed* was followed by a small letter and then the word וקרבת. The *lamed* may also have been preceded by another letter. Which word stood here is difficult to surmise, but the clear physical evidence should not be disregarded. Perhaps it is the word לי, "for myself"?

- 21.3: לֹאלהא Qim¹/B^{2/3}/F J AY/J להא[א]; GMT/AW אלהא. Qimron first noted the trace of a *lamed*, the direct object marker, at the beginning of this line. It is also visible in BZ21T.
 21.6: ויבן J AY Gin/Kut/Ros/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW וזבן. Although the middle letters are obscured, and either reading is paleographically possible, there has been overwhelming agreement that וזבן is to be read here.
 21.8: בחזוא Kut/Gin/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW J AY בחזיא. Kutscher observed that this is a misprint in AY (see F, p. 219, for discussion).
 21.9: בית אל J AY/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW ביתאל. This should be read as two words, as elsewhere (cf. lines 1 and 7). For other examples of close spacing see the note on 2.9.

10. ארעא דא די אנה יהב לך ולזרעך לכול עלמים וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור וחזית ארעא מן
 11. רמתא דא מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן וכול ארע גבל עד קדש וכול מדברא
 12. רבא די מדנח חורן ושניר עד פורת ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן כול ארעא דא וירתונה לכול עלמים
 13. ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה ואף זרעך לא יתמנה קום הלך ואזל
 14. וחזי כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיהא ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה אחריך עד כול עלמא *vacat*
 15. ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר ולמחזה ארעא ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא ואתית ליד ימא עד די
 16. דבקת לטור תורא וסחרת מן לי²¹ד]מא רבא דן די מלחא ואזלת ליד טור תורא למדנחא לפותי ארעא
 17. עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא וסחרת ליד פורת עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא למדנחא והוית אתה לי ליד
 18. ימא שמוקא עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף די נפק מן ימא שמוקא וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת גחון
 19. נהרא ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה די בחברון
 20. כלמדנח צפון חברון ובנית תמן מדבח ואסקת עלוהי עלא ומנחא לאל עליון ואכלת ואשתית תמן
 21. אנה וכול אנש ביתי ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנם ולאשכול תתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי ואכלו כחדא
 22. עמי ואשתיו עמי *vacat*

10. land that I am giving to you and to your descendants for all ages.” So on the following day I went up to
 Ramat-Hazor and I saw the land from
 11. this high point: from the River of Egypt up to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Hauran,
 and all the land of Gebal up to Kadesh, and the entire Great Desert
 12. that is east of Hauran and Senir, up to the Euphrates. He said to me, “To your descendants I will give
 all of this land, and they will inherit it for all ages.
 13. I will make your descendants as numerous as the dust of the earth, which no one is able to reckon. So
 too will your descendants be beyond reckoning. Get up, walk around, go
 14. and see how great are its length and its width. For I shall give it to you and to your descendants after you
 unto all the ages. *vacat*
 15. So I, Abram, embarked to hike around and look at the land. I began to travel the circuit from the Gihon
 River, and came alongside the Sea until
 16. I reached Mount Taurus. I then traversed from alo[ng] this Great Sea of Salt and went alongside Mount
 Taurus to the east, through the breadth of the land,
 17. until I reached the Euphrates River. I journeyed along the Euphrates until I reached the Erythrean Sea,
 to the East, and was traveling along
 18. the Erythrean Sea until I reached the gulf of the Red Sea, which extends out from the Erythrean Sea.
 I went around to the south until I reached the Gihon
 19. River, and I then returned, arriving at my house in safety. I found all of my people safe and went and
 settled at the Oaks of Mamre, which are near Hebron,
 20. to the northeast of Hebron. I built an altar there and offered upon it a burnt offering and a meal offering
 to the Most High God. I ate and drank there,
 21. I and every person of my household. I also sent an invitation to Mamre, Arnem, and Eshkol, three
 Amorite brothers (who were) my friends, and they ate
 22. and drank together with me. *vacat*

21.10: למחרתי Gin/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW J AY למחרתו. For the lin-
 guistic reasoning behind this change see Gin, p. 148.

32. בעמקא ד[י סדיא] לקובלי כדרלע[ומר ומלכיא] די עמה ואתבר מלך סודום וערק ומלך עומרם
 33. נפל ושגיאין מן [כו]ל[ל]]...[] The king of Elam plundered all of the
 34. [ע]ומרם [יכול] ר[כ]ושא [די] וכול ד[י] אשכ[ח]ו [תמן] ושבי לוט בר אחוי

32. in the Valley o[f Siddim] against Chedarla[omer and the kings] who were with him, but the king of
 Sodom was crushed and fled, while the king of Gomorrah
 33. fell, and many from [al]l[]...[] The king of Elam plundered all of the
 goods of Sodom and of
 34. [Go]morrah, [and all] the p[oss]essions [of] and all th[at they fou]nd there],
 while Lot, the son of Abram's brother,

COLUMN 22

1. די אברם די הוא יתב בסודם כחדא עמהון וכול נכסוהי ואתה חד מן רעה
 2. ענה די יהב אברם ללוט די פלט מן שביא על אברם ואברם באדין הוא
 3. יתב בחברון וחוויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל ודי
 4. נגדו מלכיא ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין ואזלין
 5. למדינת דרמשק ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי ואתחלם אברם וקם

1. who was living in Sodom together with them along with all his flocks, was taken captive. But one of the
 shepherds
 2. of the flock that Abram had given to Lot, who had escaped from the captors, came to Abram. Now at
 that time Abram
 3. was living in Hebron, and he informed him that his brother's son Lot had been captured, along with all
 of his property, but that he had not been killed. Also that
 4. the kings had set out (on) the Way of the Great Valley toward their province, (all the while) taking cap-
 tives, plundering, destroying, killing, and heading
 5. for the city Damascus. Then Abram wept over his brother's son Lot. Having collected himself, Abram
 got up

21.32: [כדרלע]ומר ומלכיא] J/B¹ AY/Pu/GMT/F/AW
 [כדרלע]ומר מלך עילם ומלכיא]. Contra Puech, there does not
 seem to be enough room for the longer reading (it is approxi-
 mately 2-3 letters too long). Mu¹ (pp. 25–26) has provided
 additional argumentation for a shorter reading, positing sev-
 eral possibilities. F does not include these words in his trans-
 lation, causing one to wonder if he meant them to be in his
 transcription.

21.33: [כ]ל[ל]] ושגיאין מן [AY]] בעגיאין J/GMT; די בעגיאין B¹
 [בעגיאין] די חמרא AW; [בעגיאין] די חמרא F; ושגיאין [עמה]
 Both readings are palaeographically acceptable, but I have chosen
 [בעגיאין] for two reasons. First, the word עגיאין, understood by
 those who transcribe it as “pits,” is otherwise unattested in
 Aramaic—the closest corollary being עוגיתא “irrigation ditch”
 (cf. F, p. 238). Second, the traces of letters following this word do
 not appear to fit any of the suggested reconstructions.

21.34: [ע]ומרם [יכול] ר[כ]ושא [די] ושבו B¹/Qim¹/F AY/GMT/AW. The concern here
 is whether the verb is active, and belongs with a hypothetical pl.

subject (i.e. “they took captive”), or passive, and belongs with
 Lot (i.e. “Lot was taken captive”). Either is plausible, although
 the latter form is used in 22.3, and is therefore adopted here. Cf.
 Qim¹, p. 18 for further discussion.

Column 22: Like col. 16, this column stands last on its sheet of
 parchment, and is significantly narrower than those preceding
 it. An especially curious trait of this column is that the following
 sheet was cut off in antiquity. The reason for this is not clear,
 although the photographs plainly show that the seam and its
 thread are intact, and that to the left of the seam is a clean cut
 mark. That the cut was made in antiquity is assured, since this
 column was rolled at the core of the scroll and could not have
 been tampered with before its unrolling by Biberkraut. Along
 with the fact that the last line of the column ends mid-sentence,
 the cut proves that this is not the end of the original scroll. The
 BZ photographs present the column in worse condition than the
 AY plate and some of the IMneg. photos, but again shed light on
 a few readings that are unclear in other photographs.

6. ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר וערנם
 7. ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה והוא רדף בתרהון עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון
 8. שרין בבקעת דן ורמה עליהון בליליא מן ארבע רוחיהון והווא קטל
 9. בהון בליליא ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי
 10. עד דבקו לחלבון די שימא על שמאל דרמשק ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא
 11. וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא וכול נכסוהי וכול
 12. שביתא די שבאו אתיב ושמע מלך סודם די אתיב אברם כול שביתא
 13. וכול בזתא וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם היא ירושלם ואברם שרא בעמק
 14. שוא והוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק
 15. מאכל ומשתה לאברם ולכול אנשא די עמה והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון וברך
 16. לאברם ואמר בריך אברם לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא וברך אל עליון
 17. די סגר שנאיך בידך ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיה די מלך עילם וחברוהי
 18. באדין קרב מלכא די סודם ואמר לאברם מרי אברם *vacat*
 19. הב לי נפשא די אתי לי די שביא עמך די אצלתה מן מלך עילם ונכסיה
 20. כולהון שביקין לך *vacat* אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם מרים אנה

6. and chose from his servants three hundred and eighteen choice warriors fit for battle. Arnem,
 7. Eshkol, and Mamre also set out with him. He chased after them until he reached Dan, where he found them
 8. camping in the Valley of Dan. He swooped upon them at night from all four directions, killing
 9. among them throughout the night. He crushed them and chased after them, and all of them were fleeing before him
 10. until they reached Helbon, which is situated to the north of Damascus. (There) he took away from them everyone they had captured,
 11. all that they had plundered, and all of their own goods. Lot, his brother's son, he also saved, along with his property. All
 12. those whom they had taken captive he brought back. When the king of Sodom heard that Abram had brought back all of the captives
 13. and all of the plunder, he went up to meet him. He came to Salem, which is Jerusalem, and Abram encamped in the Valley
 14. of Shaveh, which is the Valley of the King – the Valley of Bet-Hakerem. And Melchizedek, the king of Salem, brought out
 15. food and drink for Abram and for all of the men who were with him. He was the priest of the Most High God, and he blessed
 16. Abram, saying, "Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth! And blessed be the Most High God,
 17. who delivered those who hate you into your hand!" So he gave him a tenth of all the property of the king of Elam and his allies.
 18. *vacat* Then the king of Sodom drew near and said to Abram, "My lord, Abram,
 19. give me anyone who belongs to me of the captives with you, whom you have rescued from the king of Elam. But as for all the property,
 20. it is left to you." *vacat* Then Abram said to the king of Sodom, "I lift up

21. ידי יומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן
 22. אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך דלא תהוה אמר^מ דמן נכסי כול עתרה די
 23. אברס ברא מן די אכלו כבר עולימי די עמי וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא די
 24. אזלו עמי אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך ואתיב אברס כול נכסיא וכול
 25. שביטא ויהב למלך סודם וכול שביא די הואת עמה מן ארעא דא שבק
 26. ושלח כולהון *vacat*
 27. בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי(ו) {אלהא לאברס בחזוא ואמר לה הא עשר שני
 28. שלמא מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין וחדא
 29. מן די תבת מן מצרין וכען בקר ומני כול די איתי לך וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו מן
 30. כול די נפקו עמד ביום מפקד מן חרן וכען אל תדחל אנה עמד ואהוה לך
 31. סעד ותקף ואנה מגן עליך ואספרך לך לתקיף ברא מנד עתרך ונכסיד
 32. ישגון לחדא *vacat* ואמר אברס מרי אלהא שגי לי עתר ונכסין ולמא לי

21. my hands this day to the Most High God, the Lord of heaven and earth, (swearing) that I will take neither string nor sandal strap
 22. from all that which belongs to you, lest you should say, 'All the wealth of Abram (derives) from my
 23. property.' (This) excludes that which my young men who are with me have already eaten, and also the portion of the three men who
 24. went with me. (Only) they have authority to give you their portions. So Abram returned all of the property and all
 25. of the captives, and gave (them) to the king of Sodom. Every one of the captives who were with him from that land he set free
 26. and sent all of them away. *vacat*
 27. After these things God appeared to Abram in a vision, and said to him, "Look, ten years
 28. have elapsed since the day you came out of Haran; two years you spent here, seven in Egypt, and one (has passed)
 29. since you returned from Egypt. Now inspect and count all that you have; see that by doubling they have increased greatly, beyond
 30. all that came out with you on the day of your departure from Haran. And now do not fear; I am with you, and will be for you
 31. a support and strength. I am a shield over you, and a buckler for you against those stronger than you. Your wealth and your property
 32. will increase enormously. Abram said, "My Lord God, I have wealth and property in great abundance, yet what are

22.27: בחזוא Kut/Gin/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY בחזיא. The fourth letter should be read as a *vav*, as in 21.8.

22.28: עברתה (עבדתה) Kut/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY (?). Kutscher (p. 34) was the first to note that the verb עבד carries the meaning "to spend time," assuring that this is the correct reading.

22.30: ואהוה Gin/J/B¹/GMT/F/AW] AY ואהיה; Qim¹ ואֹהִי. AY transcribed the Hebrew form rather than the Aramaic, as

Ginsberg noted. Qim¹ argues that "the third letter is not a *he*," and that the last letter "looks like a *waw*-shaped letter crossed by a diagonal line." It appears to me, however, that the final *heh* has simply been partially effaced (particularly the left leg; cf. the *vav* at the beginning of this word and לך in the following line for such effacement), while the third letter has been partially destroyed by a crack in the leather (and perhaps effaced as well).

33. כול [א]לן ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי אהך די לא בנין וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני
 34. אליעזר בר דמשק הוּא לְמִתְרַתְנִי ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן להן די יפוק

33. all [th]ese things to me while I, when I die, will go stripped bare, without children. One of my household servants will receive my inheritance;
 34. Eliezer, son of Dameseq, he... the one acquiring an inheritance from me.” But he said to him, “This one will not receive your inheritance, but one who will go forth”

22.34: 〇〇〇 דְּמִשְׁק הוּא AY/J/GMT []; B¹ מְ[שק] הוּא בְּעָה Qim¹ []; Qim¹ [] לִיד 〇〇 הוא F/AW [] בִּיתִי. Despite being in significantly worse condition, BZ22B reveals some aspects of the first word that cannot be discerned on AY's plate. First, it is apparent in both photos that the bottoms of some of these letters have been effaced. The top of the first letter clearly has the two horns of a *dalet* or *bet* (this is visible in IMneg. 3865 as well). It also has a vertical downstroke on the right side. More crucial is the fourth letter, which can clearly be identified as the top of a *qoph* in BZ22B. Thus, it is likely that we have here neither מִשְׁק nor בִּיתִי, but דְּמִשְׁק. In any case, בִּיתִי can be ruled out. The word דְּמִשְׁק is part of Eliezer's enigmatic description in Gen 15:2. The slight traces following this word fit the letters of הוּא. The illegible final word does not appear to be בְּעָה, as suggested by B¹, since a horizontal bottom stroke can be perceived on AY's plate for the letter preceding the *lamed*. Qim¹'s reading will be dealt with below.

22.34: לְמִתְרַתְנִי AY/J/F רַתְנִי 〇 לִיד B¹ לְמִתְרַתְנִי; Qim¹ לְמִתְרַתְנִי GMT/AW רַתְנִי [י] לִיד. This word is admittedly difficult, but a few observations may be made. First, there appears to be a space preceding the *lamed*, making it likely that this letter begins a new

word. The preceding letter also appears to have a horizontal base stroke on AY's plate and IMneg. 3865 (contra B¹/Qim¹). Second, the letter preceding the *resh* looks like a *tav* that has had its right leg effaced and its top destroyed by a vertical crack in the leather. I can only attribute the vertical line and short foot on AY's plate and IMneg. 3865 to a *tav* (or, less plausibly, a *nun*) and am unconvinced that it is a *yod/vav* or *mem*, as others have suggested. A very short piece of this letter's right leg can be seen between the crack and the effaced area to its right. The letter between the *lamed* and my proposed *tav* has been understood by all except B¹ as a *dalet*, but the top of this letter looks much more like a *mem* that has (like the *tav*) had its lower portion effaced. Qim¹ cannot be correct in reading לְמִתְרַתְנִי, since there is simply not room (or evident ink traces) for a *lamed-mem* after his *lamed-dalet* (cf. other *mems* in this column). Admittedly, the results of my reading are less than satisfying morphologically, since the root יִרַת is otherwise unattested in the *itpe'el* conjugation. I take this word to be a nominative participle, the reflexive usage of which makes logical sense here—i.e. “the one inheriting for himself.” Happily, the general sense of the line is relatively clear despite the difficulty of this reading.

SECTION TWO

THE DIVISION OF THE EARTH
IN GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

A CASE STUDY
ON ITS RELATIONSHIP
TO THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

THE BACKGROUND OF GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

The primarily textual work of the preceding section is aimed at providing a more solid foundation for future textual, linguistic, and exegetical analysis of the Genesis Apocryphon. While it is impossible to comment adequately on all parts and aspects of the Apocryphon here, the remainder of this study is dedicated to one area where new textual discoveries may enhance our understanding of the scroll's contents and theological outlook—the apportionment of the earth among Noah's sons and grandsons in 1QapGen 16–17. These columns were chosen for several reasons: 1) they include a number of substantial advancements in reading the scroll; 2) they represent our most direct parallel with the Book of Jubilees, whose precise relationship to the Apocryphon remains unclear; and 3) they attest to a broad, thematic concern in the scroll, as will be demonstrated below. The thesis of Section Two is that the Genesis Apocryphon preserves a simpler, shorter account of the earth's division than Jubilees, and that the two texts are more likely based on a common source than directly related. The evidence suggests that the shared source may well have been or included an actual map.

To avoid unwieldiness, this section has been split into two chapters. The present chapter seeks to contextualize Chapter 4 within the wider settings of: 1) the book of Genesis; 2) the ancient Hellenistic map of the inhabited earth (οἰκουμένη in Greek), on which both the Apocryphon and Jubilees partly depend; and 3) the extant narrative of the rest of the Genesis Apocryphon. Chapter 4 then provides a detailed, comparative analysis of 1QapGen 16–17 and the parallel passage in Jubilees (8:11–9:15).

3.1. EXTERNAL BACKGROUND I: GENESIS 10 AND OTHER BIBLICAL TEXTS

Genesis 10, or the so-called “Table of Nations”, forms the primary biblical backdrop to the various geographic accounts to be discussed in the following chapters.¹ In Genesis the Table stands between Noah's drunken episode, after which his grandson Canaan

receives a curse (Gen 9:18–28), and the confusion of tongues and dispersion of peoples at the Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9). It is essentially a genealogy, but has been inconsistently supplemented with geographic, folkloric, and etiological information.² The following tables attempt to present succinctly the information in Gen 10:

Table 1. Genealogical Information

Japheth (10:2–5)	Ham (10:6–20)	Shem(10:21–31)
Gomer	Cush	Elam
Ashkenaz	Seba	Asshur
Riphat	Havilah	Arpachshad
Togarmah	Sabtah	Shelah
Magog	Raamah	Eber
Madai	Sheba	Peleg
Javan	Dedan	Joktan
Elishah	Sabteca	<i>Almodad</i>
Tarshish	Nimrod	<i>Sheleph</i>
Kittim	Egypt (Mitzraim)	<i>Hazarmaveth</i>
R/Dodanim	Ludim	Jerah
Tubal	Anamim	<i>Hadoram</i>
Meshech	Lehabim	Uzal
Tiras	Naphtuhim	Diklah
	Pathrusim	Obal
	Casluhim	<i>Abimael</i>
	(whence came the Philistines)	Sheba
	Caphtorim	Ophir
		<i>Havilah</i>
		Jobab
	Put	Lud
	Canaan	Aram
	Sidon	Uz
	Heth	Hul
	Jebusites	Gether
	Amorites	Mash
	Girgashites	
	Hivites	
	Arkites	
	Sinites	
	Arvadites	
	Zemarites	
	Hamathites	

¹ A biblical parallel to Gen 10 is found in 1 Chr 1:1–24.

² The traditional source-critical interpretation of this uneven combination is that it reflects the two distinct sources comprising the chapter, J and P. The most popular theory is that P has

Table 2. Additional (Non-Generational) Information

Japheth

1. “From these the maritime nations branched out.” (10:5)

Ham

1. Nimrod (10:8–12):
 - a. is the first mighty man (גִּבּוֹר) on the earth
 - b. is a mighty hunter before the Lord (גִּבּוֹר־צֹדִק לִפְנֵי ה')
 - c. ruled over Babylon, Erech, Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar (from which Asshur went forth)
 - d. built Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir, Calah, and Resen
2. “Afterward the clans of the Canaanites spread out. The Canaanite territory extended from Sidon as far as Gerar, near Gaza, and as far as Sodon, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, near Lasha.” (10:18–19)

Shem

1. Shem is the father of all the sons of Eber and the older brother of Japheth (10:21; אָבִי כָּל־בְּנֵי־עֶבֶר אָחִי; יִפְתָּה הַגָּדוֹל).³
2. In the days of Peleg (פֶּלֶג) the earth was divided (נִפְלְגָה).
3. The settlements of Joktan’s descendants “extended from Mesha as far as Sephar, the hill country to the east.” (10:30)⁴

The LXX closely resembles the MT version, differing in only a few details.⁵ The chapter ends with the statement, “These are the groupings of Noah’s descendants, according to their origins, by their nations; and from these the nations branched out over the earth after the Flood” (10:32). There is no explicit indication that the geographic locations connected with individuals or people groups are divinely appointed, or assigned by Noah, although the first point may

provided the genealogical framework for the chapter, while most of the ‘non-genealogical’ material may be attributed to J. For a clear survey of the standard views see J. C. VanderKam, “Putting them in their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool,” *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (JSOTSup 184; eds J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 46–69 [esp. 50–53]. A more detailed explanation is given by J. Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1930 [2d ed.]), 187–95; or W. Zimmerli, *I. Mose 1–11* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1943), 367–96.

³ There has been some scholarly disagreement over whether Shem or Japheth is the older brother (i.e. the referent of הַגָּדוֹל), but the former seems preferable. See Skinner, *Genesis*, 219.

⁴ On the possible placements of these toponyms see Skinner, *Genesis*, 222–23.

⁵ For a brief summary see VanderKam, “Putting them in their Place,” 50; or J. M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTSMS 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 24–27. A much more detailed analysis is provided by Skinner, *Genesis*, 195–223; or U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* (Vol. 2: From Noah to Abraham; trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964), 172–224. These commentators also discuss the importance of the 70 or 72 person scheme of Gen 10 as representative of the common ancient conception that the world was inhabited by this number of nations.

have been presumed by an ancient audience. It simply appears to be the way things happened according to the inclinations and wanderings of Noah’s various descendants. Nevertheless, this passage forms the basic scriptural foundation upon which Noah’s division of the earth in both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees is built.

There are several other passages that deserve brief mention alongside Gen 10 as potentially influencing the geographic strategy and content of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. The strongest impact may well have been made by Deut 32:8, which reads:

בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם
יצב גבולת עמים למספר בני אלוהים [ישראל]⁶

When the Most High dealt nations their inheritances;
at his separation of human beings;

He set up the boundaries of peoples, according to the
number of the sons of God [Israel].

This piece of ancient poetry lent itself naturally to an association with the Table of Nations. Indeed, the two were explicitly connected by a number of ancient interpreters. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan was among these, expanding the first phrase to read, “When the Most High dealt the world as an inheritance to the peoples who went forth from the sons of Noah.”⁷ It is likely that this passage also left its imprint on the author of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, suggesting that it was the “Most High” (a favored appellation for God in the Apocryphon) who ultimately instigated the division of the earth.

A passage that seems to have had a more specific impact on portions of the Genesis Apocryphon is the description of Israelite tribal allotments in Josh 15:1–19:48.⁸ Here we find some remarkable affinities in the vocabulary, phraseology, syntax, and overall structure used to describe geographic districts. Similarities to Joshua’s description are most clearly seen in 1QapGen 16–17, but are also present in 1QapGen 21.15–19.

A number of other passages delineating the borders of the Israelite territory likely influenced the Genesis Apocryphon’s description of Arpachshad’s, and later

⁶ Most LXX manuscripts (reading either ἀγγέλων θεοῦ or υἱῶν θεοῦ) and two Qumran manuscripts (4QDeut^{a,1}) reflect the non-bracketed reading. The MT contains the bracketed “Israelites” instead, which appears to be a later gloss. For details see M. S. Heiser, “Deuteronomy 32:8 and the Sons of God,” *BSac* 158 (Jan-March 2001): 52–74.

⁷ The same association between these passages may be found in *Sifre Devarim*, *Yalqut Shim’oni*, and Rashi’s commentary on Genesis.

⁸ Cf. VanderKam, “Putting Them in Their Place,” 58.

Abram's, apportionment in particular. Among these Gen 15:18–19, Ex 23:31, Num 34:2–12, and Deut 11:24 must have figured prominently,⁹ along with the later Davidic and Solomonic reports.¹⁰

3.2. EXTERNAL BACKGROUND II: THE IONIAN MAP OF THE INHABITED EARTH (*OIKOUMENE*)

Several scholars have noted the dependence of Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon on notions of the inhabited earth current in contemporary Hellenistic culture.¹¹ Such dependence is indeed striking when the Greco-Roman sources are consulted, and it seems best, therefore, to sketch briefly some basic tenets and developments of Hellenistic geographic science prior to examining the geography of our Jewish works.

The most ancient Greek source envisioning the world is the description of Achilles' spectacular shield in Homer's *Iliad*, thought by modern scholars to date to the 8th century BCE.¹² Unlike later geographic descriptions this account tells of a cosmological, and not simply terrestrial, map. The important thing to note for our purposes regarding the shield, however, is that it is circular in shape and surrounded by the encompassing "Ocean" (*ᾠκεανοῖο*), that vast and mighty river" (18:606). The importance of Homer's description in shaping later conceptions of the world

is attested to by Strabo and the Stoics, who declared Homer the founder of geographic science.¹³

A significant advancement in the study of geography appears to have emerged in the 6th century BCE, as Greek philosophers were seeking more systematic and naturalistic explanations for the world around them.¹⁴ Much of the geographic innovation during this period was attributed by later authors to Anaximander (ca. 610–546 BCE), who studied under the renowned Thales in the Carian city of Miletus. The early 3rd century CE geographer Agathemerus reported that Anaximander was the first "to venture to draw the inhabited world on a map."¹⁵ Hecataeus (fl. ca. 500 BCE), also from Miletus, was considered the first to compose a Circuit of the Earth (*περίοδος γῆς*), and is believed to have improved considerably on the map of Anaximander.¹⁶ Both authors described the world as a flat, circular-shaped disk, much like the shield of Achilles.¹⁷ The available evidence leads us to believe that the basic layout of world maps like those drawn by Anaximander and Hecataeus were first produced in Ionia, on the western seacoast of Asia Minor.¹⁸ This has led modern scholars to speak of a relatively standardized "Ionian" world map, or *Imago Mundi*,¹⁹ which exerted considerable influence over geographic science well into the Middle Ages.²⁰ An Ionian understanding of the cosmos is also reflected in numerous rabbinic works.²¹

⁹ These passages were the recipients of frequent geographic expansion by later exegetes. The authoritative study of the targumic and rabbinic traditions associated with Gen 10 and Num 34 remains the unpublished thesis of P. S. Alexander, *The Toponymy of the Targumim with Special Reference to the Table of Nations and the Borders of the Holy Land* (D. Phil. thesis; Oxford University, 1974). The first of the above passages includes a nuance that may have influenced the fundamental rhetorical argument taken up by the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. In Gen 15:18 the Lord says, "to your seed I have given this land, from the River of Egypt to the Great River, the Euphrates." A number of early rabbis, commenting on this verse, noted that "[this phrase] does not read 'I will give' (*אֶתֶּן*), but 'I have given' (*נָתַתִּי*)" (*Genesis Rabbah* [Theodor-Albeck] 44:22). The fact that the land had *already* been given to Abram's descendants before he had received this promise may also have raised questions for earlier commentators.

¹⁰ E.g. 2 Sam 8:3 (*Qen*); 1 Kgs 5:1 (Hebrew); 2 Kgs 24:7; Ezek 47:13–23.

¹¹ See (on Jubilees only) P. S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 38 (1982): 197–213; and idem, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD* 2:980–82. This will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

¹² See *The History of Cartography: Volume One* (eds J. B. Harley and D. Woodward; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), 131. The passage concerning Achilles' shield is found in the *Iliad* 18:480–610. For an English translation and commentary see *The Iliad of Homer* (ed. and trans. R. Latimore; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 388–91, 411.

¹³ Strabo, *Geography* 1.1.2 (Jones, LCL).

¹⁴ Cf. *History of Cartography*, 134.

¹⁵ See Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 1.1, in *Geographi Graeci minores*, (2 vols and tabulae; ed. K. O. Müller; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1855–56), 2:471–87. The Greek words for "on a map" are *ἐν πίνακι*, which could alternately mean a "painting." Cf. W. A. Heidel, "Anaximander's Book, The Earliest Known Geographical Treatise," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 56.7 (1921): 239–88; and *History of Cartography*, 134, n. 18.

¹⁶ Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 1.1.

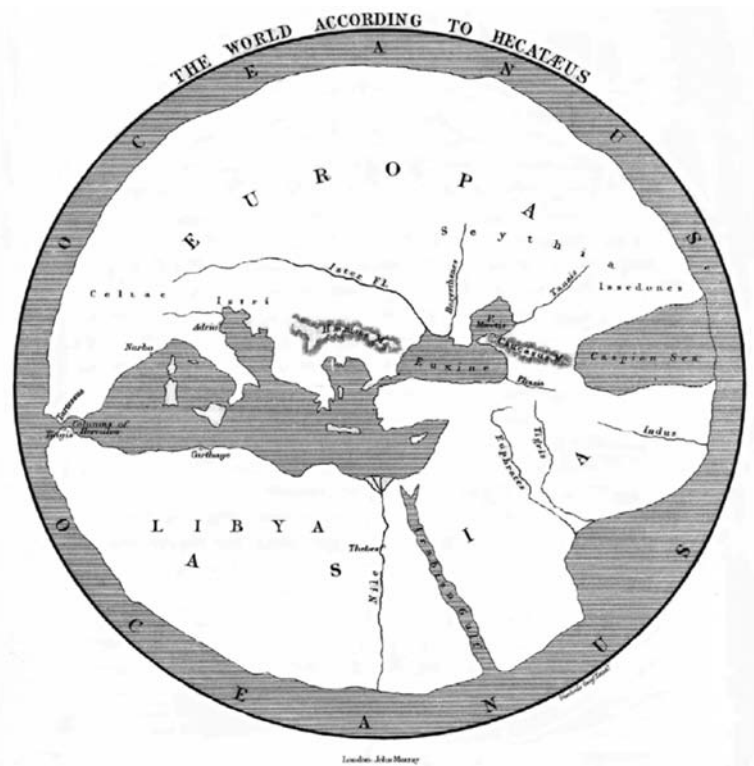
¹⁷ Neither the writings of Anaximander nor Hecataeus have survived. We are dependent upon later references to them in authors such as Herodotus, Strabo, and Agathemerus. The flat disk is sometimes described as one end of a drum-shaped cylinder.

¹⁸ *History of Cartography*, 135. For the close relationship between Ionia and Caria see Strabo, *Geography* 1.4.7.

¹⁹ Along with the other secondary works referred to in this section see R. Talbert, "Kartographie," in *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike* (eds H. Cancik and H. Schneider; Stuttgart, Weimer: J. B. Metzler, 1999), 6:301–308. The Ionians are also closely associated with maps and geographic conceptions by Herodotus (e.g. *Histories* 2.15–17 [Godley; LCL]).

²⁰ One famous, late example is the Hereford Map, produced by Richard of Haldingham around AD 1290. For a rudimentary overview of the later reception of the Ionian map see Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 201–203; also Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 159–70. A far more detailed account is given in *History of Cartography*, 283–370.

²¹ E.g. *y. Avodah Zarah* 3.42c; *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* 3; *Derekh Eretz Zuta* 9; *Genesis Rabbah* 4.5, 3.10, 23.7; *Numbers Rabbah* 13.16; *Esther Rabbah* 1.7; *Midrash Psalms* 93:5; etc. See Z. Safrai, "Geography and



Map 1. A Reconstruction of Hecataeus' World Map²²

Herodotus (late 5th cent. BCE) attested to some of the standard traits of the Ionian-based maps common in his day. Although largely dependent upon the Ionians, he upbraided them when he said, “[f]or my part, I cannot help but laugh when I see the number of persons drawing maps of the world without having any reason to guide them; making, as they do, the ocean stream to run all around the earth, and the earth itself to be an exact circle, as if described by a pair of compasses, with Europe and Asia of just the same size.”²³ Through this critique we learn that many Greek maps of Herodotus’ day depicted the general shape of the *oikoumene* very much like Achilles’ shield, with the earth forming a planed circle and surrounded by the Ocean River. Aristotle (4th cent. BCE)²⁴ and the later Stoic philosopher Geminus (1st cent. BCE)²⁵ shared in Herodotus’ disdain and disparagement of these flat, round maps, attesting to their enduring popular use

well after it had been argued that the *oikoumene* must be greater in length (east to west) than in breadth (north to south), and that the earth was not a plane, but spherical in shape.²⁶

Herodotus went on to state that contemporary Greek maps divided the earth into three continents: “I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great.”²⁷ Here he appears to ridicule the fact that the three continents are depicted as roughly equal in size, when it is clear from basic observation that they are not. According to Herodotus, the boundaries separating these three continents were the Nile river in the south, and the Phasis or Tanais rivers in the north, with the northern river apparently fluctuating depending on the particular map consulted.²⁸ The Great Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean), which was itself subdivided and named according to region, formed a massive inlet, dividing Europe from

Cosmography in Talmudic Literature,” *The Literature of the Sages: Second Part* (eds S. Safrai et al.; CRINT 3b; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 506.

²² From E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography* (2 vols; London: John Murray, 1879), 1.149.

²³ Herodotus, *Histories* 4.36.

²⁴ Aristotle, *Meteorologica* 2.5.362b.13 (Lec, LCL).

²⁵ Geminus, *Introduction aux phénomènes* (ed. and trans. G. Aujac; Paris: Belles Lettres, 1975), 16.4.5.

²⁶ W. A. Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1937), 63–102. Cf. *History of Cartography*, 135–6.

²⁷ Herodotus, *Histories* 4.42. Also see 2.16.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.45. The Phasis is the modern Ister, and the Tanais the modern Don. For the alternative practice of dividing the *oikoumene* by isthmuses, see Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 198–99.

Libya and connecting to the Ocean River at the Pillars of Heracles, or Gadira.²⁹ It is such Ionian maps that Alexander the Great likely consulted during his campaign to the East, as Arrian may suggest.³⁰ While little physical evidence of Ionian maps has come down to us from antiquity, there can be no doubt of their existence. In fact, such maps may have been known to the general populace of major Greek cities.³¹

Greek geographic science continued to develop, although many fundamental aspects of the Ionian map appear to have persisted. Democritus (ca. 460–370 BCE) and Dicaearchus of Messana (fl. ca. 326–296 BCE) argued that the *oikoumene* should be drawn as an oval, being half again as long as it is broad, in a proportion of three to two.³² Dicaearchus and Timosthenes of Rhodes (fl. ca. 270 BCE) placed the navel (*omphalos*) of the earth at Rhodes rather than its previously standard location at Delphi—a practice which many followed thereafter.³³ Eratosthenes (ca. 275–194 BCE), a brilliant polymath who worked largely in Alexandria, is considered by many to represent the zenith of Greek cartography. He noted the advances made possible by the conquest and discoveries of Alexander the Great.³⁴ Although his work is preserved only in the writings of later authors (e.g. Strabo and Pliny the Elder) it is clear that Eratosthenes also knew of the earth being divided into three continents by the Tanais and Nile rivers.

Geographic treatises continued to be composed by Greek and Roman authors, such as Strabo (ca. 64 BCE–21 CE), Claudius Ptolemy (ca. 90–168 CE), and Agathemerus. Others, such as Polybius (ca. 200–118 BCE), Manilius (fl. ca. 90 BCE), Diodorus Siculus (ca. 80–20 BCE), Pliny the Elder (ca. 23–79 CE), Dionysius “Periegetes” (fl. ca. 124 CE) and Arrian (ca. 97–175 CE), borrowed from common geographic knowledge in treating associated areas of philosophy or poetry.

²⁹ The modern Straights of Gibraltar.

³⁰ See Heidel (*The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map*, 26–7) citing Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.1.2.

³¹ There is both archaeological and textual evidence to support this. A number of coin types have been found (especially around Ionia) which depict maps, while the prop of a map is incorporated into Aristophanes’ 5th century Athenian comedy, *The Clouds*. Cf. *History of Cartography*, 138, 158–9; and Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Map*, 11–12.

³² *History of Cartography*, 137, 152.

³³ Ibid., 152–3. Philip Alexander elaborated on the Jewish practice of placing Jerusalem at the *omphalos* of the world. See P. S. Alexander, “Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World: On the History of a Geographical Concept,” *Judaism* 46 (1997): 148–63 [esp. 149–50]. The essay was reprinted in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (ed. L. I. Levine; New York: Continuum, 1999), 104–119 [esp. 105–106].

³⁴ *History of Cartography*, 153–57.

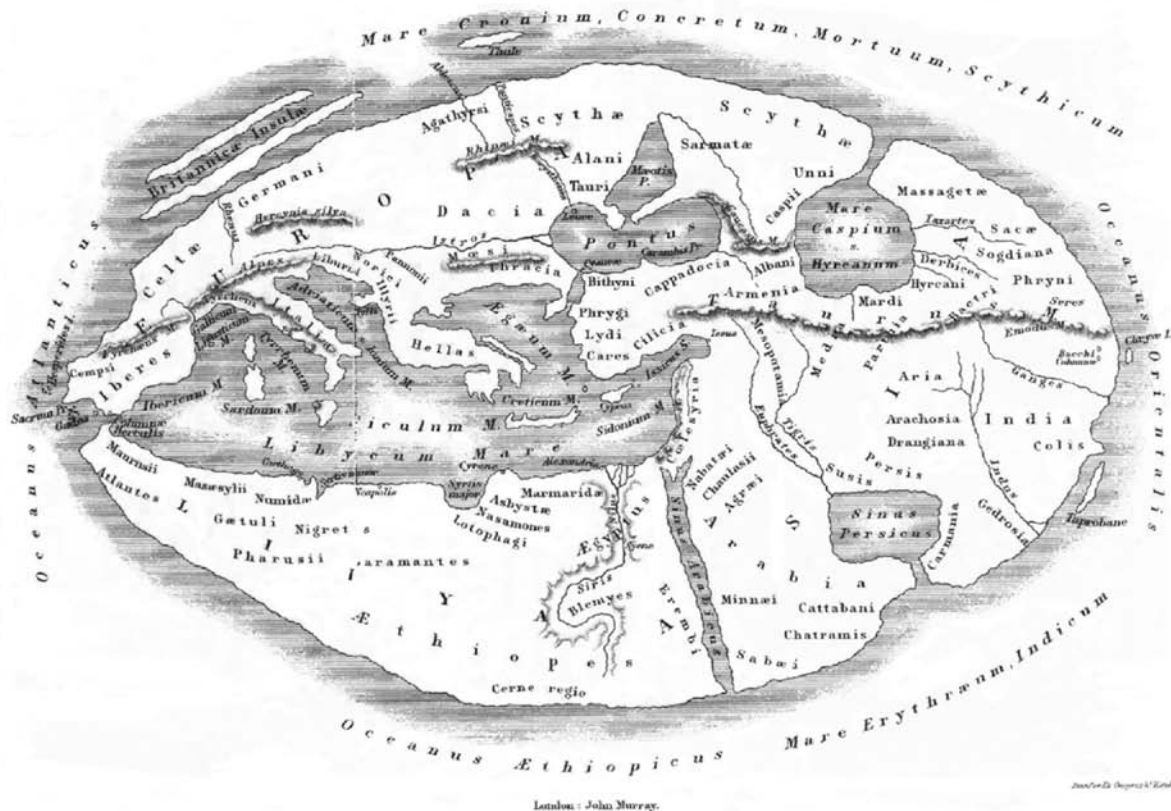
The individual contributions of each of these authors (especially Strabo and Ptolemy) could be enumerated at length, but here it is necessary only to note several commonalities shared by them. These few points may also serve as an apt summary of the Ionian world map in general, especially as it relates to the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees:

1. The inhabited world was viewed as flat (earlier) or spherical (later), and drawn in the shape of a circle (earlier) or oval (later; after Democritus).³⁵
2. It was divided into three continents: Europe, Asia, and Libya (i.e. modern Africa). The continents were considered to be either roughly the same size (earlier) or to vary (later; after Herodotus). Since east always stood at the top of the ancient map, Asia would be portrayed in the upper central portion, with Europe on the lower left and Libya on the lower right.
3. The three continents were typically divided by rivers, or alternately (and less commonly, it seems) by isthmuses. When divided by rivers, the Nile was consistently the southern (i.e. rightward) border, separating Libya and Asia, while either the Phasis or Tanais River separated Europe from Asia in the north (left).

As we will see in Chapter 4, the main points of contact between the Hellenistic maps and the geographic picture underlying the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are the division of the *oikoumene* into three continents by way of the Tanais and Nile rivers, and the employment of numerous terms or geographic features not mentioned in Genesis, but known from Hellenistic sources (e.g. Gadera, the Maeotian Sea, and the three “gulfs” representing the Aegean, Tyrrhenian, and Adriatic Seas). It should be emphasized, however, that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees freely combined Hellenistic geography with different conceptions of the earth based on other sources, such as Scripture and geography native to Judea and the surrounding regions.

That Hellenistic geographic conceptions of the earth were well-known in Judea during the 2nd century BCE is not surprising, since the process of Hellenization begun by Alexander and carried forward—sometimes forcibly—by his successors would certainly have included this aspect of Greco-Ionian philosophy. It is not difficult to imagine Hellenistic governors and

³⁵ A yet later elaboration of the regular, flat oval is an arch-shaped oval.



Map 2. A Reconstruction of Dionysius Periegetes' World Map³⁶

aristocrats compelled to move to a new and foreign region relying on, and taking with them, available maps and ideas about geography.

Excursus: Babylonian Geography

A late-Babylonian map of the world, first published in the late 19th century,³⁷ has drawn the attention of some scholars of Judaism, especially as it relates to 1 Enoch 77.³⁸ VanderKam has convincingly shown that such a connection is tenuous at best,³⁹ and there is no reason to believe that the Babylonian map relates directly to the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon or Jubilees.

At first glance, the Babylonian map displays two basic affinities with the Ionian world map: 1) the circular shape of the map; and 2) the earth-encompassing *marratu*, a river surrounding the terrestrial sphere much like the Greek Ocean River on Achilles' shield. How-

ever, there are also significant differences between the two maps. These include: 1) the *nagû* regions on the Babylonian map, which lie outside the *marratu* and have no analogue on the Ionian map; and 2) the severely restricted scope of the Babylonian map, which depicts only a limited portion of Mesopotamia inside the *marratu*.⁴⁰ While it seems plausible that there were some basic, early points of contact between Mesopotamian and Ionian cartography (e.g. the notion of a disk surrounded by water), it is plain that the geography of the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees depends upon a relatively well-developed form of the latter, and not the former.

3.3. INTERNAL BACKGROUND I: THE GEOGRAPHIC SUBSTRUCTURE OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

Noah's division of the earth in 1QapGen 16–17 should not be viewed in isolation from what remains of the rest of the scroll, especially since close investigation reveals that these columns present only one piece in a more widespread agenda reflected in several rhetorical and theological assertions: 1) that Noah was destined from birth to oversee the post-diluvian apportionment

³⁶ From Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography*, 2:490.

³⁷ A recent, comprehensive treatment of the map is found in W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 20–42.

³⁸ P. Grelot, "La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales," *RB* 65.1 (January 1958): 33–69. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 15–18.

³⁹ J. C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch 77, 3 and a Babylonian Map of the World," *RevQ* 42.2 (March 1983): 271–78.

⁴⁰ Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 40–42.

of the earth among his descendents; 2) that this role was divinely bestowed and thus viewed as highly important; and 3) that this apportionment did not agree with the description found in Gen 10. The goal in this part of the chapter is to examine some of the passages that attest to this stance, and also to point out that the author of Jubilees was apparently not as keenly interested in these matters.

3.3.1. *Getting to Know Noah*

The following list of passages attests to Noah's divinely appointed role as apportioner of the earth. It also makes clear that he was granted significant authority over the terrestrial, or geographic, realm.

3.3.1.1. *Genesis Apocryphon 3.17*

The early columns of the scroll contain tales generally paralleled in 1 Enoch.⁴¹ Column 2 opens with Lamech, Noah's father, deeply concerned about the conception of his son, whom he fears may be the fruit of an illicit union between his wife Batenosh and one of the angelic Watchers. Despite Batenosh's vehement denials, Lamech thinks it best to consult his father Methuselah on the matter. Methuselah, in turn, makes haste to his father Enoch for counsel. 1QapGen 3.1–5.24 narrates Enoch's lengthy response to these allegations (it is far longer than the parallel version in 1 En. 106), in which he quells all fear regarding Noah and foretells the child's key role in the post-deluge reestablishment of righteousness upon the earth. Amid this badly damaged section of text a few words are preserved, with which Enoch predicts one of the activities that Noah will undertake, “He is (the one) who will divide the entire earth” (הוּא דִּי יַפְלֵג הָאָרֶעָ).⁴² Fitzmyer comments that these words are “an echo of Gen 10:25,” which plays on the name of Shem's great-great-grandson Peleg (פֶּלֶג), by indicating that in his days the earth was divided (נִפְלְגָה).⁴³ While this word-play may indeed be in the background here, the statement should also be read in light of Noah's role as “divider” of the earth in 1QapGen 16 and Jub. 8. Here Enoch is forecasting one of Noah's tasks following the flood—to designate the boundaries within which each of his sons and their offspring should

sojourn. That Enoch prophesies Noah's future task is significant, since it is he who has special access to the divine mysteries.⁴⁴

3.3.1.2. *Genesis Apocryphon 7.1–2*

These lines contain a proclamation of Noah's new-found role as master and caretaker of the earth. Gen 9:3–4 declares that the fear and awe of Noah will be over all living creatures of the earth, but in GenAp 7.1 this governing role is extended to the earth's various topographic features as well, “[You shall r]u[le] over them, the earth and all that is upon it; over the seas and over the mountains...” (תַּשְׁלֵּט [ט] עֲלֵיהֶן אֶרֶעָ) (וְכֹל דִּי עֲלֵיהָ בִּימִיא וּבִטּוּרִיא). In both Genesis and the Genesis Apocryphon such language harks back to Adam's position of authority in the Garden of Eden (cf. Gen 1:26–30), casting Noah as a “new Adam” of sorts.⁴⁵ A novel feature in the Apocryphon, however, is its extension of Noah's lordship to the geographic features of the earth, a detail absent in Gen 9:26–30.

3.3.1.3. *Genesis Apocryphon 11.9–12*

In the middle of a fragmentary section following Noah's exit from the ark on Mt. Lubar, a few partial lines relate in geographic terms the patriarch's post-flood inspection of the earth. Line 9 reads, “the mountains and the wildernesses, the intermediate regions” (לְטוּרִיא וּדְמַדְבָּרִיא) (לְטוּרִיא וּדְמַדְבָּרִיא וְאֵלּוּלִי...). This statement apparently recounts what Noah surveyed upon leaving the ark,⁴⁷ providing a “geographically enhanced” version of the concise reports in Gen 8:13–14 and Jub. 5:30–31 that the earth had dried up and become visible. This innovation emphasizes the vast scope of what Noah was able to see from the top of Lubar. Two lines later (following a *vacat*) we read, “[Then] I, Noah, went out and walked through the land, through its length and through its breadth” (אֲנִי נֹחַ נִפְקַת וְהִלַּכְתִּי) (בְּאֶרֶעָ לְאֹרְכָהּ וּלְפִתְיָהּ). The specific combination of surveying the earth from a height and then walking

⁴¹ See, e.g., the articles of Bernstein, “From the Watchers to the Flood”; and Nickelsburg, “Patriarchs Who Worry.”

⁴² Previous editions read only אֶרֶעָ. See the textual notes.

⁴³ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 140.

⁴⁴ In light of the scroll's keen interest in the area of the earth received by each of Noah's descendents it is significant that the same language of “receiving an allotment” is employed for Enoch in 1QapGen 2.20–21, “[...and with the Holy Ones] is his lot apportioned.” In contrast to the earthly allotments of Noah's progeny, Enoch's “lot” (עֲדָבָה) is a heavenly one.

⁴⁵ On this point see M. E. Stone, “The Axis of History at Qumran,” *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 31; eds E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 139–141, 148.

⁴⁶ See the textual note on this word.

⁴⁷ So Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 155.

through its length and breadth clearly gestures forward to Abram's analogous survey and walking tour in col. 21 (cf. Gen 13:14–18 and below), thereby forging an explicit literary link between Noah and Abram not present in Genesis.⁴⁸

3.3.1.4. *Genesis Apocryphon 11.16–17*

Here again is an expanded assertion of Noah's dominion over the earth, perhaps the actualization of the prediction in col. 7, "and rule over all of it; over its seas and its wildernesses and its mountains, and over everything in it. For I am surely [gi]ving the whole of it to you and to your children..." (ושלט בכולהון) ושלט בְּיָמֶיהָ ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא ובכול די בהון והא אנה בְּיָהֹב לך ולבניך כולא [י]הב. As in col. 7, the effect is to draw attention to Noah's divinely granted control over the various geographic features of the earth. Like the preceding example, language reminiscent of the Abramic promises of Gen 12 and 15 is deployed.

3.3.1.5. *Genesis Apocryphon 16–17*

Although cols. 16–17 will be detailed in the next chapter, a few important aspects must be noted here. First, while these columns provide an equivalent to the Table of Nations in Gen 10, it is clear that the Genesis Apocryphon differs from the biblical account regarding where Noah's descendents belong. To be sure, Genesis hands out geographic information parsimoniously; the most direct indicators are that Japheth's sons receive the "islands/coasts of the nations" (10:4–5), Ham's sons the great cities of Mesopotamia (Gen 10:6–12) and the Levant (10:15–19), and Shem's sons various sites assigned by scholars to Arabia and Mesopotamia (10:27–30).⁴⁹ By this account, one might justifiably infer that the Land of Canaan was named thus in the Pentateuch simply because it was the region where this particular clan of Hamites settled following the flood. This, however, is a markedly different picture than one gains from reading cols. 16–17 of the Genesis Apocryphon (or Jub. 8:11–9:15), in which it is unmistakably clear that each son is apportioned a different continent with sharply drawn borders: Japheth receives Europe, Asia goes to Shem, and Ham ends up with Libya.

Within this basic scheme, the Levantine lands of Lebanon, Syria, and Phoenicia—typically designated "the Land of Canaan" in the Pentateuch—originally

had nothing to do with Hamites, or Canaanites. Rather, it was apportioned to Arpachshad, son of Shem. This is not an entirely surprising move by an Israelite author, but it does create some tension with the verses in Gen 10 mentioned above. The Apocryphon's partial resolution of this tension will be examined in the following background section (*Internal Background II*).

3.3.2. *Abram, Heir of Arpachshad's Share*

Noah's role as apportioner of the earth and the various boundaries set in 1QapGen 16–17 reverberate throughout the remainder of the scroll, as evidenced in a pair of passages recounting the exploits of Abram.

3.3.2.1. *Genesis Apocryphon 19.12–13*

These lines are part of a major exegetical expansion on the narrative of Abram and Sarai entering Egypt in Gen 12:10–20. Reaching the Karmon river, one of the seven tributaries of the River of Egypt,⁵⁰ Abram exclaims, "[Until] now we have been inside our land" (עד) כען אנחנו בגו ארענא. After crossing the seven tributaries, Abram makes another announcement, "Look! Now we have left our land and entered into the land of the sons of Ham, the Land of Egypt." (הא) (כען הלכנא ארענא ועלנא לארע בני חם לארע מצרין). This river is the landmark used to distinguish the land granted to Shem from that of Ham elsewhere in the scroll (1QapGen [16.27]; 21.11, 15, 18–19),⁵¹ as well as in Jubilees (8:15, 22–23; 10:29).⁵² It is particularly interesting that this statement occurs at this juncture in the narrative, since it indicates that Abram is aware of the borders of the lands allotted to Noah's sons, and that he considers the Levant "our land," even before its borders are laid out for him by God in 1QapGen 21.8–22 (or Gen 15:18–21). This suggests that when God promised Abram the land in the latter passage he was simply reemphasizing a previously ratified (but for the moment defunct) promise, rather than making an

⁴⁸ Cf. the discussion in Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 182.

⁴⁹ This connection is made even more explicit by the words of God to Noah in 1QapGen 11.15, which are clearly fashioned after God's blessing of Abram in Gen 15:1.

⁵⁰ On these matters see Skinner, *Genesis*, 187–223.

⁵¹ The names River of Egypt (נהר מצרין) and Gihon River (גחון) are used to refer to the Nile in the Genesis Apocryphon. Both are used of the Nile in the Bible (cf. Gen 2:13; 15:18), and this may have been a conscious effort by the author to associate the two names. There most certainly would have been other references to this river in what is now missing of cols. 16–17.

⁵² As noted above, it is also the standard topographic feature dividing Asia from Libya according to Ionian *mappe mundi*.

entirely new one.⁵³ Indeed, the Apocryphon's author may have gathered this from Genesis itself, since in 15:18 God tells Abram, "to your seed I hereby give/have given (נתת) this land," with the verb נתן in the perfect tense.⁵⁴

3.3.2.2. *Genesis Apocryphon 21.8–22*

A large portion of col. 21 consists of an elaboration on Gen 13:14–18. In Genesis, Abram is told to survey all the land around him and then to hike about through its length and breadth. This, God promises, is the land that he and his descendants are to possess for eternity. Genesis and Jubilees contain no further elaboration of what Abram could see while gazing north, south, east and west, nor where he trekked afterward, before settling in Hebron. In the Genesis Apocryphon, however, all curiosity is put to rest. Here Abram is told in a nocturnal dream (the preferred mode of revelation in the scroll) to climb up Ramat-Hazor, the highest hill in the region of Bethel,⁵⁵ and from there to survey the Promised Land. From this height Abram is able to see from the River of Egypt in the south to Lebanon and Senir in the north, and from the Great Sea (i.e. the Mediterranean) in the west to Hauran in the East, including the whole land of Gebal, up to Qadesh, and the Great Desert east of Hauran and Senir, up to the Euphrates River.

Abram's subsequent walking tour provides even more geographic detail. Following a circuit beginning in the southwest, at the Gihon River (i.e. the River of Egypt), Abram skirts the Great Sea up to Mount Taurus in the north, strikes eastward to the Euphrates and then southward to the Erythrean and Red Seas,⁵⁶ whence he arrives back at the Gihon. When placed on the map, it becomes readily apparent that this is the very same area previously allotted to Abram's ancestor

Arpachshad in 1QapGen 17.11–14 and Jub. 9:4.⁵⁷ The border is even narrated in the same, counterclockwise direction as in col. 17.

Both additions to the Abram narratives from Genesis reinforce the earlier division of Noah and his sons, and reveal that Abram was aware of his ancestral claim on the Levant. In lieu of this, we should read God's promise to give Arpachshad's portion to Abram and his descendents in 1QapGen 21.8–14 not as a pledge *ex nihilo* (as one might gather from Genesis), but rather as a vow to restore to Abram what has rightfully been his since days of yore.

3.3.3. *Summary*

Viewed together, these passages give us a glimpse of what the author of the Genesis Apocryphon is doing. The prominence of Noah's role as distributor of geographic portions, and the way in which the earth is divided under his watchful eye, bring legitimacy to the bold claim that the Levant was intended for Shem, Arpachshad, Abram, and eventually the Israelites, from the very beginning of the earth's repopulation after the Flood. As noted above, the reader of Genesis is hard-pressed to discern such a claim. In fact, the opposite appears to be the case: as soon as the biblical writer is "on the scene," the Land of Canaan is filled with Canaanites and related tribes, and there is no indication that things were originally meant to be any different.

Although it is clear from the geographic allotments of Jub. 8:11–9:15 that its author is making the same basic claim as the Apocryphon, an outstanding difference exists: in Jubilees this theme is seriously truncated, being confined primarily to chapters 8–9 and a few, isolated passages nearby.⁵⁸ Not one of the "geographic" passages listed above is paralleled in Jubilees. Where we might expect to hear something of Abram's clear right to the land later in Jubilees, there is only silence. Instead, the land is promised to him anew, precisely as recounted in Genesis. The sustained presence, even

⁵³ This event was also expanded upon in Rabbinic literature. See Sarfatti, "Notes on the Genesis Apocryphon," 258; Lehmann, "1Q Genesis Apocryphon in the Light of the Targumim and Midrashim," 251; and Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 111–12.

⁵⁴ Cf. n. 9 of this chapter, above.

⁵⁵ Bethel is where Abram was currently dwelling (see 1QapGen 21.9). For the site identification of Ramat-Hazor (with Baal Hazor of 2 Sam 13:23) and other toponyms in this section see H. Bardke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer: Die Sekte von Qumran* (Berlin: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1958), 150–52. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 220–23.

⁵⁶ Some of these toponyms can be confusing for the reader due to disagreement between ancient and modern usage. For example, the Erythrean Sea could actually be translated "Red Sea," such that the two seas mentioned here could be misunderstood to be one and the same. They are, however, distinguished in the Aramaic. The genealogy of these terms will be parsed out in more detail in the next chapter.

⁵⁷ In order to define clearly the land promised to Abram, the Genesis Apocryphon has no doubt drawn upon other biblical passages providing such information. Most relevant is Gen 15:18, in which the Lord again promises the Land to Abram, but goes on to define its extremities as the River of Egypt and the Euphrates River—two terms used in the Apocryphon's description here. The author probably also intended other biblical passages to be evoked and subsumed by the boundaries listed, such as those defining the kingdoms of David and Solomon (e.g. Exod 23:31; Num 34:1–15; Deut 11:24; Josh 15:1–12, 21–62; 2 Sam 8:3 [*Qeri*]; 1 Kgs 5:1 [Hebrew]; 2 Kgs 24:7; and Ezek 47:13–23).

⁵⁸ Most specifically Jub. 10:27–36.

prominence, of the theme of land and land rights woven throughout the extant narrative of the Genesis Apocryphon is unique, and signifies an important distinction over against Jubilees.

3.4. INTERNAL BACKGROUND II: NOAH'S ARBOREAL DREAM IN GENESIS APOCRYPHON 13–15

1QapGen 13–15 contain the patchy remains of a symbolic vision given to Noah while asleep. Because it is so badly damaged, the vision has been largely ignored by those studying the Apocryphon. Yet new readings made possible by narrowband infrared photographic technology now allow more information to be culled from these columns—information that may help explain how the Genesis Apocryphon eased some of the tension with Genesis caused by the Apocryphon's distinctive geographic assertions. Based on these readings, it appears that the dream aims to provide the reader with background information crucial for understanding the following columns, and is ingeniously designed to resolve tension with Genesis. At the same time, the dream addresses some of the thorny exegetical issues of Gen 9–10.

3.4.1. *What can we say about Columns 13–15?*

In order to better understand these columns it is first necessary to establish what may be said with relative certainty about their content. Seven points will be proposed here, although the list may grow with future research.

1) *Noah is the recipient of an apocalyptic, symbolic dream and its interpretation*

Noah's visionary experience may be termed apocalyptic, if judged according to the widely accepted definition of John Collins.⁵⁹ In cols. 14–15 we find Noah being told the meaning and significance of the symbols in his dream, as clearly seen in the recurring

⁵⁹ A summary of his definition may be found in J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 7. This is based (in part) on his widely cited, fuller formulation found in "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," in *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre* (Semeia 14; ed. J. J. Collins; Missoula: Scholars, 1979), 1–20 [9]. See further the observations of D. Hellholm, "The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre and the Apocalypse of John," in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting* (Semeia 36; ed. A. Yarbro Collins; Missoula: Scholars, 1986), 13–64; and D. E. Aune, "The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre," in *Early Christian Apocalypticism: Genre and Social Setting*, 65–96.

use of second person verbs and phrases such as **וְדִי חִזִּיתָה** ("and concerning what you saw..."). It is likely that the dream's interpretation is being related by the same "great Watcher" (**עִירָא רַבָּא**) or "emissary of the great Holy One" (**מְשַׁלְחָת קַדִּישָׁא רַבָּא**), who Noah says "spoke with me in a vision" in 1QapGen 6.11–14. At the very least, we may assume that a divine being is speaking to Noah, since "the mystery" (**רִזָּא**) is mentioned in 14.18–20, just as it is in 6.12. The two-part format of self-described dream and supernatural explanation resembles that of other apocalyptic visions, such as those in Daniel, 1 Enoch, and 4 Ezra. Most notable for our purposes are Dan 2 and 4, of which precise wording, and several symbolic elements, are mirrored in the Genesis Apocryphon. It is evident that the author of the Apocryphon is drawing imagery and language from Daniel, or at least that the two works spring from the same social and interpretative circles. The transcendent reality envisioned in the dream will be touched upon in the following points.

2) *The dream employs tree or garden imagery to portray a succession of historic persons or periods, at least some of which are brought to a destructive end*

Beginning at the top of col. 13 we encounter what seems to be the destruction of a garden or tree, including mention of bringing the destruction to an end (1QapGen 13.11–12). The imagery and language of this section are strongly reminiscent of the flood in Gen 6:11–8:19, and it seems likely that this is the event being cryptically described. Next, we find Noah (in the first person) describing a great olive tree, which grows astoundingly, but is then debranched and scattered by the four winds of heaven. When the text is picked up once again, in col. 14, Noah is being addressed in the second person, indicating an intervening shift from the dream to its interpretation. Although the text is badly damaged, the top of the column depicts Noah having the destruction of an unidentified tree explained to him. The language used here is similar to that of the olive tree in col. 13, but it is difficult to know whether the same tree is the subject in both places. Beginning at 1QapGen 14.9, and continuing until we lose the text again in 14.22, the interpretation of a great cedar tree standing upon the mountaintops along with its shoots, offshoots, and boughs, is revealed to Noah. It soon becomes clear that this cedar is none other than Noah himself.⁶⁰ The vision culminates in col. 15 with a

⁶⁰ The choice of trees as symbols of various persons, groups, or generations should be viewed in light of biblical and broader ancient Near Eastern use of tree imagery. For background see

description of wickedness and a subsequent judgment brought about by the Mighty Lord, who is symbolized by a fearsome warrior coming from the south, with sickle in hand and fire at his side.⁶¹ This may be followed by a brief description of restoration, after which Noah awakes (1QapGen 15.21). While it is very difficult to guess how all of these components relate to one another, it is relatively clear that underlying the vision is a historical framework, which begins with or precedes Noah and continues until an eschatological consummation of divine judgment.

3) *In col. 14 Noah is portrayed as a great cedar tree, and his three sons are symbolized by three shoots springing from its trunk*⁶²

1QapGen 14.10 recounts a shoot that rises from the cedar tree, representing three sons. Since Noah has just been informed in the preceding line that he is the cedar, this is a transparent allusion to his sons Shem, Ham, and Japheth. As we will see below, the portrayal of Noah and his sons as a tree is of significance, since a number of other Jewish authors depend on this same imagery. John Reeves has noted the especially interesting association of Noah and his sons with the well-known “tree planted beside still waters” of Ps 1:3 in *Genesis Rabbah* 26:1–2.⁶³ This image also seems intertwined with the description of righteous Noah as an “upright planting.”⁶⁴ In 1QapGen 14.11 it becomes

clear that each son is symbolized by a separate shoot, since there we read of “the first shoot adhering to the cedar stump,” and later in 14.15 of “the last shoot.” So far, then, we can envision a cedar on the mountaintops (i.e. Noah) with three shoots branching off from it (i.e. Shem, Ham, and Japheth).

4) *The future of the three cedar shoots, as well as their offshoots and boughs, is elaborated upon in considerable depth*

From 1QapGen 14.10 to at least line 22 various tree parts are described as animated objects, while the collection of tree-related terms attests to the detail employed by the author to express the interactions and altercations between them. The “first shoot” (חלפתא קדמיתא) is said to cling to the cedar, and not branch off from it for all of its days. Moreover, Noah’s name is to be recalled by this shoot’s seed, and in the future it will produce a “righteous planting” that will stand fast forever.⁶⁵ This shoot is undoubtedly Shem, whose line will eventually produce Abram and the Israelites. Following a break in the text, there is a somewhat confusing section mentioning: 1) the “last shoot” (חלפתא אחרניתא), which must be either Ham or Japheth; 2) an “offshoot” (פסגא) turning aside from “his father” (i.e. the last shoot); and 3) some of “their boughs” entering the boughs of “the first one,” with “their” being ambiguous in the text as it now stands. This last mention of boughs is in connection with two sons, who can safely be identified as Ham and Japheth due to the following line (14.17), which contains the expression “one to the south of the earth, and one to the north of the earth.” This phrase must reflect the geographic distribution of the earth narrated in 1QapGen 16–17 and Jub. 8:11–9:15, where Ham inhabits its southern portion, Japheth the northern portion, and Shem the center. In sum, the last shoot (i.e. Ham or Japheth) produces an offshoot (i.e. a son) which turns away from him, while some boughs, most likely of the two shoots or their offshoots, enter into the boughs of the first shoot (i.e. Shem).

G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion: King and Saviour III*, UUA (Uppsala: Lundequists, 1951); E. O. James, *The Tree of Life* (SHR 11; Leiden: Brill, 1966), 110–13, 129–62; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 145–53; and P. W. Coxon, “The Great Tree of Daniel 4,” in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honor of William McKane* (JSOTSup 42; eds. J. D. Martin and P. R. Davies; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986). Some biblical passages equating humans and trees are Dan 4, Ezek 17, 31, Pss 1:3, 52:10, 92:12–15, and 128:3. The imagery has continued into modern writings, such as the *Book of Mormon* (Jacob 5, 1 Nephi 10:12–14, 15:12–18).

⁶¹ See section 3.4.1.6, below.

⁶² The portrayal of Noah as a cedar is echoed in 1QapGen 19.14–17, where Abram also has a symbolic dream in which he is a cedar and Sarai a date palm (cf. Ps 92:13–16). This parallel raises the possibility that the Genesis Apocryphon associates patriarchs with the symbol of the cedar tree, and may imply that the olive tree of col. 14 does not represent one of the major patriarchal figures. At present, the identification of the olive tree must remain a mystery.

⁶³ The passage is found on pp. 243–44 of the Theodor-Albeck edition, and also in *Midrash Tehillim* 1:12. See J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, 14; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1992), 99–100.

⁶⁴ Significantly, the author of the Apocryphon employs this imagery several times (1QapGen 2.15; 6.1; 14.13). The metaphor is dependent on biblical usage (e.g. Isa 60:21; 61:3), and the same imagery is used to refer to other blameless individuals or groups during the second temple period. See S. Fujita, “The Metaphor

of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period,” *JJS* 7 (1976): 30–45; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 100.

⁶⁵ The translation of 14.12 is difficult, but the specific wording, “and among his seed shall your name be recalled” (ובזרעה יתקרה שמך), is almost surely a conscious allusion to Gen 21:12, “for it is through Isaac that seed shall be reckoned to you” (כי ביצחק יקרה לך זרע). As our author is wont to do, yet another clever link is forged here between Noah and Abram. I thank one of my mentors, Gary Anderson, for drawing my attention to this connection, and for his translation of Gen 21:12.

5) *Geographic allotments and boundaries play a role in the description of future interactions between the shoots, offshoots, and their boughs*

In 1QapGen 14.21, shortly after the mention of some boughs entering the boughs of the first shoot, we find the phrase “in an allotment in Amania, next to Elam,” which may also be followed by a reference to the Great Sea. The following line appears to contain the additional phrase “exchanging his allotment for an allotment . . .” These lines show that the dream’s interpretation includes specific geographic details in close proximity to the explanation of the cedar tree’s various outgrowths, and reflects once again the author’s geographic concern outlined above. Notably, the region mentioned in 14.21 (Amania/Amana) is included as part of Arpachshad’s allotment in 1QapGen 17.14 and Jub. 9:4 (where it also lay next to Elam).

6) *The dream culminates in a judgment scene*

1QapGen 15.10–11 relates that the warrior coming from the south, sickle in hand and fire with him, whom Noah saw in his dream, is none other than the Mighty Lord.⁶⁶ The foregoing lines describe the apostasy and evil to precede the Lord’s coming, while the following lines elaborate the punishment to be imposed upon the wicked, including being thrown onto the fire and bound with a chain. These punishments are probably inflicted by the four angels mentioned in 15.14, as in 1 En 10. The entire episode is rife with biblical

and non-biblical imagery of eschatological judgment drawn from a variety of sources.

7) *Noah begins dividing the earth between his sons shortly after awaking from his dream*

Upon waking in 15.21, Noah blesses God and tells Shem everything about his dream. The column becomes almost completely unreadable at line 24, where Noah seemingly enjoins Shem to dedicate himself to serving the Most High God. The next readable portion of text begins at 1QapGen 16.8–9, at which point we are part way through a geographic description of the lands allotted by Noah to Japheth. This description must have already been underway for at least two or three lines, leaving approximately sixteen lines unaccounted for between the end of Noah’s dream and the beginning of Japheth’s allotment. When we consider that Noah is still instructing Shem in 15.24, and that there must have been some introduction to the earth’s division (likely several lines; cf. Jub. 8:10–11), it becomes very likely that one episode (the dream) led into the other (the earth’s division).

3.4.2. Some Associated Traditions

The previous survey explored only what may be gathered about Noah’s dream and its interpretation by reading the extant text of the Genesis Apocryphon. There are, however, some traditions preserved in roughly contemporaneous or later Jewish and Manichaean works that appear related in some way to these columns and may help us understand better their obscure content.

3.4.2.1. The “Dream of the Garden”

First, there is an intriguing link between the Genesis Apocryphon and a tale that I will call the *Dream of the Garden*; a dream preserved in several ancient corpora, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. In his *Books of Enoch*, J. T. Milik observed that the so-called *Book of Giants*, which he related to the Enochic corpus, had a healthy representation among the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁶⁷ He ventured further that these fragments contain an earlier form of the Manichaean *Book of Giants*. An abbreviated form of the Manichaean ver-

⁶⁶ It is not impossible that 15.10–12 refers to two figures: a great warrior coming from the south (15.10) and the Mighty Lord (15.11). According to this understanding, which has been suggested in personal communication by E. Eshel, the one coming from the south could be considered an evil individual (one of the Seleucid or Ptolemaic kings, according to Eshel), and line 11 could be read with the Mighty Lord as the subject (preceded by a now lost verb). The following “one who will come from the south of the land” would then be the unfortunate recipient of the Lord’s presumed action. I have chosen my explanation for the following reasons: 1) the Lord is expected to come in judgment, typically from the south, in Deut 33:1–3, Judg 5:4–5, Pss 18:5–20, 50:1–6, 68, Isa 42:13–25, 63:1–6, Zech 9:13–17, and 1 En 1:3ff, 61:1ff, 77:1; 2) a number of these biblical passages portray the Lord coming with fire, an element accompanying the great warrior of 1QapGen 15.10; 3) the imagery of a sickle, or harvest, also associated with the great warrior in 15.10, is used to describe the Lord “reaping” judgment in Joel 4:11–16, Matt 13:30, 39, Mark 4:26–29, and Rev 14:14–20; 4) the syntax of the phrase in 15.11 “הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעא” seems most easily read (in my opinion) as a further qualification of the preceding מרה רבותא; and 5) the general context of wickedness and wrongdoing in these and surrounding lines would fit well with a divine judgment scene. The following mention of throwing rebels onto the fire (15.12) and four great angels (15.14) further support this notion. Together, these points argue strongly that the great warrior and Mighty Lord should be viewed as synonymous in these lines, thus presenting a climactic scene of divine judgment on human (and perhaps angelic) evildoers.

⁶⁷ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 57–58. For analysis of Milik and the Book of Giants at Qumran see the studies of F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 97–115; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*; and L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997).

sion, dubbed by Milik the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael*, later found its way into the rabbinic corpus via a certain Rav Yoseph.⁶⁸ The Midrash is preserved in several medieval rabbinic sources, including *Genesis Rabba*, *Yalqut Shimoni*, and the *Chronicles of Jerahme'el*.⁶⁹ While Milik's proposed line of transmission has been subsequently questioned,⁷⁰ it is clear that the Qumran, Manichaean, and rabbinic sources all share some form of the *Dream of the Garden*.

The portion of the *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* of present interest is one of a pair of dreams had by Heyah and Aheyah, sons of the Watcher Shemhazai. One version of the account reads:⁷¹

ואחד מהם ראה בחלומו פרדס גדול ומשובח והיה
אותו פרדס נטוע מכל מיני אילנות ומכל מיני מגדים
והיו מלאכים באים וקרדומים בידם והיו קוצרים את
האילנות עד שלא נשאר אלא אילן אחד של ג' ענפים

And one of them saw in his dream a large and glorious garden, and that garden was planted with all species of trees and all types of choice fruits. And angels were coming with axes in their hands and were cutting down the trees, until none remained except for one tree of three branches.

This dream is analogous in meaning to a preceding vision, which concerns a great stone surface covered with lines of writing. In that dream an angel comes with a knife and scrapes all lines off the stone save one, which contains four words. The common meaning of the dreams is then related to the brothers by their father, Shemhazai:⁷²

בני עתיד הקודש ברוך הוא להביא מבול לעולם
ולהחריבו ולא ישיר בו אלא אדם אחד וג' בניו

My sons, in the future the Holy One, blessed be He, is going to bring a flood on the world and cause it to be destroyed, and none will remain in it except one man and his three sons.

The man and his three sons are, of course, Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, as one version of the Midrash specifies.⁷³ The fragmentary Manichaean version of the dream states that one of the giants (Narīmān)⁷⁴ “saw (in his sleep) a gar[den full of] trees in rows. Two hundred... came out, the trees...”⁷⁵ Enoch explains that the trees represent the *Egregoroi*, or עירי, of the *Book of Watchers*, on whose account the giants were born from women.⁷⁶ Shortly after this, the same fragment contains the isolated verb “pulled out,” or “uprooted,” which may refer to the destruction of these trees, as in the rabbinic *Midrash*.

The discovery of a *Book of Giants* among the Dead Sea Scrolls supported the earlier suspicion that the Manichaean *Book of Giants* is somehow related to 1 Enoch.⁷⁷ Focusing only on the *Dream of the Garden*, we find several pertinent fragments:⁷⁸

4QEnGiants^b ar (4Q530), fragments 2ii + 6 + 7i + 8, lines 3–6

באדין חלמו תריהון חלמין וגדת שנת[ענייהון מנהון
וק[מו] 79 ופ[תחו ענייהון ואתו על [שמיחזה אבוהון (?]
ובאדין [חלמיהון אשתע[80 בכנשת ח[בריהון]
נפיליא[... ב]חלמי הוית חזא בליליא דן...

Then the two of them (i.e. Hahyah and Mahavai) dreamt dreams, and the sleep of their eyes fled from them. And [they] ro[se up, ope]ned their eyes, and came to [Sh'mihazah, their father(?). Then]they told

⁶⁸ Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 339. Rav Yoseph is questionably identified by Milik as Rabbi Joseph bar hiyya, head of the academy in Pumbedita in the early fourth century CE. For the numerous and valid disputes over this proposal see J. C. Greenfield and M. E. Stone, “The Books of Enoch and the Traditions of Enoch,” *Numen* 26:1 (June 1979): 89–103 [102]; G. Stroumsa, *Another Seed: Studies in Gnostic Mythology* (NHS 24; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 166–67; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 88.

⁶⁹ The texts are presented synoptically by Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 321–26 [325]), although caution has been urged by Greenfield and Stone (“The Books of Enoch,” 102) regarding the uncritical use of this collection. *Jerahme'el's* version may now be found in the recent, critical edition by E. Yassif, *The Book of Memory, that is The Chronicles of Jerahme'el* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), 117 [Hebrew]. The text of *Yalqut Shimoni* may also be found in A. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash [בית המדרש]* (6 sections; Jerusalem: Wahrman Books [ספרי ואהרמן], 1967), 4:128. Some of these texts are thought to depend on the now lost *Midrash Abkir*, on which see A. Marmorstein, “Midrash 'Abkir,” *Debir* 1 (1923): 113–44; and Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 86.

⁷⁰ Greenfield and Stone, “The Books of Enoch,” 102; Stroumsa, *Another Seed*, 167; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 88.

⁷¹ This is the version found in a manuscript of *Beresit Rabbati* consulted by Milik (*Books of Enoch*, 325). The other versions are generally the same, but vary in details and wording.

⁷² Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 326.

⁷³ See the excerpt from *Yalqut Shimoni* (or *Midrash Abkir*) in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, 4:128.

⁷⁴ Narīmān equates to Hahyah in the Qumran *Book of Giants*. See Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 94.

⁷⁵ This is found in the Middle Persian Kawān. For the text see W. B. Henning, “The Book of Giants,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943): 52–74 [57, 60; Fragment j 39–41]. For a rich, creative commentary on the Qumran and Manichaean dreams cf. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95–102.

⁷⁶ Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 305. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 95.

⁷⁷ This connection was first argued by Isaac de Beausobre, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1734–39; repr. New York: Garland, 1984), 1:429. Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 298; or Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 24.

⁷⁸ Aramaic transcriptions are those of Puech, DJD 31, 28, although I do not subscribe to all of his reconstructions. Puech gives reference to the earlier editions of Milik, Beyer, and Stuckenbruck (whose notes are particularly useful). Translations are my own (ellipses do not necessarily reflect the correct spacing).

⁷⁹ There is presumably a case of dittography here, which I have not included. Cf. Puech, DJD 31, 28, 33.

⁸⁰ The *vav* is superscripted (an apparent scribal correction) in the manuscript.

him their dreams in the assembly of [their] fe[llows],
the Nephilin[... ..in] my dream I was seeing this
very night...

A following fragment (8, lines 7–8) from the same scroll confirms that one of the dreams concerns a garden and the trees in it:⁸¹

גִּנְנֵי וְהוּא מְשַׁקֵּי [כל עַע בְּגִנְתָּה דָא... וְשִׁי]...
רַבְרַבִּין נִפְקוּ מִן עֲקֵרָה[ו]ן [חֲזָא... הָיִיתָ עַד דִּי
לִשְׁנֵי דִי נֹר מִן... בְּכָל מֵיא וְנֹרָא דְלָק בְּכָל

...gardeners, and they were watering [every tree in
this garden... and]gigantic [ro]ots went up from
th[ei]r trunk [...]I was [watching] until tongues
of fire from [...]... in all the waters, and the fire
burned in all...

Another manuscript, 6Q8, appears related to these Cave 4 fragments. Fragment 1 depicts Mahavai fearfully recounting for his brother Hahyah something that had been shown to him, presumably in a vision. In fragment 2 we find the phrases “its three shoots” (תִּלְתָּ שְׂרֻשָּׁהּ), “I was [watching] until they came” (חֲזָא הָיִיתָ עַד דִּי אָתָּו), and “this garden, all of it” (פִּרְדָּסָא דִּן כְּלָה) on successive lines.⁸² Other fragments, clearly related to these lines, preserve the expressions “all gardeners” (כָּל גִּנְנֵי) and “and he cut” (וּפְסַל). While there is some disagreement whether the texts from caves 4 and 6 represent variant versions of the dream, as proposed by Beyer and Stuckenbruck,⁸³ or two copies of the very same text, as Puech reconstructs,⁸⁴ it is clear that both include a garden, trees, gardeners, shoots, and are visionary in nature. There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that both texts refer to the same basic dream, even if they represent two distinct versions of it.

Turning to the Genesis Apocryphon, several correlations with the *Dream of the Garden* are evident. Both accounts concern the fate of trees in general, which are symbolic representations of divine or human beings. Both present Noah as a tree with three shoots equating to three sons. In all versions other trees are destroyed by divine means, and this typically involves “cutting”. Finally, the destruction of the earth and its inhabitants by the flood is the general topic of each dream. It is clear that these texts all draw on a flexible but common tradition—a parable of sorts—wherein

Noah and his sons constitute the only “tree” in the garden to survive the destructive cutting, burning, and demolition (i.e. the flood) inflicted by the Lord’s agents. In all of these works the parable is communicated to the recipient through a symbolic dream before the flood occurs, even if its message held a radically different significance for Noah than Shemhazai’s two sons.

The above similarities, however, should be viewed alongside some important differences. For instance, in the Genesis Apocryphon: 1) it is Noah, not a giant, who receives the dream;⁸⁵ 2) specific trees are singled out and explained rather than referred to collectively; 3) the three shoots of Noah’s tree are extended to offshoots and branches; and 4) instead of simply ending with the flood, Noah’s dream takes us well beyond it, to the judgment of sinners by the Mighty Lord. Thus, while the Genesis Apocryphon contains imagery which bears a family resemblance to the *Dream of the Garden*, here that imagery is couched in a work focused largely on the progeny of Noah until the end of time, rather than only on the flood and related plights of Hahyah and Mahavai.

3.4.2.2. “Cursed be Canaan”

A second connection that assists our understanding of the dream is found in the Book of Jubilees. Although the parallel of 1QapGen 16–17 and Jub. 8:11–9:15 has already been touched on above, and will be dealt with at length in the following chapter, a close examination of 1QapGen 14 reveals that the connection with Jubilees runs deeper than the simple sharing of geographic data. Indeed, it appears that it extends to the ideological and theological outlook underlying the earth’s division. Jub. 10:27–36 narrates the dispersion of Noah’s sons to their previously allotted inheritances following the Tower of Babel episode. Focusing largely on Ham and his sons we hear that, while travelling to his proper heritage in the southwestern extremity of the earth (somewhere around ancient Mauretania), Canaan sees the beauty of the area “from Lebanon to the stream of Egypt,” and decides to settle there despite the fact that it is given to Arpachshad in Jub. 9:4. Appalled at this breach of their solemn oath before the Lord and Noah (cf. Jub. 9:14–15), Ham and his other sons beg Canaan to rethink his rash decision

⁸¹ Cf. Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 304.

⁸² The transcriptions are from Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 201. Translations are my own.

⁸³ Cf. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, 114–15, 201–203.

⁸⁴ E. Puech, “Les Fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre Des Géants* de la Grotte 6 (pap6Q8),” *RevQ* 74 (1999): 227–38 [235]. Also see idem, DJD 31, 28. Puech’s view is, in my opinion, less convincing.

⁸⁵ It is interesting, however, that Noah is mistaken by Lamech for a giant in the early columns of the scroll. Noah’s close connection to the Watchers and Giants in this genre of Aramaic literature (inherited by the Essenes of Qumran) is an area deserving of further study.

and avoid a terrible curse. Undeterred, Canaan and his sons stay put, and so doom their progeny to pay the heavy price of such an act. This little vignette is an exegetical windfall for the author of Jubilees, simultaneously explaining how a portion rightfully belonging to Shem (according to Jub. 8–9) could be called the “Land of Canaan” in the Torah, validating the curse being given to Canaan instead of Ham after Noah’s drunken episode in Genesis 9:25–27, and providing Shem’s descendants pre-approval for the eventual reconquest of this region under the command of Joshua son of Nun. Following Canaan’s infraction we read of another glitch in the dispersion of Noah’s sons, in which Madai, son of Japheth, also settles in a region belonging to Shem. Madai, however, petitions his kin and receives the proper permission for his move, thereby avoiding a curse. As with Canaan, one purpose of this story is undoubtedly etiological, explaining why there is an area named Mediqin (Media) within Shem’s allotment.

Turning to the section concerning the cedar shoots in 1QapGen 14, we should now recall the following phrases:

As for the fact that you saw the branch of the last shoot, which...(14.15)

... a few of their boughs entering into the midst of the boughs of the first one, (concerns) two sons... ...one to the south of the earth and one to the north of the earth. As for the fact that you saw a few of their boughs entering into the boughs of the first one... ...of this shoot were settling in his land and all the coastlands... ...to the Great Sea... (14.16–17)

...exchanging his allotment for an allotment... (14.22)

These statements gain striking significance when read alongside Jub. 10. As proposed above, “the offshoot of the last shoot” in line 15 must be a son of either Ham or Japheth, assuming that “the first shoot” is Shem. The phrase “settling in his land and all the coastlands” helps us narrow the identity of this offshoot to Canaan, since in Jub. 10:29 we read that Canaan and his sons illegally settled “in the land of Lebanon...and on the seacoast.” The last shoot, therefore, appears to be Ham,⁸⁶ with the few boughs “entering into the boughs of the first one” being the symbolic representation of Canaan and his sons entering the region belonging to Shem’s progeny. If so, “the boughs of the first one” must refer to Arpachshad and his family. It is even

possible that the exchange of allotments found in line 22 refers to Madai’s move into Shem’s territory, though this is far less certain. These similarities suggest that the Genesis Apocryphon shares Jubilees’ concern for defending Israel’s claim to the land called Canaan in the Pentateuch. According to both texts, the eventual conquest of this land by the Israelites merely restored to Shem’s descendants what was rightfully theirs from the beginning, at the same time providing Canaan (through his descendents) his just desserts.

As with the *Dream of the Garden*, however, this parallel is only partial. While Jubilees first mentions this episode after the earth has been divided and the confusion at Babel, the Genesis Apocryphon places it before the division, and in the context of an inspired dream. By drawing on both the *Dream of the Garden* and Jub. 10 one is able to deduce that at least a part of Noah’s dream in 1QapGen 13–15 concerns the patriarch and his offspring, symbolized by trees and their various parts, and that the dream likely addresses (prophetically) Canaan illegally settling in the inherited lands of Arpachshad.

3.4.3. *The Setting and Import of the Dream in the Genesis Apocryphon*

A final area of interest is the setting and function of the dream-vision, especially as they relate to the book of Genesis. By the time the dream begins in 1QapGen 13.7 it appears that the flood is being recounted to Noah (13.7–12).⁸⁷ The last sure phrase preceding this is found in 12.19, where we read “And I lay down upon my bed and fell asleep... [...]” (ושכבת על משכבי] ודמכח...),⁸⁸ which follows the celebration of Noah’s vineyard harvest in the foregoing lines (12.13–18). This expands the much shorter account of Gen 9:20–21, where we read of Noah planting a vineyard, pressing wine from its produce, and then lying down drunk and uncovered inside his tent. In the ensuing verses of Genesis Ham enters, sees Noah’s nakedness, and proceeds to tell his two brothers outside. The episode culminates in Noah cursing Ham’s son Canaan, but blessing Shem and Japheth. This brief story contains a number of interpretative perplexities. First, how did Noah know what his youngest son had done to him if he was asleep (Gen 9:24)? And what, precisely, had

⁸⁶ This identification accords with the fact that Ham is described as the youngest of Noah’s sons (hence, the “last” shoot to emerge) in Gen 9:24.

⁸⁷ A rehearsal of previous history is not uncommon in visions describing the future (see, e.g., 1 En. 85). Also cf. G. I. Davies, “Apocalyptic and Historiography,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 5 (1978): 15–28.

⁸⁸ Cf. the similar language in Dan 7:1.

Ham “done”? Further, how is it that Noah goes on to foretell what will happen to his sons at a future time? Perhaps most perplexing, why does Noah curse Ham’s son Canaan for what appears to be an offense by Ham alone? Such difficulties have led modern biblical critics to speculate about the muddle of various sources and textual corruptions that could have generated such confusion,⁸⁹ or to hypothesize that something has erstwhile dropped out of an earlier, more coherent version of the story.⁹⁰ Ancient commentators, unsurprisingly, viewed things quite differently. For them, any exegetical difficulty implied a shortcoming on the part of the reader, not the text. Hence, the wise interpreter discerned that Noah was able to forecast his sons’ future dealings through the gift of prophecy, and that there must be perfectly reasonable explanations for what happened inside the tent, or why Canaan was cursed rather than Ham.⁹¹

The lines following 1QapGen 12.19 (which concerns Noah falling asleep) are very fragmentary, but it appears that the present topic of Noah’s narration continues until a *vacat* at 12.25. The approximately fifteen lines between this *vacat* and our first glimpses of Noah’s dream in 13.7 almost certainly contain the earliest part of the vision, which is now almost entirely lost.⁹² From this we may gather that Noah’s wine-induced sleep was followed closely by the beginning of the dream, and that his tent-enveloped slumber provides the immediate context for the following columns.

Noah’s reception of a dream during his sleep is not unique among ancient exegetical treatments of Genesis, but it is very rare. One sure instance of

this motif occurs in the Palestinian Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, where Gen 9:24 reads, *ואיתער נח מן חמריה וידע באשתעות חלמא ית דעבד ליה חם בריה* (“And Noah awoke from his wine, and he knew *through the narration of a dream* what his son Ham had done to him”).⁹³ The same explanation is found in the Syriac commentary tradition. An anonymous *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* makes a statement very similar to Pseudo-Jonathan, commenting that, *גם נח כח דלחם אלוהא גמסא עלמא גמסא גמסא גמסא* (“And Noah knew all that his young(est) son did to him by way of a divine vision that (came) to him as a dream”).⁹⁴ Isho’dad of Merv’s 9th cent. CE *Commentary on the Old Testament*, which appears to depend heavily on the *Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, contains the same statement.⁹⁵ Less certain is a Greek variant found in the same verse of some LXX manuscripts. These witnesses⁹⁶ replaced the last word of the phrase ἐξένηψεν δὲ Νῶε ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου (“And Noah awoke from the wine”), which depends on the Hebrew יָנוּ (“his wine”), with the words ὑπνοῦ αὐτοῦ. These words could simply mean “his sleep,” which would make perfectly good sense in this setting, or it may carry the secondary meaning “his dream.”⁹⁷ In this case, we would have another example of the tradition found in Pseudo-Jonathan, the Syriac commentary tradition, and the Genesis Apocryphon. The Apocryphon, however, is unique in relating the contents of the dream. In doing so, its author apparently breaks from what would later become the dominant reading of these verses, for the events of Gen 9:20–24 have been widely interpreted by Jews and Christians, from antiquity to the present, to reflect poorly on the otherwise admirable Noah.⁹⁸ Consequently, a number of contemporary scholars have referred to the incident

⁸⁹ E.g. Skinner, *Genesis*, 181–87. Cf. W. Brueggemann, *Genesis: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Interpretation; Atlanta, GA: John Knox, 1982), 90–91. Brueggemann suggests that, because of the complicated transmission process of this passage, we are no longer able to determine “what was intended by the shaping of this text” (91).

⁹⁰ E.g. N. M. Sarna, *Genesis* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 63–64, 66.

⁹¹ An introduction to ancient Jewish and Christian interpretive views on this passage may be garnered from the following works: R. Graves and R. Patai, *Hebrew Myths* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1964), 120–22; H. Hirsch Cohen, *The Drunkenness of Noah* (Judaic Studies 4; Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 1974), 13–14; A. I. Baumgarten, “Myth and Midrash: Genesis 9:20–29,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (3 vols.; ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:55–71; H. F. Stander, “The Church Fathers on (the cursing of) Ham,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 5 (1994): 113–25; and J. A. Bergsma and S. A. Hahn, “Noah’s Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20–27),” *JBL* 124.1 (Spring 2005): 25–40.

⁹² Judging by isolated words in 1QapGen 12.21–22, it is possible that the vision begins even before the *vacat*, shortly after Noah lay down on his bed.

⁹³ See E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1984), 10.

⁹⁴ L. van Rompay, *Le Commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9,32 du Manuscrit (Olim) Diyarbakir* (CSCO 483–484; Scriptores Syri 205–206; Louvain: Peeters, 1986), 63 [Syriac], 81 [trans.].

⁹⁵ J. M. Vosté and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d’Isho’dad de Merv sur l’Ancien Testament—I. Genèse* (CSCO 126, 156; Scriptores Syri 67, 75; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950, 1955), 128 [Syriac], 138 [trans.].

⁹⁶ Which include Origen in the Greek; see *The Old Testament in Greek, Volume I. The Octateuch, Part I. Genesis* (eds A. E. Brooke and N. McLean; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1906), 22.

⁹⁷ The first possibility strikes me as the more likely, since the standard Greek word for dream is *ōνειρον*. See H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. with revised supplement; Oxford: Oxford University, 1996), 1231.

⁹⁸ A representative example is found in *Genesis Rabbah* 36:4 (Theodor-Albeck): *וישת מן היין וישכר שתה שלא במידה ונשתכר* (Theodor-Albeck): *אמר ר’ חייא בר בא ב’ ביום נטע ב’ ביום שתה ב’ ביום ונתבזה*. Also see the commentaries of Rashi or Ibn-Ezra on this passage, and *b. Sanh.* 70a, 108a.

as “the sin of Noah,” despite any explicit statement to that effect in the text itself.⁹⁹ John Calvin represents this way of reading these verses in his commentary on Genesis.¹⁰⁰

The holy patriarch, though he had hitherto been a rare example of frugality and temperance, losing all self-possession, did, in a base and shameful manner, prostrate himself naked on the ground, so as to become a laughing-stock to all... God brands him with an eternal mark of disgrace.

In contrast, the dream of 1QapGen 13–15 clearly claims divine inspiration and involves the transmission of otherworldly knowledge, suggesting that this episode was viewed by our author in a positive light. The author of the Apocryphon, then, did not understand the incident in a negative way, but crafted from it a decidedly positive portrayal of Noah—a portrayal that would cohere with the ultra-righteous, idealized characterization of the patriarch evident throughout the rest of the scroll. Although in the minority, other ancient and modern commentators have also made cases for Gen 9:20–24 reflecting neutrally, or even positively, on Noah.¹⁰¹ These have typically shifted all

shameful and sinful behavior to Ham and Canaan.¹⁰² Several ancient rewritings of Genesis appear to have avoided these thorny issues by simply leaving the events out of their compositions altogether.¹⁰³

The motive for reinforcing Noah’s righteous image is not difficult to discern. There are numerous indications that during the third to second centuries BCE Noah enjoyed a flurry of interest among certain Jewish groups,¹⁰⁴ perhaps because of his relevance for those who adopted an apocalyptic worldview and felt that they too lived amidst a hopelessly wicked generation.¹⁰⁵ While it appears that concentration on Noah eventually waned, possibly due to the growing attention received by Enoch,¹⁰⁶ it is clear that both patriarchs were depicted as supreme paradigms of righteousness. Admirers of these men, so beloved by God, were apparently not interested in buoying their own faith by pondering the common depravity shared by these upright individuals. Rather, they were attracted to the idea of super-human heroes—peerless benchmarks against which the corruption of their own generation could be measured. The Genesis Apocryphon must be cited as the primary example for such an exalted view of Noah, and provides good grounds for its

⁹⁹ This view is reflected in most commentaries. See, e.g., C. Westermann, *Genesis* (BKAT 1/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 644–61; G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* (WBC 1; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 198–99; K. A. Mathews, *Genesis 1–11:26* (NAC; Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1996), 412; W. A. Gage, *The Gospel of Genesis: Studies in Protology and Eschatology* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Carpenter, 1984), 12; J. H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 129; B. K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 15–31* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 70. It should be noted, however, that in the early church there was an overture by some (e.g. Augustine in *The City of God*, Book 16; or Origen) to redeem Noah’s action. This impulse is understandable in light of Noah’s patriarchal status, the claim that he was “righteous and blameless in his generation” in Gen 6:9, and especially his strong typological relation to Jesus Christ in the opinion of many early Christian commentators.

¹⁰⁰ Jean Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis* (Vol. 1; trans. Rev. J. King; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1948) 300–301. What Calvin saw as a moral breakdown on Noah’s part some modern scholars have assigned to dichotomous sources (cf. Skinner, *Genesis*, 181–82).

¹⁰¹ See n. 99, above. Another ancient example of a positive view is Philo of Alexandria, who employs a Greco-Roman distinction between various types of drunkenness to argue that righteous Noah was “drunk” (μέθῃ) in a positive, or “sober” (νηφάλιος) way, befitting those who are extremely wise. Interestingly, this type of drunkenness could lead to the ideal state in which to receive divine oracles; a topic deserving of further exploration in connection with Noah’s dream in Apocryphon. See Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.68, 73 (Marcus; LCL); and *On Planting* 139–177 (Colson and Whitaker, LCL). On the Hellenistic theme of “sober drunkenness” in Philo and other sources cf. H. Lewy, *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik* (Beihfte zur *ZNW*, 9; Giessen: Töpelmann 1929); and S. Brock, “Sobria Ebrietas According to some Syriac Texts,” *ARAM* 17 (2005): 181–95. For a modern positive view of the story see W. E.

Brown, “Noah: Sot or Saint? Genesis 9:20–27,” in *The Way of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Bruce K. Waltke* (eds J. I. Packer and S. K. Sonderland; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 36–60. Cassuto seems to view Noah’s act as neutral, placing the emphasis on Ham’s transgression and warning that “we must not read into the Pentateuchal narrative more than it actually states, taking the words at their face value.” U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: From Noah to Abraham*, 152.

¹⁰² Yet others hold an intermediate position, arguing that what Noah did was wrong, but that he was not culpable for his sin since he was the first to drink wine. See N. Koltun-Fromm, “Aphrahat and the Rabbis on Noah’s Righteousness in Light of the Jewish-Christian Polemic,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation* (eds J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay; *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 57–71. Koltun-Fromm compares this Christian view with the more negative rabbinic interpretation. The same apologetic is found Ephrem; see L. Van Rompay, “Antiochene Biblical Interpretation: Greek and Syriac,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation*, 112–13. This view was defended by Saint John Chrysostom in his *Homilies on Genesis*, 18–45 (The Fathers of the Church 82; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1990), 202–205; and advocated much more recently by G. A. F. Knight, *Theology in Pictures: A Commentary on Genesis, Chapters One to Eleven* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1981), 105; and N. Sarna, *Genesis*, 65.

¹⁰³ E.g. Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, *Sefer ha-Yashar*, and the Samaritan *Asatir*.

¹⁰⁴ See J. C. VanderKam, “The Righteousness of Noah,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (SBLSCS 12; eds J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 13–32; and especially Stone “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah.”

¹⁰⁵ See D. E. Aune’s helpful discussion of this worldview (albeit in a later period) in *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 227–31.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Stone, “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah,” 18.

positive reading of Noah's drunkenness. Yet the questions remain: why place an apocalyptic vision here, and what does this move accomplish?

3.4.3.1. ויתגל: "And it was revealed"

To find the reason why Noah received a vision during his sleep one need venture no further than the wording of Gen 9:21, which reads וַיִּשְׁכַּר מִן־הַיַּיִן וַיִּתְּגַל בְּתוֹךְ אֹהֶלָה, "Having drunk of the wine he became inebriated, and was uncovered inside his tent." Standard translations do not always reflect the ambiguity of the word וַיִּתְּגַל, which in this context literally means "he/it was uncovered/revealed." Almost all early interpretations and translations of this verse take וַיִּתְּגַל to refer to Noah lying exposed—i.e. physically naked—within his tent. This understanding is supported by the next verse, which states that "Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father (עֶרְוַת אָבִיו)." ¹⁰⁷ The LXX uses a passive, aorist form of the verb γυμνῶ (ἐγυμνῶθη) to translate וַיִּתְּגַל, more strongly implying the idea of nudity. ¹⁰⁸ Targums Onqelos and Neofiti preserved the ambiguity of Genesis by translating וַיִּתְּגַל as ואתגלי. ¹⁰⁹ Yet others, such as Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, leave no room for doubt about Noah's state, choosing the word ואיתערטל ("he stripped himself naked") instead. ¹¹⁰ Some English translations join Pseudo-Jonathan in making explicit

¹⁰⁷ For a survey of the traditional Jewish and Christian interpretations of these verses see Bergsma and Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20–27)." The authors point to the well documented biblical connection between the verbal root גלה and the noun ערוה, which together refer to an act (usually unauthorized) of sexual intercourse. It is apparently due to this combination that some Jewish and Christian commentators understood Ham's transgression to entail a homosexual assault on his father. Also see M. Vervenne, "What Shall We Do with the Drunken Sailor? A Critical Reexamination of Genesis 9:20–27," *JSTOT* 68 (1995): 33–55 [esp. 33–41].

¹⁰⁸ The Vulgate makes Noah's condition even less ambiguous, translating "bibensque vinum inebriatus est, et nudatus in tabernaculo suo." See the remarks of Vervenne, "What Shall We Do with the Drunken Sailor?" 46.

¹⁰⁹ So too the Peshitta tradition, ܐܬܬܓܠ. The marginalia included in Díez Macho's edition of Neofiti are of interest here, assuring that the reader is aware of the negative connotations of Noah's actions. Drawing on the *Yerushalmi*, we first read ואתפרסם [במצע משכניה דסוראי ואתבזי ב]מצע, "And he stretched himself out inside the tents of the Syrians, and was despised in [the tents]." After this there is an alternative reading for ואתגלי—ואתרשל ("And he relaxed")—which seems, in contrast, an attempt to downplay any possibility of nakedness or wrongdoing on Noah's part. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I: Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana: Tomo I Génesis* (Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968), 51. Rashi, in his commentary on Genesis, questions the wisdom of Noah planting grapes as the first crop, foreshadowing his disapproval of the following actions of Gen 9:21–22.

¹¹⁰ Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch*, 10.

what Genesis implies, writing that Noah "became drunk and lay naked inside his tent."¹¹¹

Despite this typical, unflattering reception of Noah in Gen 9:21, it is important to note that the word ויתגל represents an anomalous morphology of the verb גלה in the Hebrew Bible. It is the only instance of גלה in the *hitpa'el* conjugation, save one, disputed occurrence in Proverbs 18:2. The latter verse has itself proven knotty for commentators, declaring that "the fool takes no delight in understanding, but rather in the התגלות of his heart."¹¹² Whatever the exact meaning of התגלות,¹¹³ it is clear that it has nothing at all to do with physical nakedness, but rather with the act of revealing or uncovering one's thoughts or intentions.

While the *hitpa'el* of גלה in Gen 9:21 logically suggests a reflexive or passive meaning of "uncover" or "reveal," rabbinic commentators took the unexpected morphology to intimate a connection to a second meaning of גלה, "to go into exile":

ויתגל בתוך אהלה: Rav Yudah, Rav Shimon, and Rav Hanan, in the name of Rav Shmuel son of Rav Yitzhak (said): "ויתגל is not written, but ויתגל, intimating exile (גלות) to him and to the (following) generations..."¹¹⁴

Contrary to the interpretations surveyed above, the author of the Apocryphon appears to have neither taken Noah as the subject of ויתגל (going back to 9:20a), nor connected it with Noah's nakedness in 9:22. Rather, he seemingly read ויתגל in reference to an unstated, but implied, subject—a revelatory vision received by Noah. A translation to accompany this understanding might be, "Having drunk of the wine he became inebriated, and it [i.e. a vision] was revealed inside of his tent."

While such a reading may at first appear fanciful, there are numerous indicators that the root גלה/גלי in general, and the *hitpa'el* conjugation more specifically, carried heavy connotations of divine communication and visionary experience. In the Hebrew Bible the common Hebrew idiom "to uncover the ears" (גלה אזן) often refers to a matter revealed to humans by

¹¹¹ New American Bible and New Living Translation (emphasis mine).

¹¹² The LXX and Peshitta have an alternative reading (ἄφροσύνη/ܐܬܬܬܠܡܐ, meaning "foolishness". See Waltke, *Proverbs: 15–31*, 65.

¹¹³ Some English translations of the second strophe of this verse have been, "but only that his heart may reveal itself." (American Standard); "but only in revealing his own mind." (New American Standard); "but that his heart may discover itself." (King James); "but rather in displaying what he thinks." (New American Bible); "but delights in airing his own opinions." (New International).

¹¹⁴ *Genesis Rabba* (Theodor-Albeck) 36:4.

the Lord, and more generally entails the relation of privileged information between two parties.¹¹⁵ The use of this idiom in Job 33:16 is worthy of full citation:

בְּחֹלֹם חֲזִיוֹן לַיְלָה בְּנִפְל תִּרְדָּמָה עַל אָנָשִׁים בְּתַנּוּמוֹת
עַלֵּי מִשְׁכָּב אִזּוּ יִגְלֶה אֲזֵן אָנָשִׁים

In a dream, a vision of the night, when deep sleep falls upon people as they slumber in bed; then he [God] opens people's ears.

In Amos 3:7 the Lord is depicted as revealing (גלה) his plan, or secret (סוד), to the prophets.¹¹⁶ Balaam experiences an “unveiling of the eyes” (גְּלוֹי עֵינַיִם), allowing him to “see what the Almighty sees” (Num 24:4, 16; cf. Num 22:31), and a matter (דָּבָר) is revealed (נִגְלָה) to Daniel in Dan 10:1. Gen 35:7 recounts how God had revealed himself (נִגְלָה אֱלֹהִים) to Jacob at Luz. Isaiah used the verb in a similar way, choosing it to speak of the Lord revealing himself.¹¹⁷ Finally, the Psalmist entreats God to “open my eyes” (גְּלֵ-עֵינִי), that he might see wonders (נִפְלְאוֹת; Ps 119:18). Some of these uses of the root גלה, especially the opening of the ears or eyes to God's hidden knowledge (נִסְתָּרוֹת) and mysteries (רִזְיוֹן), are carried into the Hebrew sectarian writings from Qumran—most notably CD, IQS, IQH, and the instruction texts.¹¹⁸ In fact, it appears that these particular idioms became a dominant way of talking about the specially revealed knowledge granted to the sect.¹¹⁹

Biblical Aramaic uses this meaning of גלי/גלה, although not in the *hitpe'al*, solely to speak about revelation of the divine “mysteries” (רִזְיוֹן), a “deep thing” (עֲמִיקָתָא), and a “hidden matter” (מִסְתָּרָתָא).¹²⁰ It is significant that these revealed subjects come to Daniel by way of a symbolic dream and a vision (חֲזִיוֹן), similar in genre to that found in 1QapGen 13–15. Mysteries

are also mentioned several times in connection with Noah's various dream-visions in the Apocryphon (e.g. 5.21, 25; 6.12; and 14.9).

The most compelling evidence, however, comes from Qumran Aramaic, our nearest point of comparison for the Apocryphon. In the 4QEnoch fragments, a *pa'el* infinitive construct form of גלי/גלה is found in the phrase כּוֹלְהוֹן שְׂרִיו לַגְלִיָּה רִזְיוֹן לְנִשְׁיָהּ, “all of them began to reveal mysteries to their wives” (= 1 En. 8:3).¹²¹ Furthermore (and unlike Biblical or Qumran Hebrew), the Aramaic lexicon of the Dead Sea Scrolls preserves a number of instances of גלי/גלה in the *hitpe'al* conjugation. For the group(s) writing this corpus of literature it is evident that this particular form was used in a *passive*, not reflexive, sense, specifically denoting divine revelation. In 4Q212 (4QEn^g), יִתְגַּלָּא is used in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 En. 92:14) to describe the revelation of the “righteous law” to all the people of the earth.¹²² Both יִתְגַּלָּא and יִגְלָא are found in 4Q536 (4QBirth of Noah^c ar) to speak of “luminaries” (נְהִירָא) and “mysteries” (רִזְיוֹן) being revealed to the “Elect of God,” which may or may not refer to Noah.¹²³ Whoever the subject, the occurrence of the verbs in this text is significant, since its general topic is the relation of privileged, divine knowledge to an individual.¹²⁴ יִתְגַּלָּא is found two more times in another copy of this text, 4Q534, although with very little surrounding context.¹²⁵ Again, however, it is clear that the general context of the scroll deals with divine revelation and instruction. The uncertain reading יִתְגַּלָּא in 4Q546 (4QVisions of Amram^d ar) would also fit this trend, falling within a divine visitation granted to Amram.¹²⁶ Finally, the symbolic, visionary text 4Q541 (4QApocryphon of Levi^b (?) ar) may also employ two non-*hitpe'al* forms of גלי/גלה in reference to divine secrets.¹²⁷ From the information presently available, therefore, it appears that the root גלי/גלה

¹¹⁵ Cf. “גלה” in A. Even-Shoshan, *New Concordance to the Tanakh* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1980). The Lord “opens the ears” in 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Chr 17:25; and Job 36:10, 15 (see also 1 Sam 3:21). Similar sharing of information between human parties is found in 1 Sam 20:2, 12–13; 22:8, 17; and Ruth 4:4.

¹¹⁶ Humans who reveal secrets are censured in Proverbs using the same phraseology (11:13, 20:19, 25:9).

¹¹⁷ See, e.g., Isa 22:14, 40:5, and 56:1. Cf. Ps 98:2.

¹¹⁸ For all instances of these idioms see M. G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: Volume One* (2 parts; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:178–79. Some of the more striking examples are: CD 2:14–15, 3:13, 15:13; IQS 5:9, 8:16; IQpHab 11:1; IQH^a 9:21, 26:1; 24:28; IQ26 1:4; 4Q175 11; 4Q268 1:7; 4Q270 2 ii 13; 4Q299 8:6; 4Q416 2 iii 18; 4Q418 123 ii 4, 184:2; 4Q427 7 i 19. The biblical idiom of “uncovering the nakedness” is not as prevalent in the non-biblical scrolls (CD 15:13; 4Q251 17:6; cf. 11Q19 66:12–13).

¹¹⁹ The *hitpa'el* of גלה is not attested in the Qumran Hebrew lexicon.

¹²⁰ Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47 bis. The *pe'al* form is used for both active and passive verbs. The *haph'el* conjugation is used to connote the alternative meaning “to exile.”

¹²¹ The phrase in its entirety must be reconstructed from two fragments belonging to different manuscripts of 4QEnoch, both of which recount the transgression of the Watchers (cf. 1 En. 8). 4Q202 (4QEn^b ar) 1 iii 5 contains the initial words כּוֹלְהוֹן שְׂרִיו לַגְלִיָּה, while 4Q201 (4QEn^a ar) 1 iv 5 preserves the following רִזְיוֹן לְנִשְׁיָהּ. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 189 n. i.

¹²² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 434, 437 n. 14a, 449–50. He suggests (450) that the righteous law is brought about by human agency, but this does not diminish the fact that proper understanding of the law was originally imparted from the divine realm.

¹²³ 4Q536 2 i + 3:3, 2 i + 3:8. Puech, DJD 31, 165–67.

¹²⁴ Cf. Chapter 1, 17–18.

¹²⁵ 4Q534 1 i 12, 3:1. Puech, DJD 31, 133, 143, and 149. The spellings of these two occurrences are less certain. They read יִתְגַּלָּא and יִתְגַּלָּא respectively.

¹²⁶ 4Q546 9:2. Puech, DJD 31, 361.

¹²⁷ 4Q541 7:1, 24 ii 3. The readings are הִגְלָה (if the transcription of Puech is accepted) and מִגְלִיאָן respectively. Puech, DJD 31, 239–40, 252–54.

in Qumran Aramaic was used exclusively to refer to divinely revealed wisdom and secrets.¹²⁸ Moreover, the *hitpe'al* form denoted such information being revealed to someone in the passive sense.

In light of the lexical usage of גלי/גלה sketched above, it is wholly plausible that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understood ויתגל in Gen 9:21 to entail divine revelation, thereby prompting him to insert Noah's symbolic dream-vision at this point in his rewritten account. When this possibility is placed alongside our limited knowledge of the dream's contents, the full import of the insertion may be tentatively appreciated. First, the dream acts to authorize the following division of the earth by Noah. By including within the dream a prescient account of the activity of Noah's progeny in reference to their allotted geographic portions, the boundaries are implicated in the divine plan, or mystery. Hence, what Jubilees accomplishes with the heavenly "book" (Jub. 8:11–12), the Genesis Apocryphon achieves through a divinely inspired dream-vision—both being authoritative sources of heavenly wisdom, and stamps of divine authority. This difference in approach would not be surprising, since it reflects a broader discrepancy between Jubilees and the Apocryphon regarding the role and authoritativeness of dreams.

Second, the righteous image of Noah is bolstered. By reading ויתגל in reference to a vision any inference of wrongdoing on Noah's part is neutralized, for it would be unthinkable that Noah both sinned and partook of the divine mysteries at the same time. In this way, any blame inherent in Gen 9 would be shifted decisively to Ham.

Third, by placing a dream-vision here the author of the Apocryphon solves several notorious interpretative conundra related to Gen 9:20–27. Questions about how Noah "knew" (וידע) what his youngest son had done upon waking,¹²⁹ why he spoke in terms of the future during his curse and blessings, and why he cursed Canaan rather than Ham, could all be answered with reference to the Apocryphon's vision. Noah was able to curse and bless his sons in futuristic

terms because he had just been told what was to happen in his dream. Furthermore, it would be natural for Noah to curse Canaan rather than Ham, since he had just foreseen the grave transgression that this grandson would commit in the future by settling in a land rightfully apportioned to one of Shem's offspring. This line of reasoning finds a partial parallel in some later Syrian Christian exegetes, who understood Noah's statements to be prophetic of what would take place in the future.¹³⁰

3.4.4. Summary

To summarize, it seems likely that the symbolic dream given to Noah in 1QapGen 13–15 was inserted by our author into the succinct plot of Gen 9:20–27 for a number of reasons. These include the authorization of Noah's subsequent division of the earth, a defense of Noah's righteous image, and an explanation of why Noah cursed Canaan rather than Ham after waking from his sleep. The contents of the dream included an apocalyptic recitation and foretelling of history, which focused at certain points on Noah and his sons as represented by trees, shoots, branches, etc. This aspect of the dream is paralleled in other sources containing *The Dream of the Garden*. One topic of the vision appears to be the usurpation of Arpachshad's allotted portion by Canaan, which finds a thematic parallel in Jub. 10:27–36. A key difference between these two texts, however, is their conflicting placement of this information. In the Apocryphon it is revealed to Noah (and the reader) *before* his curse, thereby putting Canaan's transgression and Noah's curse in a causative and sequential relationship. In Jubilees, notification of Canaan's disobedience occurs well after Noah's curse and, therefore, the two are not as directly related. While the dream served a number of useful purposes for the author of the Apocryphon, the most imminent reason for the vision's placement at this particular point in the story is likely the word ויתגל in Gen 9:21. It is on this portentous note that we enter into the next major portion of the Apocryphon, and the most direct parallel with the Book of Jubilees—Noah's division of the habitable earth.

¹²⁸ An additional, corroborating occurrence is found in 11Q10 (11QTargum of Job) 27:3–4. This, however, is a reflection of the underlying Hebrew of Job 36:10.

¹²⁹ Ephrem dealt with this puzzling statement by proposing that "Noah had been both sleeping and awake. He was sleeping in that he had not perceived his nakedness, but awake in that he had been aware of everything that his youngest son had done to him." *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Selected Prose Works* (FOTC 91; trans. E. G. Mathews and J. P. Amar; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1994), 145. Cf. also Augustine, *The City of God*, book 16.

¹³⁰ See, e.g., the commentary on Genesis, excerpting a number of early Syrian fathers, published by A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis* (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951), 52, 198.

CHAPTER FOUR

A COMPARATIVE COMMENTARY ON THE EARTH'S DIVISION IN JUBILEES 8:11–9:15 AND GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

The present chapter is dedicated to a thorough comparison of the division of the earth into geographic districts for Noah's sons and grandsons in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. These passages provide the most direct and extensive parallel between the two works, and may serve as an important case study against which to measure previous and subsequent comparisons. My most immediate goal in this chapter is to further our understanding, and perhaps dating, of the Genesis Apocryphon. However, in order to achieve this it has been necessary to spend significant time investigating both texts. This has resulted in a detailed commentary of the relevant passages of Jubilees, followed by a similar treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon.

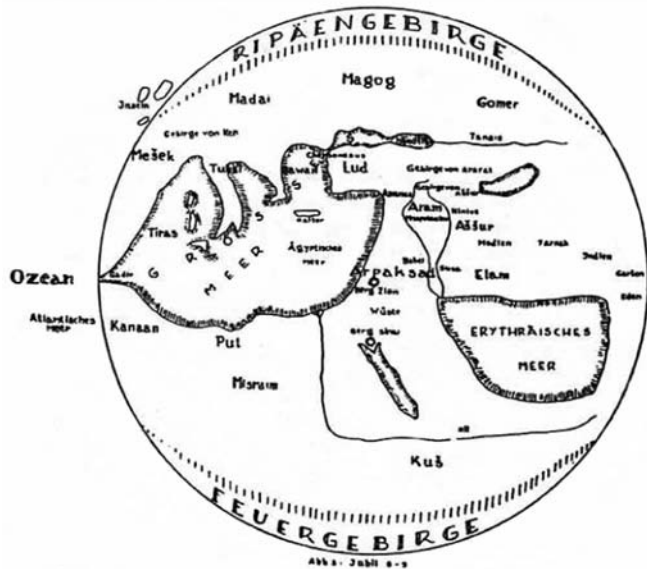
The comparison has led to the observation that the two works differ in a number of significant details, while still bearing a remarkable affinity to one another in overall design and perspective—i.e. the way in which they rewrite the Table of Nations of Gen 10. This combination most plausibly suggests that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees depended upon a common cartographic source, or (less plausibly) that one author used the other from memory or an intermediate written source. If one chooses to view their relationship as one of direct dependence, then it seems preferable to conclude that Jubilees borrowed from the Genesis Apocryphon.

A detailed geographic discussion of lands and toponyms not naturally familiar to most readers lends itself easily to confusion and disinterest. For this reason, a hypothetical, reconstructed map, drawn with the present passages from both texts in mind, has been included below.¹ This is accompanied by other, previous attempts to graphically represent the map underlying Jubilees.

¹ It must be kept in mind that any such map is a fixed piece of interpretation, as the following discussion should make clear. Many parts of my map, therefore, remain less certain than they may appear. It is important to view the map alongside the (often qualifying) arguments accompanying it in this chapter. I should also stress that my own map is an effort at conflating the real or mental maps underlying the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. In general, I have tried to follow the Genesis Apocryphon whenever possible, taking recourse to Jubilees where this is not possible.

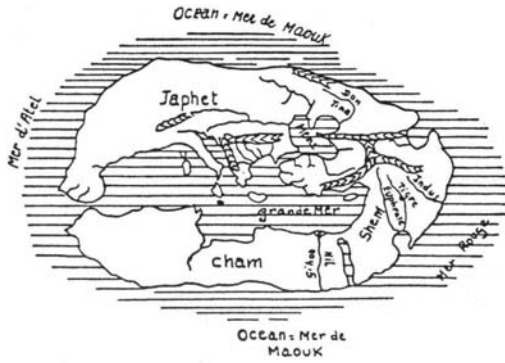


Map 1. New Reconstruction of a World Map Like That Underlying Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon (cf. the enlargement on page xvi)



Map 2. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Gustav Hölscher²

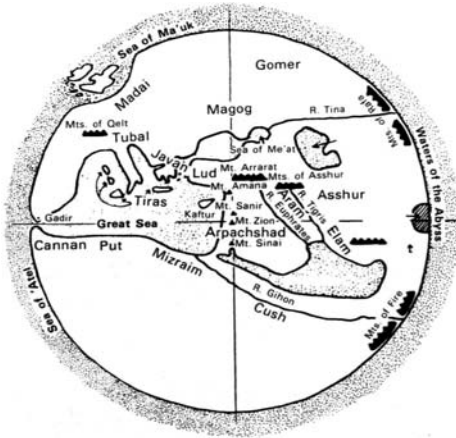
² From G. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten: Ein Beitrag zur Erdkenntnis des hebräischen Altertums* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse 1944/48, 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1949), 58.



Map 3. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Michel Testuz³



Map 4. One Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Philip Alexander⁴

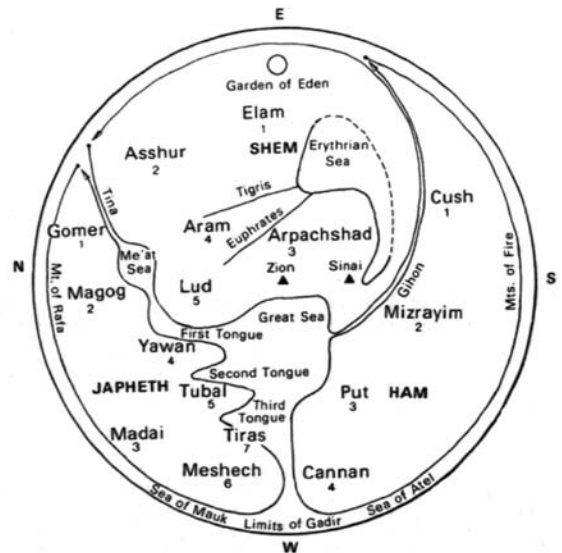


Map 5. Another Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Philip Alexander⁵

³ From M. Testuz, *Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés* (Geneva: Librarie E. Droz/Paris: Librarie Minard, 1960), 58.

⁴ From P. Alexander, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," *ABD* 2.982.

⁵ From P. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi' of the Book of Jubilees," *JJS* 38 (1982): 197–213 [213].



Map 6. Reconstruction of Jubilees' World Map according to Francis Schmidt⁶

4.1. JUBILEES 8:11–9:15

The apportionment of the earth in Jubilees has been discussed often, but many nagging questions remain regarding the account's overall structure and a number of its details. Before a proper comparison can be made with the Genesis Apocryphon, therefore, it is necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of this passage. The account may be divided into two segments: 1) Noah's division of the earth into three parts between his sons; 2) the subsequent division of each son's apportionment between his own sons (i.e. Noah's grandsons).⁷ The inheritance of each son or grandson is comprised of a report of his apportionment's borders or general placement in relation to those surrounding it, with some allotments garnering far more attention than others.⁸ In describing the allotments the author utilizes a limited set of geographic *topoi* as reference points.

A perusal of previous attempts to grapple with Jubilees 8:11–9:15 reveals that some commentators have not adequately appreciated the broader horizon of the map on which the borders of each descendent

⁶ From F. Schmidt, "Naissance d'une géographie juive," in *Moïse géographe. Recherches sur les représentations juives et chrétiennes de l'espace* (ed. A. Desreumaux and F. Schmidt; Paris: Vrin, 1988), 13–30 [23].

⁷ James Scott notes that the two stage format of Jubilees (as well as the Genesis Apocryphon) finds a partial parallel in the two-stage description from the *Περιήγησις τῆς οἰκουμένης* of Dionysius "Periegetes". J. M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (SNTS Mon. Ser. 113; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 32.

⁸ Generally speaking, inordinate attention is given to Shem, and more specifically to his son Arpachshad, in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees.

must be placed. Thus, a site may be suggested for a toponym which simply does not cohere with a foundational observation: Shem receives Asia, Ham receives Libya, and Japheth receives Europe. Consequently, my own comments will follow two guiding principles: 1) border descriptions and place identifications should make sense within the overall framework of the map and the author's clear intention to place Noah's descendants on specific continents; 2) Jubilees situates the progeny of Noah on a Hellenistic, Ionian world map, and this is the first context within which specific regions, borders, and toponyms should be considered (as opposed to identification with biblical toponyms).⁹ In the following treatment, sites in need of extended discussion concerning their identification or description will be included as excurses.

4.1.1.1. *Noah's Division Among his Sons: Jubilees 8:10–30*

This section begins with the statement: "At the beginning of the thirty-third jubilee [1569–1617] they divided the earth into three parts—for Shem, Ham, and Japheth—each in his own inheritance."¹⁰ The following report that one of the angels was present at this division gives it the stamp of divine authority, as does the later declaration that the allotments of each son emerged from "the book" (8:11)—a trope in Jubilees denoting divine mandate.¹¹ This stands in contrast to the previous announcement that, during the days of Peleg, "[t]hey divided it in a bad way among themselves and told Noah" (8:9). Given the

transparent desire of Jubilees to place Shem in Asia, Ham in Libya, and Japheth in Europe, it is quite possible that here the author is subtly attempting to supplant the account of Gen 10 with his own version of the Table of Nations, since Genesis unambiguously (and without qualification) places Ham's descendants in various parts of Asia.¹² In this case, Gen 10 may reflect the results of the "bad division" undertaken by Noah's sons of their own accord, while Jubilees 8–9 explains the proper division subsequently overseen by Noah and an angel, and derived from the heavenly book. Alternatively, the reference to a "bad division" may be aimed in a more limited sense at Gen 10:25, which claims that the earth was divided in the days of Peleg, great-great grandson of Shem.

4.1.1.1. *Shem's Portion: 8:12–21*

Shem inherits "the center of the earth" (8:12), by which the author means the continent of Asia as defined by rivers in the north and south, and seas to the east and west. The description of Shem's allotment begins "from the middle of the mountain range of Rafa,"¹³ from the source of the water of the Tina River" (8:12).¹⁴ The border progresses "toward the west through the middle of this river. One then goes until one reaches the water of the deeps from which this river emerges."

Excursus 1: The Tina River

Philip Alexander puts forth two problematic suggestions in his brief description of the Tina. First, following Hölscher,¹⁵ he argues that the Tina has an east-west alignment.¹⁶ This is called into question, however, by the double mention of Japheth's eastern border in 8:25 and 28, which follows the Tina. Here the boundary is described as travelling "northeast," suggesting that the alignment may instead be northeast for the Tina and southeast for the Nile. In general, directions throughout Jubilees' geographic description appear to be vague indicators, such that "north" may mean "in a more or less northerly direction" (e.g. in 8:26).

⁹ An excellent resource for toponyms in the ancient world (although not schematized according to the Ionian model) is the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (ed. R. J. A. Talbert; Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000). For Jubilees' dependence on the Ionian map see P. S. Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 197–213; and idem, "Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish)," 2.980–82. A partial critique of Alexander's association of Jubilees with the Ionian map is given by J. M. Scott, *Paul and the Nations* (WUNT 84; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1995), 16–24. While Scott raises some credible correctives, he fails to deal with the substance of Alexander's argument, which is that *most* of Jub. 8:11–9:15 can be explained only in lieu of the Ionian map, and not biblical texts. In the end, much of his critique does not convince. For Alexander's response see his article "Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World," 106–109.

¹⁰ All English quotations of Jubilees are from the translation (Vol. 2) of J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols; CSCO 510–511; Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88, Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

¹¹ On the use of heavenly tablets and books in Jubilees see F. García Martínez, "The Heavenly Tablets in the Book of Jubilees," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (TSAJ 65; eds M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 243–60. The broader setting at Qumran, with minimal attention to Jubilees, is discussed by F. Nötscher, "Himmelische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RevQ* 3 (1958–59): 405–411.

¹² Cf. Gen 10:8–20, where the Hamites are identified with the ancient cultural centers of Mesopotamia. At least one of Japheth's sons (Madai/Media) is apparently identified with the Asian province of Media as well, an outlier accounted for in Jub. 10:35–36.

¹³ The ancient Rhipaeae and modern Ural Mountains in west-central Russia. See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 69–70; and Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 58–9.

¹⁴ The ancient Tanais (or Tanis) and present-day Don in western Russia.

¹⁵ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 67.

¹⁶ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

Second, Alexander proposes that the “water of the deeps”¹⁷ is simply another reference to the world-encompassing “Ocean in the east.”¹⁸ The placement of the water of the deeps is significant, since it also affects at which end the Tina River’s “mouth” (8:16, 25) should be placed. Alexander fixes the mouth at the meeting point of the Tina and the Ocean River, assuming that the latter flows into the former. It should be noted, however, that nowhere is the Tina said to adjoin this outer river, and other considerations suggest that this is not the case. According to 8:12, the “water of the deeps” is a point along the river *between* its “source” and “mouth,” implying that the deeps are some distance removed from the river’s source near the Rafa Mountains and outer Mauq Sea (i.e. this portion of the Ocean River). That the river “emerges” suggests that the author believed it to disappear and then reemerge at a source of underground water—i.e. the “water of the deeps.”¹⁹ Based on these factors, the most plausible assumption is that the deeps refer to an inland spring or lake rather than the outer river, and that the Tina and Mauq are not joined. Indeed, Herodotus states that the river “begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeatian.”²⁰ Strabo reports that the Orontes, Tigris, and Nile similarly disappear underground for a time before re-emerging.²¹ Some of the earliest preserved maps agree with this.²² Hence, the mouth of the Tina is best taken as its exit into Me’at Sea, and not the Ocean in the east. Strabo suggests the same thing when he says that “the mouth of the Tanais (τὸ τοῦ Ταννίδου) is the most northerly point [of Lake Maeotis].”²³ This identification of the Tina’s mouth also makes better sense in connection with 8:25, where Japheth’s allotment begins “toward the north of the mouth of its waters,” whence it travels northeast toward “Gog and all that is east of them.” Going northeast from the mouth would make little sense if the latter is placed at the extreme northeastern point of the Tina.

¹⁷ Translated “the Water(s) of the Abysses” by Charles and Alexander.

¹⁸ Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 207.

¹⁹ This also seems to be the opinion of Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70), who wrote that the Tina “is said to spring from ‘the waters of the abysses.’”

²⁰ The Me’at Sea of Jubilees. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.57 (Godley, LCL).

²¹ Strabo, *Geography* 6.2.9 (Jones, LCL).

²² Examples which show the river ending at a mountain range (!) near the outer Ocean, but not connected to it, are the Anglo-Saxon or Cotton world map (c. 1050), the late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, and the 14th century Higden world map. The fine facsimile edition of a thirteenth-century copy of Claudius Ptolemy’s map in *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae: Codex Urbinae Graecus* 82 (Leiden: Brill/Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1932), Tabula XVII.—VRB. GR. 82, ff 91 (90)–92 (91); and the famous Peutinger map also have the river end at a mountain range without connecting to the outer waters, though these maps are based on an entirely different schema than the Ionian map. All of these maps portray the Tanais stopping short of the Ocean at a mountain range, which must also be what the map of Jubilees presumes.

²³ Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.25. The phrase implies the word στόμα (mouth), which was used in the preceding sentence.

From here the Tina pours into the Me’at Sea,²⁴ from which it extends “as far as the Great Sea.” Hölscher has plausibly proposed that this mention of the Great Sea should be understood in terms of its northernmost point, at the Pontus Euxinus.²⁵

Leaving the Tina, we enter among the most difficult segments of the earth’s division in Jubilees: Shem’s western border. Throughout the following discussion it should be borne in mind that we are making our way from the Tina River, which empties into the Black and then Aegean Seas, to the mouth of the Gihon River²⁶ in the south. Accordingly, a boundary roughly following the western coast of Asia Minor and the Levant is to be expected. Many earlier attempts at identifying the sites named in following verses pay insufficient attention to this fact, and suggest places that simply do not appear to belong in this description. As will be seen, where one puts any one site may greatly affect the region where surrounding sites are searched for, thereby limiting the scope of investigation.

Jubilees 8:13 continues, “[The border] goes until it reaches Karas. This is in the bosom of the branch that faces southward.”

Excursus 2: Karas

Karas²⁷ has previously been identified with two places, although both proposals have met with skepticism. Dillmann was the first to suggest that Karas is the region of Chersones (Χερσόνησος) in Thrace, just northwest of where the Hellespont empties into the Aegean Sea.²⁸ He thereby implied that “the branch that faces southward” is the Aegean Sea.²⁹ Charles disagreed with this placement based on his belief that “the branch that faces southward” should be identified with “the Branch of the Egyptian Sea” in 8:14 (see below). The latter he understood to be synonymous with the ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus, or modern Red Sea. Charles’ identification of the Branch of the Egyptian Sea was, in turn,

²⁴ The ancient Maeotis and modern Sea of Azov, bordered on the north and east by Ukraine and Russia.

²⁵ The modern Black Sea. See Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 62. He is followed by Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 207. This suggestion gains strong support from Strabo’s statement to the same effect in *Geography* 2.5.25.

²⁶ The Nile, or “the River of Egypt” in the Genesis Apocryphon.

²⁷ Transcribed Kârâsô by Dillmann, Charles, and Hölscher.

²⁸ A. Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder der kleine Genesis,” *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft* 2 (1850) 230–56; 3 (1851): 1–96. He is followed by O. Wintermute, “Jubilees,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; 2 vols; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 2:72; and F. Schmidt, “Jewish Representations of the Inhabited Earth during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel: Collected Essays* (eds A. Kasher, U. Rappaport, and G. Fuks; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi and the Israel Exploration Society, 1990 [also published in Hebrew]), 119–34 [121].

²⁹ So too Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 63, 67.

founded on Isa 11:15, which mentions the same toponym: **לְשׁוֹן יָם מִצְרַיִם**.³⁰ Following this logic, Charles had to situate Karas somewhere near the Sinus Heroopoliticus, and for this reason viewed Karas as a truncated form of Rhinocurura (Ῥινκοκουρούρων),³¹ a region located somewhere south of the Mediterranean coast between Palestine and Egypt.³² In order for this identification to work, however, Charles had to posit a corruption in the text, since this site was clearly not “in the bosom” of the Red Sea.

Of these two identifications, Dillmann's is preferable. It must be admitted that identifying “the branch which faces southward” of 8:13 with the Aegean makes far more sense in context than Charles' proposal of the Red Sea, since the latter does not cohere with the ensuing statement in 8:14: “His share goes toward the Great Sea and goes straight until it reaches to the west of the branch that faces southward, for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea.” Charles' suggestion would entail reaching the Red Sea (or at least Rhinocurura) turning around and returning to the Mediterranean, then turning around yet again and going back to the west side of the Red Sea. This confusion stems from Charles' misidentification of the Sea of Egypt, as will be demonstrated below.

Recently, Esther Eshel has proposed an alternate site to the two outlined above.³³ Based on a tenuous connection between the phrase **לְשׁוֹן יָם מִצְרַיִם** (“the branch of the Egyptian Sea”) in Isa 11:15, the matching expression in Jub. 8:14, and the words **לְשׁוֹן יָם סוּף** (“the branch of the Reed Sea”) in 1QapGen 21:18, she assumes that each is speaking of the modern Red Sea (ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus).³⁴

³⁰ Based on the observation of E. Littman, “Das Buch der Jubiläen,” in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (ed. E. Kautzsch; 2 vols; Tübingen: Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900), 2.39–199 [55 n. p].

³¹ Another (earlier) form of the name is Rhinocorura (Ῥινκοκουρούρων). See Hippolytus of Rome in R. Helm and A. Bauer, *Hippolytus Werke: Die Chronik* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), 10.

³² Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70) gathers this from a pair of references in Epiphanius of Salamis (*Ancorat.* cxii) and George Syncellus (*Chronography* §50), where the western border of Shem's allotment is identified with “Rhinocurura of Egypt.” These sources do not, however, seem closely linked to the earth's division in Jubilees.

³³ E. Eshel, “Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” *DSD* 13:1 (2006): 44. Eshel fails, however, to mention Charles' identification, and attributes the identification of Chersones to Schmidt rather than Dillmann.

³⁴ That this is the case with the *Genesis Apocryphon*'s **לְשׁוֹן יָם סוּף** is nearly certain based on numerous ancient Jewish references to this body of water as the Red Sea (ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα). These include the LXX, Philo, Josephus, and the New Testament (Acts and Hebrews). See G. I. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament* (SOTS Mon. Ser. 5; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 4–13, 30–31. We should thus understand the **לְשׁוֹן יָם סוּף** of the *Genesis Apocryphon* to be equivalent to our modern Red Sea, or Gulf of Suez, and the adjoining **יָם שְׂמוּקָא** (lit. “Red Sea,” 1QapGen 17.7–8; 21.17, 18) to refer to the Persian Gulf, or Indian Ocean more generally. Cf. M. Copisarow, “The Ancient Egyptian, Greek and Hebrew Concept of the Red Sea,” *VT* 12 (1962): 1–13; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 225–26.

Despite some problems with this assumption (cf. Excursus 3, below) she goes on to suggest that the identification of Isaiah's “tongue” with the Sinus Heroopoliticus gains backing from the present mention of Karas, identifying the latter with “a small island named Icarus in the Persian Gulf, found on Greek and Roman maps.”³⁵ While drawing conclusions about Isaiah based on Jubilees may be questioned, there is indeed such an island, and the phonological resemblance to Karas is impressive. Still, it seems her assumption that Jubilees' “tongue of the Egyptian Sea” as the modern Red Sea has caused her to overlook a significant difficulty; while she rightly states that Karas is part of Shem's lot, she fails to explain how a description of his *western* border could jump from the outlet of the Tina River all the way to the northern Persian Gulf, and then back to the “bosom of the branch which faces southward,” which is most likely the Aegean Sea. Such a proposal makes little sense in its broader context, and if we are left only with the identifications of Dillmann, Charles, and Eshel, we would still be compelled to adopt that of Dillmann. However, Eshel has helpfully opened the way to a fourth proposal that is preferable to any of these.

An identification of Karas with the southeast Aegean island of Icarus (Ἰκαρία),³⁶ or its mainland counterpart Caria (Καρία or Κάρεις),³⁷ located on the southwestern corner of Asia Minor, has several advantages compared with the above suggestions. Although small, the island enjoyed widespread fame because of its association with Icarus, the son of Daedalus, who according to Homer's *Iliad* crashed into the Aegean at this spot after the wax which fastened his wings had been melted by the sun.³⁸ Mainland Caria was closely linked to Icarus³⁹ and the surrounding group of islands,⁴⁰ and was even used in early times to denote all of Asia Minor.⁴¹ The district of Caria is listed in 1 Mac 15:23 as a recipient of the Roman consul Lucius' letter, signalling a Jewish presence there as early as the 2nd cent. BCE. Herodotus hailed from one of the great Carian cities, Halicarnassus, and spoke of the region's wide renown.⁴² In addition, the portion of the Aegean Sea surrounding the island, off the Carian coast, was called the Icarian Sea (Ἰκαρία Πέλαγος), and was famous for its formidable sailing waters.⁴³ As Eshel has noted, Alexander the Great later named an island in the Persian Gulf after the original Icarus during his campaign in the east.⁴⁴ In sum, the entire southeastern region of the Aegean at times bore the general

³⁵ Eshel, “Isaiah 11:15,” 44.

³⁶ Modern Ikaria.

³⁷ The latter is a gentilic denoting region, and is used by Herodotus, *Histories* 7.97–98.

³⁸ Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.19.

³⁹ Strabo (*Geography* 14.2.28) goes on at length about the foreign and barbaric language used by the Carians (cf. Herodotus 1.142, 171). One wonders, therefore, if the name Icarus betrays a Semitic linguistic background, which in Hebrew might appear something like **אִי קָרִיָּה** (“Island of Caria”).

⁴⁰ Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.21; 12.8.5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 1.4.7.

⁴² Herodotus, *Histories* 1.171.

⁴³ Ibid., 6.95–96; Strabo, *Geography* 10.5.13; Arrian, *Indica* 7.20.5 (Brunt, LCL).

⁴⁴ Arrian, *Indica* 7.20.3–6.

label of Caria.⁴⁵ This identification has the advantage of: 1) being “in the bosom” of the Aegean; 2) being situated approximately where we would expect Shem’s western border to fall; and 3) allowing the subsequent verse to make sense. In addition, Icarus and Caria phonologically fit the toponym Karas better than Chersones or Rhinocurura.

From Karas and the Aegean Sea Shem’s share continues “straight until it reaches to the west of the branch that faces southward, for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea” (8:14). If Karas is indeed Icarus/Caria (or even Dillmann’s Chersones) this must mean a southward extension to the main body of the Mediterranean, and then a straight extension to the west side of a “branch that faces southward.” Previous commentators have taken the two branches of 8:13–14 to be the same, but since the second is further qualified by the statement “for this is the sea whose name is the Branch of the Egyptian Sea,” it is worth considering whether here we have a previously unmentioned branch (i.e., *another* branch facing south), different than the branch in 8:13. Precisely which bay this could be has again been a source of confusion, and depends upon one’s location of the Sea of Egypt.

Excursus 3: The Branch of the Egyptian Sea

As mentioned above, many commentators assume that the Branch of the Egyptian Sea is the modern Red Sea (i.e. biblical ים סוף) based on a portion of Isa 11:15: “And the Lord will utterly destroy (והחרים) the branch of the Sea of Egypt (לשון ים מצרים).”⁴⁶ Consequently, a parallel has often been drawn between our branch and the לשון ים סוף of 1QapGen 21.18. However, such an identification makes little sense at this point in the description of Shem’s border, and a more plausible possibility exists.

Alexander has noted that the “Egyptian Sea” (Αἰγύπτιος πέλαγος) was not known by ancient Hellenistic geographers as an alternate name for the Sinus Heroopoliticus, but was rather the common designation for the eastern end of the Great Sea, stretching between Asia Minor and Egypt.⁴⁷ The Great Sea was divided by ancient Hellenistic geographers into regions—each bearing their own name—so that the Mediterranean could be spoken of as a whole (as in 8:12 and 8:14), or in terms of its smaller, constituent parts.

⁴⁵ Yet another reason for considering this region as Karas is its close proximity to Ionia, where the map used by Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon was first developed.

⁴⁶ This verse has troubles of its own, such as the meaning of the initial verb, which may alternatively be translated “he will split.” Some commentators have suggested that this word may have originally read והחרב “and he will dry up.” A treatment of the issues may be found in most commentaries; see, e.g., W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja 1–12* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2003), 301–302.

⁴⁷ Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 205. So too Wintermute, “Jubilees,” 72 n. k.

Strabo mentions the Egyptian Sea numerous times, noting that it reaches from the shores of Alexandria in the south⁴⁸ to Rhodes and the Icarian Sea in the north.⁴⁹ He further describes it as skirting the southern edge of Cyprus, connecting to the Issican and Pamphylian Gulfs (which lie along the southern shores of Asia Minor), and then following the coastlines of Seleucia, Issus, Syria, Phoenicia and Egypt back toward Alexandria.⁵⁰ On the west, the Egyptian Sea borders the Libyan and Carpathian Seas. Agathemerus notes that the Icarian and Egyptian Seas lie near each other;⁵¹ and Manilius declares that the shores of Cyprus are battered by “Egypt’s river” (Tonantem Aegyptique).⁵² Josephus knew of this part of the Great Sea as such,⁵³ and it was still in coinage as late as Michael the Syrian (12th cent. CE).⁵⁴ If forced to choose whether Jubilees based its identification of the Sea of Egypt on the possible Isaianic connection to the Red Sea, or unanimous Hellenistic usage of the term, there is no doubt that the latter makes far better sense at this point in the account.

If this is correct, then “the branch that faces southward” of 8:14 must be sought in or along the Egyptian Sea as described above.⁵⁵ The best candidates for such a branch are: 1) The Aegean Sea; 2) The Pamphylian Sea, which is formed by a large bay situated along the southern coast of central Asia Minor; or 3) the Issicus Sinus, or Myriandric Gulf, at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, along the shores of Cilicia.⁵⁶ The Pamphylian Sea seems the best candidate for several reasons: 1) the border is said to extend “to the west” of this branch, and an extension to the west of the Aegean seems an ill fit for a description of Shem’s western border; 2) an extension to the west of the Issicus would allow the boundary to nicely follow the Syrian and Phoenecian coasts southward, but would leave the island of Cyprus (likely Caphtor; see Excursus 7 below) outside of the allotment, thereby conflicting with its inclusion in Shem’s lot in Jub. 8:21; 3) an identification with the Pamphylian Sea resolves both of these issues, and fits well the following description of the border’s extension southward. It is also

⁴⁸ Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.7, 1.2.28.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 2.5.24, 10.5.13.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 14.6.1.

⁵¹ Agathemerus, *Geographiae informatio* 3.9.

⁵² Manilius, *Astronomica* 4.634–5 (Goold, LCL).

⁵³ Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.609 (Thackeray, LCL).

⁵⁴ Michael uses the designation (بحر مصر) in a geographic reference which may ultimately depend upon Jubilees. See J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche: 1166–1199* (5 vols; Paris: Ernest LeRoux; 1899, 1901, 1905, 1910, 1924; Repr. 1963), 4.9 [beginning of line 59; Syriac]; 1.20 [French trans.].

⁵⁵ Alexander (“Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 205) presumes that the branch is the entire Egyptian sea, embracing everything between Asia Minor and Egypt. This, however, fails to adequately account for the fact that it “faces south,” and is considered only a “branch” of the Egyptian Sea, and not the entire Great Sea.

⁵⁶ Based on his earlier identification of Karas, Charles guessed that this “tongue” was a promontory of land rather than a gulf, identifying it with the modern Sinai Peninsula. See his 1917 translation notes in *The Book of Jubilees or Little Genesis* (Translations of Early Documents, Series 1: Palestinian Jewish Texts [Pre-Rabbinic]; London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1917), 73 n. 8.

possible that the Pamphylian and Issican Seas are being thought of as a single unit by our author.⁵⁷

In Jub. 8:15, we read that the boundary turns “southward toward the mouth of the Great Sea on the shore of the waters.”

Excursus 4: The Mouth of the Great Sea

Philip Alexander, relying on Pseudo-Aristotle, states that the “mouth” of the Great Sea “is, of course, [a reference] to the Straits of Gibraltar.”⁵⁸ He was preceded by Hölscher, who noted that the phrase “on the shore of the waters” closely resembles “to the shore of the sea waters” in 8:23 (describing Ham’s portion), which may refer to the area near the Straits, where the Great Sea and Atel Sea meet.⁵⁹ Despite these references to the Pillars forming a mouth, there are several factors which give one pause over this identification in Jubilees, and are ignored by the above commentators: 1) Most obviously, what have the Pillars of Heracles to do with the western border of Shem’s allotment? While we might expect areas of the Great Sea to be included in geographic descriptions (as they no doubt are elsewhere in Jubilees), this seems a strange inclusion for Shem;⁶⁰ 2) the direction “southward” is certainly not what we would expect if the Straits of Gibraltar are meant—a problem equally incommodious for any of the Egyptian Sea possibilities discussed in the preceding excursus; 3) the ensuing description is difficult to reconcile with this placement of the mouth, even if one does accept the seriously doubtful identification of Afra with the Roman province of Africa in Jub. 8:15; 4) Pseudo-Aristotle, whom Alexander cited for support, did not actually associate the Pillars of Heracles with the mouth of the Great Sea, but rather with the mouth of the outer, earth encompassing Ocean, or Atlantic.⁶¹ The same is true of Hippolytus of Rome, who is quoted by James Scott to support an identification of the mouth of the Great Sea

with the Pillars of Heracles.⁶² Indeed, Hippolytus explicitly stated that the Straits form the mouth of the *Western Sea* (i.e. the Atlantic, or Atel Sea in Jubilees), and *not* the Great Sea.⁶³ Strabo discussed the Straits as a “mouth” at some length, but did not specify to which sea it belongs.⁶⁴

An identification of the “mouth” with the Nile Delta would make much better sense in every respect, although I have been unable to find direct reference to the Delta as the mouth of the Great Sea in the ancient sources.⁶⁵ One piece of indirect evidence may be the reference to the Delta region of the Nile as a “source,” or “head” (ראש) in 1QapGen 19.12. In Jub. 8 the Tina River’s “source” and “mouth” are on opposite ends, with the former on its northern end and the latter in the south. Perhaps the Apocryphon’s location of the Gihon’s source at its northern end points toward its mouth being in the south. If this is the case, then the Delta as the Great Sea’s mouth makes good sense. While the evidence is not overwhelming, I haltingly take the meeting place of the Nile and Great Sea to be the mouth mentioned here because of its alleviation of the problems listed above. One should remain open, however, to other alternatives, including the standard Pillars of Heracles interpretation.

Wherever one locates the “mouth of the Great Sea,” the border moves next “toward the west of Afra...until it reaches the water of the Gihon River” (8:15).

Excursus 5: Afra/Fara

Most commentators have placed Afra together with two toponyms mentioned later in relation to Japheth’s allotment—Fara and Aferag (8:27)—identifying all three sites as the Libyan province of Africa.⁶⁶ Aferag, it appears, may be dissociated from the others, and will be dealt with below. Afra and Fara, however, stand a better chance of referring to one and the same site, and will thus be treated together here. If the two sites are the same, then we should keep in mind that it is a common meeting point between the allotments of Shem and Japheth.

The term Libya, not Africa, was used by Hellenistic geographers to denote the southern continent as a whole, and the region stretching along the Mediterranean coast west of Egypt more specifically. Indeed, one looks in vain for the

⁵⁷ As in Strabo, *Geography* 2.5.18.

⁵⁸ Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 205.

⁵⁹ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68. So too J. M. Scott, “The Division of the Earth in Jubilees 8:11–9:15 and Early Christian Chronography,” in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, 295–323 [311–12]. These statements (one may also include 8:26, 28) could also be read as a general reference to a shoreline, where the sea and land meet.

⁶⁰ Admittedly, “Ocean” (אוקינוס), which likely refers to the conjunction of the surrounding body of water with the Mediterranean Sea at the Straits of Gibraltar/Gadera, is spoken of as part of Shem’s western border in the later rabbinic treatments of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 34:6 and Rav Judah ben-Ilai’s boundary description in y. Hall. 60a. These are built on Num 34:6, which simply lists the “Great Sea” as the western border of the Land of Israel. In Jubilees, however, it appears that Japheth, father of the Sea Peoples, receives a large portion of the Great Sea (see below). This seems to argue against Shem’s reception of the entire Mediterranean in his apportionment. For more on the targumic and rabbinic sources cf. Alexander, “Geography and the Bible (Early Jewish),” 2.986–87.

⁶¹ Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 393a. The best critical Greek edition is *Aristotelis qui fertur libellus De Mundo* (ed. W. L. Lorimer; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933), 58–59. An English translation may be found in *The Works of Aristotle, Volume 3* (11 vols; ed. W. D. Ross; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931 [repr. 1950–68]).

⁶² Scott, “The Division of the Earth,” 311.

⁶³ Hippolytus, *Chronicon* 156. One finds the same statement in parallel portions of the *Chronicon Paschale* and the *Chronographia* of George Syncellus, both of which draw on Hippolytus.

⁶⁴ Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.6.

⁶⁵ The Delta is called a mouth repeatedly in the ancient sources, but this is typically in reference to the Nile River, and not the Great Sea. Thus, we are left with ancient references to two different mouths (the Ocean and the Nile), neither referring to the Great Sea.

⁶⁶ Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 71) identifies only Afra and Fara as Africa. Those who identify all three as such are: E. Tisserant, “Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés,” *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86, 206–32 [85]; Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68; Schmidt, “Jewish Representations,” 121 n. 11; and apparently C. Werman, “ספר היובלים,” 278 n. 26. Wintermute (“Jubilees,” 74) presents both views, but does not give a final ruling on the matter.

term “Africa,” in any of its forms, in Herodotus, Strabo, and even later geographers such as Agathemerus (3rd cent. CE), giving an impression that the term was unknown to many Greek and Roman geographers. Charles suggested that Afra and Fara “[seem] to be Africa in its early limited sense,” apparently referring to the Roman province.⁶⁷ It is true that for Josephus (drawing on Alexander Polyhistor) and Claudius Ptolemy it is used occasionally to refer to a small, middle portion of the northern Libyan coast, roughly equivalent to modern Tunisia. Yet even this area seems to first accrue the name Africa only after the Punic wars (c. 146 BCE), under Roman rule.⁶⁸ The term did not gain more widespread use until its later promotion to a Roman proconsul, sometime between the reigns of Augustus and Claudius (c. 27 BCE–54 CE). Simply put, the suggestion of Africa for the terms Afra, Fara, and Aferag in Jubilees is anachronistic if the traditional date of composition is accepted.

Concerning the present mention of Afra in the description of Shem’s allotment, the same question could be asked here as that regarding the “mouth of the Great Sea” above: What would Africa, especially if located on the central Libyan coast, have to do with Shem’s western border? The problem is equally difficult for Fara in the account of Japheth’s portion. There the boundary runs from Gadir “until it reaches the west of Fara. Then it goes back toward Aferag and goes eastward toward the water of the Me’at Sea” (8:27). We would not expect Libya to figure so significantly into the apportionment of Japheth, since it is clear from the text as a whole that this is Ham’s domain and that Japheth is restricted to Europe. This is especially true of the Roman province of Africa, which does not seem to hold special significance for any of the sons’ allotments.

An attractive possibility for the site of Afra/Fara is Pharos, the small island associated with the city of Alexandria, at the west edge of the Nile Delta.⁶⁹ This island was world-renowned since the time of Homer, and would eventually house the famous lighthouse that was listed as one of the world’s seven wonders. It was also noted by ancient historians and geographers as the only serviceable harbor for a great distance in either direction, from Libya to Joppa,⁷⁰ and was a landmark closely associated with the Delta region. A late reference in Michael the Syrian, bishop of Antioch, mentions that the island was also known as

“Isis Pharia” at an earlier time.⁷¹ Aside from the island’s popularity as a geographic reference and seafaring point, its situation at the western edge of the Nile Delta fits well with the common Ionian use of the Nile as a dividing point between the continents of Libya and Asia, in addition to the westernmost point of the Egyptian Sea. This site’s employment in a description of Japheth’s borders is not as odd as it may first seem (certainly no more odd than Africa), but actually helps make sense of Jub. 8:27, since the boundary would then transect the Great Sea diagonally, from Gadir to Pharos, thereby including the four islands that are said to belong to Japheth’s son Tiras in Jub. 9:13. If Afra/Fara is identified with Pharos, the result would be a common meeting point of the boundaries of Japheth, Shem, and Ham at the westernmost point of the Nile Delta, a solution which works quite nicely when placed on the ancient map.

The linchpin of this argument may, in fact, be found in the latter columns of the Genesis Apocryphon. In 1Qap-Gen 19.13 we read of Abram and Sarai crossing the seven branches of the Nile Delta. Immediately after crossing the last tributary Abram exclaims, “Now we have left our land and entered the land of the sons of Ham, the land of Egypt.” Assuming that the Apocryphon and Jubilees have a similar understanding of each son’s allotment, this story shows that Abram reached the end of “our land”—i.e. Shem’s (or, more specifically, Arpachshad’s) inheritance—after crossing the Nile’s seventh tributary. This is precisely the vicinity of Alexandria, and Pharos.

Once at the Gihon (Nile) River, matters once again become clear. The boundary moves along the southern bank of the Gihon until it reaches its end, presumably at the edge of the terrestrial disk where it meets the encircling body of water (here the Atel Sea; cf. 8:22). From here “it goes eastward until it reaches the Garden of Eden, toward the south side of it” (8:16), the Garden of Eden being the easternmost (and uppermost) point on the map. It continues circling around the eastern edge of the earth until it again reaches the Rafa Mountains, turning there to rejoin the Tina River at its mouth. This final mention of the Tina’s mouth suggests that the description overlaps for a portion of the border, between the Rafa Mountains and the Me’at Sea. Put another way, the stretch dividing Asia from Europe is described at both the beginning and end of the account of Shem’s allotment.

Shem’s border is explained in a counter-clockwise direction, beginning at the Rafa Mountains and end-

⁶⁷ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 71.

⁶⁸ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.133, 239–41 (Thackeray, LCL); Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*, Book 4. Cf. Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 68. For both Josephus and Ptolemy, the term Libya is far more commonly used to refer to the continent as a whole or its entire northern coast. On Ptolemy see J. L. Berggren and A. Jones, *Ptolemy’s Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), 145.

⁶⁹ For a helpful overview see G. Vörös, *Taposiris Magna, Port of Isis: Hungarian Excavations at Alexandria, 1998–2001* (Budapest: Egypt Excavation Society of Hungary, 2001), 58 ff.

⁷⁰ Diodorus Siculus 1.31.2 (Oldfather, LCL). Josephus, *Jewish War* 4.613.

⁷¹ *ⲛⲓⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲁ*. See Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.21 [line 30 of right col.; Syriac]; 1.37 [French trans.]. Michael presents this as an alternate appellation for Pharos *ⲡⲁⲣⲓⲁ*. He was preceded by several centuries in the spelling *ⲛⲓⲣⲁ* for Pharos by Ishodad of Merv. See J.-M. Vosté and C. van den Eynde, *Commentaire d’Iso’dad de Merv sur l’Ancien Testament—I. Genèse* (CSCO 126; Scriptores Syri 67; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950), 1 [line 15].

ing at the mouth of the Tina River. From the Tina, it runs along the eastern edge of the Aegean Sea, across the Egyptian Sea (probably including Cyprus within its bounds), and to the western edge of the Nile Delta, whence it skirts the Gihon and the eastern limits of the world before once again meeting the Tina.

Jubilees 8:17–21 presents a recapitulation of Shem's allotment, which explains the importance of his land in theological terms. We read in 8:19 that "[Noah] knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord; (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and (that) Mt. Zion is in the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them—the one facing the other—were created as holy (places)." Furthermore, it is "a blessed and excellent share" (8:21).⁷² The sites listed in these verses deserve further study, but are all within the border described above, and as such will be elaborated upon below only as needed.⁷³

4.1.1.2. *Ham's Portion: 8:22–24*

Ham's account is far shorter and simpler than those of Shem and Japheth, and presents fewer difficulties concerning identification. The boundary begins on the Egyptian side of the Gihon River, on the right (i.e. south) side of "the garden." This refers to the Garden of Eden, as the end of 8:23 makes clear, and is envisioned at the eastern extremity of the earth by Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and the Genesis Apocryphon.⁷⁴ From here the description moves "southward and goes to all the fiery mountains," which are unidentified and

probably owe to mythical ideas concerning the far southern portion of the earth.⁷⁵ Since one goal of the Ionian map appears to have been symmetry, this range was probably meant to balance the more well-known Mountains of Qelt in the north (Jub. 8:26).⁷⁶

Turning westward, the boundary goes "toward the Atel Sea; it goes westward until it reaches the Mauq Sea, everything that descends into which is destroyed" (8:22).⁷⁷ The Atel Sea has been unanimously understood as an abbreviated reference to the ancient Atlantic Sea (Ἀτλαντική θάλασσα), while the Mauq has fostered more discussion.

Excursus 6: The Mauq Sea

There has been no shortage of propositions regarding the etymology of this name. Charles was the first to question whether the word Mauq might be a distorted form of Ὠκεανός, "the Great Ocean Stream."⁷⁸ Tisserant went a step further, proposing that it is a shortened and corrupted form of the Hebrew מי אוק [יָאֻק] ("waters of the Ocean").⁷⁹ He has been followed by Alexander, Schmidt, and Werman.⁸⁰ Hölscher offered an entirely different explanation, relating Mauq to the word חוג ("circle"), which stood for the "Horizontkreises" of the earth.⁸¹ Wintermute, in turn, considered it to be a *mem*-preformative noun from the Hebrew root חקק, with the meaning "place of the boundary [of waters]."⁸² All of these explanations have shortcomings, not entirely

⁷² We hear nothing of this sort for the allotments of Shem's brothers, alerting the listener that there is something very special about both Shem and the land he is to occupy: "[Noah] recalled everything that he had said in prophecy with his mouth, for he had said: 'May the Lord, the God of Shem, be blessed, and may the Lord live in the places where Shem resides (8:18).'" By allotting Asia to Shem and quoting this altered form of Gen 9:26–27, the author of Jubilees draws together the biblical themes of the election of Shem and the sanctity of the Levant and related places in Asia. 8:21 begins the list of the sites encompassed by Shem's border.

⁷³ The sites are: Eden, the land of the Erythrean Sea, the land of the east, India, Erythrea and its mountains (cf. 9:2), Bashan, Lebanon, the islands of Caphtor, the Sanir and Amana mountain ranges, the Asshur mountain range, Elam, Asshur, Babylon, Susan, Madai, the Ararat Mountains, and an area lying across a northern (likely Caspian) sea.

⁷⁴ Jub. 8:16; 1 En. 32:2–3, 60:8, 70:1–3; 1QapGen 2.23. The Genesis Apocryphon does not actually mention the Garden of Eden, but it is very likely considered the dwelling place of Enoch in the scroll. See P. Grelot, "Parwaïm de Chroniques," 30–38. All of these references are ultimately based on Gen 2:8 "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east." The Gihon is also related to the garden in Gen 2:13, where it is one of the four rivers of Paradise.

⁷⁵ The southernmost area of the earth was the least well-known by ancient geographers, and included a healthy dose of speculation. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 73) and Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 60) mention the fiery mountains of 1 En. 18:6–9 and 24:1–3 along with this verse, but the connection with Jubilees does not seem a direct one. The mountains' name may have something to do with the southern region being the warmest of the inhabited earth (cf. Jub. 8:30), but more likely it is based on the biblical notion that the Lord will come from a mountain in the south, in a fiery state, to judge the earth (cf. Chapter 3, n. 66; also 1 En. 18:8–11; 1QapGen 15.10–11). Interestingly, the late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, which bears a number of striking affinities to the presumed world map of Jubilees, has the *mons ardens* ("burning mountain") in this area (cf. also the Anglo-Saxon or Cotton world map in the British Library manuscript Cotton MS Tiberius B.VI [c. 1050], and most other medieval mappae mundi). It seems quite certain that these are an echo of the tradition found much earlier in Jubilees, and (with Alexander) I would argue that Jubilees' map bore the same basic features as these much later models.

⁷⁶ See Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 199, 210.

⁷⁷ There are textual problems with this verse, which have been sufficiently dealt with in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54–5.

⁷⁸ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 73.

⁷⁹ Tisserant, "Fragments Syriacques," 85 n. 1.

⁸⁰ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205; Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 124 n. 22; Werman, "ספר היובלים," 278 n. 25.

⁸¹ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 61. He was followed by K. Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, (JSHRZ II.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus [Gerd Mohn], 1981), 374 n. d to v. 22. VanderKam (*The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54) links the חוג to Isa 40:22.

⁸² Wintermute, "Jubilees," 73 n. s.

accounting for the phonetic values or spelling of the name Mauq. Most recently, Eshel has broken from the consensus that the Mauq is the outer, earth-encompassing sea, suggesting instead that it refers to the modern Sea of Azov (or ancient Maetis).⁸³ This seems very unlikely, however, given the clear connection between the Sea of Azov and Jubilee's Me'at Sea (see Excursus 1, above).

Given the etiological explanation following the sea's mention in Jub. 8:22, the likely form of the name in the Genesis Apocryphon (16.9; מַחֲמָה), and the later witness of the Syriac Chronicle to the Year of Christ 1234 (ܡܚܡܐ),⁸⁴ VanderKam's suggestion that the name is based on the verb "destroy" (מחק), and could be translated by something like "Sea of Destruction" appears to be correct.

Based on the description of the two seas here and elsewhere in Jubilees, it seems plausible that the Atel Sea occupies the southern half of the surrounding body of water, while the Mauq Sea constitutes the northern half.⁸⁵

Reaching the Mauq Sea we read, "It comes to the north to the boundary of Gadir and comes to the shore of the sea waters, to the waters of the Great Sea, until it reaches the Gihon River" (8:23). Gadir (Γάδιρα, next to the Straits of Gibraltar) is the point at which the boundary turns east again, following the northern Libyan coast until it reaches the waters of the Gihon at the Nile Delta. The course of the Gihon is then traced back to the right side of the Garden of Eden, whence the account began.

The description of Ham's allotment runs in a clockwise direction, encompassing the entirety of Libya. It is clear from the sources that pre-Roman geographic knowledge of this continent was restricted primarily to its northern parts.

4.1.1.3. *Japheth's Portion: 8:25–30*

The third share of the earth falls to Japheth, beginning "on the other side of the Tina River toward the north of the mouth of its waters"—i.e. on the northwestern side of the Tanais, near the Me'at Sea. From this point the territory runs "toward the northeast, (toward) the whole area of Gog and all that is east of them." Here one apparently skirts the Tina, moving toward the Rafa Mountains in the northeast. Gog has typi-

cally been understood as a region somewhere in the northern parts of Asia, in either Lydian Asia Minor or in the general vicinity of Scythia, which is itself a somewhat amorphous territory.⁸⁶ If such is the case here, the author is defining Japheth's portion by what is on the *other* side of the river, rather than describing part of the allotment itself. Hölscher, however, took Gog to be the land belonging to Magog (9:8)—i.e., the land northwest (to the left) of the Tina, and therefore within Japheth's boundaries.⁸⁷ Either interpretation is possible, although that of Hölscher seems more likely here based on the clear, frequent employment of the Tina as a border between the lands of Shem and Japheth.

Jub. 8:26 continues, "It goes due north and goes toward the mountains of Qelt, to the north and toward the Mauq Sea. It comes to the east of Gadir as far as the edge of the sea waters." Although this verse continually mentions the direction "north" in its description, it is clear that this means a westerly tour along the northern circuit of the earth, and not a strict following of the cardinal direction. This includes drawing near to the Qelt Mountains,⁸⁸ the Mauq Sea, and then the Straits of Gibraltar.

From Gadir the border begins to move back toward the east, to the Tina River. It first "goes until it reaches the west of Fara" (8:27)—i.e. the Alexandrian island of Pharos.⁸⁹ It then "goes back toward Aferag and goes eastward toward the water of the Me'at Sea."

Excursus 7: Aferag

As noted in the discussion of Afra/Fara above, Aferag has often been taken as yet another form of the toponym "Africa."⁹⁰ In addition to the earlier arguments against the identification of any of these sites with Africa, two further complications are noteworthy regarding Aferag: 1) it would be odd for two terms referring to the same place and differing significantly in spelling to occur in such close proximity, in the way they do here; 2) what would it mean to go "until it reaches the west of Fara (i.e. Africa)" only to then go "back toward Aferag (i.e. Africa)"? This makes little sense.

⁸³ E. Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (JSJSup 119; eds L. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111–131 [esp. 123].

⁸⁴ See the textual notes to 1QapGen 16.9 and VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.54–5.

⁸⁵ Contrary to Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 61–62), who considers the Atel to be a small segment of the larger Mauq (מחמ). Alexander ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205) makes a suggestion similar to mine, but considers the "water of the abysses/deeps" to be a third part of the outer river (with which I disagree; see Excursus 1).

⁸⁶ For the former see "Gog," *ABD*, 2.1056. A good list of sources for the land of Scythia is provided by Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 70).

⁸⁷ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 71.

⁸⁸ The modern Pyrenees or Alps [or a conflation of the two], in the region of ancient Celt—i.e. northern Spain and southern Gaul. Hölscher (*Drei Erdkarten*, 71) places the Qelt range in the northwest of the "Erdkreises".

⁸⁹ See Excursus 5, above.

⁹⁰ See n. 66, above.

Charles' suggestion that Aferag may refer to the province of Phrygia, in Asia Minor, is far more plausible.⁹¹ This would bring the border back into the general region of the northeast Aegean, whence one could travel "eastward toward the water of the Me'at Sea," as described in 8:27. Indeed, it is clear from several ancient sources that Phrygia Hellespontica (also Phrygia Epictitus, or Phrygia Minor) stretched to the northeast corner of the Aegean Coast, where the Hellespont issues from the Pontus Euxinus.⁹² This possibility is bolstered considerably by the fact that Phrygia and Africa were spelled the same in later targumic, rabbinic, and Samaritan sources.⁹³

From here the border again reaches familiar territory, moving "to the edge of the Tina River toward the northeast until it reaches the banks of its waters toward the mountain range of Rafa. It goes around the north" (8:28). The next verse adds that Japheth's eternal inheritance includes "five large islands and a large land in the north." Four great islands in the Great Sea are also mentioned as part of Japheth's son Tiras' allotment in Jub. 9:13. Since Shem has already been allotted the "islands of Kaftur" (probably Cyprus; see Excursus 8, below), we may deduce that these four are Crete, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. Based on a reference to "the islands and the shores of the islands" in the description of Madai's portion (9:9), Hölscher and Alexander have suggested that the fifth great island of 8:28 is Britain, or the British Isles more generally.⁹⁴ These islands were indeed known to the Ionians,⁹⁵ making this identification plausible.⁹⁶

Japheth's allotment, like Shem's, is described running counterclockwise. It begins at the Tina's mouth and encircles the entire continent of Europe, including

a large portion of the Great Sea,⁹⁷ until it returns to its source-waters near the Rafa mountains. As with Shem's allotment, the beginning and end of the description overlap for the length of the Tina River. The final verse of Japheth's description states that his land "is cold while the land of Ham is hot. Now Shem's land is neither hot nor cold but it is a mixture of cold and heat" (8:30). Apart from reflecting a general climatic reality, the division of the *oikoumene* into three *climata* was a trope of Hellenistic geography.⁹⁸

4.1.2. *The Subdivision among Noah's Grandsons:* *Jubilees 9:1–15*

Following the tripartite division of the earth by Noah, his sons proceed to subdivide the three continents among their own progeny. This typically consists of listing various places within each allotment in an effort to define where each of Noah's grandsons is to dwell, thereby providing a more detailed picture of the world map employed by the author of Jubilees.

4.1.2.1. *Ham's Sons: 9:1*

The allotments of Ham's sons are described very briefly and simply, consisting of little more than a list of their names: "There emerged a first share for Cush to the east; to the west of him (one) for Egypt; to the west of him (one) for Put; to the west of him (one) for Canaan; and to the west of him was the sea." The order employed is that of the Gen 10:6, and no geographic indicators are used to demarcate the boundaries between the sons, save the outer sea bordering the westernmost shore of the continent. This may be due in part to the logical inference of geographic location based on most of the recipients' names. In biblical and subsequent Jewish tradition Cush was identified with Nubia and Ethiopia,⁹⁹ Egypt (מצרים) with the land of the same name, and Put with the vicinity of modern Libya, west of Egypt along the ancient Libyan coast. Although in the Bible Canaan is typically associated with the region bearing that name in the Levant, here he is obviously placed in the region of modern Algeria and Morocco (ancient Mauretania).

⁹¹ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 74.

⁹² See, e.g., Strabo, *Geography* 12.4.1, 3, 10. Here the region is given several names: ἡ Ἐπικτήτος καλουμένη Φρυγία, Ἑλλησποντιακὴ Φρυγία, and μικρὰν Φρυγίαν. Cf. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, map 52.

⁹³ Phrygia is frequently spelled with an initial *aleph* in Semitic languages, and closely resembles the form used in Jubilees. In later sources it is spelled exactly as Africa: אפריקא. See *Arukh ha-Shalem* (9 vols; ed. A. Kohut; New York: Pardes Publishing House, 1955 [Hebrew]), 1.243–44. Also Alexander, *The Toponymy of the Targumim* (Oxford, 1974), 303 [Table 1], 309 [Table 16]. Michael the Syrian (Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4.9 [line 8]) uses the form אפריקה, and the Samaritan *Asatir* אפריקיה (Gaster, *The Asatir*, 18/יח [Hebrew text section]).

⁹⁴ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207.

⁹⁵ Herodotus (*Histories* 3.115) knew of them only vaguely, but by the time of Strabo (*Geography* 1.4.3) they are described in detail.

⁹⁶ Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 75) also noted the reference to islands in 1 En. 77:8. Though there are some textual issues with this passage, it says, "I saw seven large islands in the sea and on the land—two on the land and five in the Great Sea." G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 107.

⁹⁷ This is not surprising in light of the connection of Japheth's descendents with the "maritime nations" (אֲזִי הַגִּזְיִם) in Gen 10:4–5.

⁹⁸ See Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 60–61. Also cf. Alexander's ("Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 202–3) description of the so-called Macrobius maps.

⁹⁹ Gen 2:13 places the Land of Cush alongside the Gihon. Also see 2 Kgs 19:19, Jer 46:9, and "Cush," *ABD* 1.1219.

Thus, Jubilees' account begins in the east and ends in the west, moving neatly from top to bottom on the east-oriented map. This is noteworthy, since the same cannot be said for the biblical account, which situates Canaan northeast of the first three sons. The reason for this change is clear in light of the work's apologetic stance, discussed in Chapter 3.

4.1.2.2. *Shem's Sons: 9:2–6*

Jubilees' treatment of Shem's sons is much more detailed than that of the sons of Ham. Elam and his children are the first to receive their allotment, "to the east of the Tigris River until it reaches the east of the entire land of India, in Erythrea on its border, the waters of Dedan, all the mountains of Mebri and Ela, all the land of Susan, and everything on the border of Farnak as far as the Erythrean Sea and the Tina River" (9:2). In essence, this describes everything east of the Tigris, from the Erythrean Sea in the south to the Tina River in the far north. The allotment includes the ancient Near Eastern region of Elamtu, the city of Susan (Susa), and the Zagros and interior Iranian mountain ranges, to which the "Mebri" and "Ela" mountains of Jubilees must belong.¹⁰⁰ Hölscher appears to have rightly identified Farnak as the ancient region of the Pharnacotis River in ancient Margiane,¹⁰¹ known to Pliny the Elder and Claudius Ptolemy and situated directly east of the Caspian Sea, in modern southeast Turkmenistan.¹⁰² Although the region of biblical Dedan is traditionally understood to be in western Arabia,¹⁰³ the identification of "the waters of Dedan" with this site would be an extreme outlier compared with the other sites mentioned. One can, therefore, appreciate Alexander's statement that "it is hard to say what precisely these are."¹⁰⁴ Yet Hölscher's suggestion of Dodone/Sidodone,¹⁰⁵ along the south-

ern Persian coast in ancient Carmania, should be duly considered. This site is mentioned by Arrian, in his account of Nearchus's voyage along the Erythrean coast, as "a desolate little region, with nothing but water and fish," at which Nearchus temporarily anchored.¹⁰⁶ This certainly fits well with the description of Jubilees, and is preferable to the biblical site. If Hölscher's identifications of Farnak and the waters of Dedan are correct, the author of Jubilees must have had access to sources of considerable detail regarding the eastern territories of Persia.

Asshur is listed next, inheriting "the whole land of Asshur, Nineveh, Shinar, and Sak as far as the vicinity of India, (where) the Wadafa River rises" (9.3). Asshur (i.e. Assyria), Nineveh, and Shinar (i.e. Babylonia) are well-known sites referring to the central regions of Mesopotamia.¹⁰⁷ Sak, which VanderKam has noted refers to Scythia,¹⁰⁸ would be somewhere to the northeast of these regions, in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea. That the allotment goes "as far as" the region of India suggests that it moves eastward, up to India's border, presumably protruding into part of Elam's share. The Wadafa River might be a reference to this border, although its identification has eluded commentators.¹⁰⁹ The Hydaspes (Ὑδασπις) River¹¹⁰ is an attractive candidate, having several of the phonetic elements present in the name Wadafa and being situated in the northwestern region of India. This river was famous during the Hellenistic and Roman periods as the site of a major battle between Alexander the Great and an Indian army during his eastern campaign.¹¹¹ Judging by the ensuing descriptions, Asshur's allotment must cover the lower-central and eastern parts of Mesopotamia, stretching northeast to the south of the Caspian Sea, and up to northern India.

Arpachshad receives "all the land of the Chaldean region to the east of the Euphrates which is close to the Erythrean Sea; all the waters of the desert as far as the vicinity of the branch of the sea which faces Egypt; the entire land of Lebanon, Sanir, and Amana as far as the vicinity of the Euphrates" (9:4). This is the first allotment of a grandson in which the description moves in a definite direction—clockwise.

¹⁰⁰ The standard Mesopotamian sites may be found in most Bible atlases, but the maps in the *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (eds S. Parpola and M. Porter; Finland: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute, 2001) are particularly excellent. For more on the Mebri and Ela mountains cf. Werman, "ספר היובלים," 279 n. 32.

¹⁰¹ Or Merv; modern Mary.

¹⁰² Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69 n. 8. Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 75) must be credited for first putting this identification forward, albeit tenuously. Hölscher cited a passage in which Assarhadon states that he subdued the land of Parnaki. This identification is followed by Wintermute, "Jubilees," 74; and Schmidt "Jewish Representations," 125.

¹⁰³ "Dedan," *ABD*, 2.121–23. So Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207–8.

¹⁰⁵ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69. The manuscript evidence disagrees over the spelling of the name. The known forms are Σιδωδώνη, Σισιδώνη, Σιδώνη, Ιδωδώνη, and Δωδώνη.

¹⁰⁶ Arrian, *Indica* 37.8. A helpful map is found in the back of E. Iliff Robson's first edition of Arrian (vol. 2) in the Loeb Classical Library series (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933). The revised edition of Brunt no longer contains the map.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Jub. 10:26; Gen 10:10–12.

¹⁰⁸ VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.56.

¹⁰⁹ For a survey of views and an argument for this reading see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.56–7.

¹¹⁰ The modern Jhelum.

¹¹¹ See Arrian, *Anabasis* 5.9–18 (Brunt, LCL).

The district of Chaldea equates to the lower portion of Mesopotamia (i.e. south of Babylon),¹¹² dovetailing with Asshur's portion to the north and Elam's to the east. In the Bible it is typically associated with the city of Ur (Gen 11:28, 31; 15:7). As described in Jubilees, this region borders the Erythrean Sea on the south. "All the waters of the desert" may refer either to oases, as Hölscher and Alexander assumed,¹¹³ or to the water surrounding the land on its coastal borders.¹¹⁴ In both cases, "the desert" must be a reference to the Syrian Desert, stretching between Mesopotamia and the Levant, in addition to the entire Arabian Peninsula to the south.¹¹⁵

The "branch of the sea which faces Egypt" is the most difficult designation in Arpachshad's territory, causing Charles to confess "I don't know what is meant here."¹¹⁶ There are two possibilities: 1) The ancient Sinus Heroopoliticus (modern Red Sea); or 2) the eastern region of the Great Sea, called by ancient geographers the Sea of Egypt.¹¹⁷ Alexander asserted that the first interpretation is confirmed by 1QapGen 21.17–19, where Abram states that he hiked along the Euphrates River and Erythrean Sea, until he reached "the branch of the Red Sea" (לשון ים סוף).¹¹⁸ It is true that Abram is retracing Arpachshad's (and thereby his own) borders, but Alexander must assume that the Red Sea (ים סוף) and the Egyptian Sea (ים מצרים) are one and the same—something that is not explicit in the text. Given the popular Hellenistic association of the Sea of Egypt with the Great Sea (an association argued forcefully by Alexander himself), it is easy to see why Hölscher adopted the second option.¹¹⁹ While I agree with Hölscher, the two seas essentially demarcate the same general area—the northern Sinai region.

From here the border moves north and then east, from Lebanon¹²⁰ to Sanir¹²¹ and Amana,¹²² and finally back to the Euphrates.

¹¹² See "Chaldea," *ABD*, 1.886.

¹¹³ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70; Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 207–8.

¹¹⁴ At least this would be a logical deduction if Hölscher's suggestion for "the waters if Dedan" is correct.

¹¹⁵ So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70.

¹¹⁶ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 76.

¹¹⁷ See Excursus 3, above.

¹¹⁸ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 205–6.

¹¹⁹ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 70. He suggested that this "also einschließlich der Sinaihalbinsel," which makes good sense given the earlier descriptions of Shem and Ham.

¹²⁰ Here perhaps meaning all of ancient Palestine (cf. Jub. 10:29).

¹²¹ Biblical Sanir and modern Mt. Hermon (cf. Deut 3:8–9).

¹²² The vicinity of Mt. Amanos, in northern Syria (see below). All three mountains are also mentioned together in Cant 4:8.

The fourth portion falls to Aram, who receives the areas north of Asshur and Arpachshad, "the entire land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldeans as far as the vicinity of the mountain range of Asshur and the land of Arara" (9:5). That is, those portions of Mesopotamia not already allotted to Arpachshad (Chaldea) and Asshur (Asshur, Nineveh, and Shinar), as well as the regions north of this. The "mountain range of Asshur" may form a boundary between the allotments of Aram and Lud (9:6; see below).

Excursus 8: The Mountains of Asshur

There has been a longstanding hypothesis that the Mountains of Asshur in Jub. 8:21 and 9:5–6 and Mount Taurus (טור תורא)¹²³ of 1QapGen 17.10 and 21.16 refer to the same geographic feature. Avigad and Yadin were the first to propose that, since both are located in the same general vicinity by Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, and since both fall within the sub-allotment of Shem's son Aram in the two works,¹²⁴ it may be that Jubilees misread the name in its "Aramaic and Hebrew" sources.¹²⁵ This might have happened, argued Avigad and Yadin, if the author of Jubilees mistakenly read the Aramaic טור תורא (or טור תורא)¹²⁶ as טור אתור, or the Hebrew הר השור as הר אשור. García Martínez adopted a firm stance on this issue, declaring that "the mountains of Asshur can only be Mount Taurus: טור תורא of 1QapGn XVII, 10."¹²⁷ In his opinion, the confusion of the author of Jubilees could have derived only from Aramaic, and this provides evidence for his belief that Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon depend on a common, Aramaic exemplar (i.e. the *Book of Noah*) at this juncture.¹²⁸ The same line of argumentation has been taken up by Eshel.¹²⁹ This is a debatable claim, since one could argue that the Hebrew הר השור would be more easily mistaken as Mountains of Asshur than any of the other options presented by Avigad and Yadin, including the Aramaic טור תורא.

A number of factors are left unaccounted for in the above proposals, and warrant caution regarding their acceptance: 1) Jubilees mentions "mountains" (in the plural), while the Taurus of the Genesis Apocryphon is a single peak; 2) the description in 1QapGen 21.16 makes clear that Mount Taurus is to be equated with the mount elsewhere called

Amana has alternatively been identified with the anti-Lebanon range (cf. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 72).

¹²³ Literally "Mountain of the Bull."

¹²⁴ Based on my reading at the end of 1QapGen 17.9 it now appears that the overlap actually occurs with the Apocryphon's description of Lud's portion.

¹²⁵ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 30. It is now standard to assume that Jubilees depends only on a Hebrew *Urtext*, and not an Aramaic one. See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.vi–vii.

¹²⁶ The phrase טור תורא is a questionable construal, to say the least, in terms of grammar.

¹²⁷ García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 40.

¹²⁸ Assuming Jubilees to otherwise depend on a Hebrew source.

¹²⁹ Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi*," 123.

Amanus (or “Taurus Amanus”)¹³⁰ off the northern end of the Mediterranean coast of Syria (near the Issican Gulf) and still used in rabbinic literature to mark the northern border of Israel;¹³¹ 3) Jubilees already has an Amana mountain (8:21, 9:4), distinct from the Mountains of Asshur, which appears to be a better candidate to parallel the Apocryphon’s Mount Taurus based on the locations described for each; 4) the references to the Mountains of Asshur in Jubilees seem to indicate a region further north and east than the description of Mount Taurus in 1QapGen 21.16, the former being mentioned primarily alongside Mesopotamian sites; 5) the upper Zagros, or eastern Taurus range, which constitute the Median highlands, are in the area where Jubilees seems to place the Mountains of Asshur. These mountains do, in fact, border the northeast edge of Assyria, and are nearby the Mountains of Ararat (cf. Jub. 8:21). Hence, the name “Mountains of Asshur” is not incoherent with its context in Jubilees—a fact that weakens considerably the allegation of scribal confusion.

While it remains possible that some form of the scribal confusion hypothesis of Avigad and Yadin, García Martínez, and Eshel is correct, the above factors demonstrate quite plausibly that the term Mountains of Asshur in Jubilees need not be a mistake, but simply represents another range of mountains further north and east of Mount Taurus in the Genesis Apocryphon (= Mount Amana in Jubilees).¹³² With Alexander, therefore, I identify the Mountains of Asshur with the eastern Taurus and northwestern Zagros Mountains (surrounding Lake Van), which are an extension of the former range into central, modern Kurdistan.¹³³

The region of Arara¹³⁴ abuts these mountains, being situated around Lake Van between Kurdistan and Armenia. Aram’s share is described from south to north.

The final son is Lud, who acquires “the mountain range of Asshur and all that belongs to it until it reaches the Great Sea and reaches to the east of his brother Asshur” (9:6). In Jub. 9:5 we read that Aram’s portion reaches “as far as the vicinity of the mountain range of Asshur,” but not that it includes these mountains. Thus, it seems that the southern feet of these form the boundary between the two shares. Since Lud’s allotment stretches from the Great Sea to the east of Asshur’s land, it must run along the northern borders of the shares of Arpachshad, Aram, and Asshur to the south. The areas covered by Lud’s portion are Asia Minor and some of the northerly

regions of Asia to the east of it, perhaps ending around the Caspian Sea.

Jubilees’ ordering of the sons of Shem follows largely the biblical listing (Gen 10:21–31; cf. 1 Chr 1:17). The only difference is an inversion of the last two sons, Jubilees placing Lud in the last, rather than penultimate, position. There are no known biblical variants agreeing with Jubilees’ order, but the same scheme is found in Josephus’ *Antiquities* 1.143–44.

4.1.2.3. *Japheth’s Sons: 9:7–13*

The final son of Noah to subdivide his inherited land is Japheth.¹³⁵ The first share falls to Gomer, “eastward from the north side as far as the Tina River” (9:7). This description is extremely ambiguous, but from the surrounding allotments we may gather that it stretches westward from the Tina, with Magog to the northwest, and Javan and Tubal to the southwest (likely separated from Gomer by the lower part of Magog’s portion). This would roughly equate to modern Russia.

Magog comes next, receiving the land “north of him [i.e. Gomer] . . . all the central parts of the north until it reaches the Me’at Sea” (9:8). This too is a rather vague report, although mention of the Me’at Sea suggests that Magog’s portion skirts to the south of Gomer, in addition to being north (and presumably west) of it. A modern equivalency of Ukraine, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland (i.e. the central and northern parts of Eastern Europe) must be approximate modern parallels, granting, of course, the considerable differences between ancient and modern maps.

Madai occupies the land “west of his brothers [i.e. Gomer and Magog] as far as the islands and the shores of the islands” (9:9). The designation “west of his brothers” suggests the basic region of northwestern Europe, roughly equating to the modern countries of Germany, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and northern France. Charles first suggested that the islands mentioned in this verse are the British Isles.¹³⁶ Given that Madai’s portion does not appear to occupy any part of the southern European coast, this proposal

¹³⁰ See *Tg. Ps.-J.* 34:7–8 (טורס אומניס); and *y. Hallah* 4:8. Amanus is also mentioned by Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.130.

¹³¹ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 30.

¹³² Zeitlin (“The Dead Sea Scrolls,” 255–56) took this position, but based it on the dubious claim that “[t]he Book of Jubilees was written in the pre-Hellenistic period.”

¹³³ Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 208.

¹³⁴ Biblical Ararat; ancient Urartu.

¹³⁵ A broader treatment of the geographic territory occupied by Japheth and his sons in a number of Jewish texts (including Jubilees) has been done by J. Maier, “Zu ethnographisch-geographisch Überlieferungen über Japhetiten (Gen 10, 2–4) in frühen Judentum,” *Henoch* 13 (1991): 157–194.

¹³⁶ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 76. He is followed by Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 207; and Werman, “ספר היובלים,” 280 n. 35.

is quite probable.¹³⁷ Though brief, the description moves from east to west.

The fourth share is apportioned to Javan, who receives “every island and the islands that are in the direction of Lud’s border” (9:10). The words “every island” cannot literally mean every island in existence, since we know from elsewhere that islands are apportioned to Shem, Tiras, and Madai.¹³⁸ Rather, this must mean every island within certain geographic parameters. The most logical inference is that “every island” means every island in the Aegean Sea.¹³⁹ A further qualification is then added by stating that these include the islands hugging the coast of Asia Minor, which belongs to Lud. It is striking, and perhaps significant, that Javan (i.e. Greece) is not only denied territory in Asia, but also relegated to small islands only—a point that will be revisited below.

Tubal receives “the middle of the branch which reaches the border of Lud’s share as far as the second branch, and the other side of the second branch into the third branch” (9:11). Commentators have been divided as to the meaning of “branch” (or “tongue”; לשון) in this verse. It must either refer to a peninsula of land,¹⁴⁰ or a gulf of water.¹⁴¹ The latter is preferable, since the term clearly refers to gulfs elsewhere in the narrative. The first branch (i.e. the branch which reaches the border of Lud’s share) is then the Aegean Sea, the second branch the Adriatic Sea, and the third branch the Tyrrhenian Sea. If this is correct, Tubal is allotted the mainland peninsulas of Greece and Italy, and presumably the lands connecting them to their north.¹⁴²

Next, Meshech is apportioned “all the (region on the) other side of the third branch until it reaches to

the east of Gadir” (9:12). That is, southern France, Spain, and Portugal. The shares of Javan, Tubal, and Meshech are described from east to west, corresponding to the east to west description of Gomer, Magog, and Madai’s portions in the north.

The last son to whom Japheth allots land is Tiras. His inheritance amounts to “the four large islands within the sea which reaches Ham’s share” (9:13). Precisely which islands constitute “the four large islands” has been a matter of some debate. All agree that they must include Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, but the fourth has been variously taken as Cyprus,¹⁴³ Malta,¹⁴⁴ and Crete.¹⁴⁵

The confusion here is doubtless connected to the following aside in the last bit of Tiras’s description, “The islands of Kamaturi emerged by lot for Arpachshad’s children as an inheritance.” Charles put this sentence in brackets, believing it to be an interpolation.¹⁴⁶ Whether he is correct or not, it is understandable why the original author, or a later redactor, wanted to clarify this issue in light of the earlier statement that Shem received “the islands of Caphtor” (8:21) as part of his allotment.

Excursus 9: The Islands of Caphtor/Kamaturi

Two key issues must be resolved to reach a decision on the identity of these islands: 1) to which islands do “the islands of Caphtor” in 8:21 refer?; 2) are “the islands of Caphtor” and “the islands of Kamaturi” synonymous? Beginning with Charles, the second question has been unanimously answered affirmatively, such that the identification of Caphtor may also be applied to Kamaturi with some confidence (and vice versa) if not complete certainty.¹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, this does not aid in the geographic identification of Caphtor/Kamaturi. Charles noted that Caphtor is linked to Cappadocia, north of Syria in Asia Minor, by several of the Targums and the Peshitta.¹⁴⁸ This is easily ruled out, since here we find Caphtor/Kamaturi referring to an island, or a group of islands, as in Jer 47:4.¹⁴⁹ Charles opts for the island of Crete, although he admits that modern commentators

¹³⁷ As an addendum to this verse, Jub. 10:35–36 amusingly recounts that when Madai “saw the land near the sea...it did not please him.” Instead, he pleaded for a land grant from Elam, Asshur, and Arpachshad (his wife’s brother), thereby living “in the land of Mediqin near his wife’s brother until the present.” This story creatively reconciles Jubilees’ world map with the clear etymological relationship of Madai to the Near Eastern land of Media.

¹³⁸ Charles (*The Book of Jubilees*, 77) entertains the possibility that the first mention of islands in this verse actually refers to “coastlands,” and not islands.

¹³⁹ So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; and Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 207.

¹⁴⁰ So Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77. Charles states that a “tongue” in Jubilees can be “either promontory of land, or bay,” in the notes published with his later translation, *The Book of Jubilees* (1917), 73 n. 8.

¹⁴¹ So Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72; Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 205; and apparently Schmidt, “Jewish Representations,” 122, map 1.

¹⁴² E.g. modern Albania, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia.

¹⁴³ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 74, 77. Wintermute (“Jubilees,” 75) seems to agree with this.

¹⁴⁴ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 72.

¹⁴⁵ Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 206–7; Werman, “ספר היובלים,” 280 n. 37.

¹⁴⁶ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77. VanderKam does not follow him.

¹⁴⁷ See especially Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77; and Wintermute, “Jubilees,” 75. It should be noted that in some scribal hands of Aramaic/Hebrew script *peh* and *mem* could be quite easily confused. Taking this into consideration one can see a considerable similarity in the phonology of the two toponyms.

¹⁴⁸ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 72.

¹⁴⁹ The Jeremiah passage reads אִי כַפְתּוֹר. It is possible that in Jubilees the phrase was originally intended to be singular (i.e. “the island of Caphtor”) as in Jeremiah. If the original Hebrew of

have linked Caphtor to a number of sites, including Cilicia, Cyprus, Crete, or Coptos (a city in the upper Thebaid).¹⁵⁰ Hölscher, Berger, and Wintermute agree that the island is Crete,¹⁵¹ but Alexander is certain that “Cyprus must be one of these.”¹⁵² Schmidt withholds judgment, merely listing Crete and Cyprus as possibilities, while Caquot makes the unlikely suggestion that the islands of Kamaturi refer to the Aegean islands along the coast of Asia Minor.¹⁵³ It seems most logical to understand Caphtor/Kamaturi as a reference to Cyprus, since it is the nearest to Shem’s allotment. However, the possibilities that both Cyprus and Crete, or Crete alone, are meant cannot be absolutely excluded. While I find Cyprus’s physical location a strong argument for its identification with Caphtor/Kamaturi in Jubilees, the matter must remain unresolved in the absence of further evidence. Of course, the fourth great island of Tiras must remain equally obscure. If Caphtor/Kamaturi refers to Cyprus, it must be Crete. If Shem receives Crete instead, then Cyprus must belong to Tiras. If, however, both Crete and Cyprus are meant, then Hölscher’s proposal of Malta may be possible (although I find this a far less likely option).

4.1.3. *Summary: Jubilees’ Division of the Earth*

When read in tandem with chapter 10:27–35, Jub. 8–9 reveals a creative marriage of the Table of Nations from Gen 10, the Ionian world map, and Jubilees’ apologetic desire to provide the Israelites (i.e. the descendants of Arpachshad) a legitimate claim to the biblical “land of Canaan”—i.e. the eventual land of Israel. Schmidt suggests that this melange emerged as the result of an inter-Israelite conflict regarding the growing trend of Jewish openness toward Hellenization, with Jubilees advocating a conservative, anti-Hellenizing stance.¹⁵⁴ While this may partially account for Jubilees’ concern, it seems likely that Jubilees is also making a claim on the land vis-à-vis foreign occupation. The laughably small allotment of Javan (i.e. Greece) in particular suggests that the Greeks may be the targets of such a claim. This would fit well with the standard opinion that Jubilees was written in the midst of the Maccabean revolt against the Seleucids.¹⁵⁵ Thus, not only is Jubilees taking a stand against pro-

Hellenistic Israelites, but also against those modern Canaanites, the Greeks, who possess the audacity to usurp a land not their own in explicit contradiction of divine mandate.¹⁵⁶ This apologetic could be (and was) easily appropriated by others, such as the Essenes or later Christian groups, who viewed themselves as the true remnant of Israel—i.e. the rightful heirs of the Promised Land.

Jubilees’ heavy dependence on the Ionian world map is obvious in its division of the world into three parts by way of the Tina and Gihon rivers, as well as many of the other sites employed. If the identifications of Karas with Icarus/Caria, Afra/Fara with Pharos, and the Egyptian Sea with the eastern Mediterranean are correct, then this dependence on Hellenistic geography is underscored even further. Jubilees’ strict focus on geographic regions (and not on ethnic or linguistic developments), as well as its division schema (first among Noah’s sons and then among his grandsons) are additional factors setting this account apart from its biblical exemplar.

4.2. GENESIS APOCRYPHON 16–17

Noah’s division of the earth in the Genesis Apocryphon is woefully fragmentary, and as a result many issues are less clear than in Jubilees. Perhaps it is for this reason that some scholars dealing with the division of the earth in early Judaism merely gesture toward these columns as an obvious parallel to Jubilees, presumably with little of interest to offer on its own.¹⁵⁷ Despite the scroll’s incomplete nature, this is certainly not the case. It is true that 1QapGen 16–17 follow the same general structure as Jubilees, Noah first dividing the world into three sections among his sons, who in turn distribute their respective shares among their own sons. This remains one of the most striking parallels between the two accounts. In addition, there is significant overlap in the major landmarks used to delineate territories from one another, attesting to a common dependence on the tripartite Ionian *mappa mundi*.

In the following commentary I will make frequent reference back to Jubilees, summarizing some of the more interesting points of comparison and contrast at the end of the chapter. For more detailed explana-

Jubilees was written אֵי כַפְתּוֹר, as Charles assumed, the first word could have then been translated as either singular or plural.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. “Caphtor,” *ABD* 1.869–70.

¹⁵¹ Hölscher, *Drei Erdkarten*, 69; Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*; Wintermute, “Jubilees,” 75.

¹⁵² Alexander, “Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 206.

¹⁵³ Schmidt, “Jewish Representations,” 124; Caquot, *Annuaire du Collège de France* (1980–81): 508–9. These Aegean islands are, however, clearly given to Javan earlier.

¹⁵⁴ Schmidt, “Naissance d’une géographie juive,” 26–30; idem, “Jewish Representation,” 132–33.

¹⁵⁵ On the date of Jubilees see the excursus in Chapter 1, 15–16.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Alexander, “Jerusalem as the *Omphalos* of the World,” 106–7.

¹⁵⁷ A representative example may be found in Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism*, 28, 36. Of course, this is understandable given the relatively recent publication of these columns.

tions of individual readings the textual notes may be consulted.

4.2.1. *Noah's Division among his Sons: Genesis Apocryphon 16*

4.2.1.1. *Japheth's Portion: 16.8–12*

Our first glimpses of Noah's distribution are joined already in progress, and we are immediately faced with difficulties in reading the text and contextualizing the places mentioned. It is clear, nevertheless, that the account begins midway through a description of Japheth's allotment. Line 9 begins, “of the sea that is between them; source of (the) Mahaq (מֶחָק), up to the Tina [R]iver. It then passes as a spring (בְּעִין) the length of the whole land of the north, in its entirety, until it reaches (the) source of...” (16.9–10).

Several words in these lines have fostered debate and confusion. The first word of line 9 has been read by some as “branch” (לְשָׁנָא) or “branches” (לְשָׁנִיא), which is a geographic term used elsewhere in both Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, although it does not occur in Jubilees' description of Japheth's share. The other word that has drawn attention is what many have read as בְּעִין, and which has been transcribed by some both in the centre of line 9 (= my מחק) and again near its end (= my כְּעִין). There are good palaeographic reasons to believe that neither לְשָׁנָא/יָא nor בְּעִין is correct, but taken together they have generated some theories that deserve to be addressed briefly.

Esther Eshel has recently argued that the term בְּעִין in the Genesis Apocryphon is an alternate name for the Euphrates River, which is elsewhere called by the expected פֹּרַת (1 QapGen 16.16; 17.12, 14[?]; 21.12, 17 bis, 28).¹⁵⁸ Eshel based her argument in part on an enigmatic geographic reference to a certain בְּעִים in Isa 11:15—a term that has frustrated exegetes for centuries. Paired with her transcription of “branches” or “bays” at the beginning of the line, she proposed that, in contrast to Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon allots Japheth the majority of Asia Minor, up to the בְּעִין (her Euphrates River) and then back to the Tina River. Hence, the division of the earth in the Genesis Apocryphon stands closer at this point to its “parallel” account in Josephus than to Jubilees.

A serious difficulty with this interpretation is its ill fit with the rest of 1QapGen 16–17, in which it

is relatively clear that 1) Japheth receives only land north of the Tina River (17.16); 2) Shem is granted the “waters of the Tina River” (16.15); and 3) Lud is apportioned Asia Minor, as in Jubilees (17.9–10). Another problem is a comparison with Josephus' account, which is clearly driven by different motives. Of course, most decisive are the paleographic problems mentioned above, which Eshel fails to address despite disagreement over the first instance of בְּעִין in the editions.¹⁵⁹

As the passage is transcribed in the present edition, several terms used in Jubilees' description of Japheth's portion are also discernible in the Genesis Apocryphon. While the “sea that is between them” is difficult to pinpoint, it is apparently linked to the “source of the Mahaq,” which is equivalent to the outer Mauq Sea in Jubilees.¹⁶⁰ From here the border reaches “up to the Tina River,” indicating that the border is progressing in a clockwise direction—the opposite of Jubilees. “[T]he whole land of the north, in its entirety” may then refer to the land bordering the Tina, on its northern bank—i.e. the lands of Gomer and Magog.¹⁶¹ Indeed, 17.16 later records that Gomer's portion lies “in the north, until it reaches the Tina River.” The word בְּעִין preceding this phrase makes the best sense as a geographic adverb, based on either the meaning “sight” or “spring” for the word עֵין.¹⁶²

In 16.11 the description of Japheth's share concludes, stating that “this boundary crosses the waters of the Great Sea until it reaches Ga[de]ra...”. Here again we see a significant difference in relation to Jubilees, which ends at the northeastern end of the Tina River. Like Jubilees, however, this description does traverse the Great Sea, apparently including a large portion of it within Japheth's lot.

Though many questions must remain unanswered regarding Japheth's share in the Genesis Apocryphon, it is clear that, as in Jubilees, his portion includes the land of the north and employs the Tina River as a major border. Unlike Jubilees, the portion is described in a clockwise direction, and uses Gadera as its point of origin and termination. The description ends by stating that “...Noah divided by lot for Japheth

¹⁵⁹ The first letter is transcribed as a *mem* by García Martínez and Tigchelaar and Beyer.

¹⁶⁰ See the textual note. My reading מֶחָק is similar to that found in a Syriac Chronicle quoting Jubilees at this point (ܡܚܩܡ; cf. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.53–54 n. to 8:21).

¹⁶¹ Alternatively, it may refer to the general situation of Japheth's portion in its entirety. This seems less likely, however, based on this line's placement in the description.

¹⁶² See the textual notes.

¹⁵⁸ Eshel, “Isaiah 11:15,” 38–45; idem, “The *Imago Mundi*,” 114–115.

and his sons to inherit as an eternal inheritance” (16.12).

4.2.1.2. *Shem’s Portion: 16.14–25*

Although the parchment comprising the middle of col. 16 is relatively well preserved, the script itself is badly deteriorated and fragmentary due to the corrosive traits of the ink. Still, a number of toponyms remain legible and give some idea of how these lines compare to the description of Jubilees. 1QapGen 16.14 begins, “To Shem fell the second lot, for him and his sons to inherit...” That Shem receives the second share indicates that Japheth’s lot falls first in the earth’s division, and that Ham is the last to receive his share. This order (Japheth-Shem-Ham) stands in stark contrast to the more expected order found in Jubilees (Shem-Ham-Japheth).

The first extant geographic detail of this section is the mention of “the waters of this Tina River” (16.15), which emerge and then progress to a now lost destination. Jub. 8:12 also includes the Tina very near the beginning of its description, although only after naming the Rafa Mountains and “the source of the water” of this river. It is unclear whether the Apocryphon listed these features, but it is probable that some description of the upper Tina and its source preceded the present mention of the river, since the phrase “this Tina River” seems to assume an antecedent reference.¹⁶³

Following a half line of illegible text we find a second reference to the Tina River, and then, after another short break, to “the Maeota Sea (מַאֲוֹתָא),¹⁶⁴ which reaches... the gulf of the Great Salt Sea. This boundary goes by line of sight to the waters of this gulf, which...” (16.16–17). Again, Jubilees provides a similar description, moving from the outer edges of the earth to the Me’at Sea and then into “the bosom of the branch that faces southward” (Jub. 8:12–13) by way of the Tina River. It is clear that both texts use the Tina to describe the border between Shem and Japheth, and that the descriptions run the same direction and employ like landmarks. The general similarities, however, break down somewhat in the details. Beyond probably not mentioning the Rafa Mountains,¹⁶⁵ the Apocryphon uses a form for the Maeotian Sea

that is morphologically closer to its Greek exemplar Μαῖωτις than the Me’at of Jubilees. Additionally, the Apocryphon names the Great Salt Sea,¹⁶⁶ rather than the more expected Great Sea of Jub. 8:12. Mention of the gulf of this sea directly after the Macotis in the Apocryphon shows that the author considered the Great Sea to extend through the Pontus Euxinus, as in Strabo and Jubilees.¹⁶⁷

The next recognizable landmark is “the gulf of the sea that faces toward Eg[yp]t” (16.18). Though lack of context precludes certainty, this gulf probably refers to either the entire eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea (i.e. the Egyptian Sea of Hellenistic geographers), or to a smaller gulf comprising only part of the Mediterranean (e.g. the Aegean, Pamphylian, or Issican/Myriandric gulfs). In my opinion, the second option is more likely, in which case this gulf equates to Jubilees’ “Branch of the Egyptian Sea” (8:14).¹⁶⁸ If this is the case, the two accounts describe the same feature in a slightly different manner.

Unfortunately, this is the last reference of any substance in Shem’s portion. The remaining seven lines are too disintegrated to read with any certainty, but do reveal that at line 18 the account is still less than half finished, being roughly eleven and a half lines long.¹⁶⁹ It is plain that, like Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon’s description moves counterclockwise on the map. Despite the regular inconsistency in details between the two accounts, a number of the same landmarks are employed.

4.2.1.3. *Ham’s Portion: 16.26ff*

There are several indicators that a description of Ham’s portion begins at line 26: 1) mention of Shem receiving the “second lot” in 1QapGen 16.14, which is preceded by Japheth’s allotment; 2) the presence of a large vacat midway through 16.25; and 3) convincing remains of the word וְלִחָם, “And to Ham,” at the beginning of 16.26.¹⁷⁰ Unfortunately, there is almost

¹⁶³ This may, in fact, be one argument against the reconstruction of Morgenstern, Qimron, and Sivan (and followed by Fitzmyer) at the end of 16.14, which I have followed for the time being.

¹⁶⁴ The ancient Maeotis (Gk. Μαῖωτις), equivalent to Jubilees’ Me’at Sea.

¹⁶⁵ Based on available space at the end of 1QapGen 16.14.

¹⁶⁶ This is apparently another way to refer to the Great Sea, or Mediterranean, based on the later appellation “this Great Sea of salt” (מַאֲוֹתָא דִּן דִּי מַלְחָא) in 1QapGen 21.16, which clearly speaks of the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean is simply called the Great Sea (מַאֲוֹתָא) in 21.11–16. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 172.

¹⁶⁷ See n. 25, above.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Excursus 3, above.

¹⁶⁹ The lines in this column are irregularly short for the scroll due to its placement at the end of a sheet of parchment (cf. also col. 22). In a typical column the section would be closer to nine or ten lines long.

¹⁷⁰ This reading is also tentatively suggested by Eshel, “The *Imago Mundi*,” 114 n. 16.

nothing legible remaining of this section, save a clear *gimel* in line 27, which may well begin the name Gihon. Based on the preceding descriptions, we would not expect this description to be longer than ten to twelve lines (and probably shorter, given the typical disinterest in the Hamites and their allotments), situating us near the end of the column.

4.2.2. *The Subdivision among Noah's Grandsons: Genesis Apocryphon 17*

4.2.2.1. *Ham's Sons?*

Although the first five lines of col. 17 are completely missing, there are a number of reasons to believe that they once contained a description of Ham's distribution of his share among his sons: 1) as suggested above, the account of Ham's portion likely ended around the end of col. 16; 2) the division of Shem's lot among his sons begins in 17.7, and is preceded by a half-line vacat, leaving at least six lines of text unaccounted for at the top of the column; 3) a review of the allotments of Japheth, Shem, and Ham, while plausible, would likely not have taken up six lines; 4) Japheth's distribution among his sons in 17.16–19 takes up less than four full lines; 5) placing Ham first would create a chiasmic relationship with the preceding list of Japheth-Shem-Ham. It is also worth recalling that Jubilees' description of Ham's sons is very brief. Considering that Ham has three less sons than Japheth, it is quite likely that the last lines of col. 16 and the beginning lines of col. 17 contained both a review of the land distributed to Noah's three sons, and the subdivision of Ham's share.

4.2.2.2. *Shem's Sons: 17.7–15*

The subdivision of Shem's lot among his sons is relatively well preserved. The list begins much like Jubilees, stating that "Shem divided his [po]rtion between his sons" (17.7).¹⁷¹ The first son to receive an allotment is Elam, "in the north, along the waters of the Tigris River, until it reaches the Erythrean Sea, to its source which is in the north" (17.7–8). While both the Tigris and Erythrean Sea are cited in Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon's account is much shorter and less precise, never mentioning such exotic sites as India, the mountains of Mebri and Ela, or Farnak. We also read nothing of the Tina River for the allotment's northern border, as in Jub. 9:2. Although we gain a far less exact

picture of Elam's lot from the Genesis Apocryphon than from Jubilees, the same basic area seems to be in view. In general, it comprises everything east of the Tigris River, from the Erythrean Sea in the south to the Tina in the north. Both accounts jump from place to place, but appear do so in a similar pattern, moving from the Tigris down to the Erythrean Sea, and then back up toward the north.

The portion of Asshur follows in 1QapGen 17.8, "And af[ter him] there fell to Asshur (the area) toward the west, until it reaches the Tigris..."¹⁷² No more than a few words can follow this mention of the Tigris, showing that again this description is much shorter and far more schematic than that of Jubilees. All that we can gather from the Apocryphon is that Asshur's share is west of Elam, and that it involves the Tigris River. This, of course, lines up well geographically with the description of Jub. 9:3, although there we hear nothing about being "to the west" of Elam, or the Tigris River.

The third distribution falls "to Aram the land that is between the two rivers until it reaches the peak of Mount Ar[arat], in that region" (17.9). When paired with the following allotment of Arpachshad, it appears that this refers to the middle and upper regions of Mesopotamia, continuing north into modern Kurdistan and Armenia. Jub. 9:5 is again longer than the Apocryphon,¹⁷³ and differs in the sites chosen to describe the allotment. While it lists "the mountain range of Asshur" in the north, here we appear to have Mount Ararat instead.¹⁷⁴ In addition, Jubilees employs the Tigris, Euphrates, and land of Chaldea to demarcate the specific area of Mesopotamia being referred to. Despite these differences, the geographic area described by both texts is once again the same, with both narratives moving from south to north.

Next, to Lud "fell this Mount Taurus. This portion passes to the west until it reaches Magog; everything al[ong] the gulf...that is in the Eastern Sea, in the north, adjoining this gulf—that which is above the three portions to its south" (17.10–11). Here we surprisingly find a significantly longer and dissimilar description than that provided by the author of Jubilees. Mount Taurus (or Taurus Amanus; lit. "Mount of the Ox")

¹⁷¹ Jub. 9:2 reads, "Shem, too, divided (his share) among his sons."

¹⁷² In col. 17 of the Genesis Apocryphon the word *ובתרה* "and after him" commonly (but not always) signals the next apportionment to be listed. For this reason, the inclusion of this part of line 8 within Elam's portion is to be rejected (cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 96–7, 173–4).

¹⁷³ Although by less of a margin than with most other portions.

¹⁷⁴ Some have read my Mt. Ararat as the mountains of Asshur based upon Jubilees, but this is doubtful. See the textual notes.

is situated near the border between northern Syria and Cilicia in southern Asia Minor, and constitutes a standard landmark used elsewhere to distinguish between the regions to its north and south.¹⁷⁵ The “Eastern Sea, in the north,” must refer to the Caspian Sea, which would be expected near Lud’s eastern frontier.¹⁷⁶ This is confirmed by the mention of Magog, who receives a portion that would border this area in Jub. 9:8 (the Genesis Apocryphon is too vague to be sure where Magog’s portion lies). That a “branch” is referred to may hint that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understood the Caspian to be an inlet of the outer Ocean River,¹⁷⁷ but this is not certain.¹⁷⁸ The final statement that Lud’s share sits “above the three portions to its south,” indicates that his share runs along the tops of three allotments directly south of it. These must be Asshur, Aram, and Arpachshad. As in Jubilees, Lud receives Asia Minor and the land northeast of it, but in the Genesis Apocryphon this area is explained in an entirely different way. Interestingly, despite their differences both accounts appear to begin with a point somewhere in the middle of the allotment and then move first to the west, and then toward the east.

The final description is that of Arpachshad, which stands apart from the others because of its added length. His section begins, “un[til] it reaches to... which turns to the south; the entire land irrigated

by the Euphrates, and all...” (17.11–12). The “land irrigated by the Euphrates” is a technical reference to southern Mesopotamia, approximately from Hit southward,¹⁷⁹ and is equivalent to Jubilees’ “Chaldean region to the east of the Euphrates” (9:4). The following line continues, “...a[ll] of the valleys and plains that are between them, and the coastlands that are within this gulf; all...un[til] it reaches...” Where precisely the “valleys and plains” are located is unsure, though an identification somewhere within the Levant should be expected. The “coastlands” (אִיִּים) that lay in the bosom of this gulf are likely the modern (northern) Sinai, Israeli, Lebanese, and Syrian seacoasts, but may alternatively refer to an “island” lying at the east edge of the “gulf” of the Mediterranean (i.e. the Egyptian Sea). The first option is strengthened considerably by the fact that a different, more technical word for “island” (גִּבְאוֹתָא) is used later in this column (17.17).¹⁸⁰

The last extant segment of Arpachshad’s share reads, “to Amana, which abuts Mount Ararat, and (from) Amana until it reaches the Euphrates]...” (17.14). Amana is also mentioned (along with Lebanon and Senir) toward the end of Jubilees’ account of Arpachshad’s land. This region could be linked either to Mount (Taurus) Amanus, in northern Syria next to the Issican Gulf, or with the biblical district in the vicinity of the Amana River (modern Nahr Barada), which runs from the Anti-Lebanon mountain range through Damascus. The following reference to Mount Ararat, as well as the placements of Mount Taurus and Amana in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, argues strongly for adopting the former option. This also advocates a southerly location for Mount Ararat, in modern Kurdistan. As in Jubilees, the Euphrates is among the last toponyms mentioned.

Arpachshad’s portion is among the most similar in comparison with Jubilees. Both accounts are roughly the same length, follow a clockwise direction, and list a number of the same sites. Despite this general resem-

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Excursus 8, above.

¹⁷⁶ Eshel (“The *Imago Mundi*,” 123) considers the Eastern Sea to be the Sea of Azov, or ancient Lake Maeotis, and goes on to argue that this demonstrates the Genesis Apocryphon’s dependence on a more traditional form of the Ionian map, which had Delphi at its center (rather than Jerusalem, as in Jubilees). It is difficult to see how this should be the case since, as Alexander has already noted (“Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 206), an Eastern Sea exists in Jubilees that quite clearly refers to the modern Caspian, and which would fall along Lud’s portion. In addition, the name “Maeota Sea” (ים מאיִתא) may now be read with relative certainty in 1QapGen 16.16. This sea, not the Eastern Sea, would then equate to the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis), and Jubilees’ Me’at Sea.

¹⁷⁷ Alexander (“Notes on the ‘Imago Mundi,’” 206) argues that in Jubilees the Eastern Sea cannot be connected to the outer waters because of the east-west orientation of the Tina River (but cf. Excursus 1, above). This is questionable, but would line up with the descriptions of some Hellenistic geographers (e.g. Hecataeus and Eratosthenes). The seemingly more common view among Ionian-dependent geographers (e.g. Strabo, Arrian, and Pseudo-Aristotle) was that the Caspian was open on its northeastern end to the outer sea, thereby forming a large gulf. This is still seen on the famous late 13th century Hereford Mappa Mundi, or the late 14th century Higden world map. If, indeed, Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon disagreed on this point (which I find doubtful) it would be of no mean importance. However, any such difference is impossible to demonstrate at present.

¹⁷⁸ Alternatively, the branch may be the Aegean Sea, but this would require a significant leap in the description, from the Aegean to the Caspian within one or two words. This seems a less likely option.

¹⁷⁹ See the article by W. S. LaSor, “Euphrates,” in the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (4 vols; eds G. W. Bromiley et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 2.202–204. Mesopotamia is divisible into three basic regions—upper, middle, and lower. The lower region was distinguished in antiquity by an impressive network of irrigation ditches ciphering water away from the Euphrates and enabling a productive environment for agriculture; hence, the “land irrigated by the Euphrates.” This region was also regularly inundated by flooding from the Euphrates during the rainy season, which may also be partially responsible for the designation here.

¹⁸⁰ If an island is meant (which I find unlikely), then Cyprus is certainly the best candidate. This would shed some new light on questions about the islands of Caphtor/Kamatur in Jubilees (cf. Excursus 9, above).

blance, however, there remain stark differences in wording and description, such as their entirely unrelated ways of defining the region of southern Mesopotamia.

4.2.2.3. *Japheth's Sons: 17.16–19*

The entire subdivision of Japheth's portion between his sons is, not surprisingly, more succinct than the version in Jubilees. To Gomer, the first to receive his share, fell "(an area) in the north, until it reaches the Tina River" (17.16). This description is strikingly similar to Jub. 9:8, which adds only that Gomer received what is "eastward" in the north.

The next two sons are simply listed without further elaboration: "And after him [i.e. Gomer] to Magog, and after him to Madai" (17.16–17). Since we find that Gomer is placed next to the Tina, we may assume that, like Jubilees, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon understands these allotments to be moving consecutively toward the west. Jubilees, however, expands considerably upon both shares.

Javan comes next, receiving "all the islands that are alongside Lud, and (that) between the gulf th[at] is n[ex]t to Lud and the [se]cond gu[lf]." The words "every island" mirror exactly the phrase in Jubilees, but in this portion is also found one of the most intriguing differences between Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon. While the former allots Javan only the Aegean Islands, it is clear that the Apocryphon assigns him the mainland of Greece as well—i.e. the land lying between "the gulf that is next to Lud" (the Aegean Sea) and "the second gulf" (the Adriatic Sea). Fitzmyer, basing himself on Jubilees, has understood "the second gulf" to go along with the following word לַתְּוֹבָל "to Tubal," thereby leaving Lud with only islands as in Jub. 9:10. However, we have no other instance in cols. 16–17 of a site related to one of Noah's sons or grandsons being listed *before* he is named. Considering a probable second mention of "the second gulf" at the beginning of 17.18, it is quite certain that everything preceding לַתְּוֹבָל belongs within the portion of Javan. As in Jubilees, the reference to Lud's share in describing the Aegean Islands demonstrates that Lud (and, therefore, Shem) has already received all of Asia Minor.¹⁸¹

Tubal's abrupt description consists of three Aramaic words: "that which is across [the] second g[ulf]" (17:17–18). Here too there is a discrepancy with Jubilees, linked to the disagreement over Javan's lot. While

in Jubilees' lengthier account Tubal is apportioned both mainland Greece and Italy, here he receives Italy alone—i.e. that lying to the west of the Adriatic. However, despite disagreeing with the scope of Tubal's share, Jub. 9:11 contains a phrase remarkably similar to that of the Genesis Apocryphon, "...and the other side of the second branch into the third branch."

Of the last two sons, very little legible text remains. It is clear that Meshech is listed after Tubal, although only his name is preserved. His description was quite short—probably four to seven words—and likely mentioned "the third gulf" (the Tyrrhenian Sea) and Gadir, as in Jub. 9:12.

Not even the name of Tiras is extant, although he is undoubtedly the last son to be listed, both by default (his is the only share not yet described) and based on the traditional order employed by Genesis and Jubilees. His account may include reference to the four islands mentioned in Jub. 9:13, since his description appears to conclude with a reference to "[the por]tion of the sons of Ham," as in Jubilees. It is worth noting that there does not seem to be room in the Genesis Apocryphon for Jubilees' additional reminder that the "islands of Kamaturi" emerged as the inheritance of Arpachshad.

A basic parallel in structure may be observed between the subdivisions among Japheth's sons in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees. Beyond using the same order of names, both texts describe the allotments in two stages: first, from east to west in the north of Europe, and then once again from east to west in southern Europe.

By all appearances the listing of the shares of Japheth's sons ends the body of the earth's division in the Genesis Apocryphon, although it would likely have been followed by a summary section reviewing the actions taken and solemnizing the occasion with the taking of oaths (cf. Jub. 9:14–15). The probability of a summary is strengthened by the scant text that survives in the following lines, and by a *vacat* four and a half lines after the end of Japheth's subdivision. Unfortunately, from 17.25 until the text can be read again in col. 19 the manuscript is completely illegible. If extant, we would likely read of the dispersion of peoples at the Tower of Babel and the fulfilment of Canaan settling in the land rightfully apportioned to Arpachshad (cf. Jub. 10:18–34), foreseen in Noah's earlier dream. Perhaps it even included the resettlement of Madai in the region of Mesopotamia, as in Jub. 10:35–36.

¹⁸¹ As opposed to the view of Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 115–116, 129; and "Isaiah 11:15," 38–45.

4.2.3. *Summary: The Genesis Apocryphon's Division of the Earth and Its Relation to Jubilees*

Having examined the accounts of the earth's apportionment in Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon, we are now in a better position to make some comparative observations. To begin with, the similarities between the two texts are striking, and compellingly demonstrate that they are based on nearly identical exegetical approaches to Gen 10. These similarities only add weight to the widely held notion that the two works are related to each other in some way—an idea advocated even before Avigad and Yadin by Albright and Trever. Some of the most obvious examples of this connection are:

1. The basic, two-fold literary structure of an initial division by Noah and a secondary division by his three sons
2. Shared geographic terminology based on the Ionian world map and not present in Gen 10, such

as “gulf/branch,”¹⁸² the Tina River, the Gihon River, the Maeota/Me’at Sea, the Eastern Sea, the Mahaq/Mauq Sea, etc.

3. Use of the Tina and Gihon rivers as borders between the three continents
4. Similar formulae at the beginning and end of each section in the first division, among Noah’s sons
5. The basic correspondence between the geographic territories received by each son and grandson
6. The common apologetic background of both works, which promotes the pre-Canaanite possession of the Levant by the Shemite ancestors of the Israelites, not the Hamites

These strong resemblances make it simply untenable to maintain that the Apocryphon and Jubilees represent completely independent exegetical traditions.

Alongside these shared traits, however, a host of noteworthy differences emerge. Perhaps most striking is divergence over the order in which some of Noah’s sons and grandsons are presented. These are laid out in the following chart:

Table 1. The Order of the Earth’s Division in the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees

<i>1QapGen 16–17</i>	<i>Jubilees 8:8–9:15</i>	<i>Genesis 10</i>
<i>Noah’s Sons</i>	<i>Noah’s Sons</i>	<i>Noah’s Sons</i>
Japheth (?–16.12)	Shem (8:11–21)	Japheth
Shem (16.14–25)	Ham (8:22–24)	Ham
Ham (16.26–?)	Japheth (8:25–29)	Shem
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<i>Ham’s Sons</i>	<i>Ham’s Sons</i>	<i>Ham’s Sons</i>
[Cush]	Cush (9:1)	Cush
[Egypt]	Egypt (9:1)	Egypt
[Put]	Put (9:1)	Put
[Canaan]	Canaan (9:1)	Canaan
<i>Shem’s Sons</i>	<i>Shem’s Sons</i>	<i>Shem’s Sons</i>
Elam (17.7–8)	Elam (9:2)	Elam
Asshur (17.8)	Asshur (9:3)	Asshur
Aram (17.9)	Arpachshad (9:4)	Arpachshad
Lud (17.9–11)	Aram (9:5)	Lud
Arpachshad (17.11–14)	Lud (9:6)	Aram
<i>Japheth’s Sons</i>	<i>Japheth’s Sons</i>	<i>Japheth’s Sons</i>
Gomer (17.16)	Gomer (9:8)	Gomer
Magog (17.16)	Magog (9:8)	Magog
Madai (17.17)	Madai (9:9)	Madai
Javan (17.17)	Javan (9:10)	Javan
Tubal (17.17–18)	Tubal (9:11)	Tubal
Meshech (17.18)	Meshech (9:12)	Meshech
[Tiras] (17.18–19)	Tiras (9:13)	Tiras

¹⁸² This is seen especially in a common use of the terms first gulf, second gulf, and third gulf to speak of the Aegean, Adriatic, and Tyrrhenian Seas and to distinguish between the allotments of Japheth’s sons Javan, Tubal, and Meshech.

When placed beside each other in this way two major discrepancies in sequence are evident. The first occurs in the initial section dealing with Noah's sons, where the Apocryphon, Jubilees, and Genesis each employ a different order. The second is in the succession Asshur-Aram-Lud-Arpachshad in the subdivision of Shem's sons, again with three different arrangements represented.¹⁸³ The question to be asked is whether these differences are of any real significance, or are simply arbitrary. In this case it is quite plain that both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are organized according to a central guiding principle, and that these principles are not the same.

In the Genesis Apocryphon Noah's descendants are consistently listed directionally, following their placement on the Ionian map. During the initial division his sons are listed from north to south (or left to right on the ancient map, which is literally "oriented," with east at the top): Japheth, Shem, and Ham. In the framework of the secondary division, among his grandsons, this order is likely reversed, now moving in a chiasmic manner from south to north: Ham, Shem, and Japheth. All of the grandsons, with a few necessary exceptions, are listed from east to west (i.e. top to bottom). The placement of Lud in Shem's list is flexible since the author makes clear that his allotment runs along the north edge of three portions belonging to his brothers. The author of the Apocryphon has chosen to put him in the penultimate position, between Aram and Arpachshad. Japheth's sons must be listed in a two-tier structure, with northern and southern groupings, since their allotments do not fit as neatly into a successive east-west alignment as the portions of the sons of Shem and Ham. Finally, Tiras almost certainly received only islands, as in Jubilees, and is appropriately placed at the end of Japheth's division.

In Jubilees the picture is quite different. Here it is obvious that, in general, the author utilized the standard order of names as found in Gen 10, regardless of their placement on the map.¹⁸⁴ One exception is Jubilees' succession of Aram and Lud, which has been reversed from the biblical order of Lud-Aram

(Gen 10:22//1 Chr 1:17). While the biblical versions unanimously place Lud before Aram, Josephus also lists these sons as Jubilees does,¹⁸⁵ suggesting that Aram-Lud may once have been an alternate order in one of the Greek recensions. For the initial division among Noah's sons the author chose to follow the more common biblical sequence of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, instead of the unique order of Japheth, Ham, and Shem used in the body of Gen 10. The secondary division lists all of the grandsons in their biblical succession (save Aram and Lud), but the larger structure of the section deviates from this trend by presenting the groups in the sequence Ham, Shem, and Japheth (or south to north), as appears to be the case in the Genesis Apocryphon. In sum, while some incoherence with Gen 10 exists, it is clear that Jub. 8:11–9:15 is based largely on the biblical taxonomy of Noah's descendants.

As mentioned above, this disagreement in organizational strategies is most clearly seen in the initial lists of Noah's sons, and the secondary register of Shem's sons. Most notable in the latter group is Arpachshad, who is moved from the middle to the end of the list in the Apocryphon. We find full agreement between all witnesses for the sons of Japheth and Ham, since here the two strategies of the Apocryphon and Jubilees overlap—they are listed *both* according to the biblical arrangement *and* from east to west.

A second important difference is the brevity of the Genesis Apocryphon when compared to Jubilees. With the exception of Lud, Arpachshad, and Javan, the extant parts of the Apocryphon regularly contain shorter and simpler descriptions of each allotment. Good examples of this are the shares of Elam and Asshur, where Jubilees includes a number of sites not found in the Genesis Apocryphon, such as the waters of Dedan, the Mebri and Ela mountains, and the Wadafa River. As Werman has argued, this seems to suggest a more comprehensive knowledge of geography on the part of Jubilees,¹⁸⁶ especially of those lands in the eastern regions of middle Asia (from the Tigris into India). This disparity cuts against the grain of the standard view, espoused by Avigad and Yadin, Fitzmyer, and others, that the Apocryphon is generally more expansive than Jubilees and 1 Enoch. It also adds another important example to Nickelsburg's caution that such expansion is not always the case.

Finally, there are numerous other differences between Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon regarding

¹⁸³ In the lower section of the table I have not listed Noah's sons according to their actual order for Gen 10 (i.e. Japheth-Shem-Ham, shown in the upper part of the table), but have adapted them to the sequence employed by the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees (Ham-Shem-Japheth) for comparative purposes. From this point, whenever referring to the biblical order of names, I am basing myself on the genealogy of Gen 10 (/1 Chr 1:1–17). Cf. VanderKam, "Putting Them in their Place," 48–53.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Gen 6:10, 9:18, 10:1; and 1 Chr 1:4 for Noah's sons, and Gen 10 and 1 Chr 1 for his grandsons.

¹⁸⁵ Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 1.143–45.

¹⁸⁶ Werman, "ספר היובלים," 281.

geographic details, toponyms, and formulaic language. Taken individually, most of these discrepancies are not of great significance. However, when viewed together they become quite impressive, and demonstrate a sustained divergence in how the allotments are portrayed. Some of the most important examples are:

1. Japheth's portion being described in opposite directions, and with different points of orientation (Gad-
era in the Apocryphon vs. the northeast end of the
Tina River in Jubilees)
2. The direction "west" and the Tigris River being
mentioned only in the Genesis Apocryphon's
description of Asshur's allotment
3. The Genesis Apocryphon including Mount Ararat
and not mentioning the Tigris or Euphrates in
Aram's portion
4. The Apocryphon's reference to the Eastern Sea and
"three portions to the south" in its description of
Lud's share
5. Jubilees' absence of "valleys and plains," coastlands,
or Mount Ararat in Arpachshad's allotment
6. Javan's reception of mainland Greece in the Genesis
Apocryphon
7. The variation in geographic terms, such as the
Apocryphon's independent use of the Great Salt
Sea, the Reed Sea (ים סוף), "the land irrigated by
the Euphrates," and probably Mount Taurus; or
Jubilees' exclusive use of Farnak, Sak, Babel, Shinar,
and several other toponyms
8. Formulaic use of the phrase "and after him"
(ובתרה) in the Apocryphon to introduce most
grandsons

Based on the above observations, what are we to make of the relationship between these works? If one were to presume a direct literary connection between the two texts (i.e. one had direct access to a copy of the other and borrowed from it for its own composition) the balance must tip in favor of the Genesis Apocryphon being the earlier witness. There are at least four factors that argue for this position:

1. Regarding the differences in order, it seems more likely that the later, dependent text would correct *toward* the order of sons and grandsons found in Gen 10, rather than *away* from it. Thus, it is easier to envision Jubilees taking the "directional" account of the Apocryphon and re-presenting it according to the biblical arrangement than vice versa.
2. The fact that the Genesis Apocryphon is typically shorter than Jubilees may be seen as an argument

for its priority. As noted in the first chapter, however, respected scholars have used the relative length of a text to argue both sides of this issue—both that the shorter text is earlier (del Medico, Fitzmyer) and that it is later (Avigad and Yadin, Vermes). This should stand as a warning to exercise caution in placing too much emphasis on the relative length of an account.¹⁸⁷ It seems that in each case a most important factor to consider is the broader setting and goals of each text under discussion. It is not entirely surprising, for example, that Jubilees condenses the Enochic story of the Watchers, since this is not a major focus or concern of his work. One would be hard pressed to find a commentator who argues that because Jubilees is shorter in this case, it is also earlier than the Book of Watchers. In the present case, however, one should be surprised if a work like the Genesis Apocryphon—so obviously focused on the topic of geography and Noah's role as divider of the earth throughout the scroll—would pass over the additional geographic and theological material of Jubilees.

3. A related matter is the greater simplicity of the descriptions in the Apocryphon, which regularly exhibit less geographic specificity and elaboration than in Jubilees. A logical inference from this phenomenon, given the scroll's geographic bent, is that its author was working with more rudimentary geographic knowledge than the author of Jubilees.
4. A relatively unexplored aspect of Jub. 8:11–9:15 is its inclusion of what may be called theological and geographical "add-ons." The prime example of this is Jub. 8:17–21, which is appended to the geographic description of Shem's allotment and recasts it in hyperbolic, theological terms. While a study of this passage is beyond our purview, it has the trappings of an authorial observation interpolated into the otherwise orderly structure of Noah's distribution—an added commentary of sorts on the blessedness and excellence of Shem's portion.¹⁸⁸ The aside about Shem's inheritance of the islands of Kamaturi in Jub. 9:13 may be another such addition, as Charles assumed.¹⁸⁹ A less certain example is the brief statement about the climate of each son's region in Jub. 8:30.¹⁹⁰ It is relatively

¹⁸⁷ One wonders if perhaps the text-critical maxim *lectio brevior lectio potior* has had too much influence on some in this debate.

¹⁸⁸ This passage should be read alongside Jub. 4:26, which lists "four places on earth that belong to the Lord": the Garden of Eden, the Mountain of the East, Mt. Sinai, and Mt. Zion.

¹⁸⁹ Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 77.

¹⁹⁰ I am not suggesting that these passages are interpolations placed into a simpler form of Jubilees at some secondary stage of

clear that the Genesis Apocryphon has neither the first or second of these passages, again attesting to the shorter, simpler quality of its account. That Jubilees added some additional comments to the less cluttered Apocryphon seems the more plausible scenario.

Of course, it would be preferable to base an argument for the priority of the Genesis Apocryphon on a firmer foundation, since none of these points can be judged as conclusive evidence. Added to this is the perennial caveat concerning the fragmentary state of the scroll. Still, when viewed together these four factors place the onus on anyone who would argue that Jubilees contains the earlier account. For this to be the case, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon must have had sufficient motive to change the biblically-based order of Jubilees, shorten and simplify the descriptions of most allotments, and pass over Jubilees' theological observations, which would have suited his overall program quite nicely. The latter points may be countered by a supposed desire on the author's part to preserve parchment, but this seems an unsatisfactory argument, and does nothing to address the question of order.

But should we assume that the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are *directly* related? The numerous discrepancies in order, direction, length, geographic terminology, and other details point away from this theory. A more plausible and satisfying conclusion is that both works depend on a common source or tradition, and that each drew from it in their own, unique way. The evidence strongly suggests that this source was cartographic, and not textual, as Alexander and others have already supposed.¹⁹¹ If both authors obtained their information from a similar (or the same) map, it would have been perfectly natural for each to list the sons and grandsons according to different principles, or to describe allotments in different directions, with different starting points, and in slightly different ways. This explanation would also lead us to expect the large extent of agreement exhibited between the Apocryphon and Jubilees.

One discrepancy that remains unaccounted for by the common map theory is the variation and inde-

pendence in geographic terminology. Perhaps each author had access to a different map (but drafted according to the same basic scheme), each of which used slightly alternate terms for certain features. Most disagreements, however, can be explained by the supposition that Jubilees either supplemented the map's sites based on a more extensive knowledge of (primarily eastern) geography, or simply included more of the map's information in his account. The Apocryphon's distinctive terms (with the exception of Mt. Taurus) can be explained as originating from elsewhere in the Bible (e.g. **יַם סוּף**), or by common reasoning or idiom (e.g. "the land irrigated by the Euphrates"). In any case, there is no doubt that theorizing a common map, or map tradition, behind both of our texts best accounts for the pastiche of similarities and differences laid out above.

If one accepts that an actual map lay behind both the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees, it is worth asking what this map may have looked like. As in the reconstructed map provided earlier in this chapter and the earlier reconstructions of Hölcher, Alexander, and Schmidt,¹⁹² it seems safe to assume that the earth was depicted as a circle (or, less likely, an oval) surrounded by an encompassing body of water. That is to say, the basic design of the map was Ionian. The terrestrial disk would have been penetrated in its center by the Great Sea, from which branched the Tigris and Gihon rivers to the northeast and southeast respectively, dividing the circle into three roughly equal portions. Onto this basic layout the sons and grandsons of Noah from Gen 10 were likely inscribed, each in the general geographic region corresponding to his (re-)assigned allotment. It is clear that a number of major landmarks must have been indicated by an illustration and an accompanying written legend. These would have included features such as the Maeotis Sea, Mt. Taurus, Mt. Ararat, Karas, the Erythraean Sea, and others. These points of orientation were then used by our two authors to convert the map into a written account by way of an organized description of each heir's allotted territory. As Alexander has observed, there were plenty of discrepancies between this map and Gen 10,¹⁹³ and the former must be understood as a remarkable example of theologically and politically motivated biblical exegesis rather than an attempt to accurately portray the biblical Table of Nations (for which one

the book, but that the original author may have included these comments as further explanation of an earlier, less adorned version of the earth's division, akin to that in the Genesis Apocryphon.

¹⁹¹ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 197; idem, "Geography and the Bible," 2.982; Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 127–28; Scott, *Paul and the Nations*, 23–24. For some of the evidence for early maps see Chapter 3, n. 31.

¹⁹² All three may be found in either Schmidt, "Jewish Representations," 122–23; or VanderKam, "Putting Them in Their Place," 64–65.

¹⁹³ Alexander, "Notes on the 'Imago Mundi,'" 200.

should look to Josephus or the Targums). Ironically, this was achieved with the extensive aid of Hellenistic geographic science. The influx of Greek knowledge, influence, and domination following the campaign of Alexander the Great in late fourth century BCE must have laid the groundwork for this creative fusion of the Ionian conception of the earth, Judean politico-religious ideology, and the esteemed book of Genesis. With the Greeks must have come their maps, and it was only a matter of time before some disgruntled groups in Judea utilized these toward their own ends by producing a cleverly revised adaptation.

With the common map theory in mind we may readdress the question of which text might be earlier. Of the four factors leading to the above suggestion that the Genesis Apocryphon should be considered earlier if a direct relationship is assumed, at least two still apply here. The fact that the Genesis Apocryphon is shorter and simpler continues to bear some weight, especially considering the scroll's interest in geographical matters (at least as they relate to the Israelites). Related to this are the additional, and rather exotic, toponyms included by Jubilees that are not present in the Apocryphon. As suggested by Werman, these seem to reflect a more developed geographic lexicon on Jubilees' behalf. Of course, it is entirely possible that two contemporaneous authors in slightly different situations had varied levels of geographic knowledge, or even that the author of the Apocryphon wrote after Jubilees but was simply less educated in distant eastern topography. Yet the fact that both authors wrote exegetical treatments of Genesis, in Judea, and harbored some of the same concerns lessens this possibility appreciably. At present it seems best to assign this part of the Apocryphon chronological priority.

A concluding point worthy of brief comment is the divergent portrayal of the portion of Javan in each work. Is it of any significance that the Apocryphon apportions Javan mainland Greece while Jubilees does not? This certainly appears to mark Jubilees (or, perhaps, its source) with a greater disdain for the Greeks—an unsurprising deportment if its author was writing in the wake of the recent Antiochean persecutions and during the ongoing upheaval of the Hasmonean revolt and expansion efforts. Should the fact that the Apocryphon's author does not deprive Javan of the Greek Peninsula cause us to place him in a different social or historical situation? The very premise of the earth's division and its presupposed map belies a concern over Israelite rights to the Levant, and foreign domination would lead naturally to this position. But

foreign domination was not an infrequent occurrence in Judea. A date in the Roman period (after 63 BCE) is quite unlikely for a number of reasons, which will be enumerated in the concluding chapter. A date preceding Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the Hasmoneans is more tenable, but the question persists whether this would provide a setting more amicable toward the Greeks. Ultimately, a date either before the Antiochean persecutions (perhaps the post-Ptolemaic feudal wars between the *diadochoi* [c. 223–187 BCE], during which the Judeans must have felt entirely helpless?) or after their memory had faded somewhat under Hasmonean rule seems slightly preferable, but must remain little more than an educated guess at present.

As a final caveat, it should be stated that an earlier date for the Genesis Apocryphon's division of the earth section does not necessarily imply that the work as a whole is earlier than Jubilees. Flusser has argued that the authors of works like these drew freely from a variety of traditions, adding or subtracting from each as their purposes and preferences dictated,¹⁹⁴ and this seems a valid enough statement. Hence, the author of the Apocryphon may easily have adopted an early version of the earth's division and left it relatively unchanged. Yet until proven otherwise, and in lieu of other case studies of the sort undertaken here, the parallel passages treated in this chapter point toward the Apocryphon as the earlier of our two works.

¹⁹⁴ Flusser, review of Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 382–83.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

In light of the preceding chapters, we may now close with a reappraisal of some of the issues surveyed in Chapter 1. The topics to be covered in this chapter are: 1) the exegetical nature of the Genesis Apocryphon, and 2) its provenance and date of composition. An ancillary goal is to provide a summary of the main points that have emerged in earlier chapters.

5.1. THE EXEGETICAL NATURE OF THE GENESIS APOCRYPHON

The author of the Genesis Apocryphon rewrote at least parts of the book of Genesis, in Aramaic, guided by a demonstrable *modus operandi* and influenced by several distinctive topics of interest. While some portions of his rewriting overlap with elements of the Enochic corpus (e.g. 1 En. 106–107 and the Book of Giants) and the Book of Jubilees (e.g. the chronology of Abram and Sarai in Egypt and the division of the earth), the fruit of our author's labor is unique, and almost never matches these other works precisely.

5.1.1. *Relationship to Genesis*

Much of the scroll reflects a rather free reformulation of what would later be called 'canonical' Genesis, guided by a number of theological, ideological, and stylistic concerns. Some might contend that such exegetical flexibility calls into question the shape and authoritative status of Genesis in the few centuries preceding the Common Era, but this notion does not appear to gain support from the Genesis Apocryphon. As argued in Chapters 3 and 4, both Noah's dream and the earth's division among his children are best understood as interpretive reworkings, intended to alleviate difficulties in Genesis. That is, the Genesis Apocryphon is *scriptural interpretation*. This is most evident in the way that the above two episodes "straighten out" perceived difficulties with Canaan (not Ham) being cursed in Gen 9:25, Shem apparently not receiving the coastal Levant in Gen 10, and the nominally justified obliteration of the Canaanites exhorted in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. All of these factors impacted the Apocryphon's exegetical deportment,

and were woven together with its strong conviction about an exclusive Israelite right to the land. All of this presupposes a form of Genesis at least akin to our major versions (LXX, MT, SP), which was venerated enough to warrant an interpretative rewriting. In addition to these larger interpretive issues, the scroll appears to make exegetical adjustments at a more detailed level, such as its explanatory substitution of **לקובלי** for **את** in 1QapGen 21.32 (Gen 14:9) or the clarification that Salem (Gen 14:17–18) is Jerusalem (1QapGen 22.13).¹

5.1.2. *Exegetical Unevenness: Noah and Abram*

There is wide variation in the extent to which the Apocryphon treats different parts of Genesis. This is most evident in its dissimilar handling of the Noah and Abram narratives. In fact, were these two parts of the scroll preserved on different manuscripts, and in two different scribal hands, it is quite conceivable that they would be considered two different works by modern scholars.

The Noah section is supplemented with an astounding amount of extra-biblical material, to the point that the narrative as we know it from Genesis nearly disappears (although the fragmentary state of the scroll likely contributes to this perception). The Abram columns, however, contain much less expansion, intimating that traditions attached to this patriarch were less developed at the time when the scroll was written, at least within the particular circles in which the Apocryphon was produced. Whatever the situation, the scroll's author pays far more attention to Noah. Significantly, almost all of the extra-biblical information pertaining to Abram is unique, and did not find its way into later traditions. The same cannot be said for the Noah section.

The question of different sources for the two sections is one deserving of further study.² Significant differences beyond the extent of exegetical expansion

¹ Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 44, 245.

² See the early comments of P. Winter, "Das aramäische Genesis Apokryphon," *TLZ* 82 (1957): 257–62 [260]. Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 34.

appear to exist, such as variation in Aramaic syntax and the use of divine epithets.³ There are, however, numerous connections as well, such as the employment of symbolic dreams and the shared geographic concern discussed in the preceding chapters. If different written sources do underlie the text (which I suspect is the case), they have been carefully woven together by our author with overarching strategies in mind.

5.1.3. *The Exalted Status of Noah (and Abram)*

Noah's impeccably righteous status is a striking feature of the Genesis Apocryphon.⁴ His exaltation is, in fact, unrivalled by any other work from the second temple or rabbinic periods.⁵ The one event that is either omitted, neutralized, or understood negatively by nearly every other ancient Jewish exegete (Noah's drunken episode) is creatively turned into a positive by the Apocryphon through converting the story into a locus for the divine revelation of heavenly mysteries. Even Enoch's presence in the scroll seems to be supportive of Noah, pointing forward to the "righteous planting" to come (cf. 1QapGen 6.1–2). It is clear that messianic expectations and an *Urzeit-Endzeit* typology are at play in Noah's depiction, with his setting in an utterly corrupt generation and divinely mandated role as a righteous remnant foreshadowing things to come again in the future.⁶

While Noah's premier status is among the most distinctive aspects of the scroll, he is not the only patriarch to receive a makeover. Abram is also the beneficiary of a very positive image, a fact evident in his reception of a symbolic dream on the cusp of entering Egypt. The dream is quite plainly intended to clear Abram of all selfish or malicious intent in asking Sarai to act as his sister during their stay by

attributing the impetus for this move to the Lord himself. One might justifiably ask the author if the decision reflects any better on the Lord than it does Abram, but at least all culpability is removed from the latter (and we may safely assume that such a divine mandate was considered well beyond questioning). In general, then, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon was interested in presenting all of the patriarchs, and especially Noah, in a most blameless light.

5.1.4. *Apocalypticism and Heavenly Wisdom*

The messianic and *Urzeit-Endzeit* themes in Enoch's prophetic portrayal of Noah have already been noted. These and other factors indicate that the author and authorizing community of the Genesis Apocryphon embraced an apocalyptic worldview.⁷ This is perhaps seen most clearly in Noah's dream-visions in columns 6–7 and 13–15, both of which may be properly termed "apocalypses." The outlook was one that viewed history as moving imminently toward a (second) cataclysmic judgment and placed a premium on the divine "mysteries" (אֲרִיזָה),⁸ which were revealed to a succession of righteous individuals through angelically mediated visions. A cache of heavenly wisdom figured prominently in these dream-visions, and was identified by the author with true righteousness in the eyes of the Lord. In a number of second temple Jewish works this wisdom was viewed to have passed through an eminently pedigreed chain of individuals, within which Enoch, Noah, Shem, and Abram were important links. In 1QapGen 19.24–29 Abram is depicted as a purveyor of this divine wisdom to Pharaoh's courtiers, which may have been an attempt to attribute any useful wisdom found in Egyptian circles at the time of the scroll's formulation to the Israelite hero. This reserve of knowledge was apparently broad, notably including calendrical, sacrificial, and medical (apotropaic) teachings.

5.1.5. *Dreams*

Dream-visions are the preferred mode of divine revelation in the scroll.⁹ They are often, but not always, symbolic. Both Noah and Abram experience such dreams,

³ The former point has been suggested to me by Dr. Randall Buth (Hebrew University, Jerusalem) in personal communication, and the latter is argued convincingly by Moshe Bernstein in his article, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon" (forthcoming; *Journal of Biblical Literature*). I thank him for kindly sharing his work with me.

⁴ Exciting new work is being done on the figure of Noah by two scholars; Dorothy Peters and Matthias Weigold. For a sample of Peters' work see her article "The Tension between Enoch and Noah in the Aramaic Enoch Texts at Qumran," *Henoch* 29/1 (2007): 11–29. The work of Weigold has been largely confined to presentations at professional conferences thus far, but I look forward to his publications on the topic in the near future.

⁵ For the sources see VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah;" and my article, "Noah," in the *Dictionary of Early Judaism* (eds J. J. Collins and D. C. Harlow; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; forthcoming).

⁶ For similar motifs in Jubilees see Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism*, 35 (esp. n. 53).

⁷ So Lignée, *Les Textes de Qumran*, 2.211–12.

⁸ For a thorough study of the mysteries see the recently completed doctoral dissertation of S. I. Thomas, *The Revelation of the raz in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Cosmic and Earthly Dimensions* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Notre Dame, 2007).

⁹ See 1QapGen 6–7; 13–15; 19.14–21; and 21.8–14.

although Abram's pair is of a slightly different type. In the first dream (1QapGen 19.14–21) he does not receive an angelic interpretation, as in both of Noah's visions, but rather deciphers its meaning himself. His second vision is neither symbolic nor interpreted by an angel, relating directly the dimensions of the Promised Land. More generally, Abram's dreams do not deal with the transcendental divine mysteries, as Noah's do, but rather the more pressing, mundane exigencies of his physical wellbeing in Egypt, and the allotted borders of his land (cf. the connection to Noah in 1QapGen 11.15–20). The complete absence of these dreams in Jubilees constitutes a considerable departure from the Apocryphon, and attests to Jubilees' reticence to embrace this mode of revelation.

5.1.6. *Rights to the Land of Israel*

The right of Israelites to inhabit and rule over the Land of Israel—i.e. the region allotted to Arpachshad during the earth's division—was of extreme importance to our author. Chapter 3 outlined the breadth of this motif in the Genesis Apocryphon, and its truncated presence in Jubilees. Indeed, the Apocryphon is peerless in its emphasis on Noah's authorized position as apportioner of the habitable earth. The stress placed on original rights to the land seems most plausibly to reflect a social situation where the authorizing community felt either threatened by foreign domination and/or criticism, in which case it fills a retaliatory and paraenetic function, or a need to justify and propagandize its own right to rule. Of course, these two options are not mutually exclusive, and could have operated at the same time.

5.1.7. *Hellenistic Influence*

Like Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon displays a considerable amount of Greek influence. Most significant in both works are a heavy indebtedness to the Ionian world map—a dependence explored at length in Chapter 4. Other possible examples occur during Abram's exploits in Egypt and Canaan, such as use of the name Hyrcanus (חרקנוש) for one of Pharaoh's nobles,¹⁰ the description of Sarai's beauty in 1QapGen

¹⁰ 1QapGen 20.8. See the important discussion of Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 197–99. J. H. A. Hart (in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*; 11th ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1910, 14:210) suggests that Hyrcanus (Ἰρκανός) is “a Greek surname, of unknown origin, borne by several Jews of the Maccabean period.” That the name is of Greek origin is uncertain, especially since the

20.2–8,¹¹ and the association of King Arioch with Cappadocia (כפתוך) in Asia Minor (21.23).¹² These factors speak to an interaction with Hellenistic science and culture, and, together with the preceding points, reveal a composition far from the unbiased, fresh, and simplistic work described by Vermes and others.¹³ The presence of these Greek elements provides a very early *terminus post quem* for the scroll of approximately the early 3rd cent. BCE. Presumably, this is the earliest we could expect significant penetration of Hellenistic geographic science into Judea (probably via one of the outlying Greek cultural centers, such as Samaria, Gaza, or Alexandria).

5.1.8. *Purpose*

Why was the Genesis Apocryphon written? As mentioned earlier, one might ask whether works now dubbed rewritten Bible, or parabiblical, were originally intended to supplant, or at least be on equal footing with, their eventually victorious canonical counterparts.¹⁴ If so, books like Jubilees and 1 Enoch might be considered “canonically challenged,” failing to ultimately succeed in their allotted task (at least over the long run). Of course, it is now virtually impossible to affirm or deny such a question, but in response we might ask what biblical interpretation looked like before the method so familiar to us now—i.e. a

lexeme ‘hur’ (‘ח) is not typically found at the beginning of Greek names. Contra Hart, Hyrcanus seems to be a primary or alternate/secondary name rather than a surname. In Josephus there are three individuals bearing the name: 1) Joseph the Tobiad's son, simply named Hyrcanus (c. 200 BCE; born, interestingly enough, out of an Alexandrian affair; *Antiquities* 12.186); 2) the Jewish high priest John, son of Simon, who was “also called Hyrcanus” (high priest c. 135–104 BCE; now often referred to as Hyrcanus I; *Jewish War* 1.54); and 3) Hyrcanus, son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra (high priest c. 79–40 BCE; now typically called Hyrcanus II; *Jewish War* 1.109). Fitzmyer and others favor John Hyrcanus II as the most likely historical allusion in the Genesis Apocryphon, but this is highly questionable. All of the individuals listed above had connections to the Ptolemies of Egypt, causing one to wonder if the name is actually Egyptian in origin, rather than Greek. The entire topic is deserving of further study.

¹¹ See S. J. D. Cohen, “The Beauty of Flora and the Beauty of Sarai,” *Helios* 8 (1981): 41–53. Others have noted the Ancient Near Eastern setting of the description. See the summary of this view in M. Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism* (STDJ 67; Brill: Leiden, 2007), 286–87.

¹² The Apocryphon is apparently the first to make this association, although there are grounds to believe that the Hebrew exemplar of the LXX once read כפתוך as well. See Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 231–32.

¹³ See section 1.2.2.1. in Chapter 1 (esp. p. 6).

¹⁴ Cf. the discussion of literary genre in section 1.2.1. in Chapter 1.

lemmatized scripture passage followed by a discrete segment of commentary (or “midrash” in the rabbinic sense). The first sure instances of this type of exegesis are the Qumran Pesharim, which appear to be later than most (but by no means all) examples of rewritten Bible.

The historical first of the Pesharim, with their distinctive lemmatized structure, presents us with at least three alternatives regarding their place within the development of biblical interpretation: 1) lemmatized commentaries existed before the Pesharim, but we simply lack any surviving examples of the genre; 2) interpretive texts preceding the Pesharim (e.g. rewritten Bible) were not considered commentaries *on* the authoritative text of Genesis, Leviticus, or the like, but were intended as a new and equally authoritative version of it; or 3) the so-called rewritten Bible genre was actually what biblical interpretation looked like before lemmatized commentaries were introduced, and audiences simply knew the difference between the authoritative text (e.g. Genesis) and the text interpreting it (e.g. the Genesis Apocryphon). I tend to view the Genesis Apocryphon, and the rewritten Bible genre more generally, as a combination of points 2 and 3. The Pesharim, and even moreso the rabbinic midrashim, attest to the concretization of what may be termed Scripture, or Bible—a text which claims ultimate authority over all others (or under which all others are subsumed). Here the distinction between Scripture and interpretation was fairly sharp, and little ambiguity existed aside from that which arose from versional or *qeri/ketiv* disagreements. The line was much fuzzier with works like the Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees, and Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, but this does not mean there was no line at all. Rewritten Bible seems to be an interpretive genre standing between the halcyon days of “inner-biblical exegesis,” when the scriptures were still relatively open to change, and the dawn of lemmatized commentary with pesharim-type texts.

The Genesis Apocryphon, then, is an exegetical work based on the book of Genesis. Standing at a crossroads in scriptural interpretation, it was meant to be read *alongside* the authoritative text, and not instead of it. It filled perceived gaps in information, addressed interpretative perplexities, and drew explicit connections between varied events or persons in the narrative. Based on its particular theological and ideological concerns, it also emphasized certain themes, characters, or events, and even revised certain stories. In short, the scroll provided its constituency the proper lens through which to read Genesis. While the nature

and purpose of the Apocryphon greatly resemble the Book of Jubilees, the preceding chapters have shown that its characteristic methods and concerns have less in common. Of course, it is understandable that works like this—obviously taken to be divinely revealed and authoritative in their circles of composition—could have come to rival or effectually replace the text of Genesis in practice.

5.2. PROVENANCE AND DATE

A number of factors have exerted considerable influence on the now standard dating of the Genesis Apocryphon to the 1st cent. BCE. Several of these are founded on false or outdated assumptions, and so the time is ripe to readdress the topic in light of our findings.

5.2.1. *The Judean Compositional Setting*

The Genesis Apocryphon has commonly been considered a product of Judea. For some this was rooted in an assumption that the scroll was written by the Essenes at Qumran, but this has rightly been questioned and rejected (see below). A more solid reason for locating the scroll’s composition in Judea is the geographic knowledge that it contains. Noteworthy in this regard is the double mention of Ramat-Hazor in 1QapGen 21.8–9, which Bardtke justifiably labeled “palästinisches Lokalkolorit.”¹⁵ Other toponyms suggest an intimate familiarity with the geography of this part of the Levant, such as the unique use of “the Great Valley” (חלתא רבתא) to refer to the Jordan Valley in 1QapGen 22.4,¹⁶ the mention of an unknown people group (the Zumzam) in Ammon in 1QapGen 21.29,¹⁷ and the qualification that “the Valley of Shaveh, which is the Valley of the King” in Gen 14:17 also goes by the name “the Valley of Bet-Hakerem.”¹⁸ That the author knew the hitherto

¹⁵ H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer*, 150.

¹⁶ Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 241.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 236. This name is used instead of the biblical Zuzim (זוזים; Gen 14:5). This may, however, be viewed as merely a versional discrepancy.

¹⁸ Perhaps modern Ramat-Raḥel, situated just east of the main road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. See Y. Aharoni, “Beth-Haccherem,” in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study* (ed. D. W. Thomas; Oxford: Clarendon, 1967), 171–84. This has been challenged, however, by Gabriel Barkay, “Royal Palace, Royal Portrait?” *BAR* 32:5 (2006): 34–44. Barkay argues that ancient Bet-Hakerem is in fact modern Ein-Kerem, which seems quite plausible given the evidence.

unattested name of the easternmost branch of the Nile Delta (the Karmon [כרמוֹנָא]; 1QapGen 19.11) is also striking, and together with the possibly Egyptian origin of the name Hyrcanus may suggest some familiarity with Lower Egypt as well. One might also call attention to the observation of Kutscher and Fitzmyer that the Aramaic employed by the scroll shows affinity with other Western dialects,¹⁹ or the many connections with other Jewish works widely regarded to be of Judean origin (e.g. Jubilees and the Enochic literature). When we add that the scroll was discovered in the Judean Desert there is every reason to believe that the scroll was composed in Judea, and none to contradict it.

5.2.2. *A non-Qumran (but Qumran-friendly) Work*

The Judean origins of the scroll make it theoretically possible that it was composed by the faction of Essenes still considered by most scholars to have resided at Khirbet Qumran.²⁰ As noted in Chapter 1, a number of early commentators took this stance,²¹ but it has subsequently been almost totally abandoned.

¹⁹ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36; idem, "Aramaic," in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols; eds L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University, 2000), 1:48–51 [50]; and M. Sokoloff, "Qumran Aramaic in Relation to the Aramaic Dialects," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (eds L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Shrine of the Book, 2000), 746–54 [747]. Cf. the statements of Kutscher to this effect in "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 15.

²⁰ I stand in the camp of F. M. Cross, J. C. VanderKam, E. C. Ulrich, D. Dimant, E. Tov, and many others, who consider most of the so-called "sectarian scrolls" to have been produced by a faction of Essenes (either celibate or married, it is difficult to tell for certain) living at Qumran. This hypothesis, however, has been repeatedly questioned, most recently by Yizhak Magen. See Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, "Back to Qumran: Ten Years of Excavations and Research, 1993–2004," *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Brown University, November 17–19, 2002* (STDJ 57; eds K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 55–113. Cf. H. Shanks, "Qumran—the Pottery Factory," *BAR* 32:5 (2006). Magen and Peleg have been subsequently refuted, however, by Jodi Magness, review article of K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert and J. Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates*, *RevQ* 22/88 (2007): 641–64. The debate is somewhat tertiary to the present discussion, since the real question is not whether the Genesis Apocryphon was composed by monk-like Essenes along the shore of the Dead Sea, but whether it was written by those who produced the sectarian literature (e.g. the Community Rule texts, the War Scroll, the Cave 4 Instruction texts, etc.).

²¹ See the discussion of the scroll's literary genre in Chapter 1. This also appears to be the opinion of F. García Martínez (*Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 140–41), when he says the mention of Mt. Lubar "here [*4Qp̄sDan*]" and in the narrative of the deluge in *1Qap̄Gn* XII, 10–13, gives the impression that it constitutes a Qumranic tradition."

There are at least two sound reasons for this retreat. First, as Fitzmyer has argued at some length, "there is nothing in this text that clearly links it with any of the known beliefs or customs of the Qumran sect."²² One might add that a work not originating with the group responsible for the Qumran sectarian literature does not necessarily mean that it is not Essene,²³ since the Essenes appear to have been a rather large parent group of those who cordoned themselves off at Qumran. Still, Jubilees and the Enochic literature were found at Qumran and are not typically considered sectarian, and Fitzmyer is justified in placing the Apocryphon alongside these as an imported work.

A second reason to doubt a Qumran origin is the scroll's language of composition. The Aramaic literature from the Qumran caves simply does not seem to share the same theological and ideological outlook as the Hebrew sectarian literature. This has already been argued by Segert²⁴ and Lamadrid,²⁵ and was later affirmed by Fitzmyer,²⁶ Dimant,²⁷ and others. We could add to these points Dimant's observation that the sectarian literature lacks any apocalyptic visions of the type found in the Apocryphon,²⁸ or that the scroll does not exhibit the traits argued by Tov to belong to a Qumran scribal school.²⁹

Although the Genesis Apocryphon was not composed by the Essenes of Qumran, it was certainly read and used there. When considering the theological and ideological tenets underlying the scroll one can see why this was the case. The Apocryphon's apocalyptic perspective, emphasis on exclusive Israelite rights to

²² Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 23. This is a marked departure from the position held in his earlier edition (1966), where he favored Essene authorship. Cf. Dimant, "The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character," *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 170–76 [176], for a similar view.

²³ This, however, is the assumption of Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 22. My understanding of the "sectarian literature" is essentially synonymous with that of Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (CRINT 2/II; ed. M. E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum/Minneapolis: Fortress, 1984), 483–550 [esp. 487–89].

²⁴ S. Segert, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *JSS* 13:2 (1968): 281–83 [282].

²⁵ A. G. Lamadrid, review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, *Estudios bíblicos* 28 (1969): 168–69 [169].

²⁶ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 24.

²⁷ Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 488. Cf. idem, "The Library of Qumran," 175.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ E. Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery*, 199–216. In further support of the Genesis Apocryphon's difference regarding scribal practices is its unique placement of successive letters in the upper, right-hand corner of each parchment sheet.

the Land of Israel, concern with the esoteric divine mysteries, interest in calendrical issues (evident in the scant remnants of col. 8), exaltation of the patriarchs, and perhaps even its penchant for dreams and their interpretations, line up with interests present either in the sectarian literature or outside descriptions of the Essenes more generally (e.g. in Josephus or Pliny the Elder). Hence, there are plenty of elements in the scroll that could have been embraced by the sect, even if all of its details may not have suited their needs or tastes.

5.2.3. *Is 1Q20 the Autograph of the Genesis Apocryphon?*

Some scholars have speculated that the single manuscript on which the Genesis Apocryphon is preserved (1Q20) may, in fact, be the composition's autograph. This notion was first proposed by Fitzmyer,³⁰ and received guarded votes of confidence from Moraldi³¹ and Kaufman.³² If this were the case, dating the scroll would become much easier, since we could then depend directly on the relatively reliable tools of paleography and Carbon-14 or Accelerator Mass Spectroscopy dating.

There are, however, multiple reasons to reject this claim.³³ Armin Lange suggested that the Apocryphon could not be an autograph based on what he considered a gloss in the description of Sarai's beauty in 1QapGen 20.6,³⁴ but his case was somewhat deficient.³⁵ More convincing are the comments of Hammershaimb³⁶ and Wise,³⁷ both of whom give numerous reasons to doubt that any of the scrolls from the Qumran caves (and, in Wise's case, especially 1Q20)

are autographs. Based on their argumentation, the numerous supralinear additions, scribal corrections, and particularly fine manuscript execution of 1Q20 show beyond doubt that it is not an autograph.³⁸ Especially determinative is Wise's recourse to known autographs from the Cairo Geniza, which exhibit very different characteristics than any of the scrolls from Qumran. To this could be added that those documents from the Judean Desert that are undoubtedly original compositions are written in cursive, not formal, square scripts. This suggests that composition was typically done in cursive and then converted by a professionally trained scribe (in a formal hand) into a scribal copy. Considering these points, it seems safe to assume that 1Q20 is a copy of an earlier work. Of course, the distance between the composition and its copy is another matter.

5.2.4. *Date of the Present Manuscript (1Q20)*

Fitzmyer has already gathered most of the relevant information for dating 1Q20 by paleographic and other technological means.³⁹ The various opinions regarding the date of the Apocryphon's script specifically, or the Herodian scripts more generally, are:

<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Date</i>
Avigad and Yadin ⁴⁰	End of 1st cent. BCE–First half of 1st cent. CE
Avigad ⁴¹	50 BCE–70 CE
Milik ⁴²	50 BCE–50 CE
Birnbaum ⁴³	Third quarter of 1st cent. CE
Cross ⁴⁴	30 BCE–70 CE

³⁰ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon* (1966), 12, 16 [cf. 2004, 24–25].

³¹ L. Moraldi, *I manoscritti di Qumrân* (Turin: Unione Tipografica: Editrice Torinese, 1971), 609.

³² S. A. Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," *JOAS* 93:3 (1973): 317–27 [327, n. 62].

³³ Some criteria for whether to consider a particular manuscript an autograph have been proposed by Tov, but none are particularly helpful in connection with 1Q20. See E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 28–29.

³⁴ A. Lange, "1QGenAp XIX₁₀–XX₃₂ as Paradigm of the Wisdom Didactic Narrative," *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumran seminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society der Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (SBJD 4; eds H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 191–204 [192].

³⁵ In my opinion, he does not adequately counter the earlier conclusions of VanderKam, "The Poetry of 1QGenAp XX, 2–8a," *RevQ* 10 (1979–81): 57–66.

³⁶ E. Hamershamb, "On the Method, Applied in the Copying of Manuscripts in Qumran," *VT* 9:4 (1959): 415–18.

³⁷ Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 121 n. 58.

³⁸ A pertinent example is the supralinear, exclamatory particle הַא in 1QapGen 13.14, which is inserted after the similar particle/conjunction אַרִי and appears to be in the same hand as the main text. There is no grammatically compelling reason for this doubling of exclamations, for the phrase makes perfect sense without the הַא, and אַרִי is not followed by this word in other parts of the scroll. The most likely explanation for this unnecessary word is that it is a correction, based either on an exemplar or the identical phrase in the preceding line.

³⁹ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25–26.

⁴⁰ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 15, 38 [יב, לז].

⁴¹ N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; eds C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 56–87 [71, 74].

⁴² J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 135. Milik does not specify the Genesis Apocryphon as exhibiting the Herodian script, but clearly places it alongside other manuscripts from this period elsewhere.

⁴³ S. A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts* (2 parts; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 1:150–55 [87B, 87C].

⁴⁴ F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 169–264 [174].

Burrows ⁴⁵	First half of 1st cent. CE
Dupont-Sommer ⁴⁶	End of 1st cent. BCE—First half of 1st cent. CE
Fitzmyer ⁴⁷	End of 1st cent. BCE—Beginning of 1st cent. CE
Beyer ⁴⁸	Around 0 (i.e. early Herodian)

Although Cross never dated the Genesis Apocryphon specifically, he assigned the War Scroll (1QM) to the early Herodian period (ca. 30–1 BCE).⁴⁹ As noted by Avigad, the script of the Apocryphon closely resembles that of 1QM, and therefore it is likely that Cross would date both manuscripts to the late 1st cent. BCE. The tendency to date scripts with such precision has been criticized by Gregory Doudna, who laid out some of the shortcomings of this method while affirming its basic usefulness.⁵⁰ More broadly, Doudna has led a charge to shift the dating of the scrolls earlier by approximately a century,⁵¹ but his views have gained little adherence to date.

The initial radiocarbon date of the Genesis Apocryphon was 2013 ± 32 years (= 73 BCE–14 CE).⁵² A robust debate has ensued among specialists in the field over the technical veracity of the initial findings, with a handful of scientists arguing for a slightly later date than first proposed.⁵³ These critiques have been responded to in kind, with the above date still being favored by the majority of researchers.⁵⁴ The median date suggested by all of the studies does not deviate far from the turn of the era. When combined with the paleographic dates assigned to the scroll, a date

around the late 1st cent. BCE for this copy emerges as most tenable.⁵⁵

5.2.5. *Language*

The final and most decisive recourse for dating the Apocryphon (i.e. its composition, and not the present copy) has typically been to the philological study of its Aramaic language.⁵⁶ The early and insightful work of Kutscher has been exceedingly influential in this regard,⁵⁷ impacting the proposed date of Avigad and Yadin even before his study had been published.⁵⁸ Kutscher did not enjoy the benefit of working with the entire Aramaic corpus from the Judean Desert, and was thus forced to use Biblical Aramaic (BA; especially Daniel) and the Western Aramaic (WA) targum and dialect traditions (especially Targum Onqelos [TO] and Palestinian Christian Aramaic [CA]) as his main points of orientation. Curiously, he does not settle on a basic date for any of these, save CA (ca. 500 CE). He supplemented the two ends of his spectrum with other, admittedly distant, reference points, such as Nabataean and Palmyrene. In the end, the best Kutscher could do with such a limited body of comparative material was say that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon fell somewhere between BA and the later TO and CA dialects. Thus, he settled on a date in the 1st cent. BCE (– 1st cent. CE).⁵⁹ While judicious and well wrought, the study leaves one wishing for a more secure mooring by which to date the scroll. Especially helpful would be a proposed relative date for BA.

A more detailed, comprehensive comparison with Daniel was performed by Rowley several years after Kutscher's article was published. Although overlooked by some subsequent commentators, he credibly demonstrated that, "[w]hile most of the points that have been examined could singly sustain no firm argument, their cumulative weight makes it clear that the language of the scroll is very close to that of the Aramaic

⁴⁵ M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking, 1955), 119.

⁴⁶ A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (trans. G. Vermes; Oxford: Blackwell, 1962; repr. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1973), 281.

⁴⁷ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 25–26.

⁴⁸ Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte*, 165.

⁴⁹ Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 176, line 4.

⁵⁰ G. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 675–682. Cf. idem, "The Legacy of an Error in Archaeological Interpretation: The Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran," *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 147–57.

⁵¹ See G. Doudna, "Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran: the Case for 63 B.C.E.," *The Qumran Chronicle* 8:4 (1999).

⁵² See G. Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27–32 [30].

⁵³ See G. A. Rodley, "An Assessment of the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Radiocarbon* 35:2 (1993): 335–38 [337]; and J. Atwill and S. Braunheim, "Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 11:2 (2004): 143–157.

⁵⁴ See I. Carmi, "Are the ¹⁴C Dates of the Dead Sea Scrolls Affected by Castor Oil Contamination?" *Radiocarbon* 44:1 (2002): 213–216 [214]; and J. van der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comment on 'Redating,'" *DSD* 14:1 (2007): 77–89. Carmi slightly adjusts the calibration used by Bonani et al. for the earlier date, resulting in a range of 45 BCE–50 CE.

⁵⁵ This date has also been independently suggested in personal communication by a Polish epigrapher working with the Dead Sea Scrolls, Dr. Przemysław Dec (Department of Jewish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow). He believes the script to fall toward the earlier end of Avigad's proposed spectrum.

⁵⁶ See, e.g., the statement of Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 27–28), "When all these reasons are considered, they are not very convincing, except for the philological argument of Kutscher. The rest, for what they are worth, serve merely to confirm his dating..."

⁵⁷ Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon.'"

⁵⁸ Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon*, 38 [א"ג–לז].

⁵⁹ Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 22, 28.

parts of the book of Daniel, though slightly later.”⁶⁰ He concluded that, “[o]n linguistic grounds there is nothing to preclude a date in the second century B.C., since there is nothing that would require any long interval between the date of the Aramaic of Daniel and the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon*.”⁶¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Black and Fitzmyer.⁶² Fitzmyer added his own linguistic treatment of the scroll’s language in his commentary, and ended in agreement with the conclusions of Kutscher, “the Aramaic of this scroll is a representative of Middle Aramaic and forms a transition between Daniel and later Western Aramaic.”⁶³

Later studies sought to refine Kutscher’s verdict as more of the Aramaic texts from the Judean Desert were published, a task only recently completed.⁶⁴ Out of this corpus a third major point of reference was introduced with the publication of the Job Targum from Cave 11 (11Q^gJ^gJob). The original editors sought to fit this scroll into the serological typology laid out by Kutscher, though they admitted that “Il est plus difficile de déterminer la date, ou la période de l’origine du texte.”⁶⁵ They judged, however, that “notre targum de Job soit plus ancien [than the Apocryphon] et que sa grammaire soit plus proche de l’araméen de Daniel que du *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q^gGenAp).”⁶⁶ Hence, the Aramaic of the Job Targum was placed between that of Daniel and the Genesis Apocryphon, resulting in a suggested date of the second half of the 2nd cent. BCE. Rather meager comparative evidence was provided to support this claim, but this shortage was remedied by the later studies of Kaufman⁶⁷ and

Sokoloff.⁶⁸ Kaufman offered some astute comments, such as his suggestion that 1Q^gAp^gGen and 11Q^gJ^gJob represent two different literary Aramaic traditions.⁶⁹

The first, represented by the Job Targum, is chronologically closer to Official Aramaic but less imitative of it. The second, as in the Genesis Apocryphon, is more distant but more imitative, at least as regards certain specific features. The relationship between these two traditions remains unclear, but it does not appear to be merely a matter of straight-line development.

Kaufman ultimately shifted the date of the Job Targum’s Aramaic to the 1st cent. BCE, and that of the Apocryphon to the 1st cent. CE. This modification, however, was based firmly on a supposition that the Aramaic of Daniel must be fixed around the middle of the 2nd cent. BCE. Sokoloff, marshalling a good deal of linguistic data, essentially agreed with the earlier dates of Kutscher and the Targum’s original editors.⁷⁰

From the above studies a standard litany of linguistic traits emerged, which has been used to determine the relative age of the Aramaic of our scroll. These include characteristics which argue both for “later” and “earlier” dates, with the usual orientation points being the book of Daniel and the Job Targum. Those in the “earlier” camp are generally considered on par with Daniel and earlier than 11Q^gJ^gJob, while the “later” group is thought to postdate both texts. Some of the most common examples are listed below:

Traits suggesting that the Genesis Apocryphon is later than 11Q^gJ^gJob and Daniel

1. The Apocryphon’s occasional use of the relative pronoun $\text{—}\text{ṭ}$ instead of ṭ (roughly 6% of the time). Only the latter is used in BA and 11Q^gJ^gJob, while $\text{—}\text{ṭ}$ predominates in later dialects.⁷¹ The late date of $\text{—}\text{ṭ}$ is now seriously questioned by its presence in other manuscripts of widely acknowledged early works (e.g. 4Q196 [Tobit], 4Q213a [Aramaic Levi Document], and 4Q201 [Book of Watchers]), and should not be considered decisive.
2. The Apocryphon frequently (but not always) employs the demonstrative pronoun ṭṭ rather than

⁶⁰ H. H. Rowley, “Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver* (eds D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy; Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 116–129 [129].

⁶¹ Ibid. It should be borne in mind that elsewhere Rowley has argued for a relatively late, 2nd cent. BCE date for the Aramaic of Daniel, which undoubtedly affected how early he was willing to date the Apocryphon’s language. See H. H. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1929).

⁶² Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 197–98; Fitzmyer (*The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35) proclaimed, “it can be seen that the language of the *Genesis Apocryphon* is not far removed from that of Daniel. When one allows for Hebraisms in the latter and its fairly clear Masoretic encrustations, the language is otherwise closely related.”

⁶³ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36.

⁶⁴ A desideratum in Qumran Aramaic has recently been filled by the grammar of U. Schattner-Rieser, *L’araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte. I. Grammaire* (Instruments pour l’étude des Langues de l’Orient Ancien 5; Rahins: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004).

⁶⁵ *Le Targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân* (eds J. P. M. van der Ploeg, A. S. van der Woude, and B. Jongeling; Leiden: Brill, 1971), 3.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁷ Kaufman, “The Job Targum from Qumran.”

⁶⁸ M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan, 1974), 9–26.

⁶⁹ Kaufman, “The Job Targum from Qumran,” 326.

⁷⁰ Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 9.

⁷¹ Cf. Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon,’” 6; Rowley, “Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*,” 121; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, “The Job Targum from Qumran,” 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 22; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

the form normally found in BA (𐤁𐤓).⁷² The only occurrence of this word in 11Q^gJob is presumably the later form 𐤁. Again, the early use of 𐤁 is now attested in 4Q209 [Astronomical Enoch] and other 3rd–2nd cent. BCE works.

3. The Genesis Apocryphon employs either 𐤁 or 𐤇 in a number of situations where BA and 11Q^gJob have only 𐤇, a good example being the scroll's mixed use of 𐤁𐤓 and 𐤇𐤓 ("if, whether"). In general, the Apocryphon is not uniform in its use of these two letters.⁷³ The form 𐤁𐤓 is now attested in 4Q438–39 [Testaments of Judah and Joseph] as well.
4. The Apocryphon quite consistently uses a preformative 𐤁 in the causative conjugations (*aph'el*), rather than the much more dominant 𐤇 of BA and 11Q^gJob (*haph'el*).⁷⁴ Kutscher and Sokoloff misleadingly imply that the same phenomenon in the reflexive/passive *'itp'el/hitp'el* stem gives further testimony of the Apocryphon's later character. Cook, however, has shown that this example proves quite the opposite, and would favor an earlier date for the Apocryphon.⁷⁵ As it turns out, the *aph'el* dominates in Qumran Aramaic more generally, even in the earliest texts (e.g. 4Q196 [Tobit], and 4Q209 [Astronomical Enoch]). The *haph'el* seems to be preserved only as a historical relic.⁷⁶
5. The Genesis Apocryphon employs the later form 𐤒𐤓 ("there") rather than the earlier 𐤒𐤓𐤇, found in both BA and 11Q^gJob.⁷⁷ As with the above examples, the "later" form has now been found in a number of early works from Qumran.

⁷² Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 17–18; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 121; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 324; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 21; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

⁷³ Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 19; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 118–120; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; and Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 23.

⁷⁴ Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4, 18–19; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 123; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 16; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

⁷⁵ E. M. Cook, "Qumran Aramaic and Aramaic Dialectology," *Studies in Qumran Aramaic* (Abr-Nahrain, Sup. 3; ed. T. Muraoka; Louvain: Peeters, 1992), 1–21 [13–14]. Also see the distinction in Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 123.

⁷⁶ Cf. E. M. Cook, "The Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols; eds P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:359–78 [373]; and Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 73–74.

⁷⁷ Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 4; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 23.

Traits suggesting that the Genesis Apocryphon is earlier than 11Q^gJob

1. 11Q^gJob employs the *nota accusativi* 𐤓 (in 𐤓𐤇𐤗) at least once, in addition to one instance in Daniel 4:22, while the Apocryphon always has the allegedly earlier direct object marker 𐤓.⁷⁸ 𐤓 is also found in the New Jerusalem texts (4Q554^a and 5Q15) and the Wadi Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever contracts, but is otherwise missing from Qumran Aramaic.⁷⁹
2. The Genesis Apocryphon assimilates the letter 𐤁 significantly less than 11Q^gJob, and even BA. It also dissimilates the geminate root and exhibits nasalization (insertion of the letter 𐤁) more often.⁸⁰ These have generally been understood as earlier traits, but Fitzmyer has questioned their relevance.⁸¹ They are now recognized to represent a wider trend in the Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran.⁸²

These few examples readily demonstrate that the publication and scrutiny of the Aramaic corpus from the Judean Desert has cast the most compelling factors for a later date of the Genesis Apocryphon into grave doubt. The orthography of the scroll has occasionally been discussed as an indicator for relative dating as well, but this too has been seriously questioned by Cook and Fitzmyer.⁸³

Although it is frequently left unsettled in the above studies, the date assigned to Daniel's Aramaic plays a critical role in any relative dating of the Genesis Apocryphon or the Job Targum. While some parts of Daniel were almost certainly penned around the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (ca. 174–164 BCE), it is widely acknowledged that the majority of its Aramaic chapters are earlier than this.⁸⁴ Albright, basing him-

⁷⁸ Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 20–21; *Le Targum de Job*, 4 (where one other instance is reconstructed; XXXIV, 9); Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 16; and Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 35.

⁷⁹ Cf. Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 103, 121.

⁸⁰ Cf. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" 5, 19–20; Rowley, "Notes on the Aramaic of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," 125; *Le Targum de Job*, 4; Kaufman, "The Job Targum from Qumran," 325; Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job*, 17–18.

⁸¹ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36 n. 112.

⁸² Cf. Cook, "Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 363; Schattner-Rieser, *L'araméen des manuscrits de la Mer Morte*, 44–45.

⁸³ Cook, "Qumran Aramaic," 1–7; idem, "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 44:2 (1993): 205–219; Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 36 n. 112.

⁸⁴ See the helpful sketch of J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 38. Also see his overview of the Aramaic dating, 13–20.

self on the more exhaustive work of Wilson,⁸⁵ argued that the majority of the Aramaic portions of Daniel originated in the 3rd cent. BCE, and that Ezra must have preceded this by around a century.⁸⁶ Allowances for similar or significantly earlier dates were made by Driver,⁸⁷ Rosenthal,⁸⁸ and Kitchen.⁸⁹ Most recently, Collins appears to have settled somewhere in the early 3rd century with his judgment that “the balance of probability... favors a date in the early Hellenistic period for the Aramaic portions of Daniel.”⁹⁰ If one sides with the majority in assigning the brunt of Daniel’s Aramaic to the early 3rd cent. BCE (and Ezra’s to at least the 4th), then what compelling evidence is there to date the Genesis Apocryphon, which appears to be only slightly later than Daniel on linguistic grounds, to the 1st cent. BCE? Even allowing for a full century of development the scroll could date to the early 2nd cent. BCE, and there is nothing in the scroll’s content to preclude such a date. When one digs deeper, however, it becomes clear that the 1st cent. BCE date is based largely on the assumption by some (e.g. most scholars working on Qumran Aramaic) that the “Aramaic of Daniel” must date to around 165 BCE, when the book’s redaction came to a close.⁹¹ Most Daniel scholars would reject this oversimplistic, late dating.

Alongside these considerations one should factor the following points: 1) Kutscher’s conviction that BA originated from eastern Aramaic (in contrast to the Apocryphon);⁹² 2) the almost timeless quality of the so-called ‘Reichsaramäische’ used by Daniel, which changed very little over a several-century stretch (beginning as early as the 6th cent. BCE);⁹³ and 3) the opinions of several scholars who have voiced legitimate

concerns over dating texts from varied, unknown locales and social circles within a typological series, as Kutscher, Sokoloff, Kaufman, Fitzmyer, and others have done.⁹⁴ This point is especially poignant in light of solid evidence that several distinct orthographies operated in Qumran Aramaic around the same time, probably due to slightly different authorial settings or individual scribal penchants.⁹⁵

Together, the above points make clear that a relative date of the Genesis Apocryphon’s Aramaic to the 1st cent. BCE on linguistic grounds breaks down significantly under scrutiny. If one were to take seriously the typological placement of the scroll in relation to BA (and it is not clear that this is the way to proceed), then the date widely agreed upon by Daniel experts should be used as an orientation point—i.e. the early 3rd cent. BCE. Theoretically, this would allow for a date for the Apocryphon as early as the late 3rd or early 2nd cent. BCE, even when taking into account the Job Targum. However, the most compelling support for a significantly earlier date comes from other Aramaic texts found at Qumran. A number of these date to the 2nd cent. BCE based on paleography and radiocarbon measurement, or are datable to this period on other grounds, and yet are written in an Aramaic that does not differ substantially from that of the Apocryphon.⁹⁶ Given the culmination of evidence, it seems time to adjust the linguistic *terminus post quem* of the Genesis Apocryphon from the 1st cent. BCE to at least the early 2nd cent. BCE.

5.2.6. Relationship to Jubilees, 1 Enoch, and Other Works

Fitzmyer has meticulously argued that every attempt to find concrete historical allusions in the Apocryphon so far has failed to pass muster.⁹⁷ Lacking such data, the best prospects for assigning the scroll a general date remain comparative analyses with other early Jewish works. This and other studies have stressed the Genesis Apocryphon’s affinity with texts like 1 Enoch (including the Book of Giants), Jubilees, the

⁸⁵ R. D. Wilson, “The Aramaic of Daniel,” in *Biblical and Theological Studies by the Members of the Faculty of the Princeton Theological Seminary Published in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Seminary* (New York: Scribner’s, 1912), 261–306.

⁸⁶ W. F. Albright, “The Date and Personality of the Chronicler,” *JBL* 40 (1921): 115–117.

⁸⁷ G. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Scribner’s, 1913 [rev. ed.]), 502–503.

⁸⁸ F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke’s Veröffentlichungen* (Leiden: Brill, 1939; repr. 1964), 66.

⁸⁹ K. A. Kitchen, “The Aramaic of Daniel,” in *Notes on some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (ed. D. J. Wiseman; London: Tyndale, 1965), 31–79.

⁹⁰ Collins, *Daniel*, 17.

⁹¹ See the similar perplexity at this late date expressed by Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath,” 205–219 [217].

⁹² Kutscher, “The Language of the ‘Genesis Apocryphon,’” 2. Cf. *Le Targum de Job*, 8–9.

⁹³ See the landmark study of H. H. Schaefer, “Iranische Beiträge I,” *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, geisteswiss. Kl.*, 6/5 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1930), 199–296.

⁹⁴ R. I. Vasholz, “An Additional Note on the 4QEnoch Fragments and 11QgJob,” *Maarav* 3 (1982): 115–18; Wise, *Thunder in Gemini*, 103–151; and Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath,” 218–19.

⁹⁵ Cf. Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Kohath,” 218–19.

⁹⁶ E.g. 4Q201–203 (Book of Watchers, Animal Apocalypse, Book of Giants); 4Q208–209 (Astronomical Enoch); 4Q213–14 (Aramaic Levi); 4Q542 (Testament of Qahat); 4Q543–549 (Visions of Amram); to name only the earliest manuscripts.

⁹⁷ Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 26–28 (and in various other places throughout his commentary).

testamentary literature (especially Levi and Qahat), and even Daniel—all works dating from the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE in their original forms. This affinity is evinced in the scroll's literary genre, basic (apocalyptic) worldview, specific theological concerns, stance on divine revelation, and even language of composition (with the exception of Jubilees). Put simply, the Genesis Apocryphon “belongs” with these texts. To this group might be added many of the remaining Aramaic texts from Qumran, such as the Amram and Pseudo-Daniel fragments.

The Genesis Apocryphon's relationship to Jubilees is mixed. On first inspection there are a number of striking similarities between the two, as in the case of the earth's division, some chronological details, or the basic literary genre employed. These parallels certainly speak to some sort of association. Yet, when the related motifs are scrutinized further it becomes clear that they are used in different ways, and to different extents. Along with this we find more basic differences, such as a dissimilar attitude toward apocalyptic dream-visions, disparate portrayals of Noah, and even different languages of composition. At present, the best explanation for this mixture is that both works originated in Judea around same period of time and drew from a common reserve of exegetical traditions surrounding Genesis. As argued in Chapter 4, one of the shared sources accessible to both authors seems to have been a map re-visioning the Table of Nations from Gen 10 according to an Ionian scheme and in concert with a robust apologetic stance on the Land of Israel.⁹⁸ However, the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees do not appear dependently related such that one drew directly from the other, and this should exhort the utmost care in using their parallel passages for relative dating.

A similar picture emerges with regard to the Enochic literature. Again there are some striking similarities, most noticeably the birth of Noah parallel (1QapGen 2–5 and 1 En. 106–107). But there are also marked differences in details of the stories and their handling. In 1 Enoch, the purpose of chapters 106–107 is somewhat ambiguous, although it seems to be primarily paraenetic, warning its hearers of acting in a way akin to the Watchers and tying into the surrounding Epistle of Enoch. In the Apocryphon the story functions very differently, being largely directed toward the exaltation of Noah and his unique, salvific role in human history. The connection of the

Book of Giants to 1 Enoch remains uncertain,⁹⁹ but here too we have seen similarities with the Genesis Apocryphon. Although the relationship between the Enochic corpus and the Apocryphon has not been a focus of the present study, it is an area highly deserving of further research.

The publication of all of the Genesis Apocryphon's extant columns has finally made it possible to place each of its fragmentary portions within a broader (albeit still patchy) narrative framework. This has revealed what may be the most striking and important difference between the scroll and the two works with which it is so often compared: the two most significant parallels (1QapGen 16–17//Jub. 8:11–9:15 and 1QapGen 2–5//1 En. 106–107) are much more at home in the Genesis Apocryphon than they are in the other books. We have seen that the division of the earth in the Apocryphon is the culmination of a process that begins at Noah's birth, and is stressed multiple times throughout the scroll. Moreover, the theme continues on with Abram, who is unambiguously cast as Arpachshad's *geographic* successor. The same cannot be said for Jubilees, where the theme pops onto the narratological scene for a brief time, and then disappears again. The story of Noah's birth is even starker. In 1 Enoch these chapters have every indication of being an add-on, largely unmoored from their surroundings.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, the tale plays several important roles in the larger narrative structure of the Apocryphon, not least of which is a heightening of Noah's status and a foreshadowing of his future roles. If Milik and Nickelsburg are correct in supposing that 1 En. 106–107 incorporated older Noachic traditions, then it is likely that 1QapGen 2–5 looks very much like what was used. In the Apocryphon both stories are parts of an organic whole. This does not seem to be the case in Jubilees and 1 Enoch.

It is not entirely certain what to make of this situation, but the most logical conclusion seems to be that the Genesis Apocryphon preserves the stories in their original setting (or something rather close to it), while Jubilees and 1 Enoch do not. If this is deemed correct, then we have perhaps the strongest argument yet for the preliminary suggestion of Avigad and Yadin that the Apocryphon is an earlier witness to these Noah traditions than any other known works.

⁹⁸ If one were to subscribe to a “Book of Noah,” it is certain that this tradition was part of it. Cf. Chapter 1, n. 85.

⁹⁹ See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 8, 11, 172–73.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 539–42.

5.2.7. *Summary: A Second Century BCE Companion to Genesis*

After surveying the evidence, there are a number of factors recommending an early to mid 2nd cent. BCE date for the Genesis Apocryphon, rather than the now standard 1st cent. BCE thesis:

1. Its fondness of apocalyptic, symbolic dream-visions
2. The literary genre it employs (so-called rewritten Bible/scripture)
3. The unique portrayal of Noah, which seems to predate the more suppressed Noah sections of 1 Enoch
4. The name Herqanosh (חרקנוש), which probably does not refer to one of the historical figures mentioned by Josephus, but is only known as a name from the late 3rd cent. BCE (Hyrcanus the Tobiad) to early 1st cent. BCE (the Jewish high priest Hyrcanus II)—i.e. the pre-Hasmonean and Hasmonean periods
5. The brevity and simplicity of its account of the earth's division relative to Jubilees
6. The fact that the parallels with Jubilees and 1 Enoch are more integrated into the narrative of the Apocryphon
7. The scroll's apologetic tenor regarding the exclusive Israelite right to inhabit the Land of Israel, which seems most at home in a pre-Hasmonean (i.e. Diadochian) or Hasmonean setting

None of these points is very convincing on its own, but their cumulative weight is more significant. In general, the above features demonstrate that the Genesis Apocryphon is allied most closely with other literature from the 3rd–2nd cents BCE—it is in this period that the scroll finds its literary home. Additionally, we have seen that the Aramaic of the Apocryphon does not stand in the way of a 2nd century date. In fact, it may now be possible to list the scroll's language as one of the factors arguing *for* this period. I favor a date close to that of Jubilees; perhaps slightly earlier based on points 1, 5, and 6, as well as its employment of Aramaic as the language of composition. A safe range would be 200–150 BCE, although an even earlier, 3rd century date should not be ruled out absolutely.

The Genesis Apocryphon is a remarkably creative and rare example of second temple period Jewish exegesis from the Hellenistic era. At one and the same time it embraced a Hellenistic understanding of

the earth, and used that understanding to advocate a radical adherence to the “Most High God” and an exclusive Israelite right to inhabit the Levant. Along with Jubilees and some other Jewish Hellenistic works it demonstrates how biblical exegesis transitioned between so-called inner-biblical exegesis and later, lemmatized commentaries such as the Pesharim (although it was no doubt synonymous with both of these for a period). Behind our scroll was a community aware of the culture around it, but eminently concerned to uphold its own traditions and system of beliefs. One can only hope that with future discoveries in the partially unpublished Aramaic and Syriac corpora we might find further attestation of some of the Genesis Apocryphon's missing pieces, and gain a yet better understanding of this fascinating text.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Proper accreditation for images ISF_DO_00667 and ISF_DO_00665 on p. 7: photograph by Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Department of Antiquities, Jordan; ISF_DO_00661 on p. 8: photograph by Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman, West Semitic Research. Courtesy Department of Antiquities, Jordan.



“Soft” Side before Unrolling

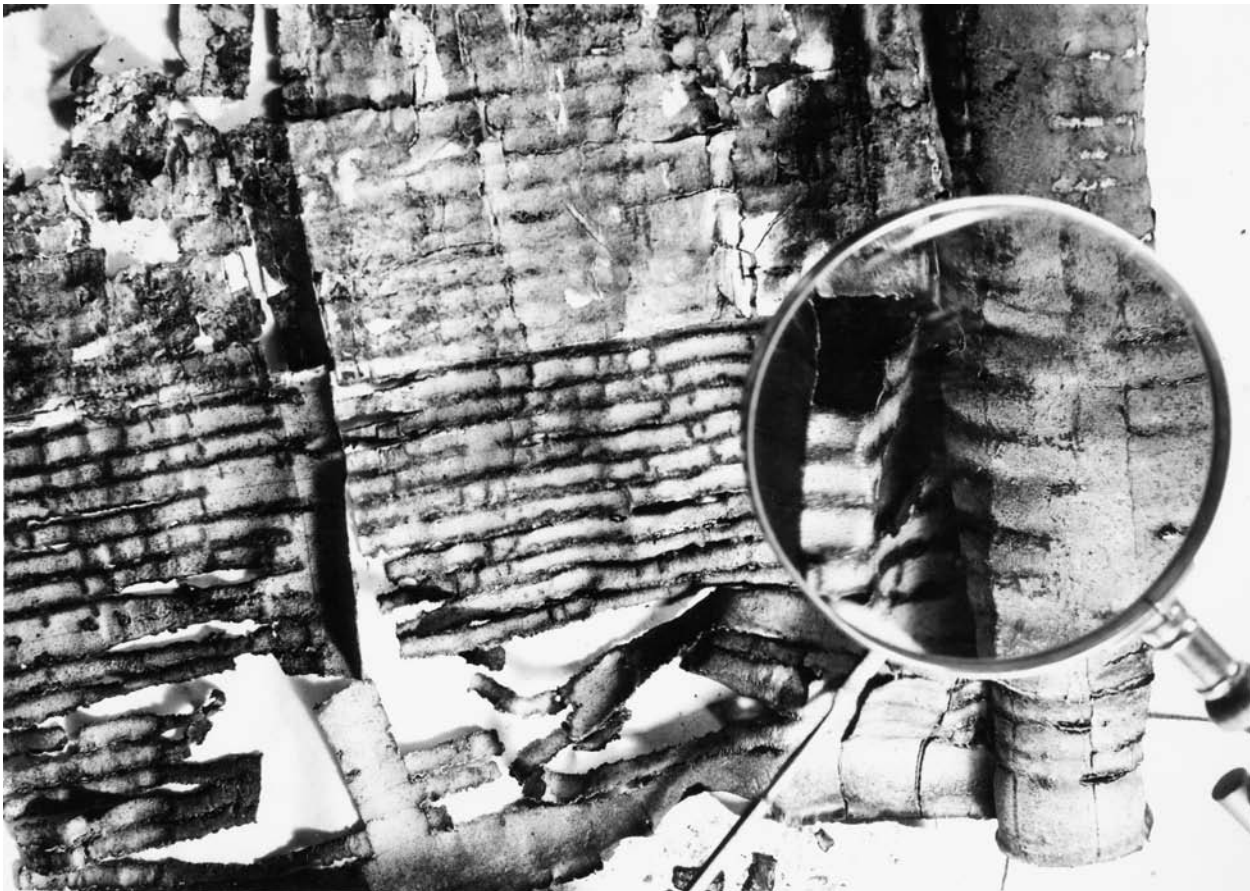


“Brittle” Side before Unrolling

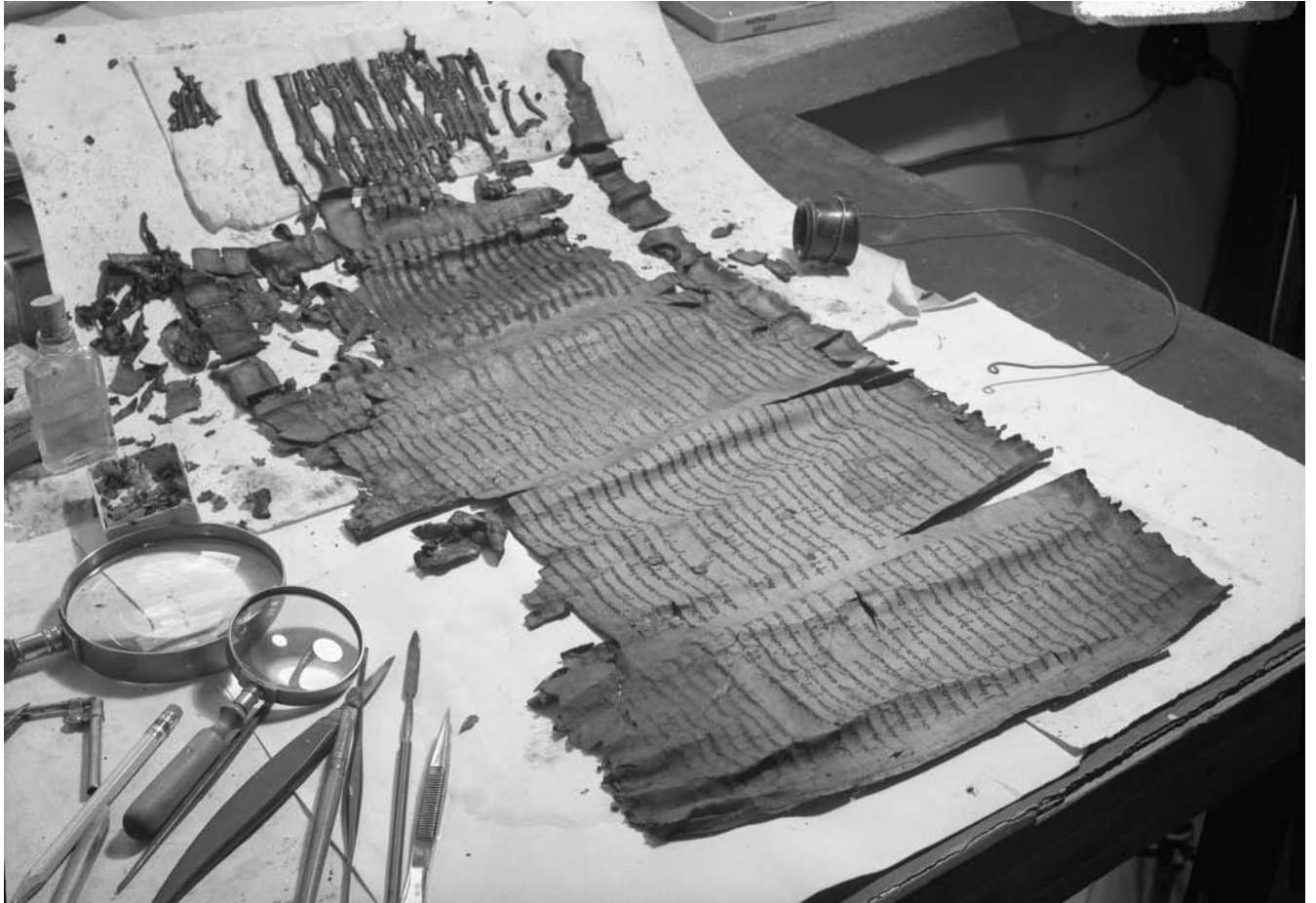
*Another View before Unrolling*



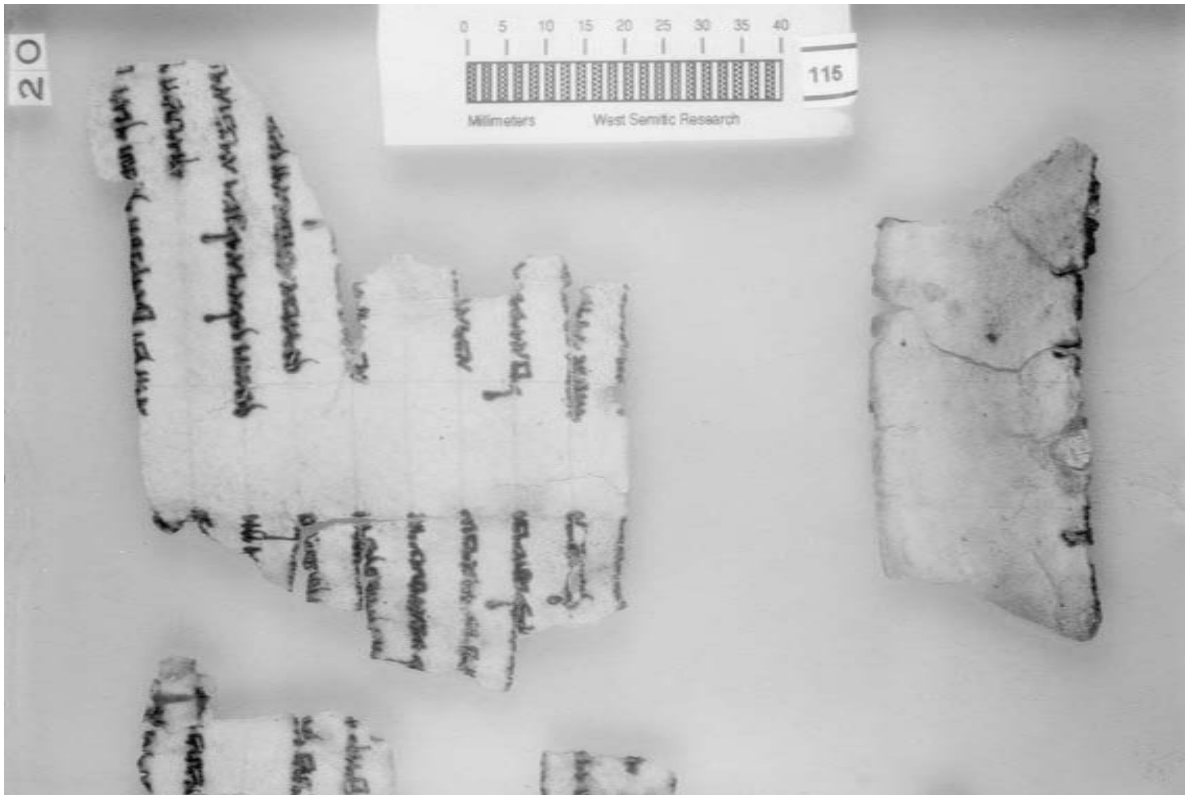
End View before Unrolling



Open Scroll with Enlarging Lens



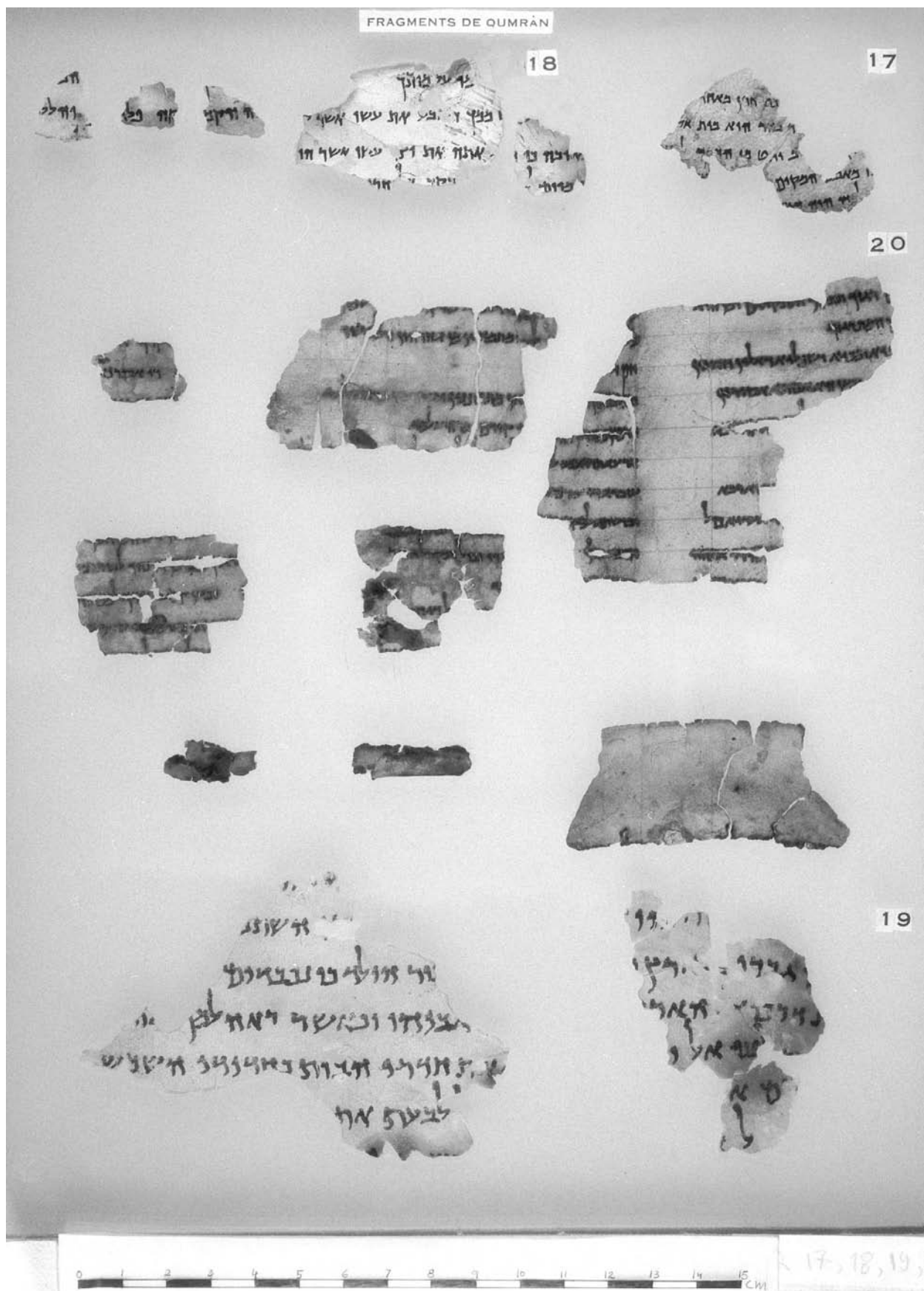
Columns 18-22 after Unrolling



ISF_DO_00665



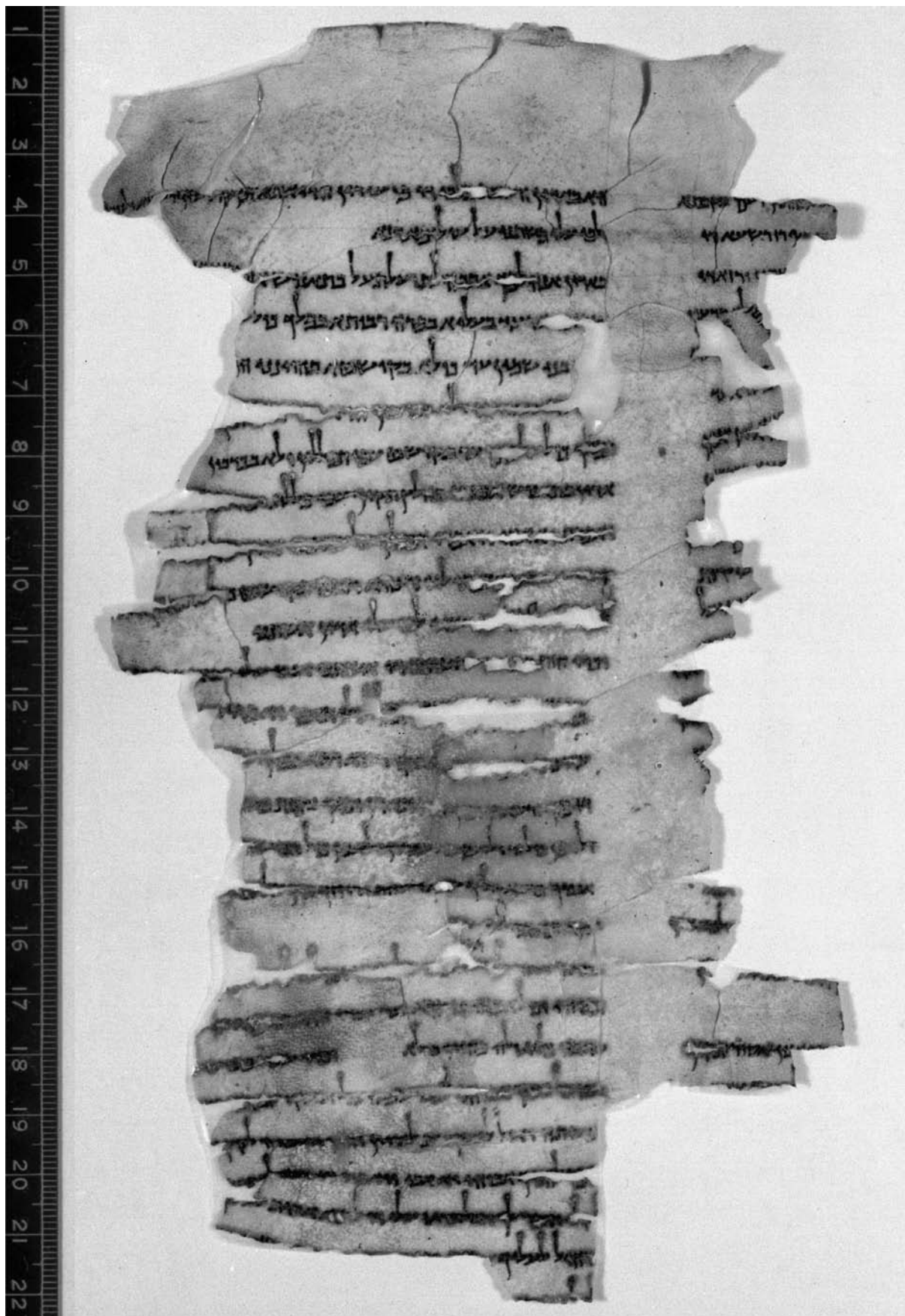
ISF_DO_00667



ISF_DO_00661



LMneg. 6x6



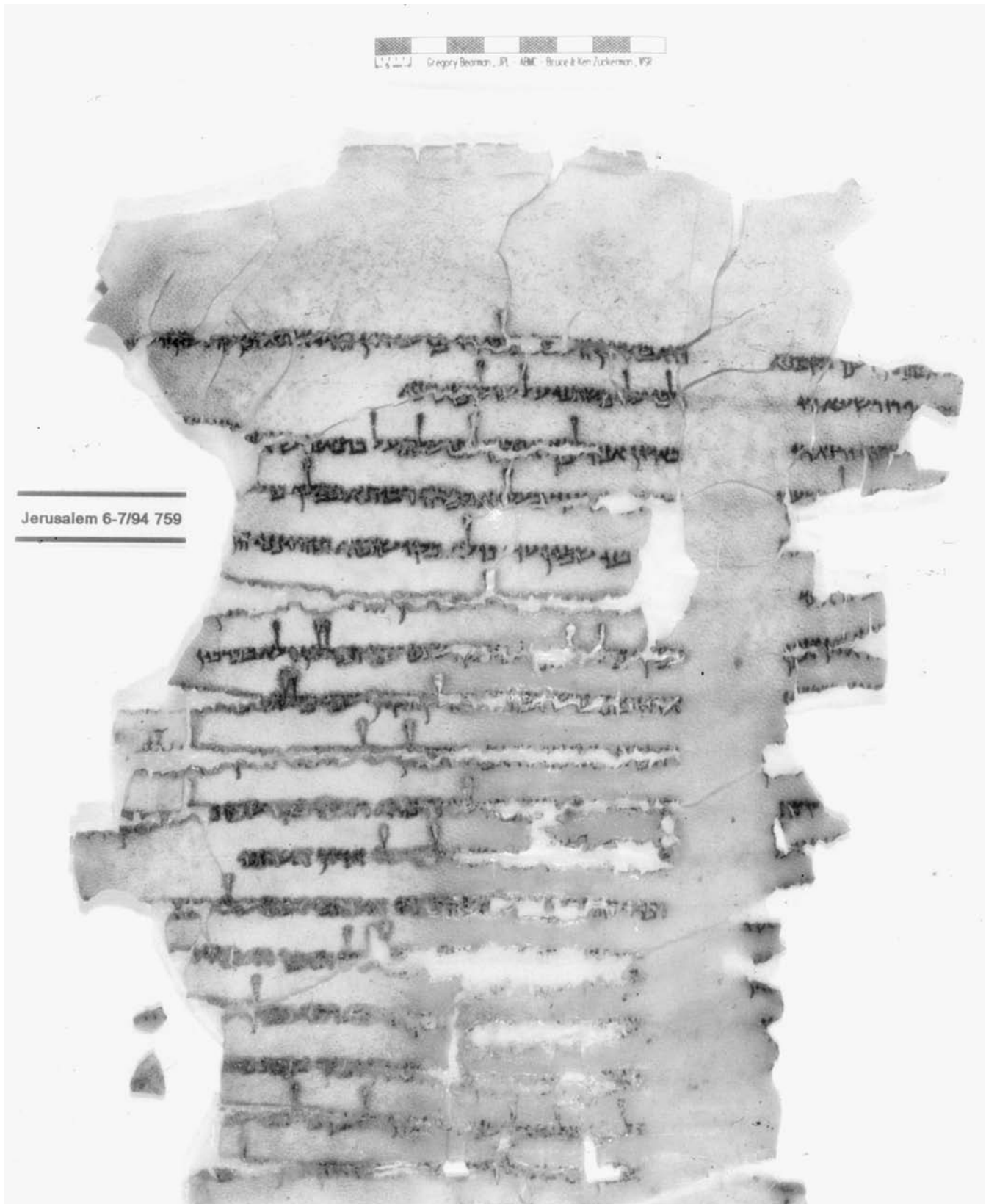
IMneg. 3853



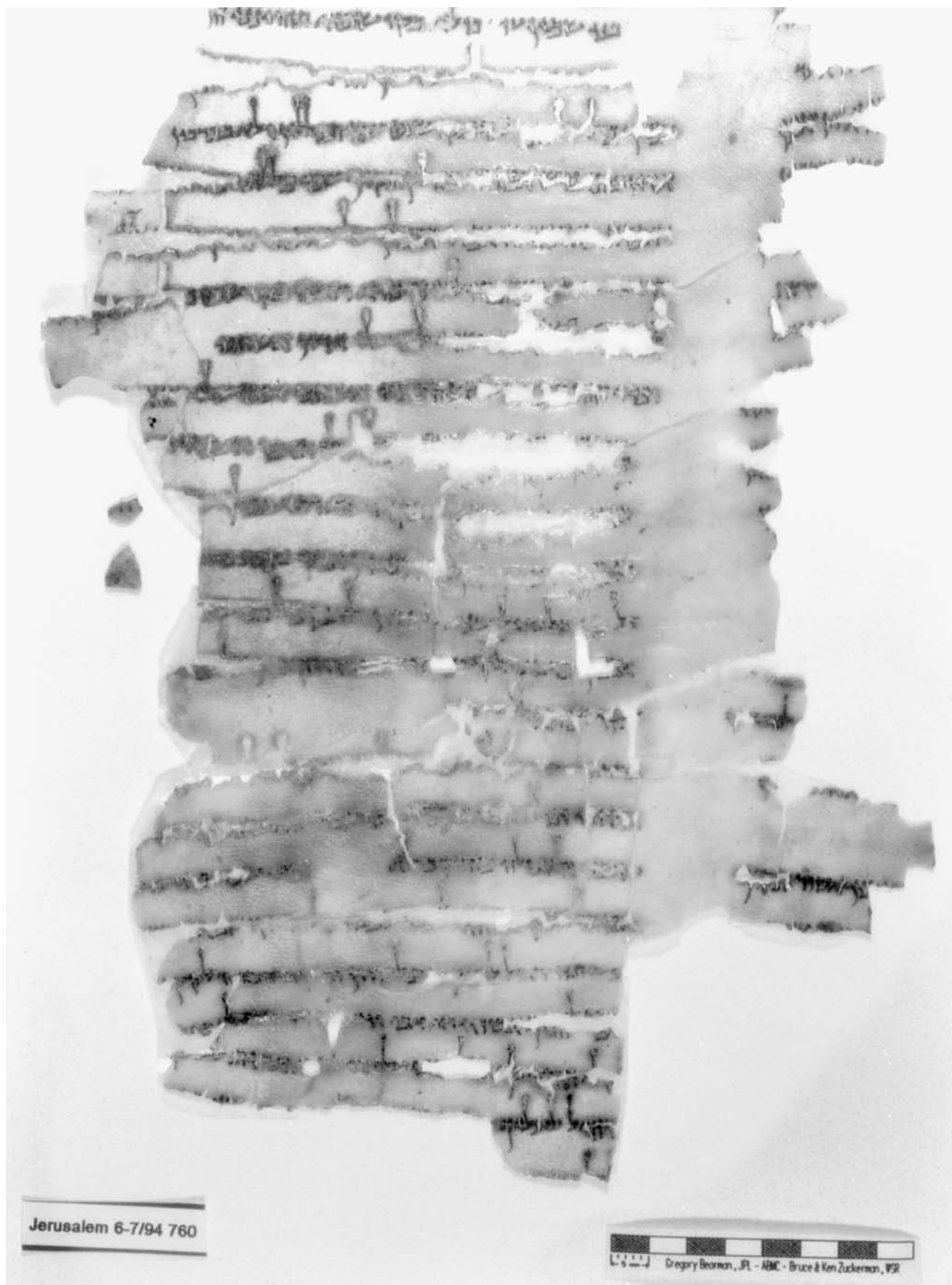
ARAMAIC FOURTH SCROLL - FRAGMENT FROM SOFT SIDE
REMOVED, APRIL 11, 1949



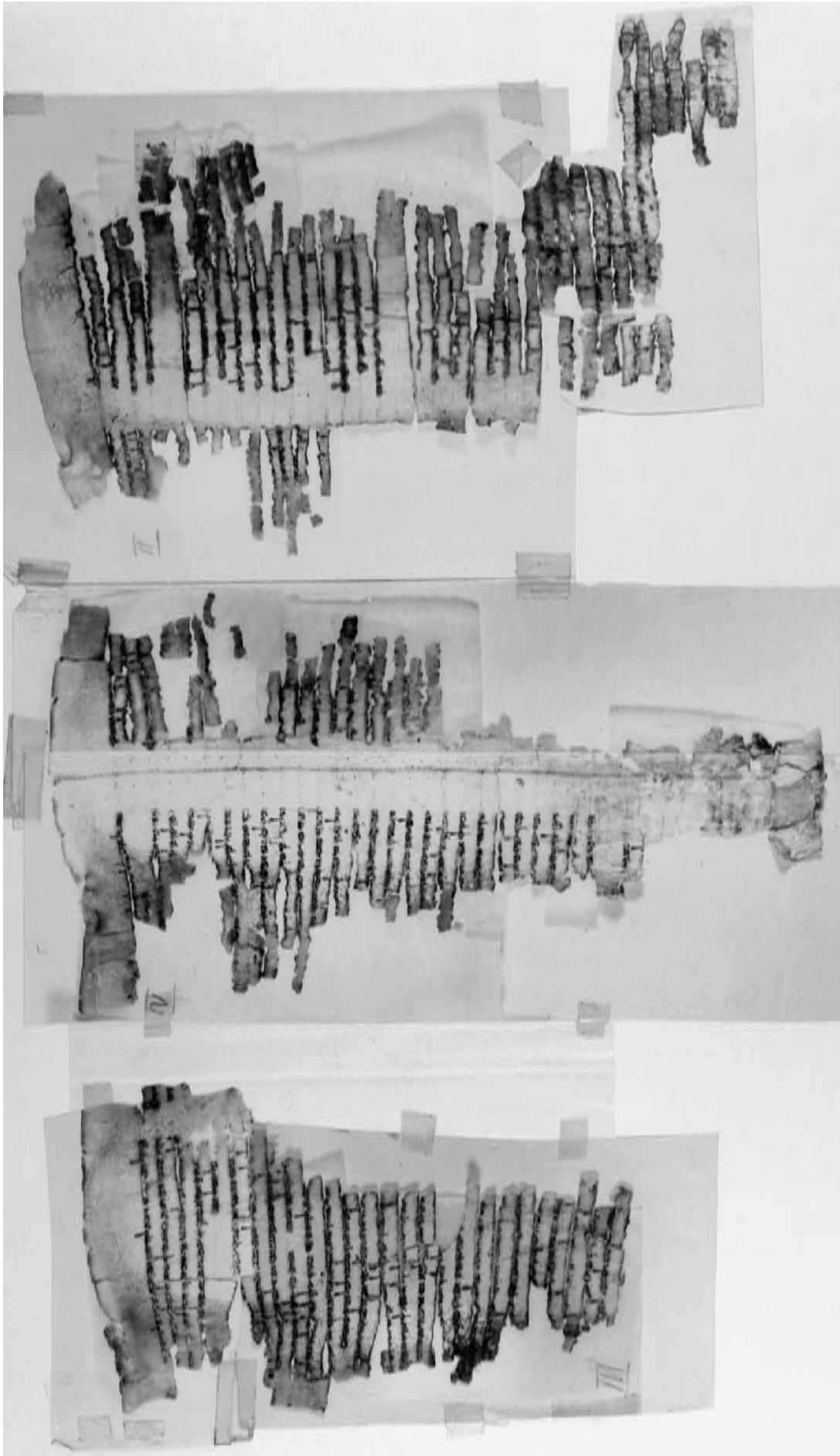
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BZ1-2T



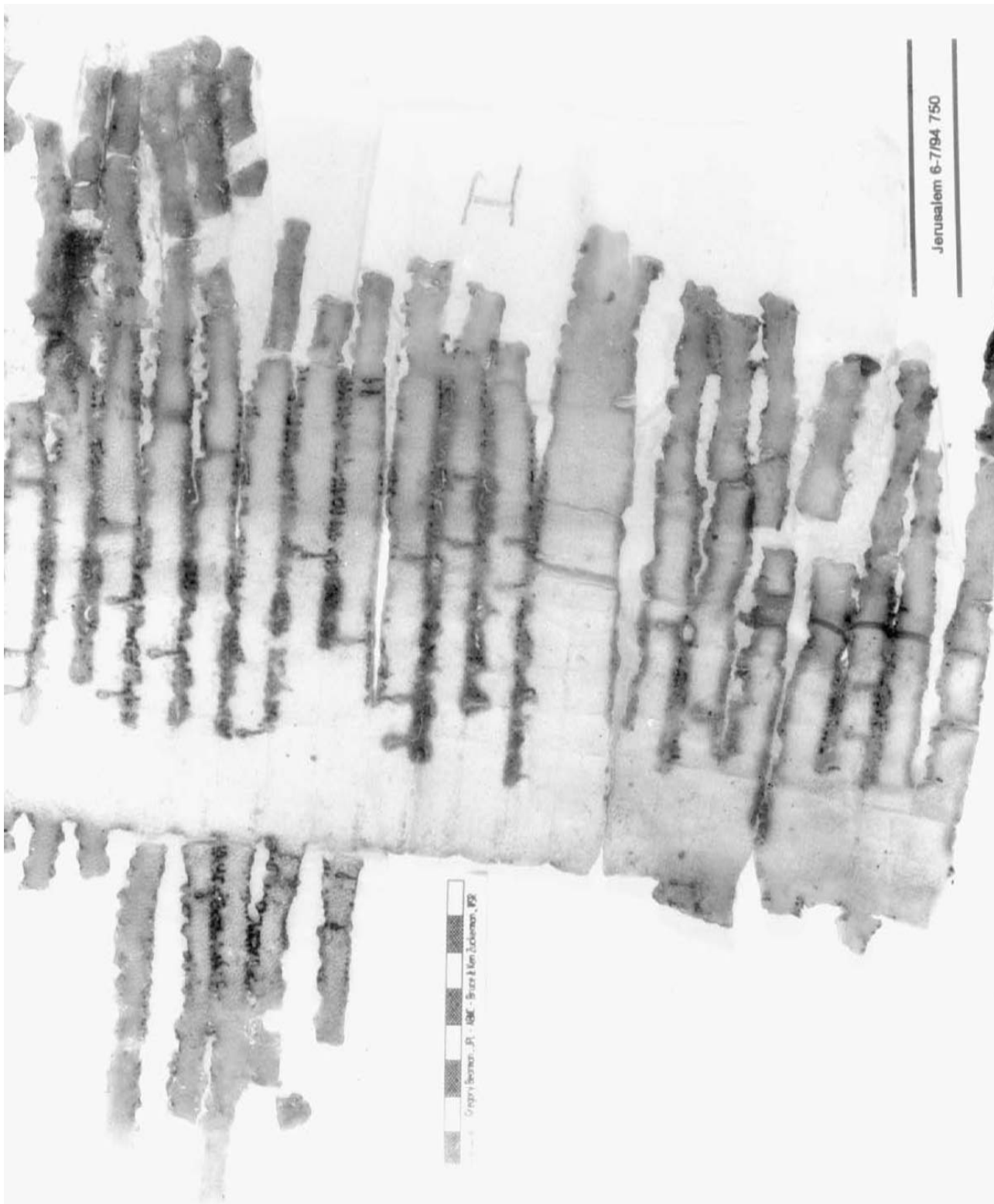
BZ1-2B



IMneg. x 86-4447 [3-6]



BZ3-4T



BZ3-4M







IMneg. x 86-4447, 4453



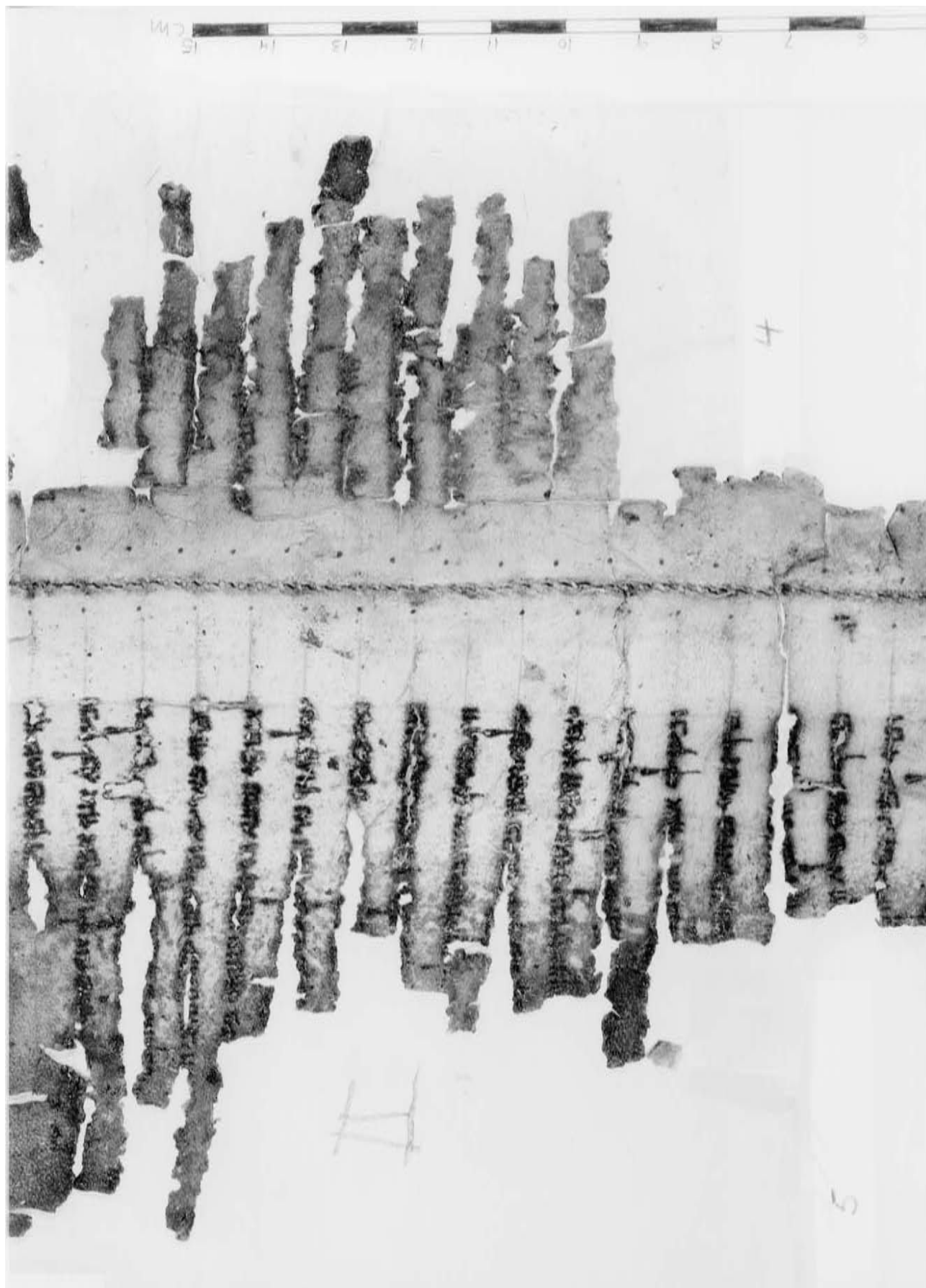
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IMneg. 4445

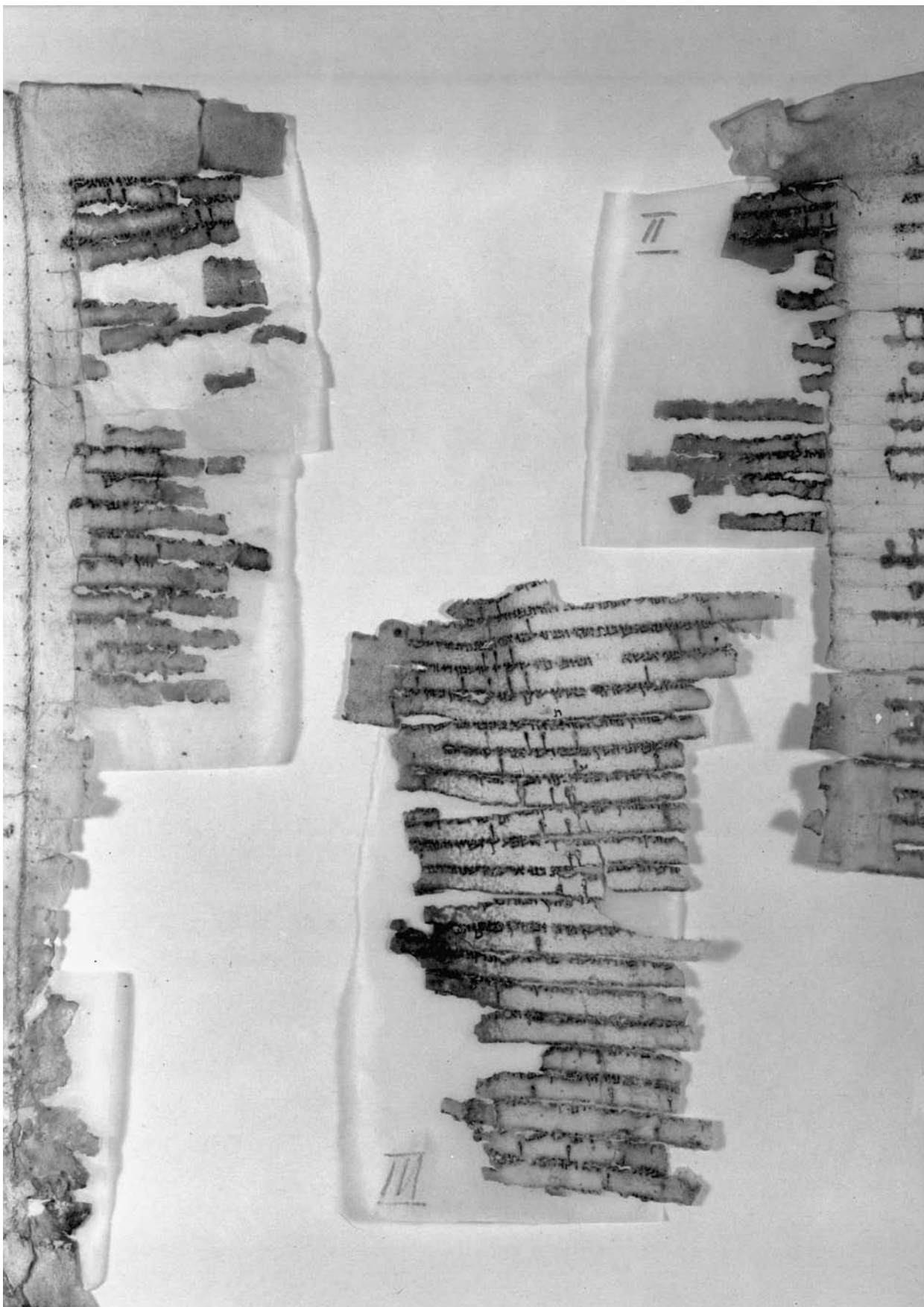


BZ4-5T





BZ4-5B







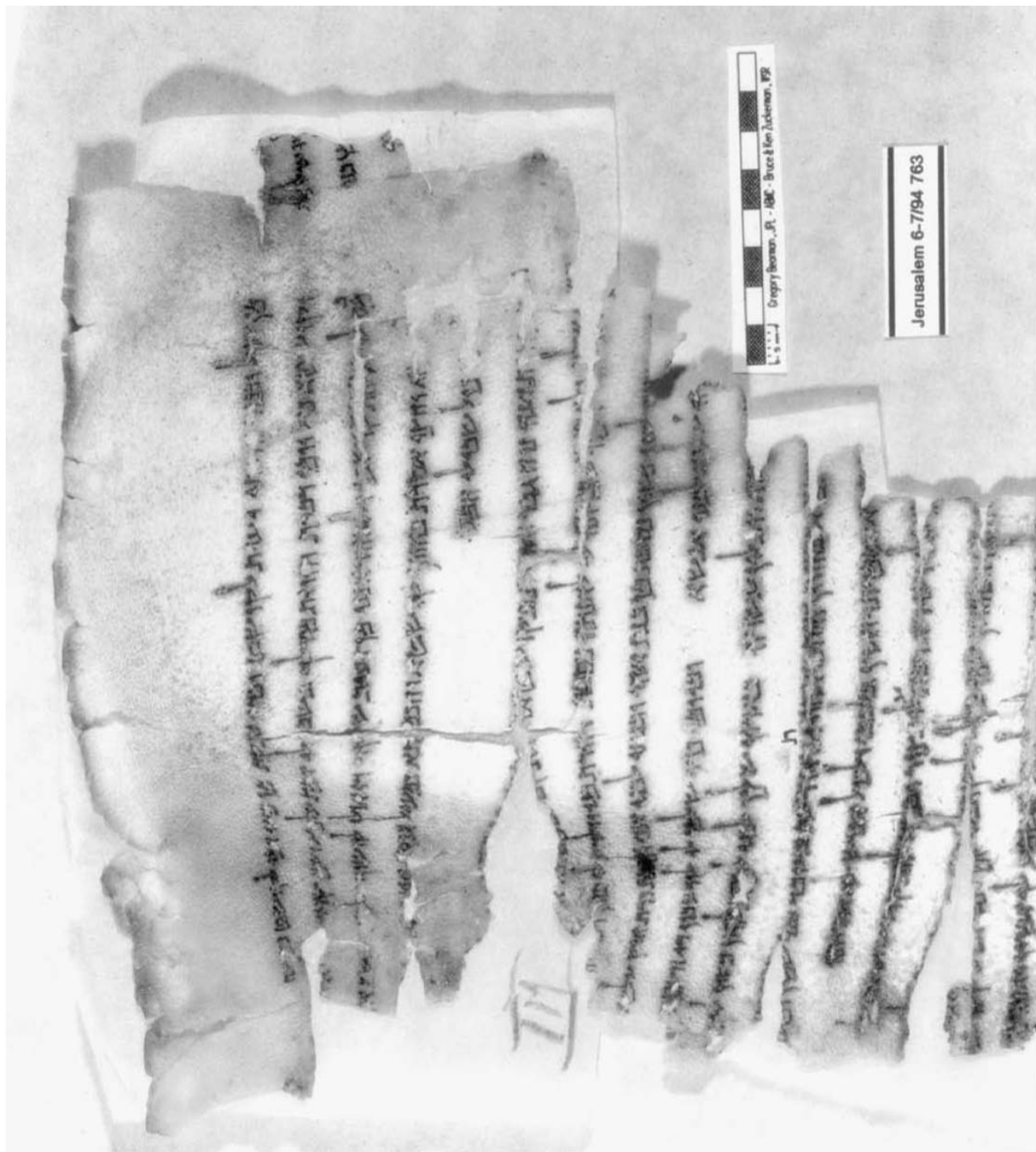
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BZ5NoahFrg.

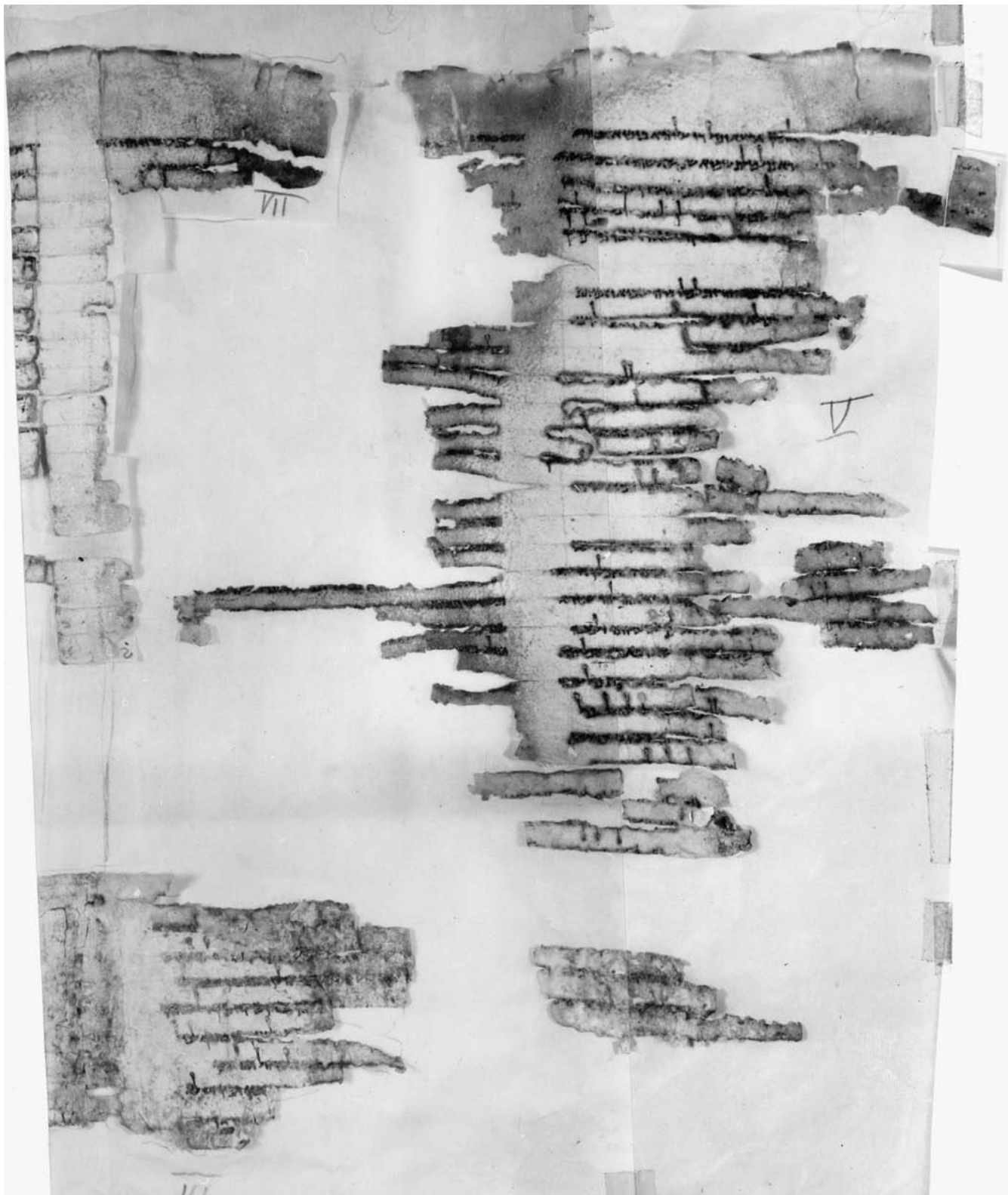




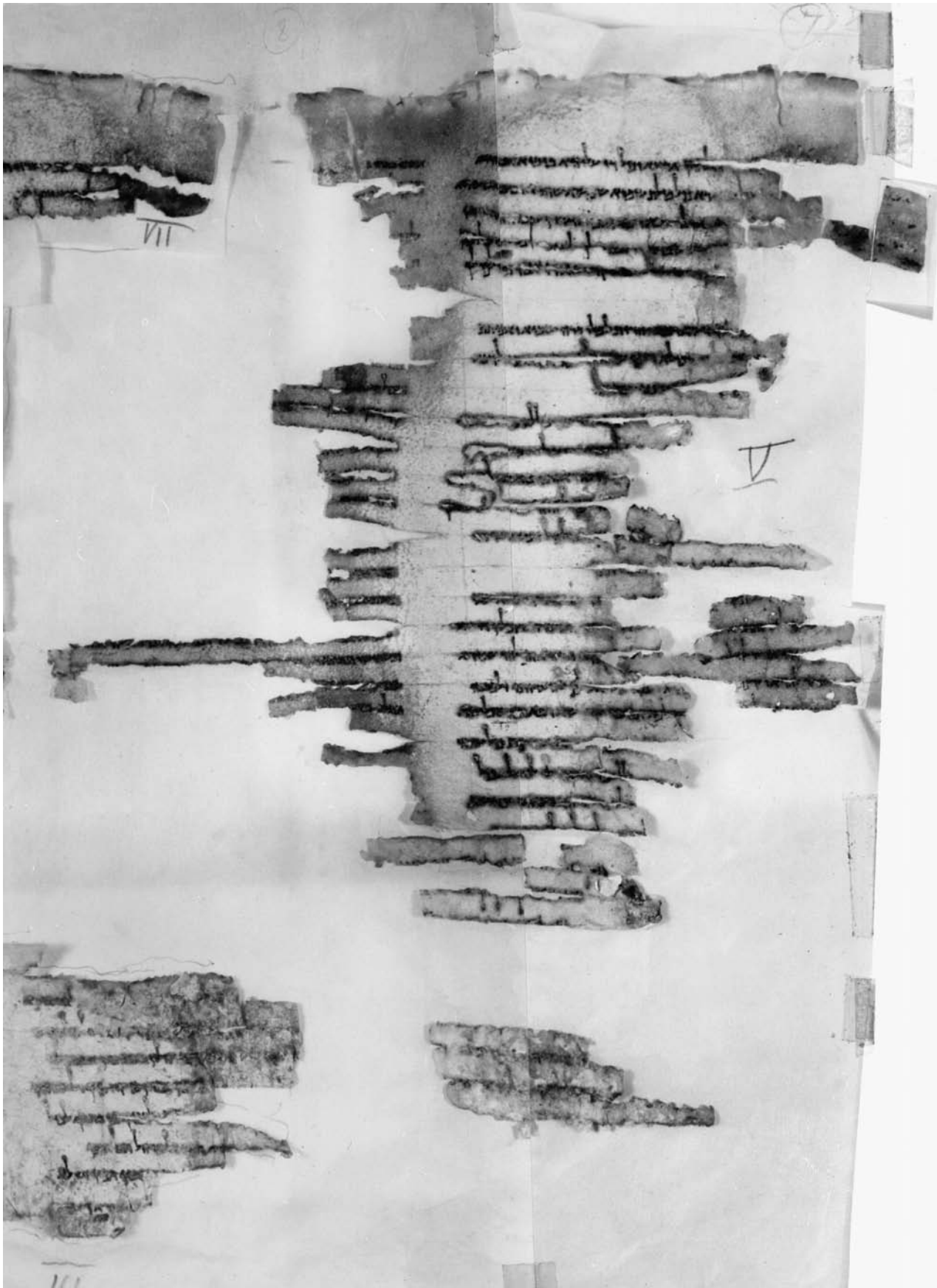




BZ6B



IMneg. x 86-4444





Bearman #0324

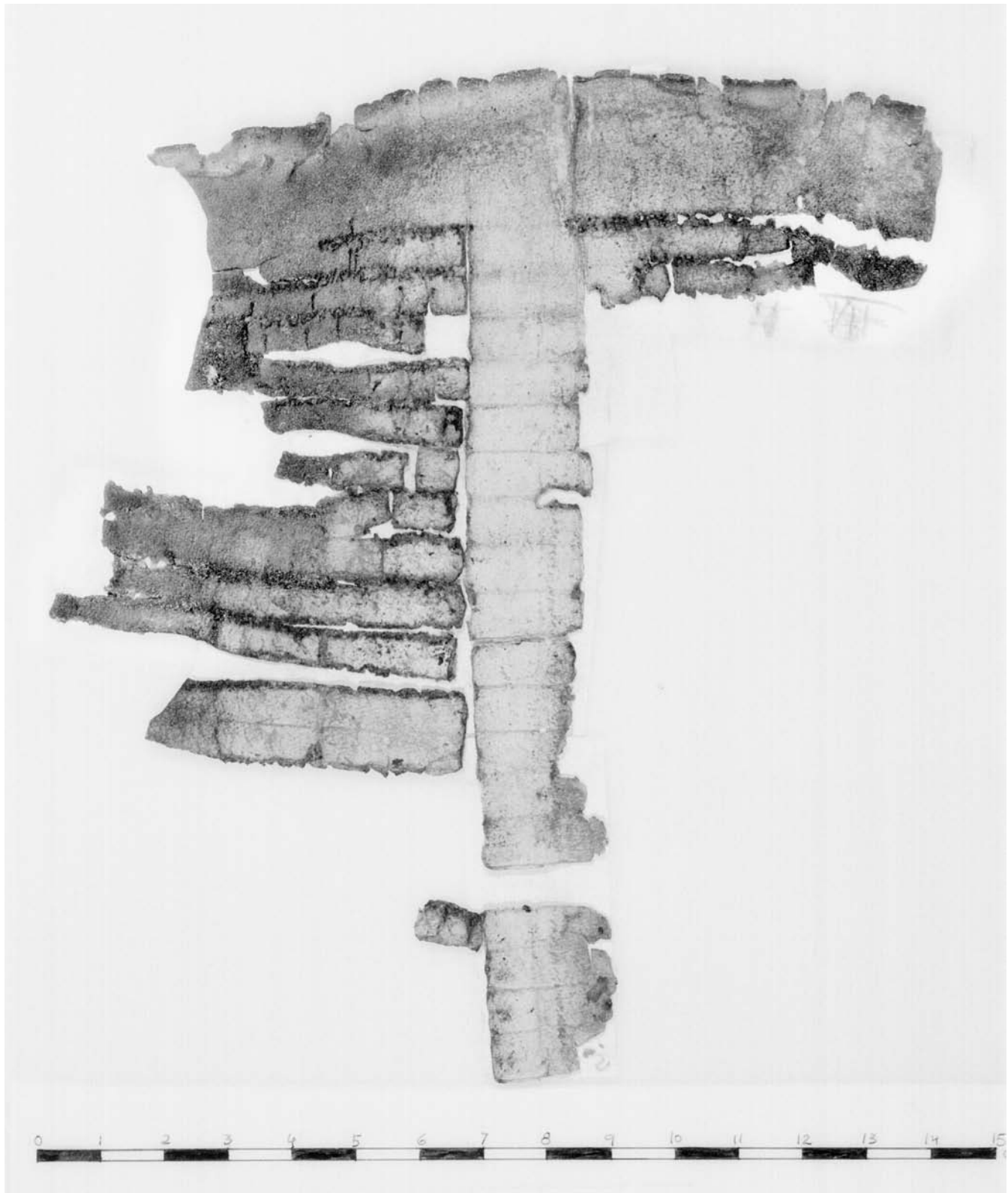


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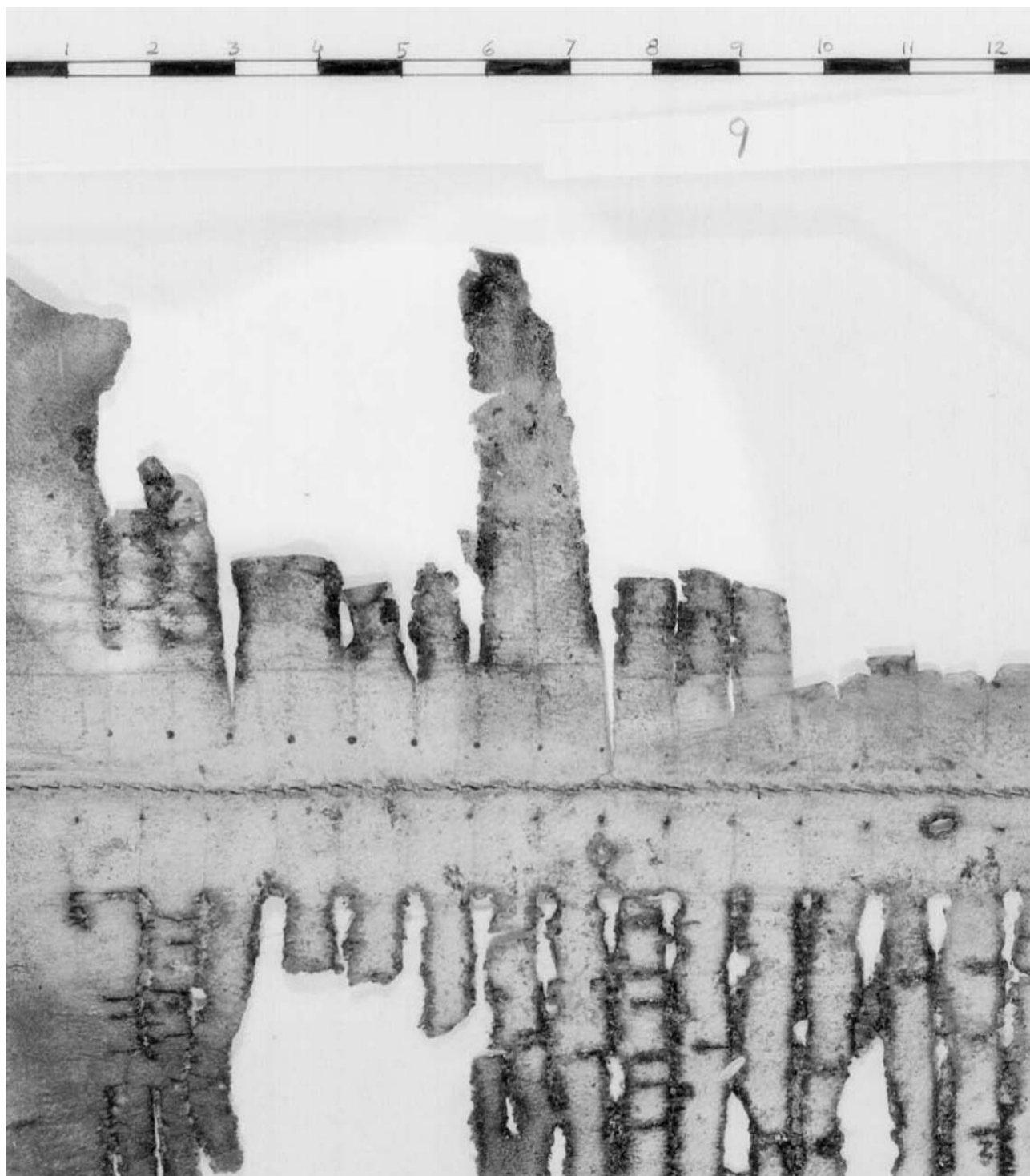


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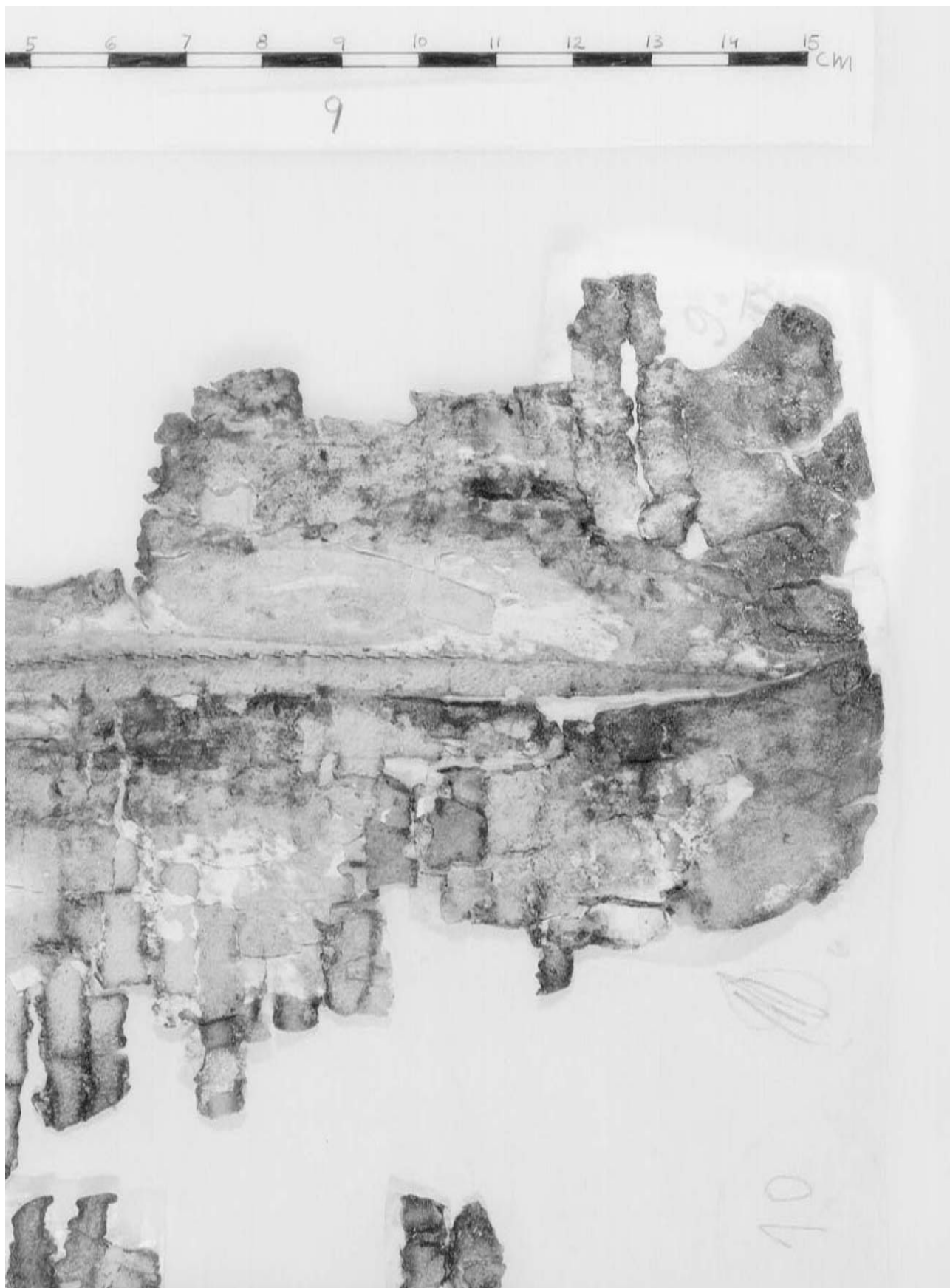
BZ8-9

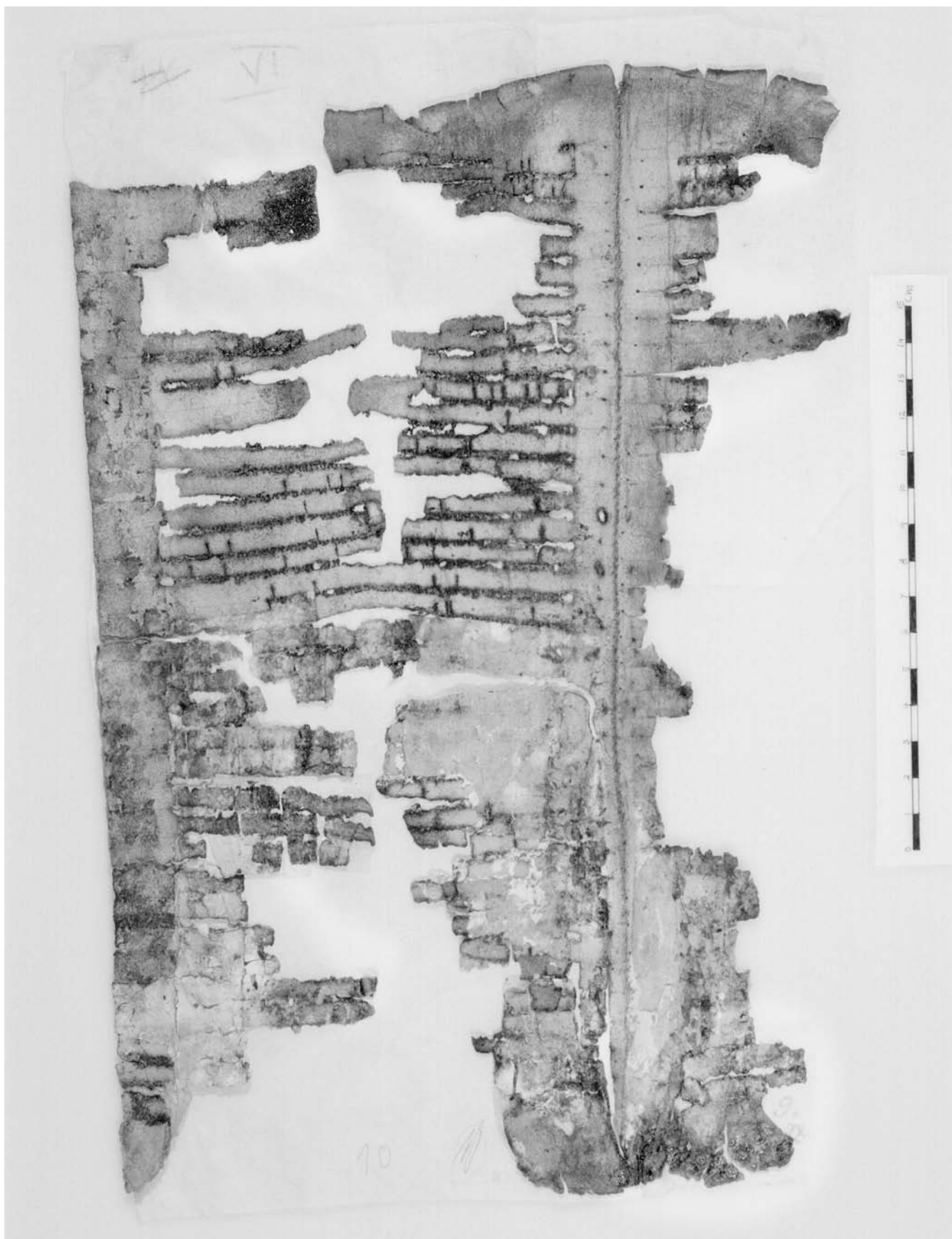


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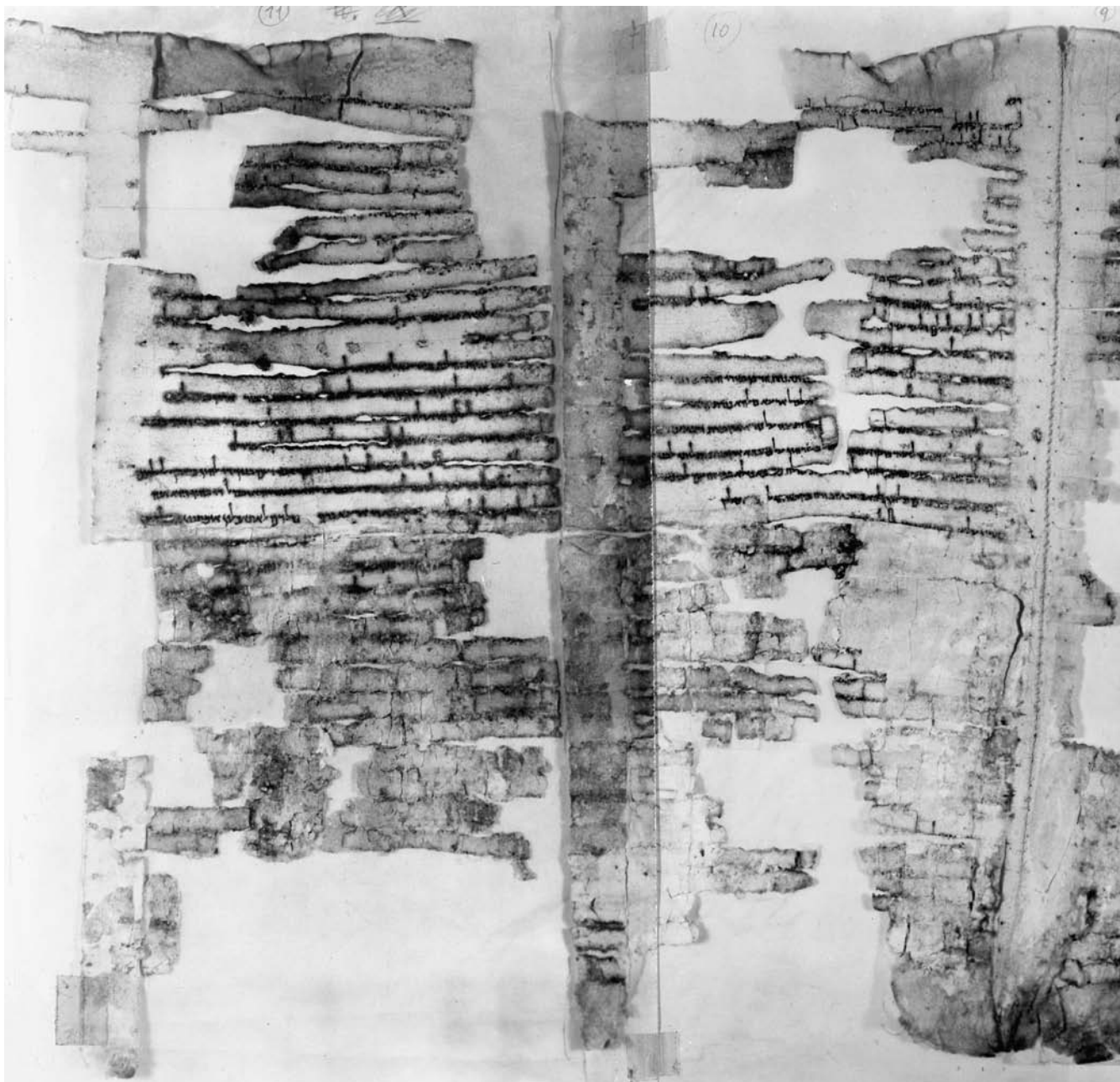


BZ9M





BZ9-10



IMneg. x 86-4451



IMneg. 3840



BZ10T







BZ11T



BZ11TM



BZ11BM



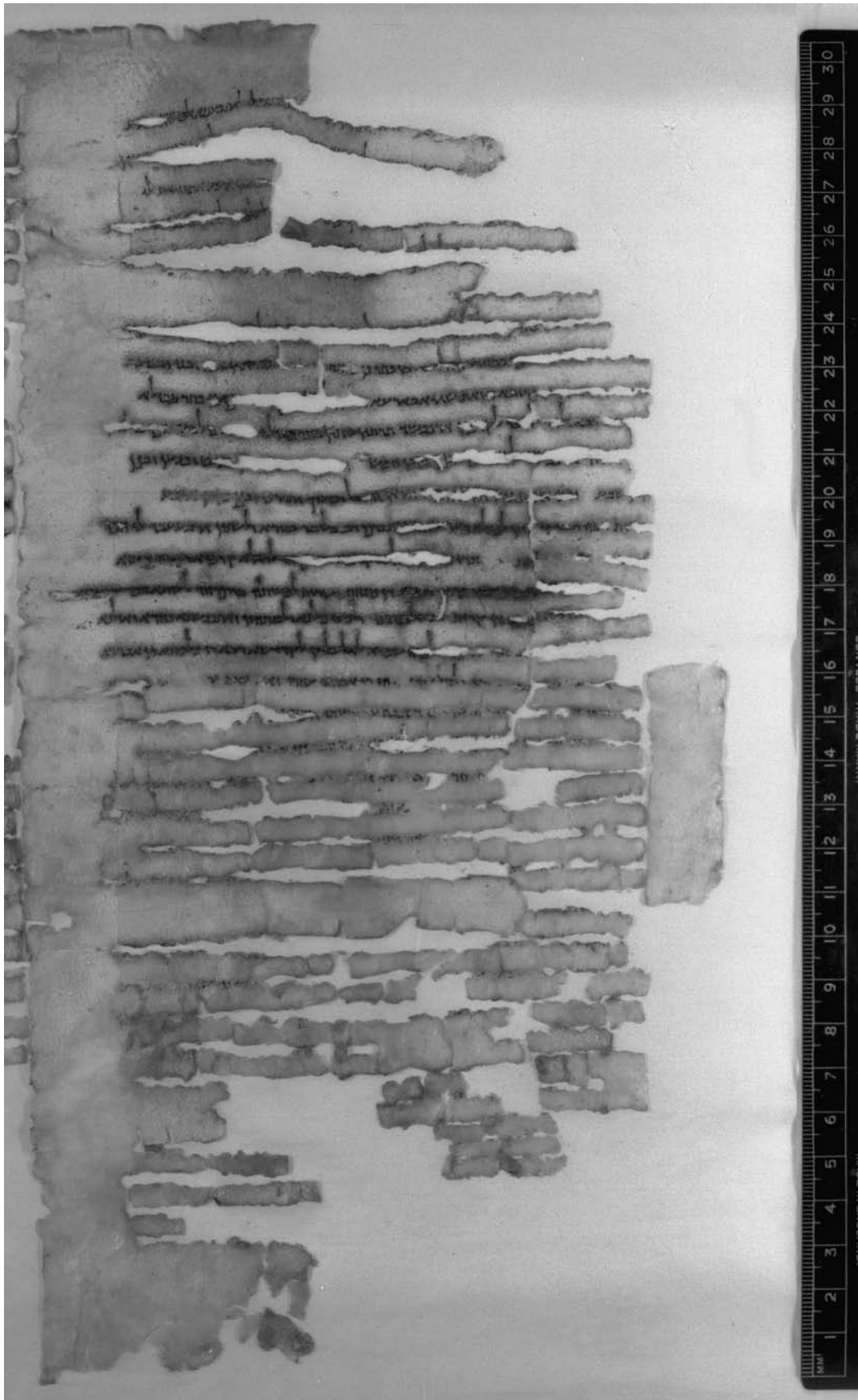
BZ11B



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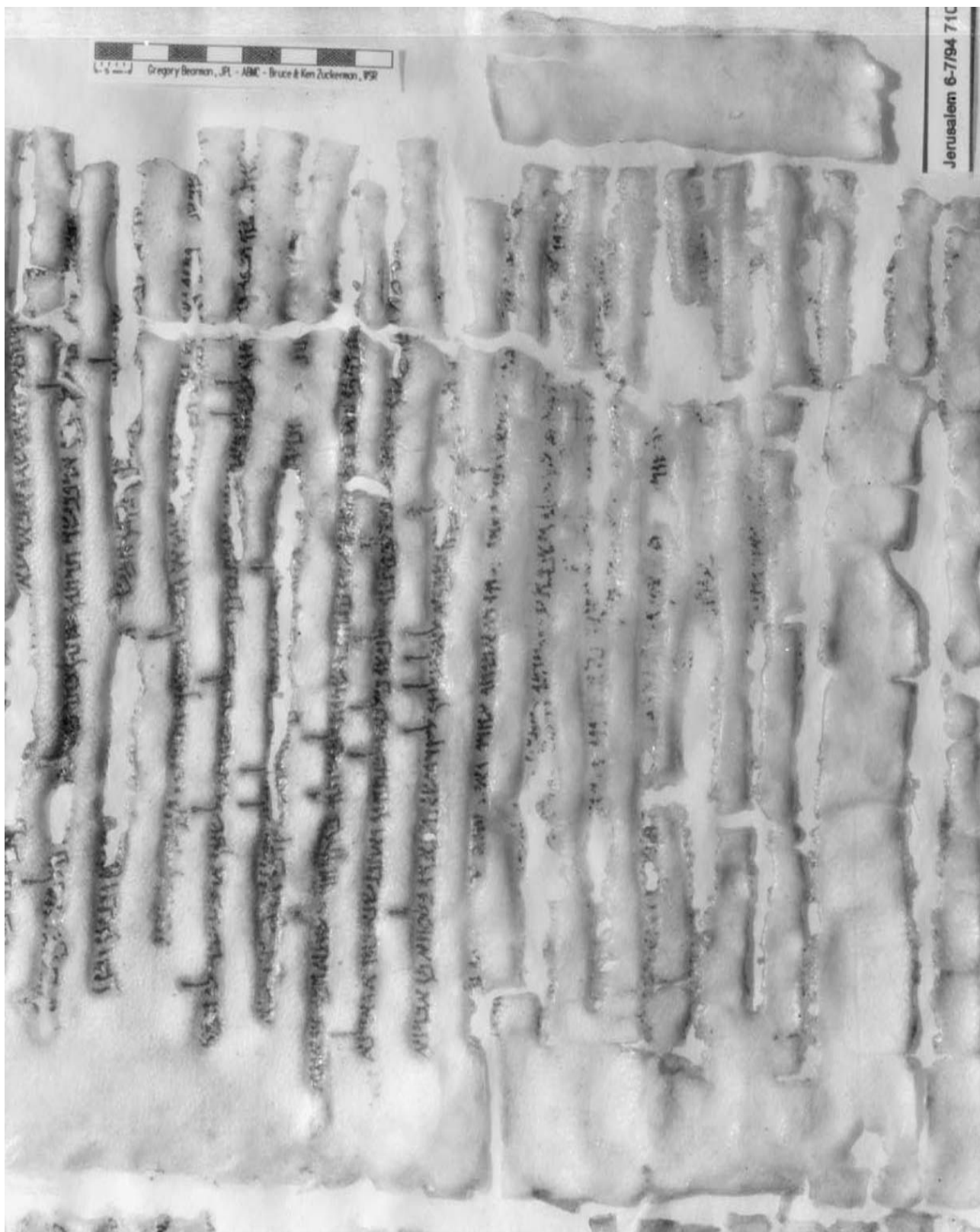


IMneg. 3842



IMneg. 3841

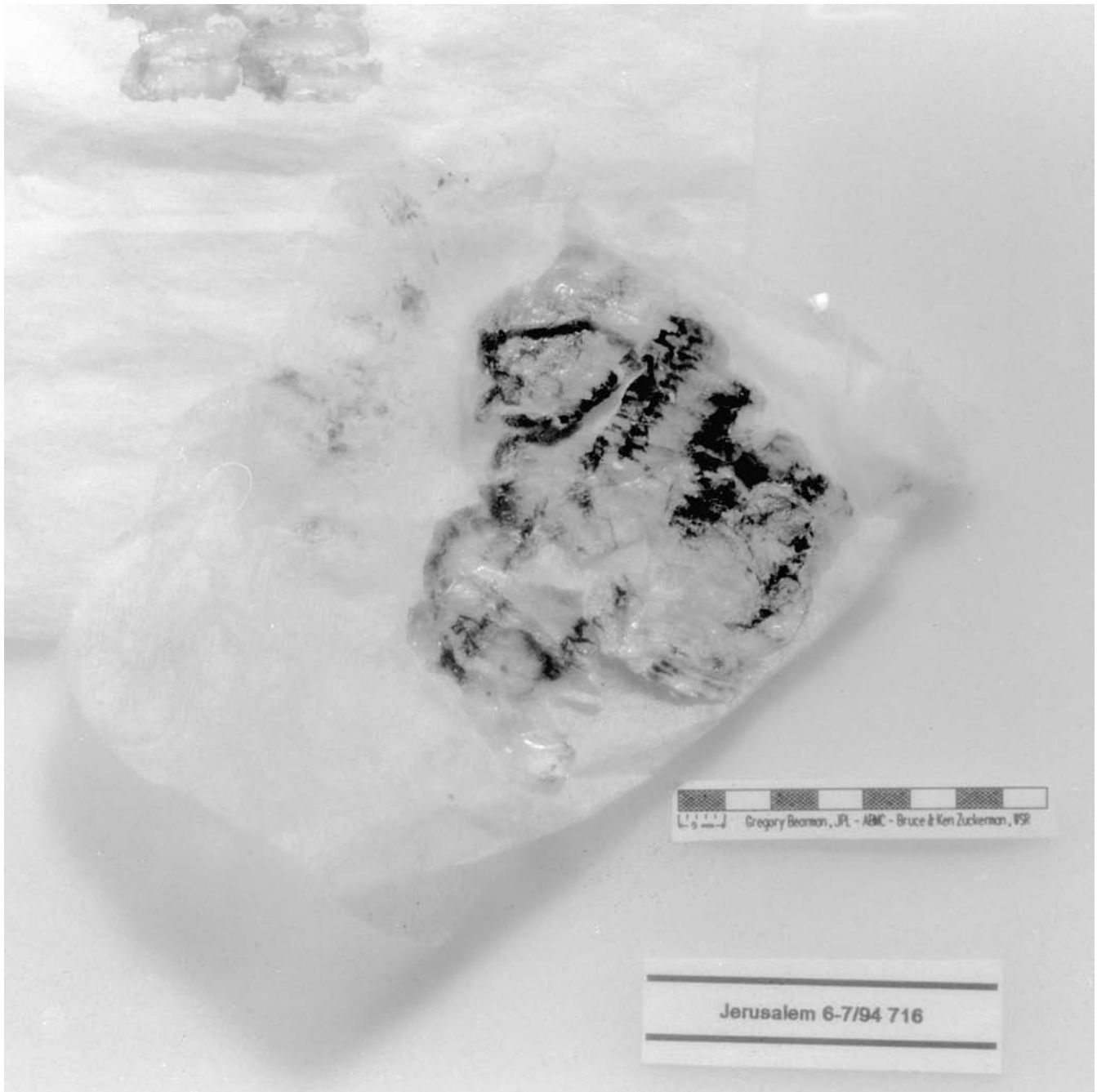




BZ12M



BZ12B



BZ12Frg.



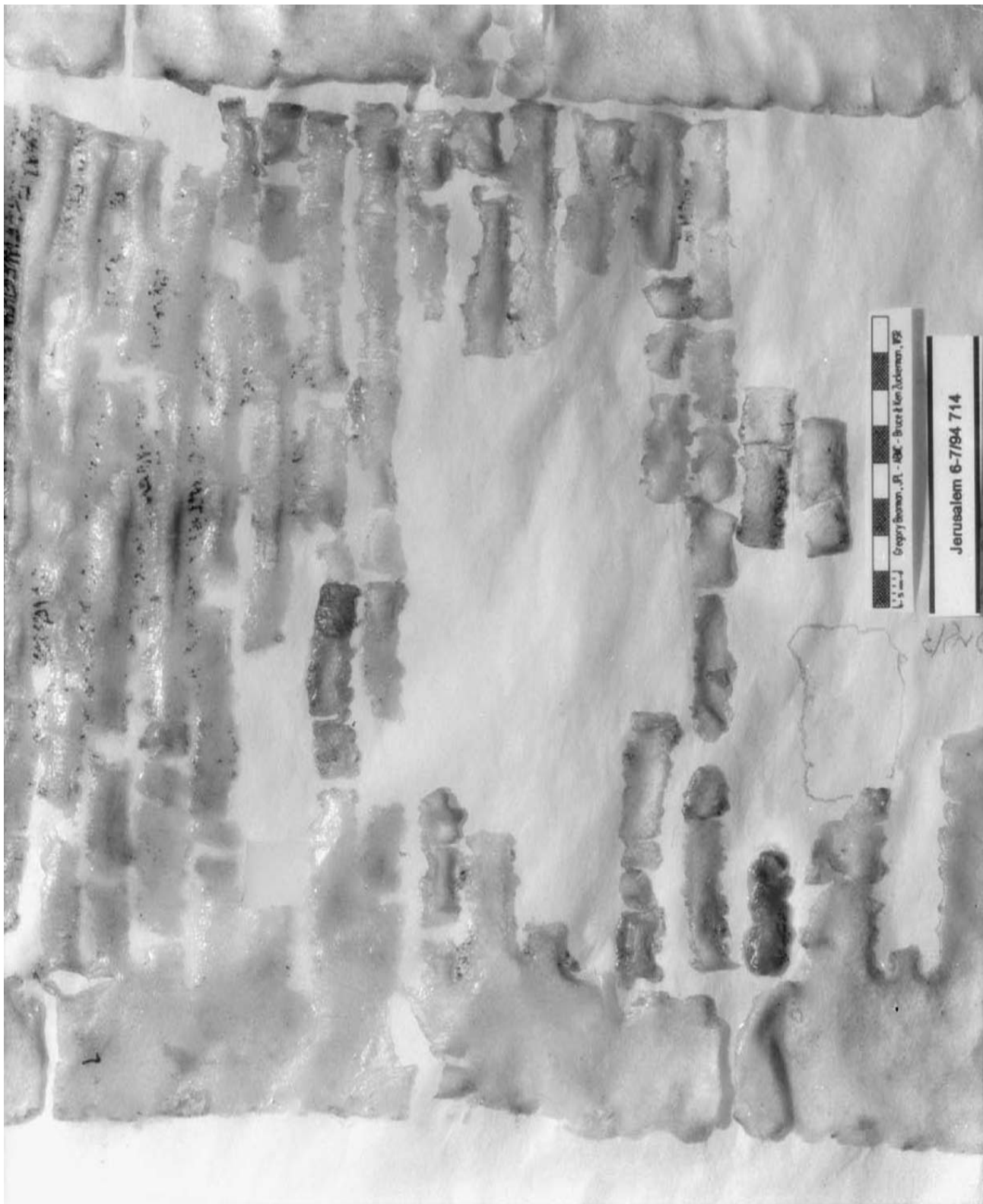
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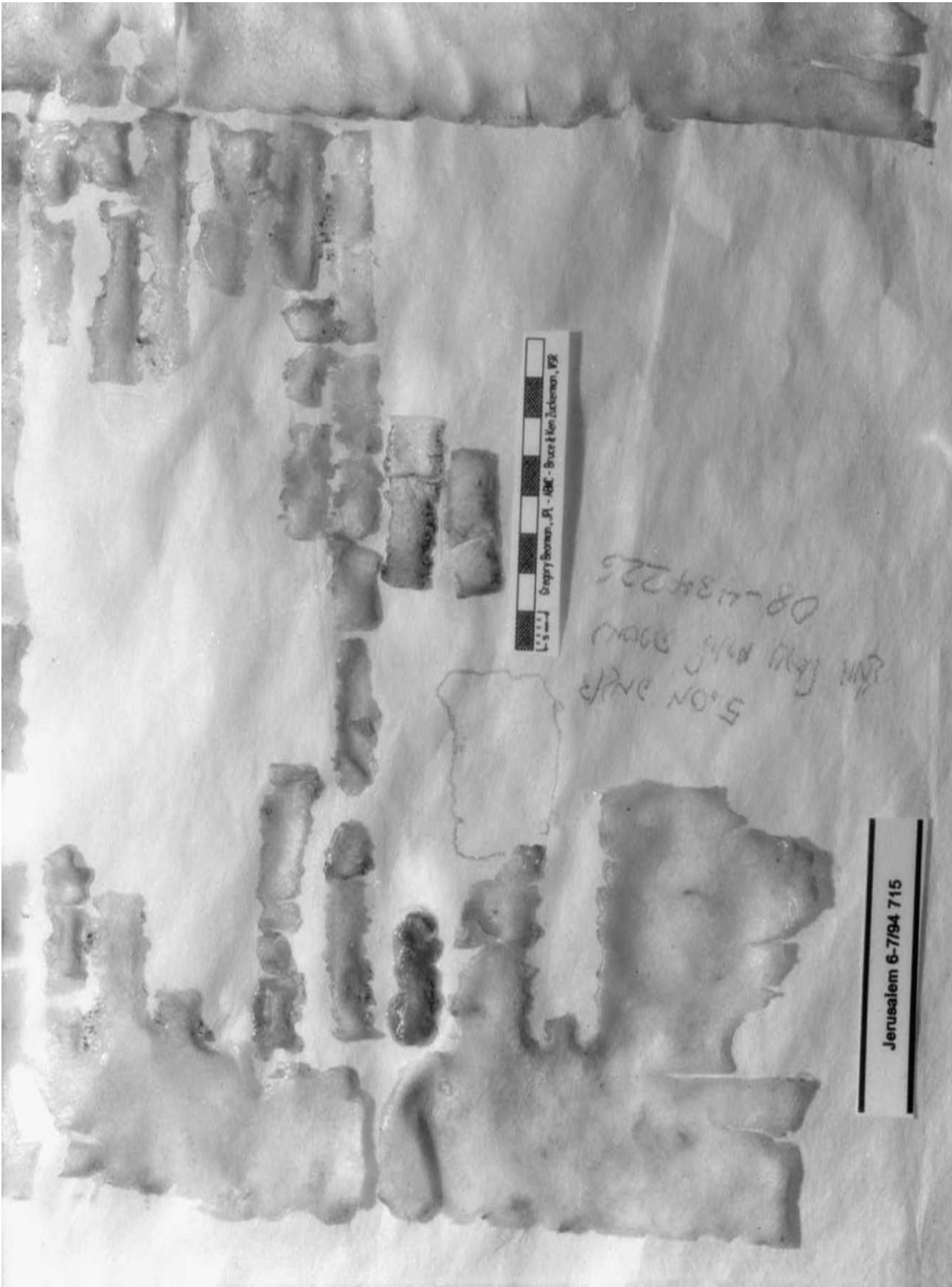
BZ13T



BZ13TM



BZ13BM



BZ13B



IMneg. 3846



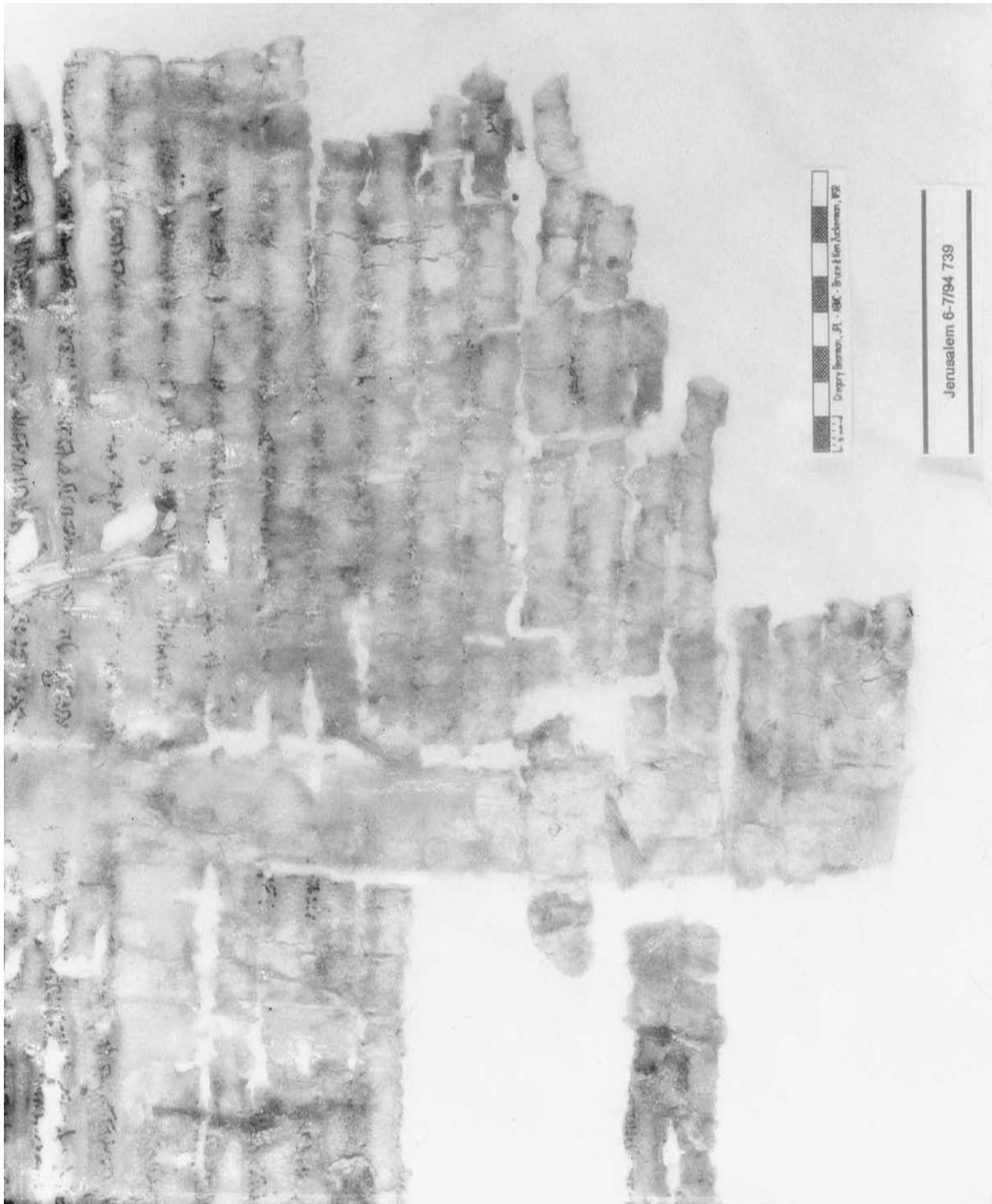
BZ14-15



BZ14T

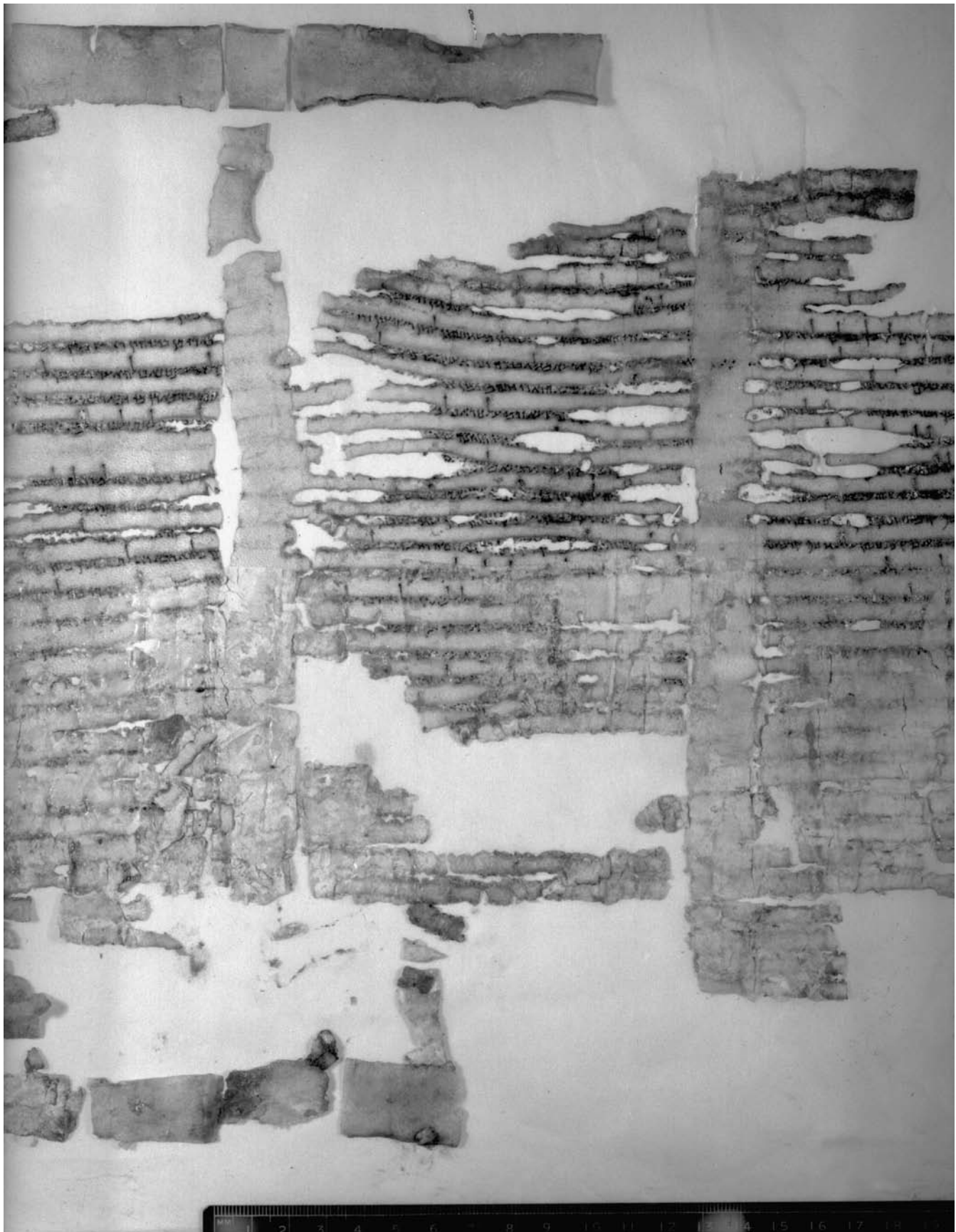


BZ14M



BZ14B

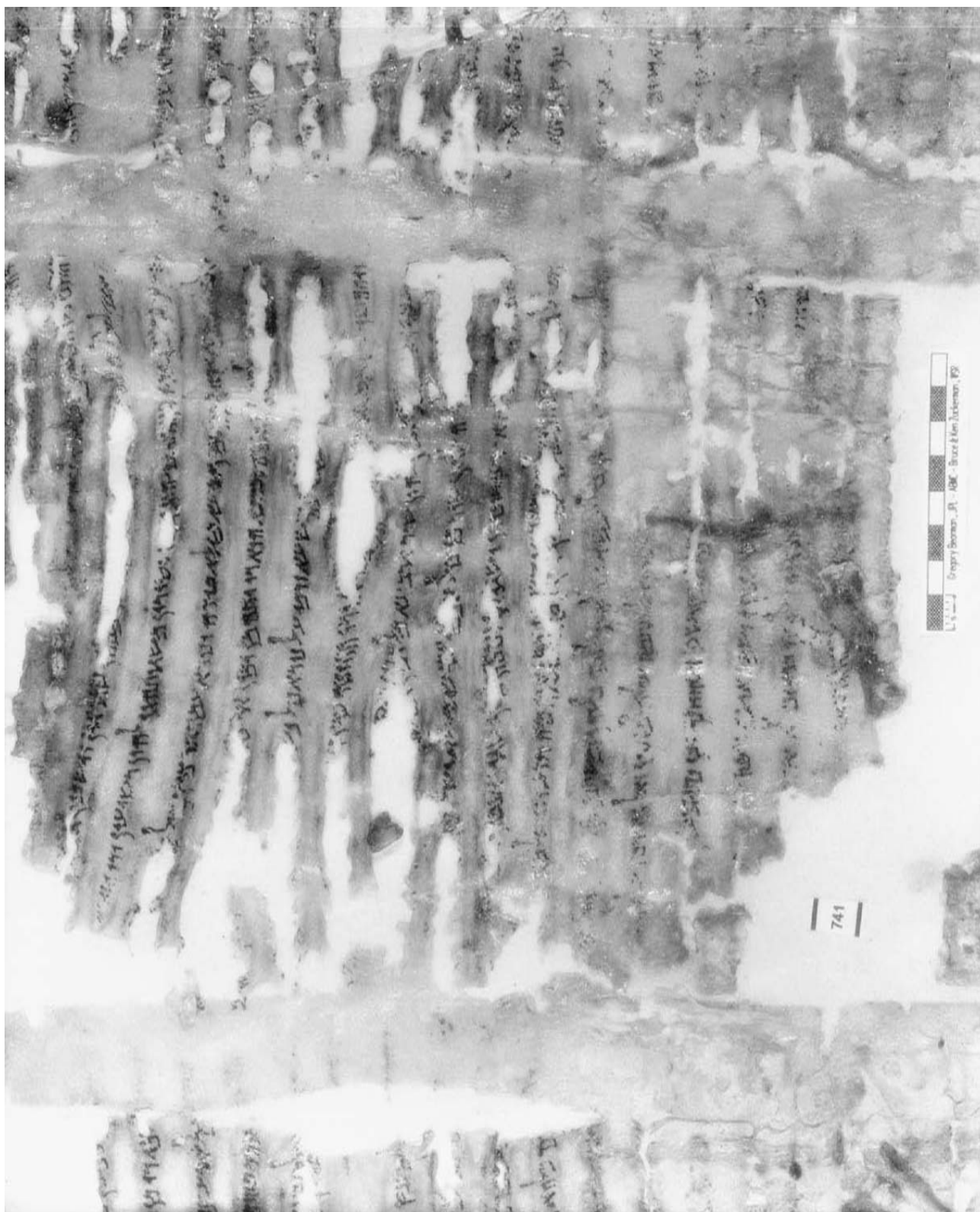




IMneg. 3844



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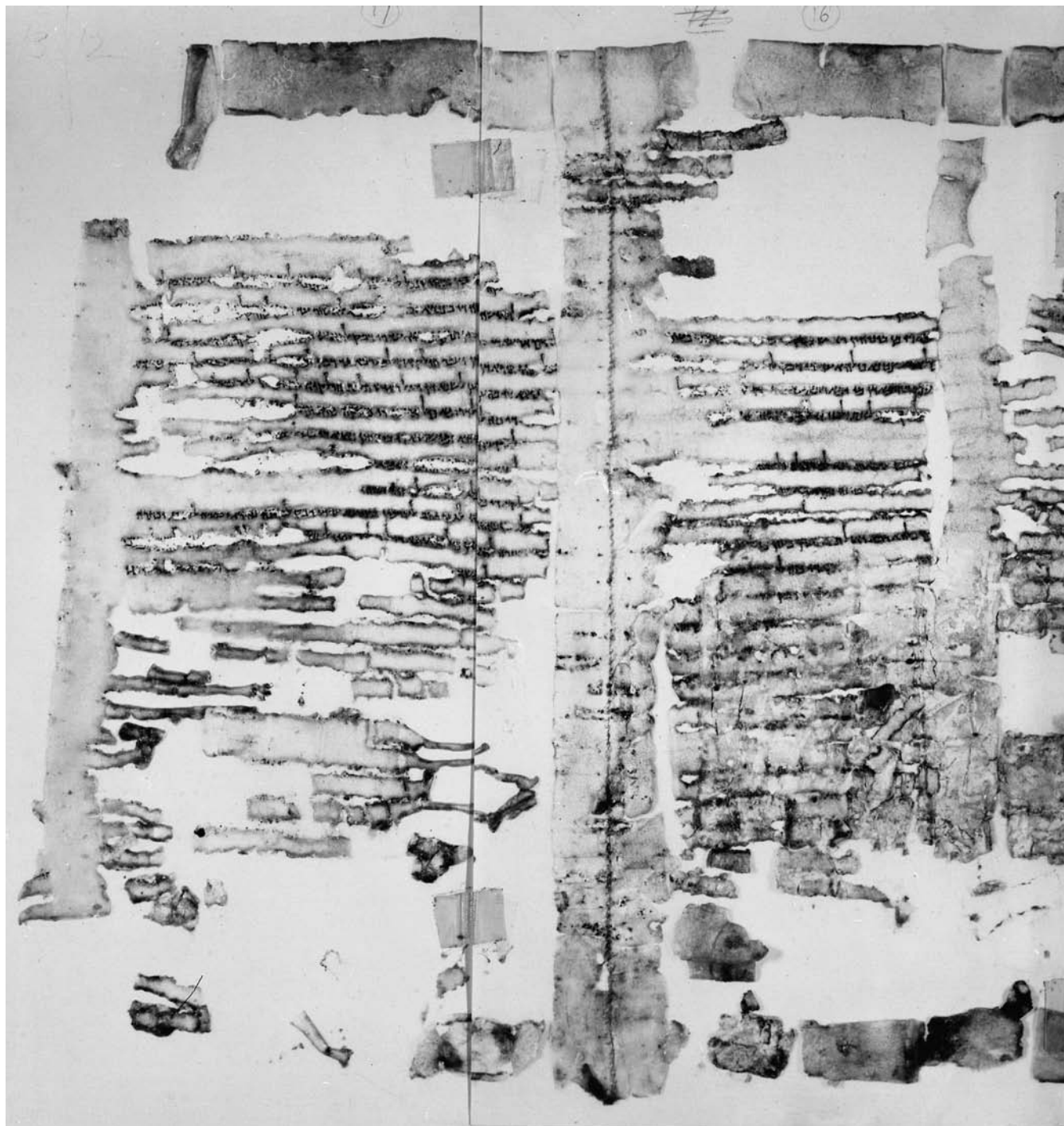
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Jerusalem 6-7/94 742

Gregory Beaman, JR. - 4800 - Bruce & Ken Zickman, KS2

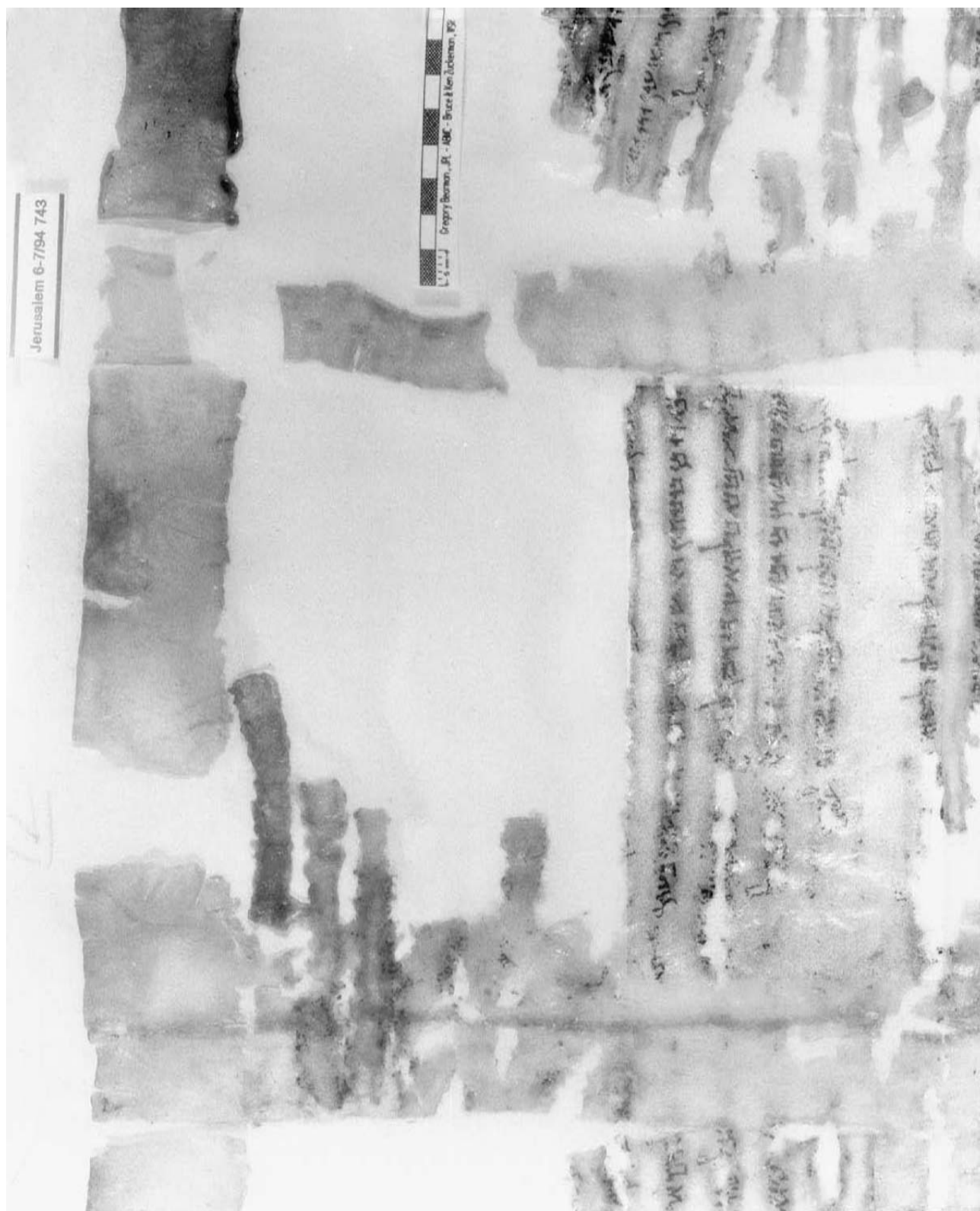
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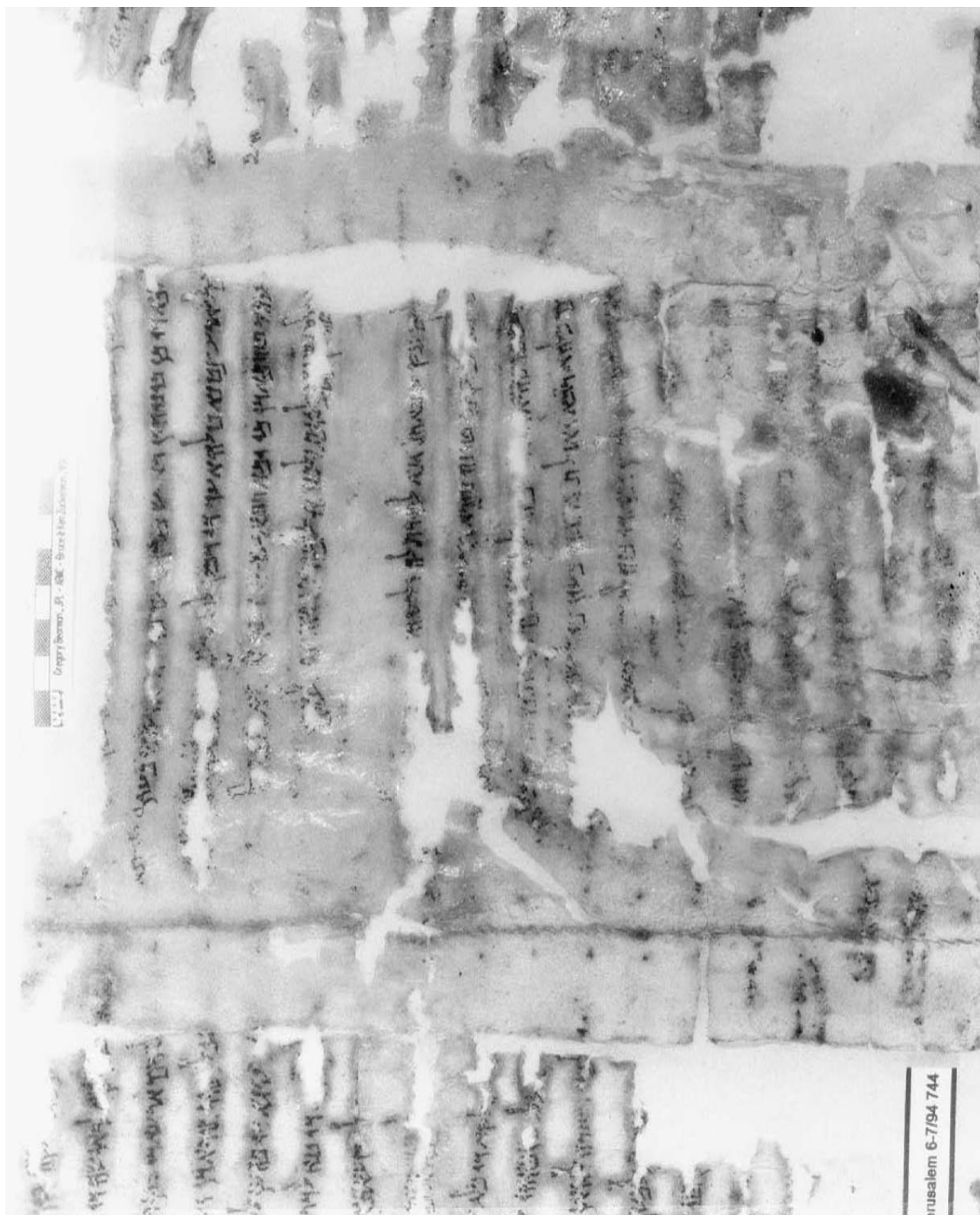
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IMneg. 3845



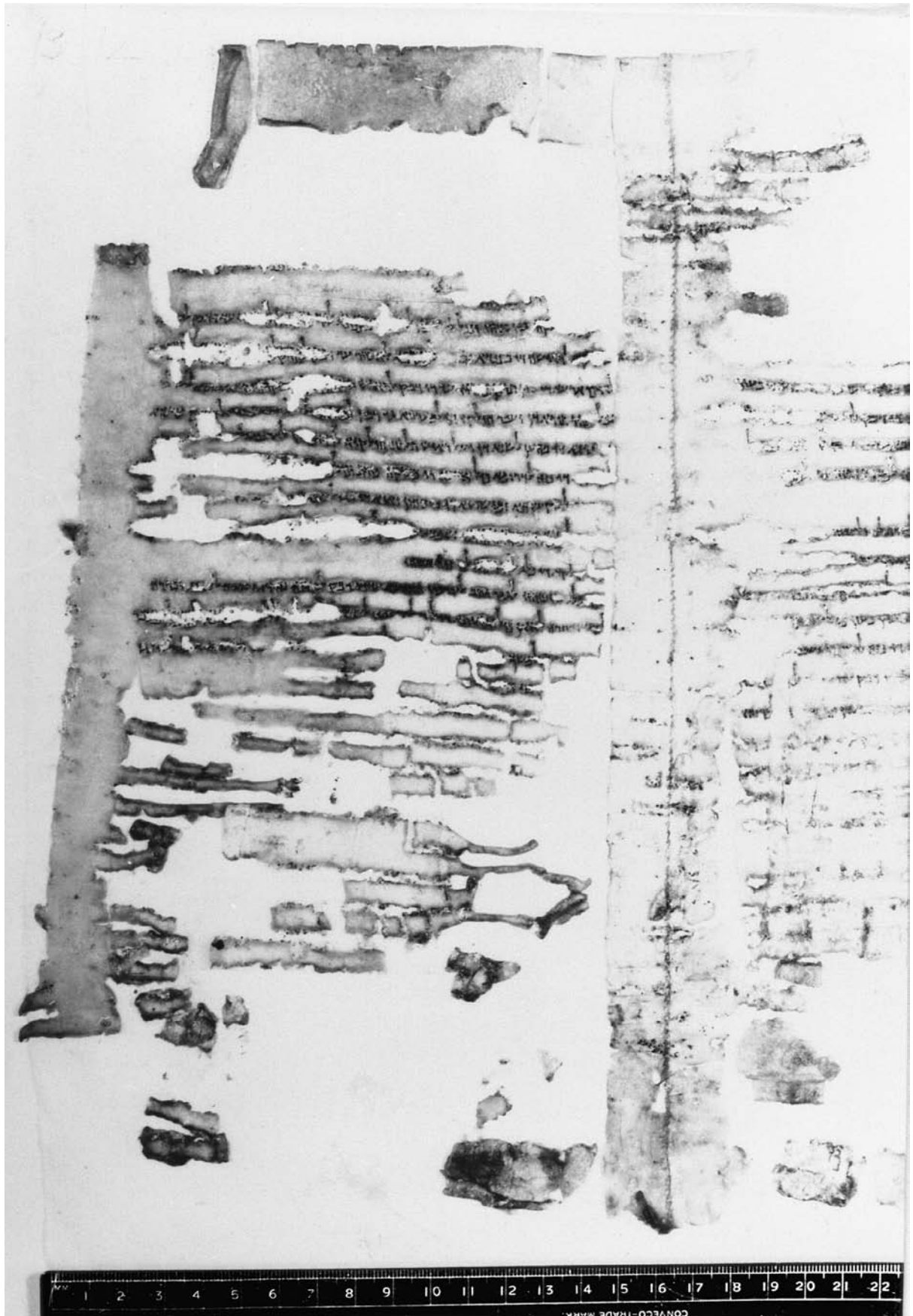
BZ16T



BZ16M



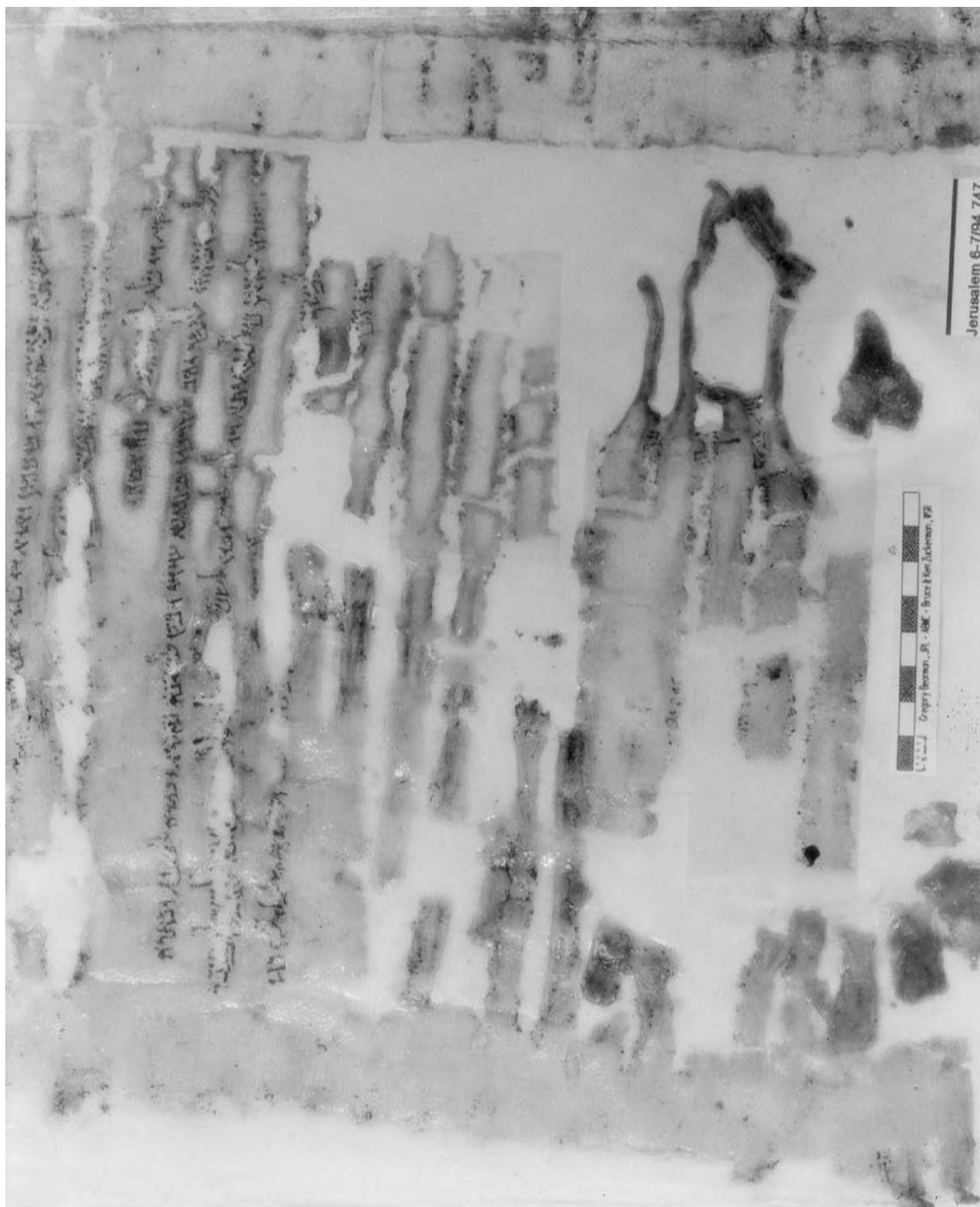
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IMneg. x 85-4450 [17]



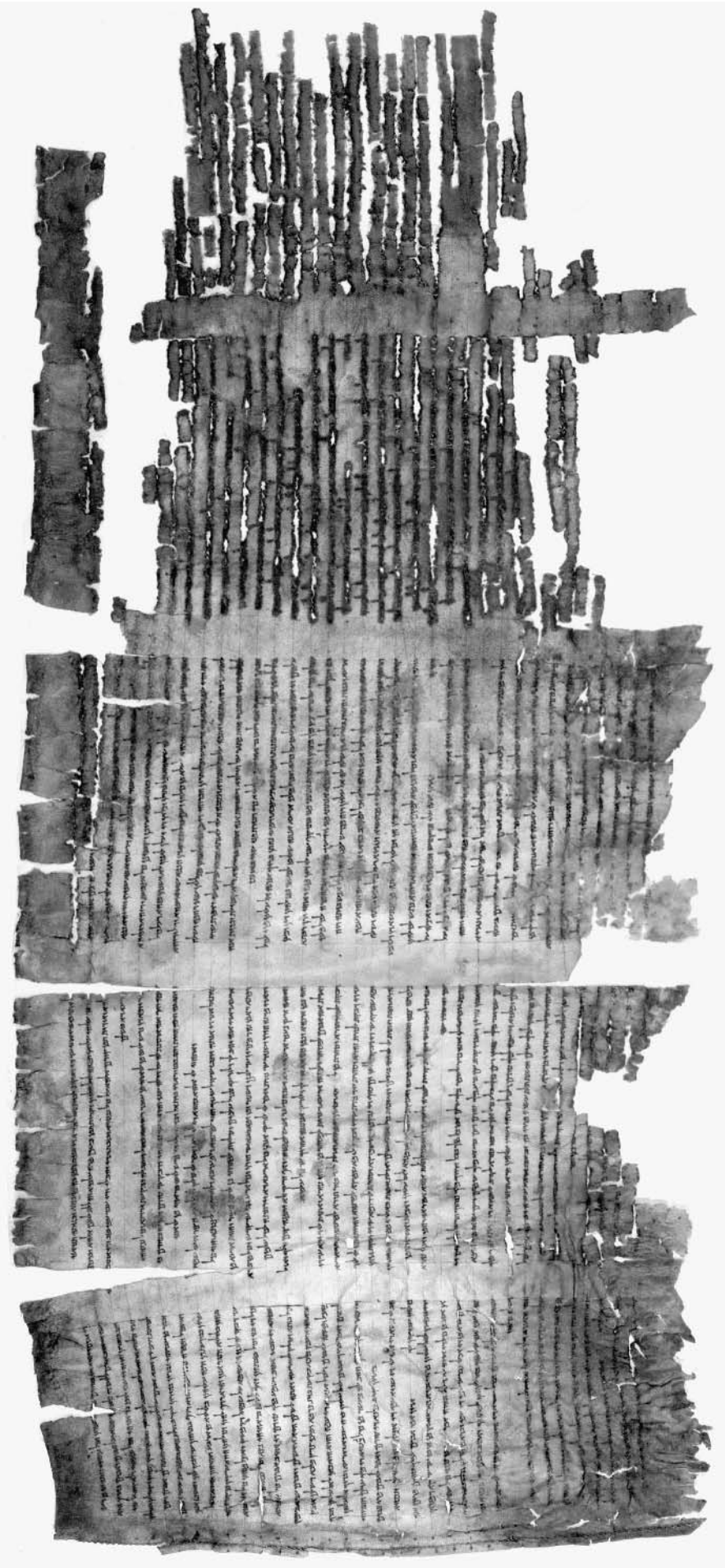
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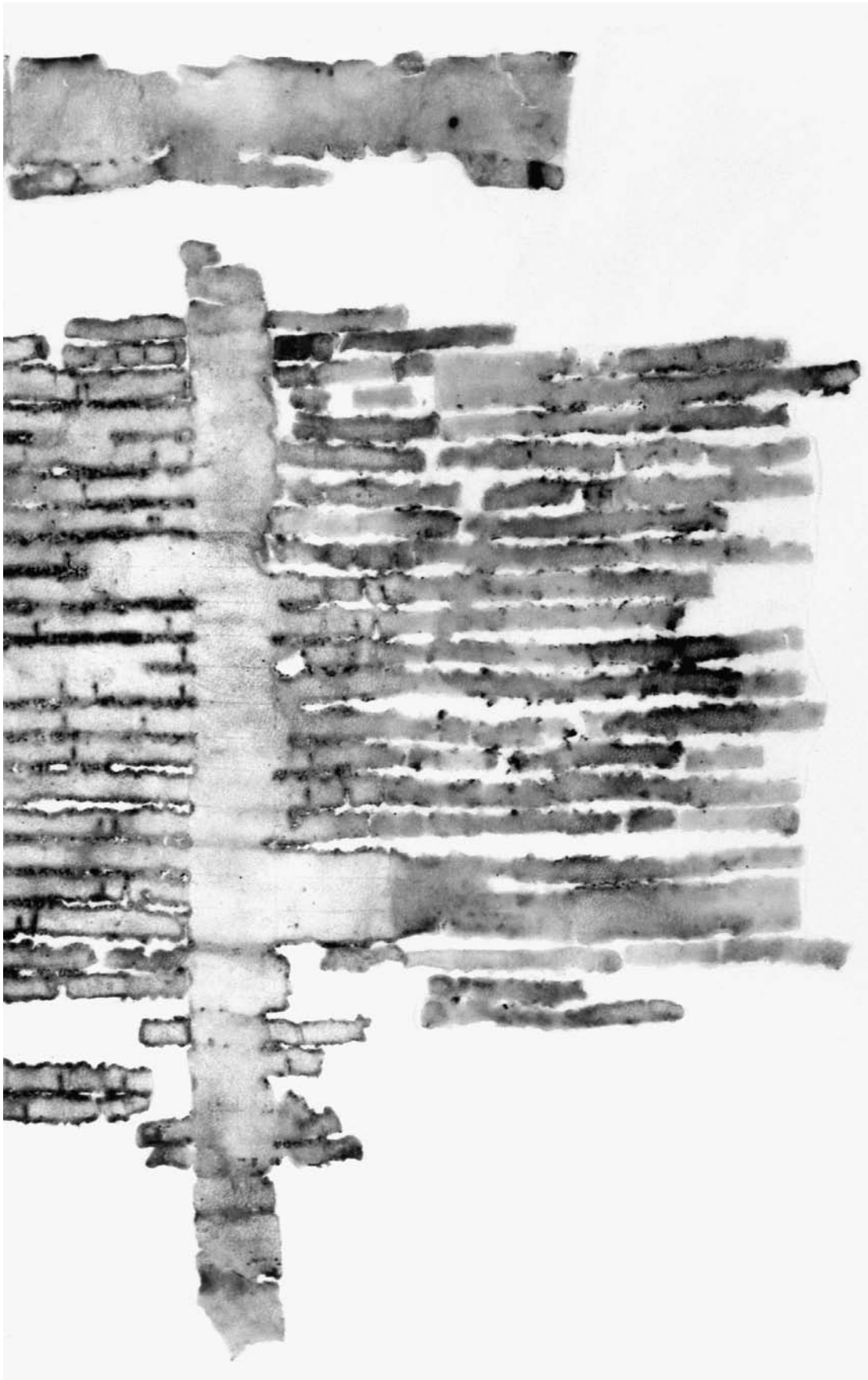
BZ17M



BZ17B



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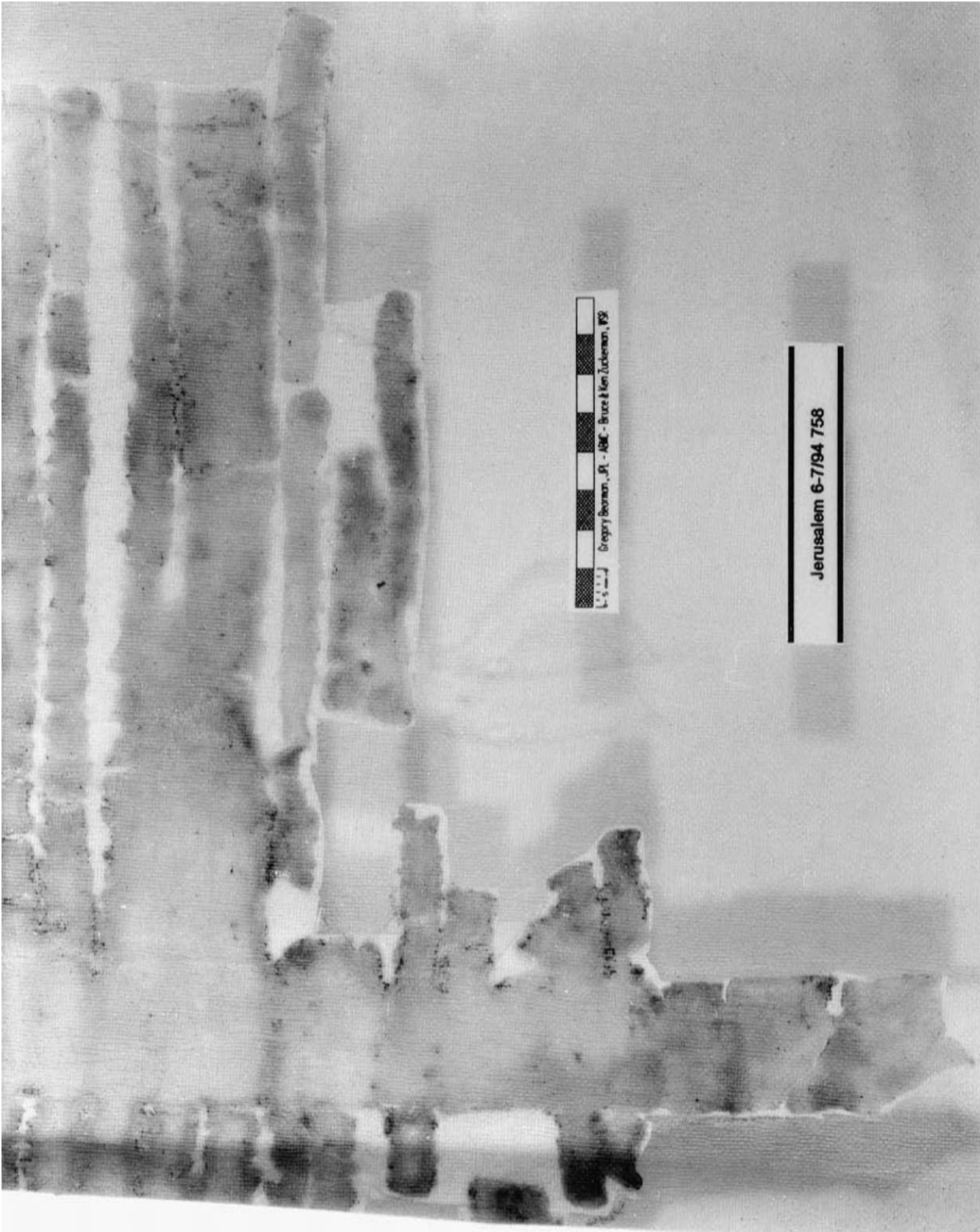
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BZ18T



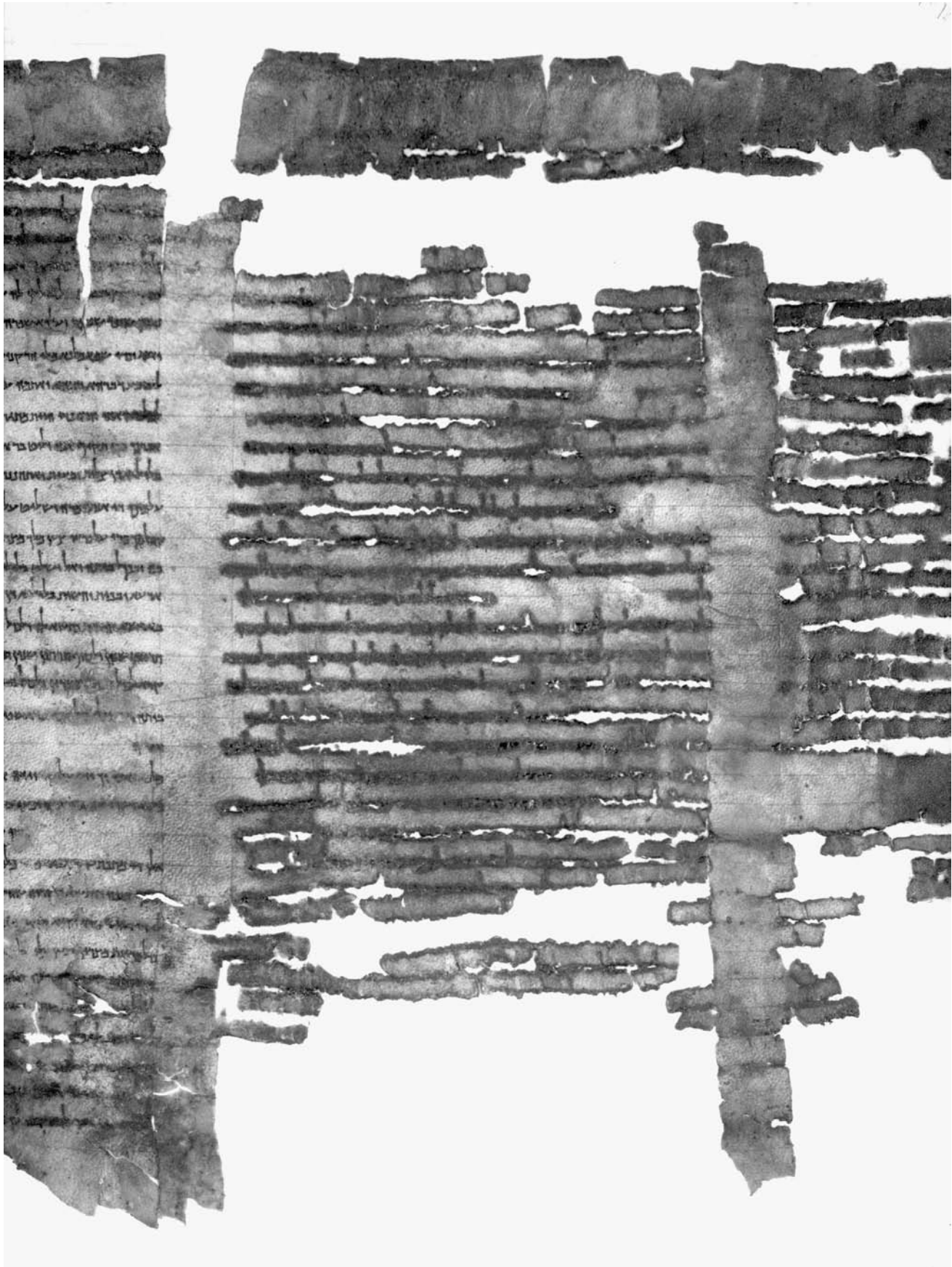
BZ18M

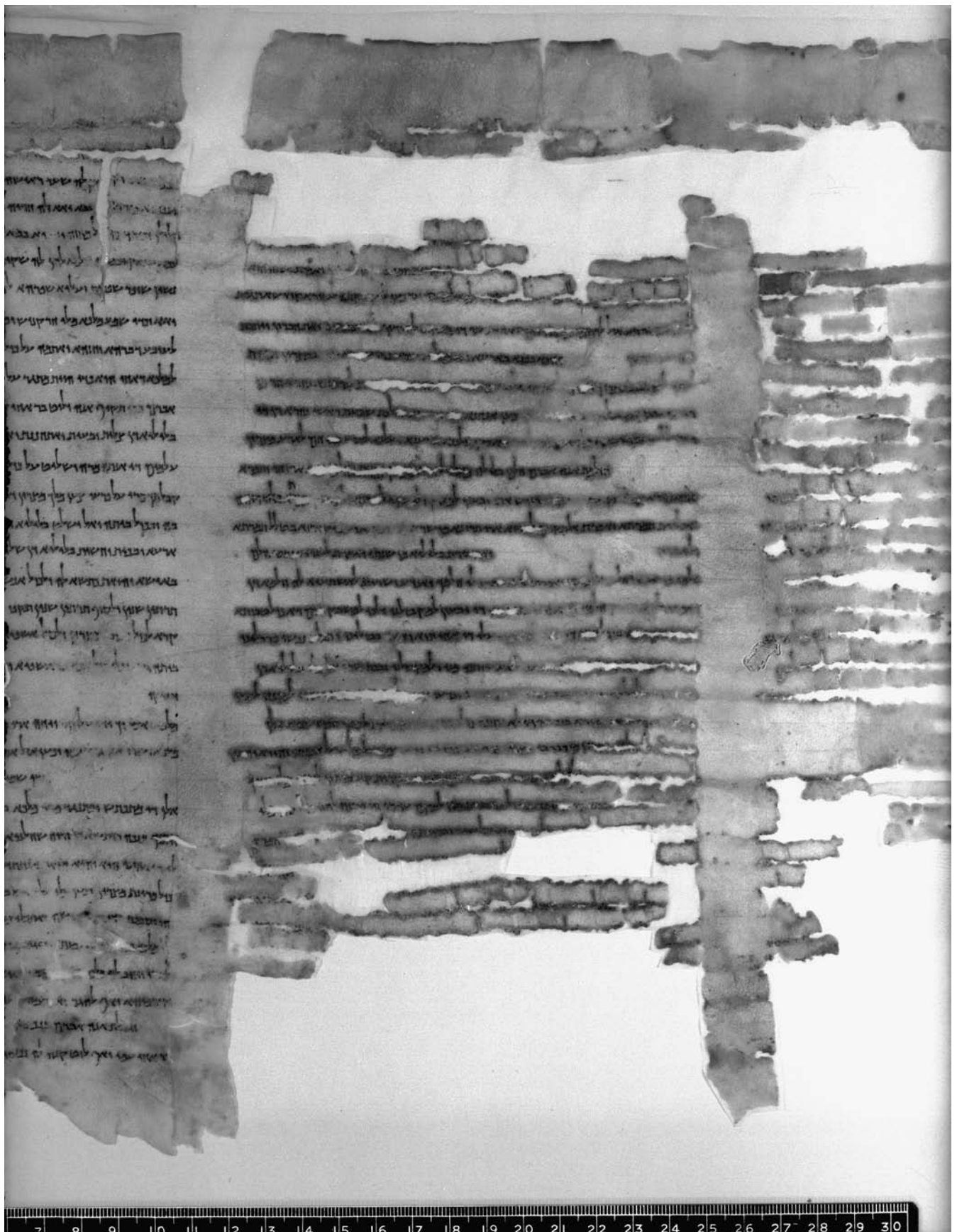


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Jerusalem 6-7/94 758

BZ18B

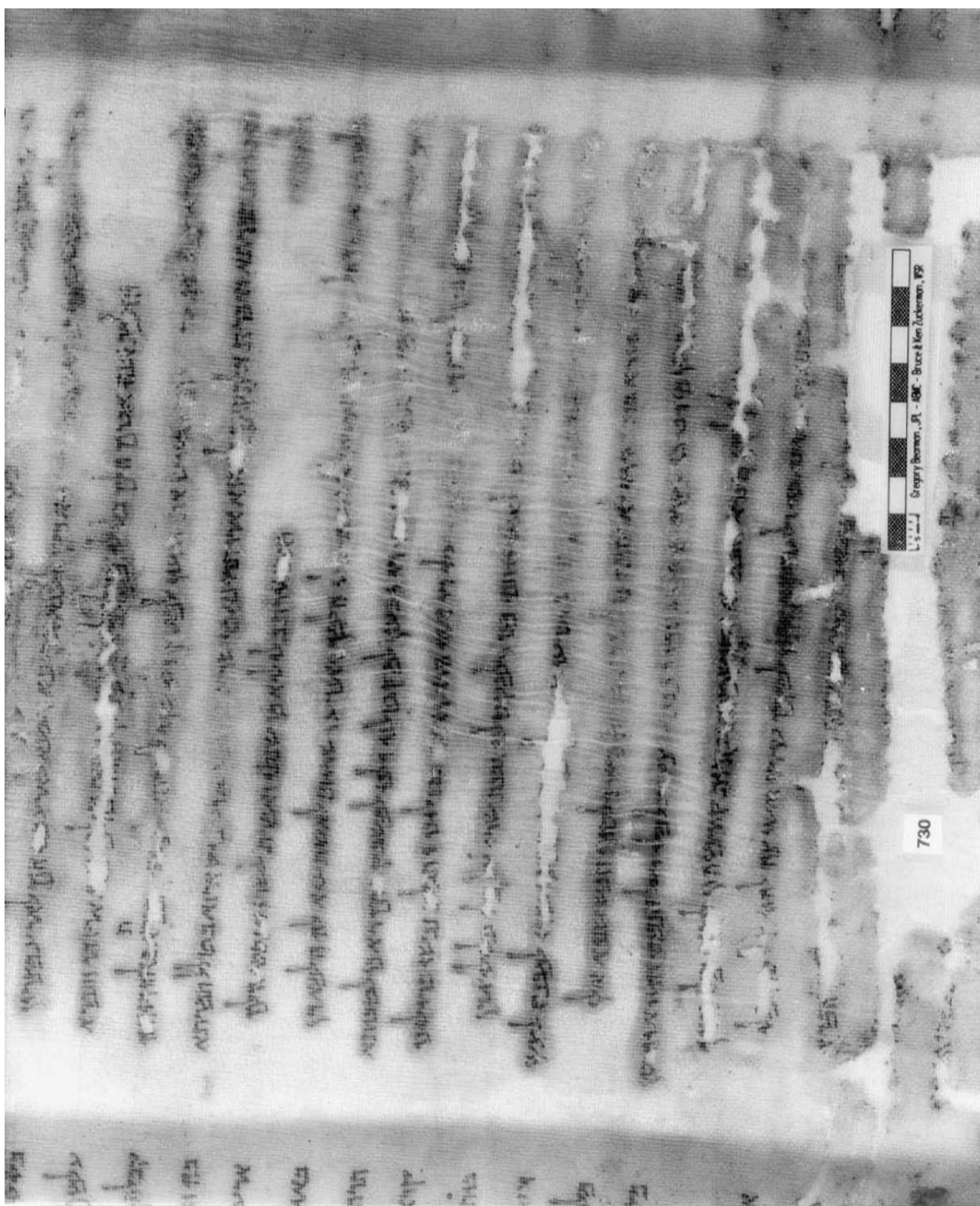






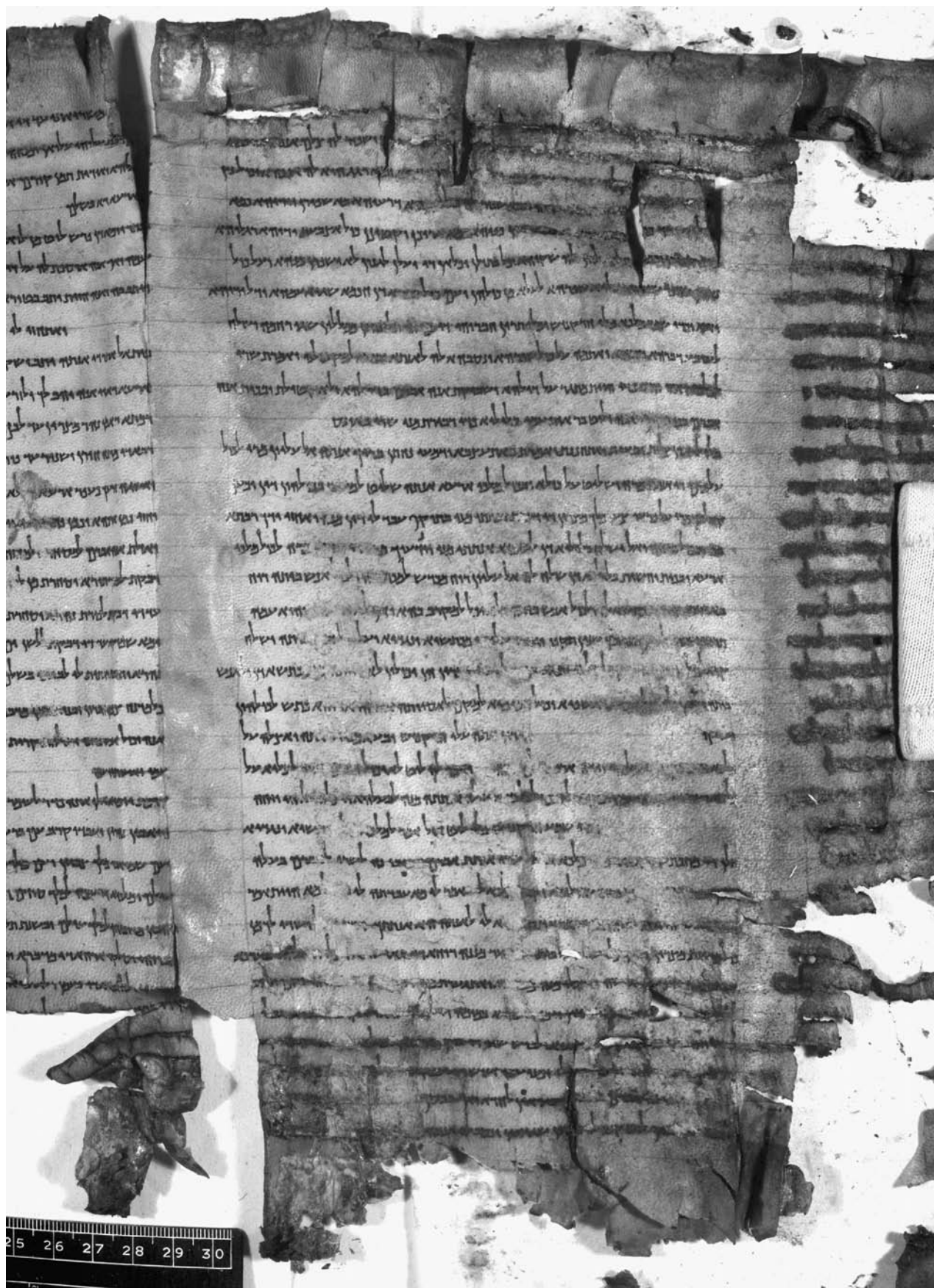
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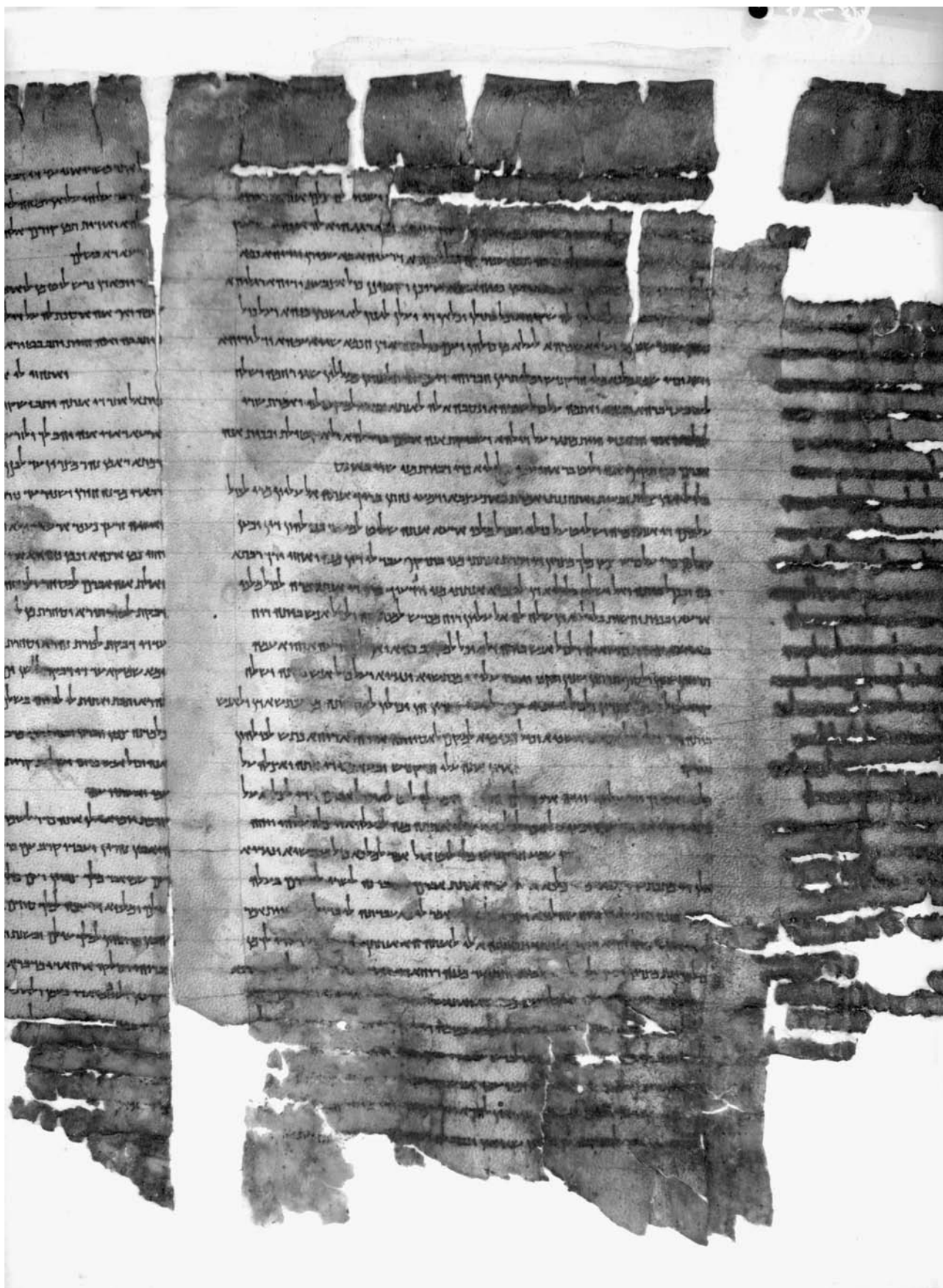


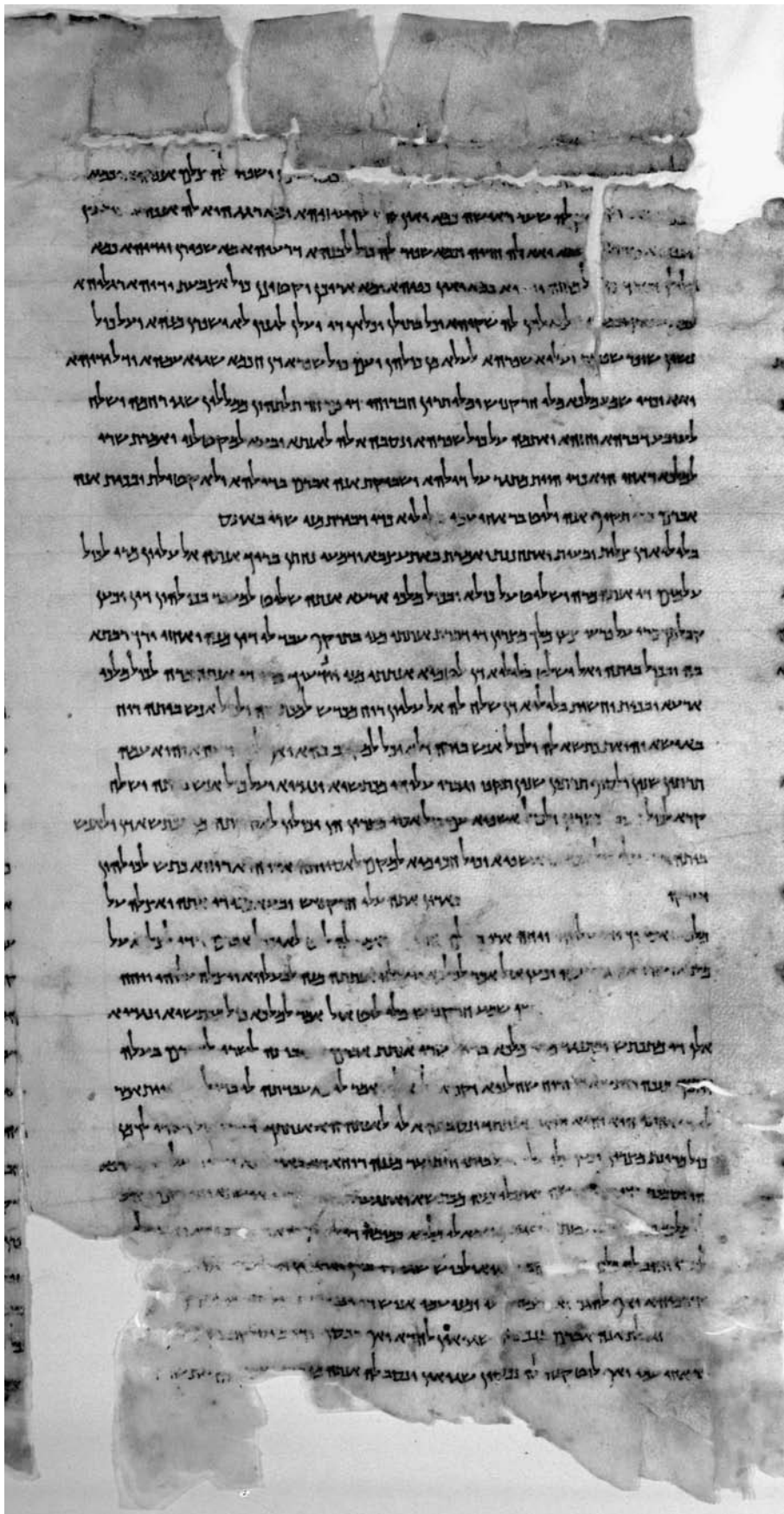


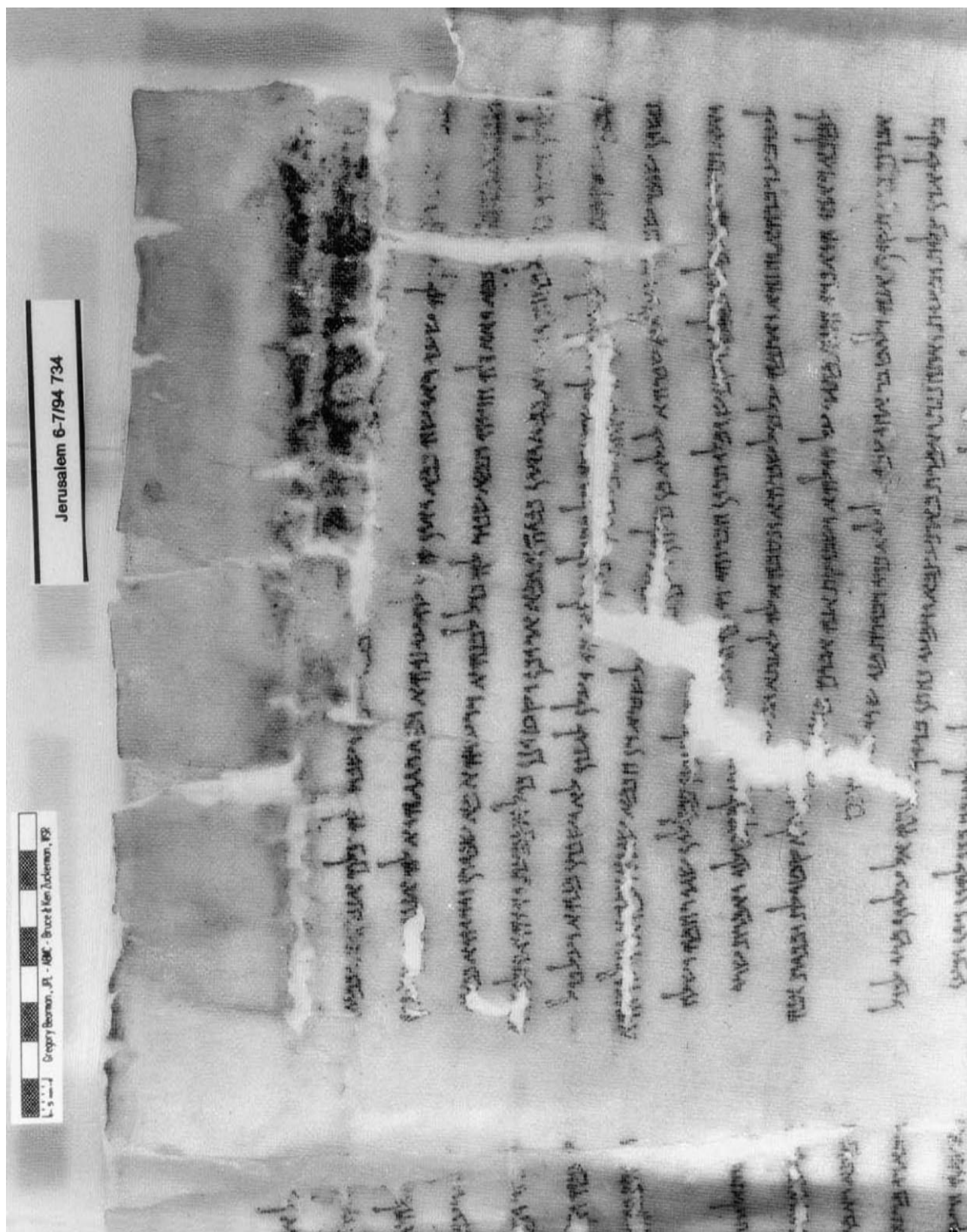
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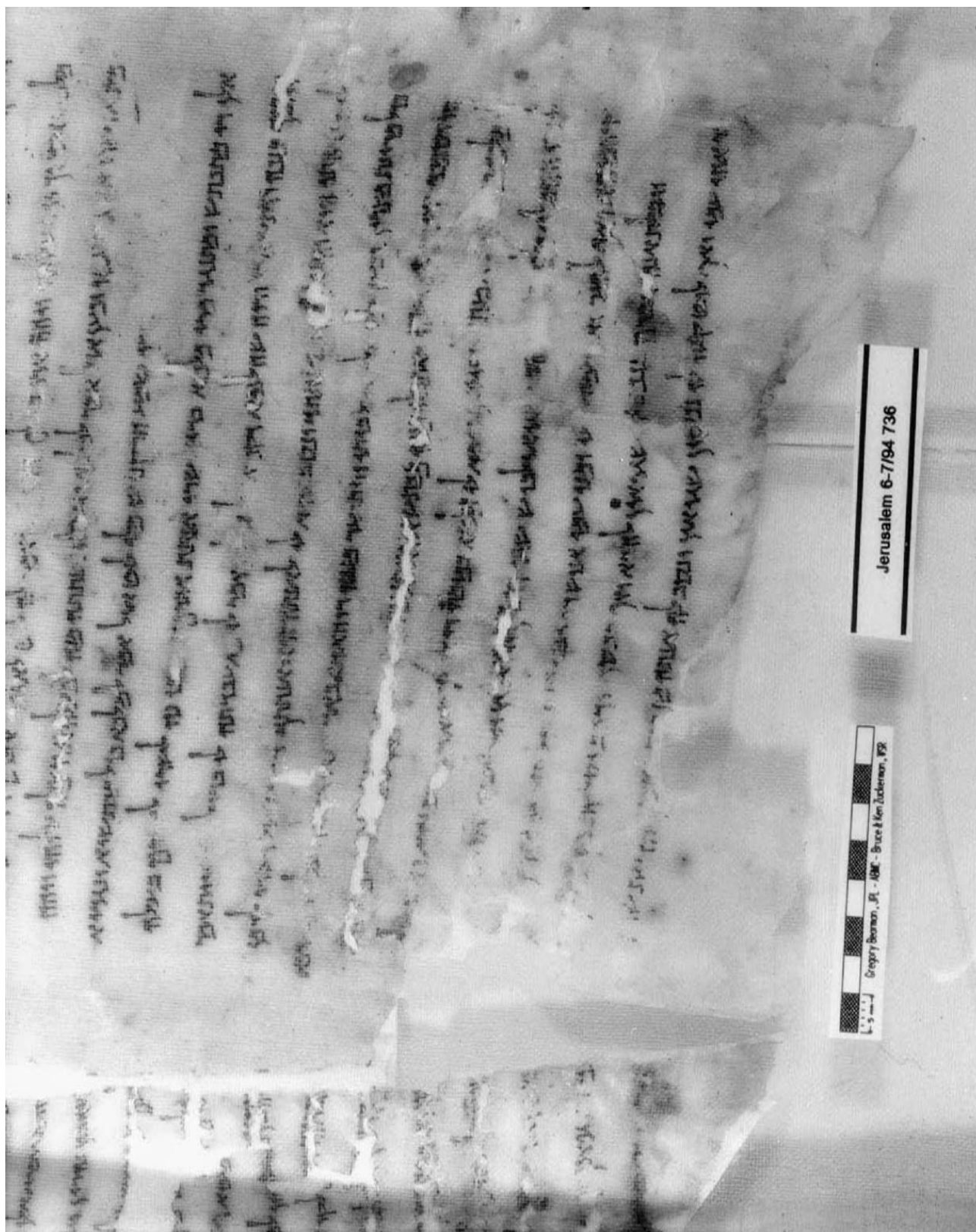






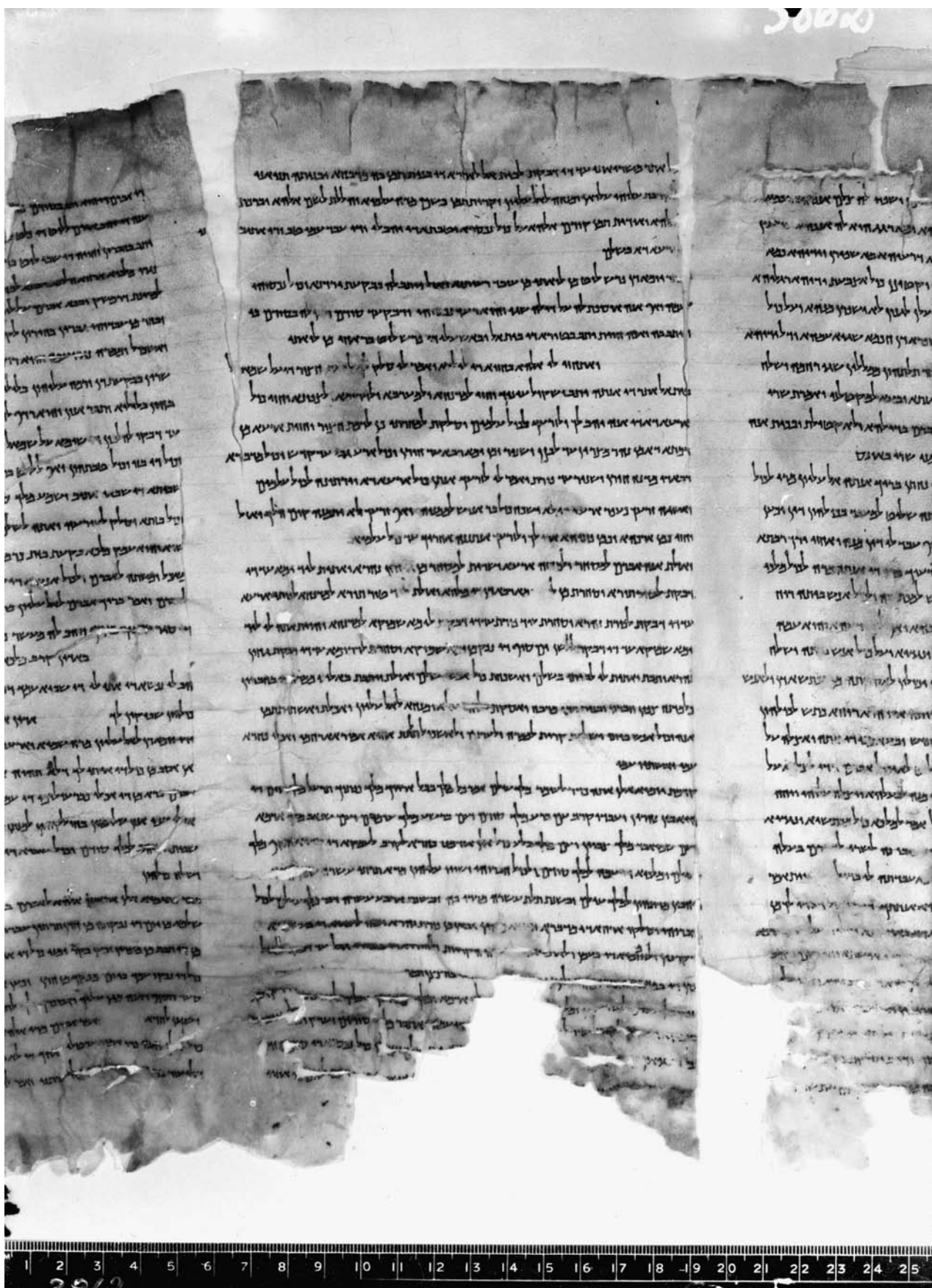
[The page contains dense handwritten text in Hebrew script, arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The ink is dark brown or black, and the handwriting is cursive and somewhat slanted. There are some lighter spots and variations in ink density throughout the text.]

BZ20M









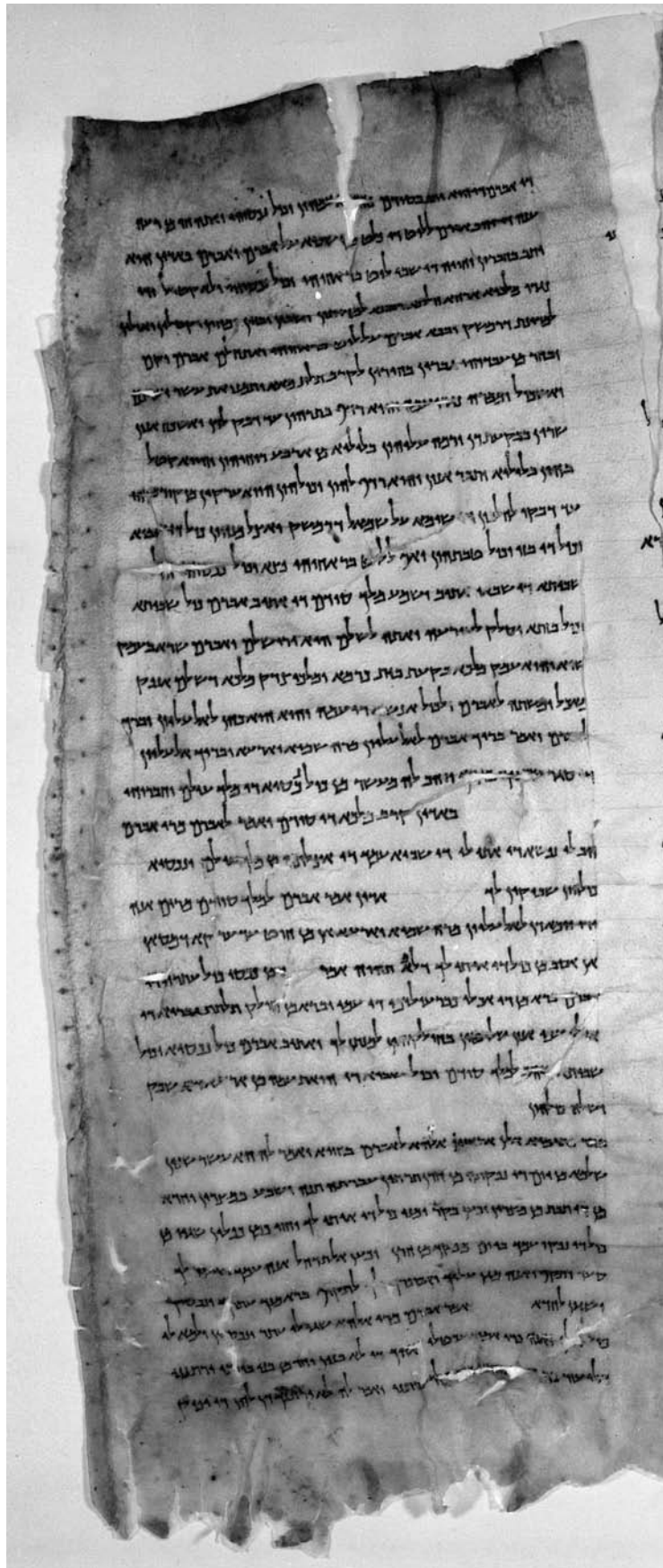


[illegible]













BZ22M



BZ22B

ARAMAIC CONCORDANCE

אב	father [noun]		אתחזי[ו] אלהא לאברם בחזוא	22.27
	מתושלח אבי וכולא לה[ח]י[ת]	2.19	ואמר אברם מרי אלהא	22.32
	לחנוד[ח] אבוהי וכולא מנה	2.20		
	וכדי שמע מתושל[ח] אבי	2.21	אגר reward [noun]	
	רִטְ עֵל חֲנוּךְ אֲבוּהִי לִמְנַדַּע	2.22	וְיָקָר וְאֶנְרִי אִנְה מְשֻׁלָּם לֶךְ	7.5
	[ו]אמר לחנוד אבוהי יא אבי	2.24		
	לחנוד אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי	2.24	באדין/אדין then [prep.]	
	[ארי ביומי ירד אבי	3.3	הא באדין חשבת בלבי	2.1
	וְיָ אֲבִיכֶם	9.1	באדין אנה למך אתבהלת	2.1
	די אבותי אחדו ואשׁבׁוּ	12.18	אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ	2.8
	ויהב לה נוח אבוהי	17.15	ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני	2.11
			באדין אנסת רוחהא ועמי	2.13
אבד	to destroy, wander [verb]		באדין אנה למך רִטְ על	2.19
	ודי אעדי ואבד מנהא	11.13	אֲדִי בקושט	5.9
	וחלמא למאבד עד כען לא	19.8	הא באדין ישתבשון ויתכלון]	5.16
אבדן	destruction [noun]		ב[א]דין[ו] הוית אנה נוח	6.6
	די פלטנא מן אברנא	12.17	[ובנן נקבן]באדין לבני נשין	6.8
			באדין שלם לבני למסב להון	6.10
			תרין ובאדין מסתם יבׁוּ	6.18
אבן	stone, rock [noun]		אֲדִי[ן] אנ[ה] נוח	8.3
	א[א]בניא וחספיא הווה קצין	13.9	[מין אדין אזלת	8.35
			באדין ברב[ת] למרה כולא	10.1
אברם	Abram [pers. name]		באדין אזל[ת]	10.3
	וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה	19.14	באדין הווא על ארעא	10.11
	ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא	20.10	אדין ברכת למרה/ [שמיא	10.12
	בכית אנה/ אברם בכי תקיף	20.11	[בא]דין לִהֵ כֹלָה דמהון	10.15
	אברם דדי לצליא על	20.22	באדין עליא ב[רד]	10.18
	אנתת אברם יתיבו נה לשרי	20.25	[אדין] אנה נוח נפקת והלכת	11.11
	יתיבו נה לשרי לאברם בעלה	20.25	[לן ב[א]דין ין עי	19.21
	וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסין	20.33	באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש	20.21
	ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר	21.15	ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.2
	די אברם די הוא יתב	22.1	באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18
	ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2	אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם	22.20
	פלט מן שביא על אברם	22.2		
	ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.2	אדמא earth, soil [noun]	
	ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5	ו[בעי]ר אדמא ורחש יבישתא	13.8
	ואתחלם אברם וקם	22.5		
	די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12	אדמא Admah [place name]	
	אברם שרא בעמק	22.13	ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24
	מאכל ומשתה לאברם	22.15	ומלך [עומרם ומ]לך אדמא	21.31
	וברך/ לאברם ואמר בריך אברם	22.16		
	וברך/ לאברם ואמר בריך אברם	22.16	און wrongdoing, iniquity [noun]	
	ואמר לאברם מרי אברם	22.18	נבע און וישבין ב[אר]עדן]	15.8
	ואמר לאברם מרי אברם	22.18		
	אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם	22.20	אונס force, oppression [noun]	
	דמן נכסי כול עתרה די/ אברם	22.23	כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס	20.11
	ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא	22.24		

אורד	length [noun]		אחד	to cling, hold fast [verb]	
כּוֹל צִוּוֹן וְלֹא לְאוֹרְכָא	3.2		וְאַחֲרֵית בְּקוּשְׁטָא וְאַתְקַפְתָּ	6.6	
בִּארְעָא לְאוֹרְכָהָא וּלְפוֹתֵיהָּא	11.11		וְהִי דִּי אַבּוּתִי אַחֲדוּ	12.18	
וְעֵבֶר כַּעֵין אוֹרְכָנָא	16.9				
אודא	decree, injunction [noun]		אחר	after, behind [prep.]	
וְאַזְדָּא	13.7		וּמִתְמַחִין מִן אַחֲרֵהוּן	0.15	
			אַחֲרֵיךְ עַד כּוֹל עֲלֵמִיא	21.14	
אזל	to go, depart [verb]		אחרן	last [adj.]	
וְאַזְל לְאַרְךְ מֵת לְפְרוּיִן	2.23		לְפִסְגָּתָּ חֲלַפְתָּא אַחֲרֵנִיתָא	14.15	
קִרִי עֲמָהּ וּכְעֵן אֶזְל	3.12				
אֶזְל אֲמַר לְלִמְךָ בְּרַךְ דִּי [מִן לֶךְ]	5.10		אחת	sister [noun]	
שְׁקַר דִּי אֶזְלִין לְחֲשׁוֹד עֲלֵמָא	6.3		אמר/ לי די אחתי היא	20.27	
בְּ־אֶזְלָתָּ וּלְאַמְזוּרְעָ בְּרֵתָהּ	6.7				
וְאַזְלָתָּ [לְחַד] מִנְהֵן וְאַמְרָ	6.21		אי	coast(land), island [noun]	
[מִן אֶזְלָתָּ]	8.35		מִן אִיא תְּחוּמָא וְאַ	9.10	
בְּאַדִּין אֶזְלָתָּ	10.3		לְעוֹבְרִיא וְדִאֲנִיא [בְּ]וֹל [וְ]	11.9	
וְאַזְלָתָּ בְּ־וֹן וְהִלְלָוּ וּשְׁבַחוּ וְאַרִי	10.8		וְכָל אִיא וְהֵוֹל לֵים רְבָא	14.18	
וְאַתְכַּנְשְׁנָא כְּחֵדָא וְאַזְלָנָא	12.16		[וְ]תְּבֹו בְּגָא [וְ]אִיא	14.18	
וְאַזְלָתָּ לֵיתָּ אֲנָהּ לְשֵׁם בְּרִי	15.22		וְאַיא דִּי בְּגוּ לְשֵׁנָא דִּין [וְ]וֹל	17.13	
וְאַזְל תְּחוּמָא דִּין כַּעֵין	16.17				
[וְאַזְלָתָּ]	16.23		איכּן	such that, how (?) [prep.]	
וְהוּיָתָּ אֶזְל לְדְרוּמָא מְוֹרָה	19.9		אִיכְנָה יִצְמָד לָהּ עֲמָא דִּין	15.17	
וּכְעֵן אֶזְל אֲמַר לְמַלְכָא	20.23				
אֶזְל אֲמַר לְמַלְכָא כּוֹל מַכְתְּשִׁיא	20.24		איל פרן	El-Paran [place name]	
הָא אֲנַתְתֵּךְ דְּבִרָהּ אֶזְל וְעַדִּי	20.27		עַד דְּבִקְוֹ לְאַיִל/ פְּרִין	21.29	
וּסְלִקְתָּ מִן מְצִרֵין [וְאַזְלָתָּ לִּי לֹט]	20.33				
וְאַזְל וַיִּתֵּב לָהּ בְּבִקְעָתָּ יִרְדְּנָא	21.5		אילן	tree [noun]	
קוּם הֵלֶךְ וְאַזְל/ וְחִזִּי	21.13		לְ־אִי־לֵנִיא	13.10	
וְאַזְלָתָּ אֲנָהּ אֲבֵרְסָ לְמַסְחָר	21.15				
וְאַזְלָתָּ לִידִּי טוֹר תּוֹרָא	21.16		אימה	awe [noun]	
וְאַזְלָתָּ וַיִּתְּבַת בְּאַלוֹנֵי מַמְרָה	21.19		תֵּאכְלוּן אִימְתְּכוּן וְדִחְלַתְכוּן	11.17	
וְאַזְלִין/ לְמַדִּינַת דְּרַמְשֵׁק	22.4				
תִּלְתָּת גְּבִרִיא דִּי/ אֶזְלוּ עֲמִי	22.24		אימי	Emim [people name]	
			וְלֵאִימִיא [דִּי בְּ]שׁוּהָ הַקְרִיּוּת	21.29	
אח	brother [noun]		איסוד	base, lower portion [noun]	
וְאַמְרַתְּ יָא אַחִי וִיא מְרִי	2.9		כּוֹלָה דְּמַהוּן לְאַיִסוּד מַדְבַּחָא	10.15	
וְלִי תֵאמַר יָא מְרִי וִיא אַחִי	2.13				
נִשְׁיִן נִסְבַּת מִן בְּנֵת אַחִי	6.8		אתי/איתי	existence, there is [noun]	
וּבְנֵתִי לְבִנִי אַחִי יִהְבֵּת כְּדַת	6.8		אֵן אֲסַב מִן כּוֹל דִּי אִיתִי לֶךְ	21.22	
אַמְ[ר] עֲלִי דִּי אַחִי הוּא	19.20		הָב לִי נִפְשָא דִּי אִתִּי לִי	22.19	
וְאַמְרַתְּ שְׂרִי/ לְמַלְכָא דְּאַחִי	20.10		וּמִנִּי כּוֹל דִּי אִיתִי לֶךְ	22.29	
אֲנָהּ וְלוֹט בְּרִי אַחִי עֲמִי בְּלִילִיא	20.11				
[לֹט]/ בְּרִי אַחִי עֲמִי	20.34		אכל	to eat [verb]	
בְּרִי אַחִי מִן לוֹאֲתִי	21.7		וְלִמְאַכְלָא	3.24	
תִּתַּת אַחִיא אֲמֹרָאָא רַחֲמִי	21.21		[וְ]הָב לֶךְ וּלְבִנֶיךָ כּוֹלָא לְמֵאכְלָא	11.17	
וּשְׁבִי לֹט בְּרִי אַחִי	21.34		בְּרִם כּוֹל דִּם לֹא תֵאכְלוּן	11.17	
וְחֻוּיָהּ דִּי שְׁבִי לֹט בְּרִי אַחִי	22.3		וְאַכְלָתָּ וְאַשְׁתִּיתָ תִּמְן	21.20	
וּבְכָא אֲבֵרְסָ עַל לֹט בְּרִי אַחִי	22.5		וְאַכְלוּ כְּחֵדָא/ עֲמִי וְאַשְׁתִּי עֲמִי	21.21	
וְאַף לְלוֹט בְּרִי אַחִי פְּצָא	22.11		בְּרִא מִן דִּי אֲכָלוּ כְּבֵר	22.23	

אל	do not [particle of negation]		אלן די מתכתש	20.25
	[] לוֹ וְאִמְרֵ לְךָ דְּאֵל תִּרְגֹּז	2.25	קדמת יומיא אלן	21.23
	אל תדחל ואל תהך	8.34	כול אלן אודמנו/ כחדא	21.25
	אל תדחל ואל תהך	8.34	בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי[ן]	22.27
	ולוי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח	11.15	ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן	22.33
	אל תתמה על חלמא דן	15.19		
	ואל יהירבה עלוהי	15.19	אם mother [noun]	
	ואמרת אל תקוצו לארזא	19.16	מן מעי אמי לקושט נציבת	6.1
	ואל ישלט בליליא דן	20.15		
	וכען אל תדחל אנה עמד	22.30	אמורא Amorite [people name]	
אל	God [divine name]		תתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי	21.21
	לאל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17	אמזרע Emzera [pers. name]	
	די חן עולי אל עליון	12.21	ולאמזרע בריתה לי לאנתה	6.7
	לה כל אלם די לוֹ	14.20		
	למברך אל עלמא ון	15.22	אמן to trust, strengthen, support [verb]	
	[אלה לך לקוֹלֵךְ	15.23	[לארעא ולמחת להאימנה עמא	1.26
	[לקח לך אל עליון	15.24	בקושט מהימן די	5.8
	ברוך אנתה אל עליון מרי	20.12		
	שלח לה אל עליון	20.16	אמנא Amana [place name]	
	עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1	בעדב באמניא יד עילם	14.21
	ומנחה לאל עליון	21.2	לאמנא דצמיד טור הררט	17.14
	ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7	ואמנא עד דבך לפוןרת	17.14
	די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.9		
	עלא ומנחא לאל עליון	21.20	אמר to say [verb]	
	והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15	בתאנוש אנתתי ואןמרת לה	2.3
	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16	ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9
	וברוך אל עליון	22.16	ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אחי	2.13
	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21	[ו]אמר לחנוך אבוהי יא	2.24
אלה	God [divine name]		[] לוֹ וְאִמְרֵ לְךָ דְּאֵל תִּרְגֹּז	2.25
	וקרית תמן בשן[א]ל[הא]	19.7	וכען לכ[א] אנה אמר ברי	5.9
	אלֹהִים	19.8	אזל אמר ללמד ברך די מן לך	5.10
	והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ לאלהא	21.2	וכבד אמר לוֹ לך יא נון[ח]	6.14
	והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ לאלהא	21.3	אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח	6.15
	ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3	[לחד] מנהן ואמר לך	6.21
	ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8	ולי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח	11.15
	אתחזי[ן] אלהא לאברס בחזוא	22.27	[לעלמים אמר לוֹ	11.18
	ואמר אברס מרי אלהא	22.32	ואמרת אנתה הוא	19.7
אלון	oak, terebinth (tree) [noun]		אמןרת עלא []	19.12
	ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה	21.19	[ובתרה אמרת] הא כען	19.13
אליעזר	Eliezer [pers. name]		ואכליאת תמרתא ואמרת	19.16
	אליעזר בר דמשק הוא	22.34	ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם	19.17
הלין/אלן	these, those [dem. pronoun]		ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמד	19.18
	הלין ואֹלֵם בִּגְזֵן	8.31	ואמרת ל[ה] מן	19.19
	[אלין]	15.7	אמן[ר]י עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
	ולסוף חמש שניא אלן	19.23	ואמרת לוֹ	19.29
			ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9
			ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא	20.12
			ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22
			וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23

וידעוך מרי די אנתה מרה	20.15	4.12	[וּלְהוֹן מִן אִנְשֵׁי אֶרֶעָא
אתר די אנתה יתב	21.9	5.12	לְאַנְפוּדֵי נִסְבָּא בִּי
		20.2	ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא
		20.3	ומא רגג הוא לה אנפיהא
		20.4	וכול נץ/ אנפיהא משפיר
			man, person [noun]
		1.27	למעבד אנשא לארעא
		3.8	בְּתִי אֲנִישָׁא וְעֵל [וְעֵל
		6.9	מ]רה עלמא לבני אנשא
		6.12	ולכול אנש לא אחויהא
		6.20	[די עס בנת אנש]
		6.26	לאנשא ולבעירא ולחיותא
		7.14	[לכול אנשא בד
		19.15	וב[נ]י אנש אתו ובעין למקץ
		19.23	די לא יחזנה כול בר אנש
		20.16	ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא
		20.17	ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל
		20.18	ועל כול אנש ביתה
		20.19	מכתשא דן ולאנש/ ביתה
		20.32	ואשלמהא לי ומני עמי אנש
		21.13	די לא ישכח כול בר אנש
		21.19	ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם
		21.21	אנה וכול אנש ביתי
		22.15	ולכול אנשא די עמה
			wife [noun]
		2.3	ועלת על בתאנוש אנתתי
		2.8	אדין בתאנוש אנתתי בחלץ
		2.12	וכדי חזת בתאנוש אנתתי
		6.7	ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת
		6.10	למסב להון נשין לאנתתי
		8.1	אנתתה בתרה חומר
		19.17	ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם
		20.9	ונסבהא לה לאנתה
		20.14	די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף
		20.15	לטמיא אנתתי מני
		20.23	ושרי אנתתה עמה
		20.23	וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא
		20.25	אנתת אברם תיבו נה לשרי
		20.27	והיא הואת אנתתך
		20.27	ונסבתהא לי לאנתה
		20.27	הא אנתתך דברה אזל ועדי
		20.34	ונסב לה אנתה מן בנת מצר[י]
			you (m.s.) [pronoun]
		14.9	אנתה הוא ארזא רבא
		15.19	אנת נוח אל תתמה על חלמא
		19.7	ואמרת אנתה הוא
		20.12	ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה
		20.13	די אנתה מרה ושליט
		20.13	ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט
			physician, healer [noun]
		20.19	ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי
		20.20	ולא יכלו כול אסיא
			to heal [verb]
		20.19	הן יכולון לאסיותה
		20.20	ובול חכימא למקם לאסיותה
			prisoner, one bound [noun]
		0.8	[זכען הא אנהא אסירין
		1.21	[זכען אסיר תקיף
			buckler [noun]
		22.31	ואספרך לך לתקיף ברא מנד
			to bind, gird [verb]
		0.13	ב[עדנ]א די אסרנא]
		6.4	וחצי אסרת בחזון קושטא
			wood [noun]
		13.8	[אעא]
		14.4	תתבונן [אעא חוב מענ]
		14.11	יעדד ואעא מנה
			also, so, even [adv.]
		1.2	ואף רז רשעא די
		1.28	ואף לכול בשרא
		5.7	דחל למך ברך ואף מן
		20.17	ואף לא ידעהא
		20.32	קודמיהא ואף לחגר
		20.33	ואף בכסף ודהב
		21.6	ואף אנה אוספת לה
		21.13	ואף זרעך לא יתמנה
		22.11	ואף ללוט בר אחויהא פצא
			finger [noun]
		20.5	וקטינן כול אצבעת ידיהא
			four [adj.]
		11.10	[ארבע
		12.12	ותילס ובנן נקבן ארבע
		12.13	ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמר
		13.16	[ארבע לוחי שמיא נשבן
		15.14	ארבעא מלאכין רברבין]
		17.18	ארבעא [נגאן]ת ועד
		21.27	ובשנת ארבע עשרה
		22.8	מן ארבע רוחיהון

ארגואן	purple [adj.]		פְּרִיָא חֲדָא יְשִׁים אַרְעָא	3.11
וארְנֹאֲן דִּי ִּלְבָּשׁ		20.31	[וּחַ אַרְעָא ִּלְבָּשׁ קְרִי עֻמָּה	3.12
			[הֹוָא דִּי יִפְלַג כּוֹל אַרְעָא	3.17
ארז	cedar (tree) [noun]		[לְהוֹן מִן אַנְפִּי אַרְעָא	4.12
אנתה הוא ארְזָא רבָא		14.9	וּרְמֹוהִי בַאֲרַעָא וְכוּל עֻבְדִּי	5.11
קדמיתא דבקא בגדס ארְזָא		14.11	וּחֻשְׁבַּת כּוֹל לְכַת בְּנֵי אַרְעָא	6.16
דבקא בגְ[ד]ס [ארזא		14.14	אַרְעָא וְכוּל דִּי עֲלִיָּהָא	7.1
[לארְזא]		14.27	בַּאדִין הֹוָא עַל אַרְעָא	10.11
וּחֻזִּית בַּחֲלָמִי וְהָא אַרְזִי חַד		19.14	[וְעַל כּוֹל אַרְעָא כּוֹלְהָא כַּפְרַת	10.13
וּבְעִין לְמַקֵּץ וּלְמַעְקָר לְאַרְזָא		19.15	וְהִלְכַת בַּאֲרַעָא לְאַוּרְכַּהָא	11.11
ואמרת אל תקוצוּ לארְזא		19.16	וְאַרְעָא כּוֹלְהָא מְלִיא דְחָא	11.12
וּשְׁבִיק אַרְזָא בְטַלִּל תִּמְרַתָּא		19.16	וְתִבְתַּת וּבְרַכַּת דִּי רַחֵם עַל אַרְעָא	11.13
			פ[ר] דִּי וְשָׁגִי וּמְלִי אַרְעָא	11.16
ארח	trail, path [noun]		בִּירְקָא וְעֵשְׂבָא דִּי אַרְעָא	11.17
בְּמַסְלֵי אַרְחֹת קוּשֵׁט וּלְאַזְהָרוֹתָנִי		6.3	א[רְעָא]	12.2
וּסְלִקוּ אַרְחָא דִּי מַדְבְּרָא		21.28	צְדוּתָא הוּאֵת שְׁגִיא בַּאֲרַעָא	12.9
אַרְחָא חֲלַתָּא רַבְתָּא לְמַדִּיתוֹן		22.4	לְמַפְלַח בַּאֲרַעָא וְנַצְבַּת כְּרֶס רַב	12.13
			שְׂרָץ אַרְעָא וְשִׂרְץ מִיא וְסָף	13.11
ארי	take note, see [particle]		מִיא מִן אַרְעָא ִּלְבָּשׁ	14.10
[אַרְיִי יְהִבְתָּ כּוֹלָן]		1.12	[קְ חַד לִימִין אַרְעָא	14.17
[ארי ביומי ירד אבי		3.3	וּחַד לְשִׁמְאָל אַרְעָה	14.17
וּשְׁבַחוּ וְאַרְיִי ִּלְבָּשׁ בְּרִיָּא		10.8	הֹוָה יִתְבִּין בַּאֲרַעָה	14.18
משכח ארי בְּמִי[א] ִּלְבָּשׁ		10.12	נִבְעַת אֹן וּשְׁבִין בְּאַרְ[עָה]	15.8
[אַרְיִי צְדוּתָא הוּאֵת שְׁגִיא בַּאֲרַעָא		12.9	קְצִי אַרְעָא וְדִי חֲזִיתָא	15.9
וְאַרְיִי הָא זִיתָא גְבַר בְּרוּמָה		13.13	לְגַבְרָא רַבָּא אֲתָה מִן יָמִין אַרְעָא	15.10
וְאַרְיִי הָא מְשֻׁגֵּת עֲלֹוּהִי		13.14	הוּא דִּי יִתָּה מִן יָמִין אַרְעָא	15.11
ארי תרינא מן שרש		19.16	שׁוּר מִן כּוֹל עֲמֻמֵּי אַרְעָא	15.15
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון		20.20	כּוֹל אַרְעָה צְפֻנָא כּוֹלְהָא	16.10
ויחה ארי בְּחֵלְס חֻזְ[נִי]		20.22	[וְעַד אַרְ[עָה]	16.10
ארי לך ולורעדך אנתננה		21.14	לְאַרְסִי אַרְעָא דִּי בִין תְּרִין נְהָרִיא	17.9
			כּוֹל אַרְעָא דִּי מִשְׁקָה פּוֹרַת	17.12
אריך	long [adj.]		וְהוּא כְּפֻנָא בַּאֲרַעָא דָּא כּוֹלָא	19.10
ומא אריכְן וקטינן כול אצבעת		20.5	וְנִגְדַת לְמַהֲךְ [] לְאַרְעָה	19.11
			עַד [כַּעַן אַנְחֻנָא בְּגֻז אַרְעָנָא	19.12
אריוך	Arioch [pers. name]		כַּעַן הִלְכְּנָא אַרְעָנָא	19.13
אריוך מלך כפתוך		21.23	וְעֵלְנָא לְאַרְעָה בְּנֵי חַס	19.13
			בְּנֵי חַס לְאַרְעָה מִצְרִין	19.13
ארך	length [noun]		בְּלִילָה מַעֲלִי לְאַרְעָה מִצְרִין	19.14
ואזל לארְךְ מַת לפרוין		2.23	וּבְכוּל מַלְכֵי אַרְעָא אַנְתָּה שְׁלִיט	20.13
כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה		21.14	אַנְתָּה מְרָה לְכוּל מַלְכֵי/ אַרְעָא	20.16
			וְדִי אַתִּיבְנִי/ לְאַרְעָא דָּא בְּשִׁלְס	21.4
ארם	Aram [pers. name]		וְחֻזִּי כּוֹל/ אַרְעָא דָּא	21.10
לוד וארְם ובנן נקבן חמש		12.11	וְחֻזִּית אַרְעָא מִן/ רַמְתָּא דָּא	21.10
לארְם ארעא די בין תרין נהריא		17.9	וְכוּל אַרְעָה גְבַל עַד קַדְשִׁי	21.11
			אַנְתָּה כּוֹל אַרְעָא דָּא	21.12
ארע	land, earth [noun]		וְאַשְׁגַּה זִרְעָךְ כַּעֲפֵר אַרְעָא	21.13
ארעא וְדִי אֲבַעִי לִי		1.10	לְמַסְחָר וּלְמַחֲזָה אַרְעָא	21.15
[לארעא ולמחח להאימנה עמא		1.26	לְמַדְנַחָא לְפּוֹתֵי אַרְעָא	21.16
למעבד אנשא לארעא		1.27	לְאַל עֲלִיוֹן מְרָה שְׁמִיא וְאַרְעָא	22.16
ותמן אשכחה לקץ אַרְעָא		2.23	לְאַל עֲלִיוֹן מְרָה שְׁמִיא וְאַרְעָא	22.21
להוה על ארעא כולהא		3.9	מִן אַרְעָא דָּא שְׁבַק	22.25
[בְּאַרְעֵי לִימָא דִּין]		3.10		

ארפכשד	Arpachshad [pers. name]		◦ לְכֹל אִנְשָׁא בִּךְ ◦◦	7.14
לְקַדְמִין אַרְפַּכְשָׁד תַּרְתִּין שְׁנִין	12.10		בִּךְ וְעֵמִי ◦◦◦]	8.11
[עיל] ם וְאַשֹּׁר אַרְפַּכְשָׁד	12.11		וּבְכֹל דִּי בְהוֹן וְהָא אָנָּה	11.16
לְדִרְוֹמָא [א] ׀ן לְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד	17.11		רְבֵרְב וְשִׁפִּיר וּמִתְחַזָּה בְּהוֹן	13.14
			[כֹּלְלָא וְשִׁדְיָאֵן קֶשֶׁרן בְּה	13.15
אשד	to pour out, spill [verb]		◦◦ [בִּךְ קַח מִמֶּנִּי ◦◦◦	14.8
מַעֲיֵד דְּמָא דִּי אַשְׁדּוּ נְפִילִיא	6.19		[◦יָאֵא ◦◦ עֵלֵל בְּהָ וְקִדְמִיתָ [א]	14.20
וְאַשְׁדּוּ [תו] כֹּל בִּשְׂרָהוֹן	10.15		◦◦◦ [פִּיִן בְּהוֹן שׁוֹר	15.14
			[ן בְּהָ	15.28
אשור	Asshur [pers. name]		בְּבִטְנָא דִּי אֲתַרְבֵּה בְּהָ	19.26
[עיל] ם וְאַשֹּׁר אַרְפַּכְשָׁד	12.11		וְאַחְזִי יָדָד רַבְתָּא / בְּה	20.15
לְאַשֹּׁר עַד דְּבַק לְחֻדְקָלָא	17.8		וְלֹא יִכַּל לְמַקְרֵב בְּהָא	20.17
			וְיִתֵּב בְּהָ וְאַנְהָ הוּיָת יִתֵּב בִּטּוֹרָא	21.7
אשכול	Eshkol [pers. name]		וּבִשְׁנַת תַּלְתָּ עֶשְׂרֵה מִרְדּוּ בְּהָ	21.27
לְמַמְרָה וּלְעֶרְנָם וּלְאַשְׁכּוֹל	21.21		וְהוּוּא קִטְל / בְּהוֹן בְּלִילִיא	22.9
וְאַשְׁכּוֹל וּמַמְרָה נִגְדּוּ עִמָּה	22.7			
אשף	magician [noun]		בֹּאֵר	spring, underground water source [noun]
וּלְכֹל אַשְׁפִּיאָ עִם כֹּל אַסִּי	20.19		בְּתַרְעָתָא בְּאִרְיָא לֵק [שׁו	11.1
וְאַשְׁפִּיאָ וְכֹל חִכְמִיא	20.20			
את	sign, symbol [noun]		בֹּאֵשׁ	to be disturbing, bad [verb]
וְהוּאֹתָ לִי לְאַתָּה בְּעִנְנָא וּלְמַהּוּהָ	12.1		וּבֹאֵשׁ עָלֵי דִּי פִרְשָׁ לֹט	21.7
אתי	to come [verb]		בֹּאִישׁ	evil, bad [adj.]
וְיָא מִרִּי דִּי אָנָּה לֵךְ אֲתָּ [יָת	2.24		אֵא ◦◦◦ שְׁגִי וְכֹאִישְׁתָּא	4.3
דִּי לְתַנָּא אֲתִיתָ לְבִי [עִי] ׀]	2.25		וּלְכֹל אִנְשָׁא בֵּיתָה רֹחוּ / בֹּאִישְׁתָּא	20.17
וּבְתַרְהָ אֲתִיתָ עַל סֵם ◦◦	10.14		וְתַתְּגַעַר מִנְּגָה רֹחוּא דֹא בֹאִישְׁתָּא	20.28
שְׁגִיָּא וְכֹל חֲמִרָא אֲתִיתָ	12.14		וְאַתְּגַעַרְתָּ [מִנְּגָה רֹחוּא] בֹּאִישְׁתָּא	20.29
וּכְדִי אֲתִיתָ רִגְלָא קְדַמִּיא	12.14			
לְגַבְרָא רְבָא אֲתִיתָ מִן יַמִּין אַרְעָא	15.10		בָּבֶל	Babylon [place name]
הוּא דִּי יִתָּה מִן יַמִּין אַרְעָא]	15.11		אִמְרַפֵּל מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל	21.23
וְאַתִּיתָ עַד דִּי דְּבַקָּתָ לְחִבְרוֹן	19.9			
וּבִי [נ] יֵאֻנֹּשׁ אֲתָּ וּבְעִין לְמַקְץ	19.15		בְּדִי	since, because [conj.]
בְּכֹל עֲרוֹתָ דִּי [נְתָהָ] [לְהִין]	19.20		בְּדִי הוּא רַחִים וְרֵם ◦◦]	2.20
וְלֹא הוּוּא אֲתִין לְמַקְסָ	19.26		בְּדִיל	see
בֹּאֲדִין אֲתִיתָ עָלֵי חֲרַקְנוֹשׁ	20.21			
וּבְעָא מִנִּי דִּי אֲתִיתָ	20.21		בְּדִל	to distinguish between, separate [verb]
וְאַתִּיתָ לִיד יִמָּא עַד	21.15		וּמִנְּהָ יִנְדַּבּ וְיִהְיֶה בְּדִל בִּין	15.17
וְהוּיָת אֲתִיתָ לִי לִיד / יִמָּא שְׁמוּקָא	21.17		בְּדִר	to scatter [verb]
וְתַבְתָּ וְאַתִּיתָ לִי לְבֵיתִי בְּשִׁלְמָ	21.19		וּבְדִרְתָּה לְרוּחִיאָ וּבְתַרְהָ	13.17
אֲתִיתָ כְּדִרְלַעוּמָר מֶלֶךְ עִילָם	21.23			
וְאַתָּה חֹד מִן רַעָה	22.1		בְּהִל	to frighten, upset [verb]
וּסְלַק לְעוֹרַעָה וְאַתָּה לְשִׁלְמָ	22.13		בֹּאֲדִין אָנָּה לְמַךְ אֲתַבְּהִלָּתָ	2.1
אתר	place, location [noun]		בּוּץ	fine linen [noun]
כָּל אֲתַר מִשְׁרִיאָתִי	21.1		וּלְבוּשׁ שְׁגִי דִּי בּוּץ	20.31
לְאַתְרָא דִּי בְּנִיתָ תַּמִּן מִדְּבַחָא	21.1			
אֲתַר דִּי אָנְתָּה יִתֵּב	21.9		בְּזָה	plunder [noun]
			כֹּל שְׁבִיתָא / וְכֹל בְּזָתָא	22.13
ב+pron.	by/in me, us, you, her, him, them, it			
לְאַנְפּוּהִי נִסְבָּא בִּי וְדִנְחָא	5.12			

בזז	to plunder [verb]		ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם	21.19
ובזין מן פורת נהרא		21.28	אנה וכול אנש ביתי	21.21
[וּבְזוּ מִלְךְ עֵילֻם כּוּל נכסיא		21.33	הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין		22.4	וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון		22.11		
בחיר	choice, chosen [adj.]		Bethel [place name] בית אל	
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין		22.6	עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
			ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7
			די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.9
בחר	to choose [verb]		Bet Hakerem [place name] בית כרמא	
יַעֲלֻחוּן וּבְחֻרוֹ בְּאַנוּן]		6.17	הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין		22.6		
בטלל	because of [adv.]		בכי	
ושְבִיק ארזא בטלל תמרתא		19.16	to weep [verb]	
ואחֹה בטליכי ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי		19.20	בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת ובכֹת]	2.8
			ובכת שרי על מלי בליליא דן	19.21
			בכית אנה/ אברס בְּכִי תקיף	20.10
בטן	belly, womb [noun]		ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16
[בְּכֻשְׁנָא דִּי אֲתַרְבָּה		19.26	ובכא אברס על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
בין	to contemplate, consider [verb]		בכי	
מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן		13.14	weeping [noun]	
[אֲנִבְ[ה] תַּחְבֹּנוּן[א] עֲא חֹב		14.4	בכית אנה/ אברס בְּכִי תקיף	20.11
בין	between [prep.]		בלע	
וּמְנָה יִנְזָב וְיִהְיֶדֶל בֵּין		15.17	Bela [pers. name]	
דִּימָא די מן ביניהון		16.9	ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אזדמנו	21.25
[דִּי בֵין]		16.24	ומלך צְבוּאִין ומלך בלע	21.31
[ו]שֵׁם פִּלְגְּ[ח] לקה בין בנוהי		17.7		
לארס ארעא די בין תרין נהריא		17.9	בני	
ומישריא די ביניהון		17.13	to build [verb]	
[ו]פִּתְּ פִּלְגְּ בֵין בנוהי		17.16	לִסְעֻדוֹתִי וּלְמִבְנָה	7.19
ובין לשנא דִּי[י] לִי[י] לֹדֹד		17.17	אנה ובני ובנינא	12.8
עֲדָב[י]ה[ו]ן בין בניהון		17.22	וּלְמִדְיָנָה דִּן בִּין יֵאת חֲבֵרוֹן	19.9
די/ היא בין נהרין		21.24	לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחה	21.1
			ובניתה תניאני/ לֹ	21.1
			ובנית תמן מדבח	21.20
בין נהרין	Mesopotamia [place name]		בעד	
לארס ארעא די בין תרין נהריא		17.9	on behalf of, because of [adv.]	
די/ היא בין נהרין		21.24	אִי־אִי בְּעֵד מְלוּחִי	0.13
בית	house, dwelling place [noun]		בעי	
מן די נֶהֶךְ לבית נש]		0.11	to seek [verb]	
בה ובכול ביתה		20.15	ארעא וְדִי אֲבַעִי לֹ	1.10
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא		20.16	די לתנא אתית לְכָ[עִי]ךְ]	2.25
ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל		20.17	[וּבְעֵי־אִי בְּעֵי־אִי בְּעֵי־אִי	7.17
ועל כול אנש ביתה		20.18	וב[נ]ִי־אִי אִי־אִי אִי־אִי	19.15
מכתשא דן ולאנש/ ביתה		20.20	די יבעון למקטלני	19.19
וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי		20.28	יב[עוֹן] לאעדיוותכי מני	19.21
עד די דבקת לבית אל		21.1	ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9
וּבְנֵן לה בסודס בי		21.6	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל		21.7	ובעא מני די אתה	20.21
די על שמאל/ בית אל		21.9	בעי	
			to burst forth [verb]	
			בְּעֵי עֲנִפִּיאֵן שְׂגִיאֵן	13.13

בעין	see בעין		עמך אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
			[י]הב לך ולבניך כולא למאכל	11.17
בעיר	cattle, livestock [noun]		אנה לך °° בשנין בניך	11.19
לאנשא ולבעירא ולחיותא	6.26		[ה]בריי °°]	12.7
ו[בעיר] אדמא ורחש יבישתא	13.8		אנה ובני ובנינא	12.8
			וילידו ל[בני בני] ו[וב]נן	12.9
בעל	husband [noun]		וילידו ל[בני בני] ו[וב]נן	12.9
וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלה	20.23		ל[שם] ברי רבא יליד לה בר	12.10
יתיבו נה לשרי לאברם בעלה	20.25		ל[שם] ברי רבא יליד לה בר	12.10
			ו[הו]א כול בני שם כולהון	12.10
בצל	to branch off (?) [verb]		וב[ני חם כוש ומצרי]ן ופוט	12.11
ו[בע]א °°°° בוצלין די בעי	7.17		ובני יפת גומר ומגוג ומדי	12.12
			[ו]שרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.13
בקעה	valley [noun]		קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
כ[ו]ל בקעאתא ומישריא	17.13		קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5		קרית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16
אנון /שרין בבקעת דן	22.8		וראמא עד רמה תלתת בנין	14.10
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14		[ה]א בר קדמיא כול יומוהי	14.12
			מן פלגה כ[ו]ל בניך	14.12
בקר	to seek, investigate [verb]		בר [ק]דמיא יפוק	14.13
מן מצרין וכען בקר	22.29		תרין בנין °°° תה	14.16
בר	son [noun]		ואז[לית אנה לשם ברי	15.22
כול בניכון ו]	1.8		ונוח חלק בעדב ליפת ולבנוהי	16.12
[חד מן] בני שמין	2.5		למירת לה ולבנוהי	16.14
ולא בכדבין חדא ברא מנד]	2.6		בני[הון [כ]ול בני נוח	16.21
ולא מן כול בני שמין	2.16		בני[הון [כ]ול בני נוח	16.21
[°°i°°°° יתבין בני שמין	3.4		למירת לה [ו]ל[בנוהי	16.26
יהב למתוש[לח ברה	3.26		[למשך ובני]	17.1
ויהב למתו[שלח ברה שכל	3.27		[ו]שם פלג [ח]לקה בין בנוהי	17.7
ולך מתושלח ב[רי	5.2		[ו]יפת פלג בין בנוהי	17.16
[ל[א] מן בני / שמין	5.3		[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חם	17.19
שמין להון מן למך ברך]	5.4		[בני נוח [ח]ל[קו]ן עדב[י]ה[ון]	17.22
מן] / חוזה דחל למך ברך	5.7		עדב[י]ה[ון] בין בניחון	17.22
וכען לכ[א] אנה אמר ברי	5.9		[°°°°° ובנוהי	17.24
אזל אמר ללמד ברך די [מן לך]	5.10		ועלנא לארע בני חם	19.13
[ו]ל[א] [מן בני שמין	5.10		וב[נ]י אנוש אתו ובעין למקץ	19.15
וכען לך אנה מחוה ברי	5.20		די לא יחזנה כול בר אנוש	19.23
ללמד] / ברך אחוי ברזא דנא	5.21		אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בליליא	20.11
ועם למך ברה ברז מלל]	5.25		[לוט] / בר אחי עמי	20.34
וילדת לי בנין תל[ת]ה	6.7		בר אחי מן לואתי	21.7
[ובנן נקבן] באדין לבני נשין	6.8		די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
ובנתי לבני אחי יהבת כדת	6.8		ושבי לוט בר אחוי	21.34
מ[רה עלמא לבני אנשא	6.9		וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3
באדין שלם לבני למסב להון	6.10		ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
בעובד בני שמין ומא כול	6.11		ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11
וחשבת כול לכת בני ארעא	6.16		אהך די לא בנין	22.33
°°°°° יהון ובניהון וכנישת	7.23		וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33
[°°°°° לבניך מן בתרך לכול	8.33		אליעזר בר דמשק הוא	22.34
ותליתי לבני שפנינא	10.15			
וברי °°°°°	11.5	בר	field [noun]	
בניהון]	11.5		עו[ף] שמיא וחיות ברא	13.8

גדם	trunk, stump [noun]		דאָ	8.5
קדמיטא דבקא בגדם ארזא	14.11		אָ דחילפתא דאָ הווה יתבין	14.18
דבקא בגד[ם] ארזא	14.14		לראיש טור הור[רט] בקרית דא	17.9
			והוא כפנא בארעא דא כולא	19.10
גדף	to blaspheme [verb]		ברם דא כול טבותא	19.19
ונופהן בִּיגְדִיִּף שגי ואנבהן	15.16		ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישתא	20.28
גדרא	Gadera [place name]		ודי אחיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם	21.4
עד די דבק לגד[ד]א	16.11		וחזי כול/ ארעא דא	21.10
			וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא	21.11
גא/גו	midst, middle [noun]		אנתן כול ארעא דא	21.12
בחום ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא	2.10		מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25
ובגו כרמי כומרא דן פתחת	12.15			
עלל בגו נוף קדמיטא	14.16	דאל	to quiver [verb]	
עלל בגו נוף קדמיטא	14.17		ושפליא דאלין וזאעין	0.7
[י]תבו בנא [א]יא	14.18	דבק	to reach, go as far as, cling [verb]	
ואיא די בגו לשנא דן כ[ו]ל	17.13		ודבק דא יוּ בַעִין	3.15
ליד לה בגו	17.18		לחלפתא קדמיטא דבקא בגדם	14.11
עד [כען אנחנא בגו ארענא	19.12		דבקא בגד[ם] ארזא	14.14
ב[תרע]לל [בג]א ימא רבה	19.13		עד די דבק [ל]	16.8
			עד די דבק לראיש	16.10
גוים	Goiim [people/place name]		עד די דבק לגד[ד]א	16.11
תרעל מלך גוים	21.23		בים מאיותא די דבק לשון	16.16
גומר/גומר	Gomer [pers. name]		עד די דבק לעדב	16.19
ובני יפת גומר ומגוג ומדי	12.12		[צו דבק עד [דרו]ם	16.27
לגומר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16		חדקל נהרא עד דדבק לימא	17.7
			לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא	17.8
גיור	adulterer [noun]		עד די דבק לראיש טור	17.9
[די בכול נקבל גיור]	0.2		עד דבק למגוג כול ליד [לשנא	17.10
			לוּ ע[ד] דבק	17.11
גיחון	Gihon (River), Nile [place name]		ע[ד] דבק ל	17.13
ע[ד] גיחון[ן] נהרא	16.27		ואמנא עד דבק לפון[רת]	17.14
ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא	21.15		[א עד די דבק ל	17.14
דבקת גחון/ נהרא	21.18		עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16
			[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חם	17.19
גלא	to reveal [verb]		עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9
ואח[וה] לי ולמגלא כול	7.22		ואתית עד די דבקת לחברון	19.9
גן	garden [noun]		והוא [דבקת] לזרמונא	19.11
הלין ואָוּ בגן	8.31		עד די דבקת לבית אל	21.1
			ודבק עד סודם	21.6
גנון	bridal chamber [noun]		די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.16
לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא	20.6		עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
			עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17
גער	to rebuke, banish [verb]		עד די דבקת ללשון ים סוף	21.18
ותתנער מננה רוחא דא באישתא	20.28		דבקת גחון/ נהרא	21.18
ואתנערת [מנה רוחא] באישתא	20.29		עד דבקו לאיל/ פרן	21.29
			עד דבק לדן ואשבח אנון	22.7
דא	this, that [dem. pronoun]		עד דבקו לחלבון	22.10
דא בכולא ושגי לבי עלי	2.11	דבר	to conduct (oneself), speak [verb]	
ודבק דא יוּ בַעִין	3.15		וקושטא כול יומי דברת	6.2
[יזכה דא זכי בדמא על	7.12			

דבר	to take, lead, drive [verb]		ולך אנה מחוזה כול ד'י	5.9
	ושלח/ לעובע דברהא	20.9	אזל אמר ללמד ברך די [מ' לך]	5.10
	כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס	20.11	עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די	5.18
	די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף	20.14	די/ ביומוהי יתעבד	5.21
	הא אנתתך דבר'ה אזל ועדי	20.27	חדי די מני אנפיק מ'ה	5.27
	דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27	די אזלן לחשוד עלמא	6.3
			[די ירב מ]רה עלמא	6.9
דד	uncle [noun]		שלמו לי לחשבון די חשבת	6.9
	אברם דדי לצליא על	20.22	מעיד דמא די אשדו נפיליא	6.19
			שפית וקוית עד די ק	6.19
דהב	gold [noun]		הא קדישין די עם בנת	6.20
	חזה הוית לדחביא ולכס[פי]א	13.9	ודם ק[י]נ[א] עליא די ק	6.24
	ויהב לה מלכא כ[סף וד]הב [ש]גיא	20.31	ארעא וכול די עליהא	7.1
	ואף בכסף ודהב	20.33	[ובע'א' בוצלין די בעי	7.17
			[ודי יחזק לה ל	7.18
דחל	to fear, be afraid [verb]		ד'י חלמת וברכת קד'י שא	7.20
	דחיל לעליך	2.26	די' ב'מלך שמי'א	8.10
	מ[ן]/ חוזה דחל למך ברך	5.7	וכשבועה וכתבה ד'י	8.18
	אל תדחל ואל תהך	8.34	למרה כולא די מני מ'ב'ל	10.1
	ולי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח	11.15	[ע]ד די כול'א	10.9
	חלמת מן [ד]אנה דחל	19.18	די'א	11.5
	ו[דחלת] [י]תירא בנפשה	19.23	לטוריא ודמדבריא לעובריא	11.9
	וכען אל תדחל אנה עמד	22.30	לעובריא ודא'יא [ב'ו]ל	11.9
דחלה	fear, dread [noun]		ותבת וברכת די רחס על ארעא	11.13
	תאכלון אימתכון ודחלתכון	11.17	ארעא ודי אעדי ואבד מנהא	11.13
			עמד אנה ועם בניך די להון	11.15
			ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16
די/-די	that, which, of [prep.]		בירקא ועשבא די ארעא	11.17
	[די בכול נקבל גיור	0.2	לרגלא קדמא די בחודשא	12.14
	כו]ל די תמ'ל	0.4	[בתר נצבה די] כרמא ביומא	12.16
	מן די נהך לבית נש]	0.11	די פלטנא מן אבדנא	12.17
	ב[עדנ]א די אסרנא]	0.13	הי די אבותי אחדו	12.18
	[נור די אתחזי	0.13	די ח' ע'לי אל עליין	12.21
	ואף רז רשעא די	1.2	[דאנ'ה] נוח	12.23
	[עתין ורזא די	1.3	חזה הוית עד די אסיפוהי	13.11
	יום ד'י	1.7	תמהת עד די	13.15
	ארעא ודי אבעי ל	1.10	די הוא קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
	עובדא די עד כ[ען	1.11	[ור]אמת חלפתא די נפקא מנה	14.10
	[די על	1.11	[ודי חזיתה לחלפתא קדמיתא	14.11
	חשבת בלבי די מן עירין	2.1	ודי חזיתא לחלפתא דבקא	14.14
	אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי	2.12	[די חזיתה לחלפתא לפסגת	14.15
	די מנד זרעא דן	2.15	אחרניתא די מנה	14.15
	ויא מרי די אנה לך את[ית	2.24	ודי חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
	ואמר לך דאל תרגו עלי	2.25	[א דחילפתא דא הוזה יתבין	14.18
	דאל תרגו עלי די לתנא	2.25	מיא די יב'ך	14.19
	בקשוט די לא בכדבין	3.13	לה כל אלם די לין	14.20
	[הוא די יפלג כול ארעא	3.17	קצי ארעא ודי חזיתא	15.9
	[לה ד'י] בכל ים]	3.28	להון רשיעין ודי חזיתה	15.9
	[די ועד ד'י	3.30	הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעא]	15.11
	שם/ די ק[ד]ישא	4.12	[רא ודי חזיתה עדיו	15.13
	[ל די עולימא	5.2	עממי ארעא די לא ישלטו]	15.15
	בקושט מהימן די	5.8		

20.25	אלו די מתכתש	15.23	[למחור די אאא לך]
20.27	אמר/ לי די אחתי היא	16.8	עד [די דבק ל]
20.28	וצלית על[וה]ן די ארפא/ הו	16.9	דימא די מן ביניהון
20.30	די לא ידעה ו[לא ט]מיהא	16.9	דימא די מן ביניהון
20.31	ולבוש שגי די בון	16.10	עד די דבק לראיש
20.31	וארגון די ללבש	16.11	עד די דבק לך[ד]רא
20.32	די ינפון מן מצרין לן	16.16	[ע]ד טינה נהרא די אאא
21.1	עד די דבקת לבית אל	16.16	בים מאזותא די דבק ללשן
21.1	לאתרא די בנית תמן מדבחה	16.17	כעין מי לשנא דן די
21.3	וטבתא די ירב לי	16.18	עד לשון ימא די פנה למצרין
21.3	ודי עבד עמי טב	16.19	עד די דבק לעדב
21.3	ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם	17.7	חזקל נהרא עד דדבק לימא
21.7	ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	17.8	שמוקא לראישה די בצפונא
21.7	ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	17.9	לארס ארעא די בין תרין נהריא
21.8	ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	17.9	עד די דבק לראיש טור
21.8	די על שמאל/ בית אל	17.10	אאאאא בים מדנחא
21.9	אתר די אנתה יתב	17.11	בצפונא די מחען לשנא דן
21.10	די אנה ירב לך	17.11	דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא
21.12	וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	17.12	די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא
21.13	די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	17.12	כול ארעא די משקה פורת
21.15	די/ דבקת לטור תורא	17.13	ומישריא די ביניהון
21.16	מא רבא דן די מלחא	17.13	ואיא די בגו לשנא דן כן
21.17	עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	17.14	לאמנא דצמיד טור הרט
21.17	עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	17.14	[אא עד די דבק ל
21.18	עד די דבקת ללשון ים סוף	17.15	חולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה
21.18	די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	17.16	עד די דבק לטינה נהרא
21.18	וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת	17.17	כול נגאותא די ליד לוד
21.19	באלוני ממרה די בחברון	17.17	ובין לשנא די לין
21.23	די/ היא בין נהרין	17.17	לתובל דבעבר
21.25	לקרב לעמקא די סדיא	17.19	[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חם
21.26	ומלכיא די עמה	17.21	[א די ירב אאא]
21.28	וסלקו ארחא די מדברא	19.9	ואתית עד די דבקת לחברון
21.28	ומחו לרפאייא די בעשתרא	19.10	ושמעת די עב[ב]ורא הון
21.29	ולוזומיא די בעמן	19.12	ראשי נהרא דן די
21.29	ולאימא די ב]שוה הקריות	19.13	ימא רבה דן
21.29	ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	19.18	חלמת מן דאנה דחל
21.30	לאיל / פרן די במדברא	19.19	די יבעון למקטלני
21.30	[א די בחצצן תמר	19.20	די ת עבדון עמי בכול ערות
21.32	בעמקא די סדיא	19.20	בכול ערות די נתה לן
21.32	ומלכיא די עמה	19.20	אמר די עלי די אחי הוא
21.33	כול נכסיא די סודם	19.23	די לא יחזנה כול בר אנוש
21.33	ודי/ עומרם וכול	19.26	[בבטנא די אתרבה
21.34	[כול רכ]ושא די	19.26	עד די אעה צח להון
21.34	וכל די אשכחן	20.6	וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן
22.1	די אברס די הוא יתב	20.7	עמהא ודלידיהא/ יאא
22.1	די אברס די הוא יתב	20.8	די פס חד תלתהון ממלכין
22.2	ענה די ירב אברס ללוט	20.10	ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי
22.2	די פלט מן שביא על אברס	20.13	די אנתה מרה ושליט
22.3	וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	20.14	די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף
22.3	ודי/ נגדו מלכיא	20.15	וידעוך מרי די אנתה מרה
22.10	די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	20.21	ובעא מני די אתה

ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10	עֻמָּא עֻלְמָא וְדִם קְ[י]נָא	6.24
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11	עֻד מַלְלוּ כֻּבְּ דִמָּא	7.10
די שבאו אתיב	22.12	○ יִזְכֶּה דָא זְכִי בְדִמָּא עַל	7.12
די אתיב אברס כול שביתא	22.12	כֻּלְהָ דִמְדִּהוֹן לְאִיסוּד מַדְבַּחָא	10.15
ולכול אנשא די עמה	22.15	עַל מַדְבַּחָא קְרִבְתָּ דִמְדִּהוֹן	10.16
די סגר שְנַאִיךְ בידך	22.17	בַרס כּוּל דִּם לֹא תֹאכְלוּן	11.17
די מלך עילס וחברוהי	22.17		
באדין קרב מלכא די סודס	22.18	דַּמְךָ to fall asleep [verb]	
הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19	וּשְכַבְתָּ עַל מְשַׁכְבִּי וְדִמְכָתָּ ○	12.19
די שביא עמך	22.19		
די אצלחה מן מלך עילס	22.19	דַּמְעָא tear [noun]	
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22	וּדַמְעִי נַחְתֵּן בְּרִיךְ אַנְתָּה	20.12
דמן נכסי כול עתרה די	22.22		
דמן נכסי כול עתרה די/ אברס	22.22	דַּמְשֵׁק Dameseq (or Damascus) [pers. name]	
ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23	אַלְעִיזוּר בַּר דִּמְשֵׁק הוּא	22.34
עולימי די עמי	22.23		
תלתת גבריא די/ אלו עמי	22.23	דְּנָה/דְּנָא this, that [dem. pronoun]	
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25	○ ○ ○ ○ הָ דְנָא	0.9
מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28	מִשְׁתַּנִּי עַל עוֹלִימָא דְנָא	2.2
וחודא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29	מִנְךָ זִרְעָא דִן וּמִנְךָ הַרְיוֹנָא	2.15
ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29	וּמִנְךָ הַרְיוֹנָא דִן וּמִנְךָ נִצְבַת	2.15
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך	22.30	וּמִנְךָ נִצְבַת פְּרִיָא דִן	2.15
אהך די לא בנין	22.33	אַנְפִיךָ כְּדִנָּא עֲלִיךָ שְנָא	2.17
להן די יפוק	22.34	וּרְוַחְךָ כְּדִן עֲלִיכָא ○	2.17
		○ ○ ○ ○ בְּאַרְעֵי לִימָא דִן	3.10
		דִן הָא כְּדִי אַנְהָ חֲנוּךְ	5.3
		עוֹלִימָא דִן נוֹר וְהוּא לִימָא	5.13
		אַחֵי בְרִזָּא דְנָא כֻּלְהָ	5.21
		[שְׁמִיָּא וּטְמֵרַת רוּזָא דִן בַּלְבְּבִי	6.12
		וּבְכֻל שְׁנָא דְנָה וְיִזְבְּלָא	7.3
		○ ○ ○ ○ תָּ עַל דְנָה	7.8
		○ ○ ○ דִן וְכֻלְהָ	8.12
		[וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנה לך]	9.3
		נַחְתַּת לְשַׁפְּוֹלִי טֹרָא דִן	12.8
		וּבִגּו כְּרַמִּי כֻּמְרָא דִן פִּתְחַת	12.15
		נִצְבָּה דִי]כְּרַמָּא בִּיזְמָא דִן	12.16
		מִתְבּוֹנָן הוּיַת בִּיזְתָא דִן וְאַרִי	13.14
		וְהוּיַת תְּמָה עַל זִיתָא דִן	13.15
		וְחֻבְלָא בִּיזְתָא דִן וּמַעֲנַפֵּן לָהּ	13.16
		אַל תִּתְמָה עַל חֵלְמָא דִן	15.19
		[ו]עֲבֹר תַּחוּמָא דִן מִי יִמָּא רַבָּא	16.11
		[נִפְקָ מִי טִינָה נְהָרָא דְנָא	16.15
		וְאַזַּל תַּחוּמָא דִן כַּעֲזִין	16.17
		כַּעֲזִין מִי לְשִׁנָּא דִן דִּי	16.17
		נִפְל טוֹר טוֹרָא דִן וְעֵבֶר	17.10
		וְעֵבֶר חוֹלְקָא דִן לְמַעֲרַבָא	17.10
		בְּצִפְנָא דִי מַחְעֵן לְשִׁנָּא דִן	17.11
		לְדִרּוּמָא] א [דִן לְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד	17.11
		וְאַיָּא דִי בִּגּו לְשִׁנָּא דִן כֻּלְהָ	17.13
		רַאשֵׁי נְהָרָא דִן דִי	19.12
		[ד]אַנְהָ דַּחַל מִן] חֵלְמָא דִן	19.18
		וּשְׂרִית לְאַשְׁתַּעֲיָא לָהּ חֵלְמָא דִן	19.18
for the sake of, in order that [prep.]			
בְּדִיל/דִּיל	7.4		
○ ○ ○ ○ שְׁ בְּדִיל			
חֵד וְלִכּוֹל קְנָה בְּדִילָהּ	11.14		
וּתְפִלְטָא נַפְשִׁי בְּדִילִיכִי	19.20		
כְּדִי הוּיַת מַתְגַּר עַל דִּילָהּ	20.10		
וּשְׁבִיקַת אַנְהָ אַבְרָם בְּדִילָהּ	20.10		
וּמַתְנַגַּד מַרִי מַלְכָּא בְּדִיל שְׂרִי	20.25		
וְאַמְרָא לִי מָא עֲבַדְתָּה לִי בְּדִיל	20.26		
אוּסַפְתָּ לָהּ עַל דִּילָהּ שְׂגִי	21.6		
judgment [noun]			
דִּין			
חֲזִיתָ לְמַעֲבַד דִּין וְמָ[שְׁפַט] עֻלְ	4.11		
לְמַעֲבַד בְּכוֹלְהוֹן דִּין	20.13		
עֲבַד לִי דִין מְנָה	20.14		
that [dem. pronoun]			
דִּךְ			
אַיְכְּנָה יַצְמֹד לָהּ עֻמָּא דִךְ	15.17		
to remember [verb]			
דְּכַר			
וְיָא מַרִי דְּכַר לִךְ עַל עֲדִינְתִּי	2.9		
lest [conj.]			
דְּלִמָּא			
דְּלִמָּא תַּהוּוּהָ אַמְרָא	22.22		
blood [noun]			
דִּם			
וְבִדְמָא לֹא הוּאָ ○ ○]	5.5		
מַעֲיָד דְּמָא דִי אַשְׁדּוּ נַפְלִיאָ	6.19		

חלמא דין אִּיִּיִּי	19.19	וארי הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13
ובכת שרי על מלי בליליא דין	19.21	וארי הא משגית עלוהי	13.14
ועם כול שפרא דין חכמא	20.7	והא פליגא חדה יצדד	14.11
בליליא דין צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12	הא בר קדמא כול יומהי	14.12
ואל ישלט בליליא דין	20.15	ובתרה אמרת הא כען	19.13
ובכית וחשית בליליא דין	20.16	וחזית בחלמי והא ארו חד	19.14
לאסיונה מן מכתשא דין	20.19	הא אנתנד דברא אזל ועדי	20.27
ויתוך מנכה מכתשא דין	20.26	ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
בי[ומא דנ]א מנתנ[ן] שגיאן	20.30		
בתר יומא דין פרש לוט	21.5	הוא he, it [pronoun]	
וסחרת מן ליד [ימא רבא דין]	21.16	תתקף וחתקיאם ומן הוא	0.5
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דין	22.21	ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא	1.25
ואמר לה לא ירתנד דין	22.34	בדי הוא רחים ור	2.20
		הוא די יפלג כול ארעא	3.17
דן Dan [place name]		עולימא דין נור והוא ל	5.13
עד דבק לדין ואשכח אנון	22.7	שבח עמד לעלם הוא ולה	10.13
אנון/ שרין בבקעת דין	22.8	אנתה הוא ארא רבא	14.9
דנח to shine [verb]		ומרה רבותא הוא די יתה	15.11
ודנחא עינוהי כשמ[שא]	5.12	ואמרת אנתה הוא	19.7
דרום south [noun]		ושמעת די ע[ב]רא הוןא במצרין	19.10
צו דבק עד [דרון]ם	16.27	והוא [דבק]ת לכרמונא	19.11
לדרומא דין לארפכשד	17.11	אמ[ר]י עלי די אחי הוא	19.20
די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא	17.12	ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא	20.3
והוית אזל לדרומא מורה	19.9	ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי הוא	20.10
למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא	21.9	וצלית על[וה]י[די] ארפא/ הו	20.29
וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבקת	21.18	הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14
		והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
		אליעזר בר דמשק הוא	22.34
דרמשק Damascus [place name]		הוא/הוי to be [verb]	
ואזלין/ למדינת דרמשק	22.5	הוןא נחת[י]ן ועם נקבתא	1.1
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10	והוןא ולך להון	3.7
דרע arm [noun]		להוה על ארעא כולהא	3.9
דרעיהא מא שפירן	20.4	ובדמא לא הווא	5.5
דשן to prosper, make fat [verb]		והוית מהלך בשבילי אמת	6.2
דשנני ועדה לי	7.9	ב[א]די[ן] הוית אנה נוח	6.6
דת custom, rule [noun]		ע[מ]ה להוה	7.13
יהבת כדת חוק עלמא	6.8	ש שת עשרה והוא כול	8.1
דתא grass [noun]		באדין הווא על ארעא	10.11
ומליא דתא ועשב ועבור	11.12	מלחא הוית יהב ורח	10.17
הא oh, behold [exclamatory particle]		[כ]ע[ן] אנה נוח הוית בתרע	11.1
[וכען הא אנהא אסירין]	0.8	די להון כואתך לעלמים	11.15
הא באדין חשבת בלבי	2.1	והואת לי לאת בעננא	12.1
דין הא כדי אנה חנוך	5.3	לי לאת בעננא ולמהוה	12.1
הא באדין ישתבשון ויתכלון	5.16	צדותא הוואת שגיא בארעא	12.9
ביומיה יתעבד והא	5.22	והוןא כול בני שם כולהון	12.10
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16	והוית מברך למרה שמיא	12.17
הא קשתי [בענן]י הבת	12.1	[א]בניא וחספיא הווא קצין	13.9
		חזה הוית לדהביא ולכס[פי]א	13.9
		חזה הוית לשמשא ולשהרא	13.10
		חזה הוית עד די אסיפוהי	13.11
		מתבונן הוית בזיתא דין	13.14

והוית תמה על זיתא דין	13.15	די/ היא בין נהרין	21.24
די הוא קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9	אתה לשלם היא ירושלם	22.13
הוון יתבין בארעה	14.18		
[להשתכל לרזא הווא לך סף	14.19	הל	look, behold [exclamatory particle]
[ע]ד הוא שח	15.6	[א]נחנא ידעין הל	14.7
משגיתיהון להון רשיעין	15.9		
וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין	15.18	הליך	conduct, manner of going [noun]
והוית אזל לדרומא מורה	19.9	מ[תנדודא ביען הליכה] ושגנה	15.16
והוא כפנא בארעא דא כולא	19.10		
והווא יהבין/ לני מתנין שגינא	19.24	הלך	to walk, go [verb]
ולא הווא אתין למקם	19.26	והוית מהלך בשבילי אמת	6.2
הווא עלל	19.29	והלכת בארעא לאורכהא	11.11
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10	ורחש יבישתא הלכין	13.8
והוואת כתשא לה	20.17	כען הלכנא ארענא	19.13
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20	קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.13
[מא] הוית אמר/ לי	20.26		
והיא הוואת אנתך	20.27	הלל	to praise [verb]
והוית שרה [עמה]	20.34	ואזלו בון והללו ושבחו	10.8
והוא רעה נכסוהי	21.6	והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/ לאלהא	21.2
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7		
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17	הן	if, whether [see אן]
תרתי עשרה שנין הווא	21.26		
והווא מחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28	הן	they [pronoun]
די אברס די הוא יתב	22.1	הן יכולון לאסיותה	20.19
ואברס באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.2		
והוא רדף בתרהון	22.7	הרי	to conceive [verb]
והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא	22.8	ובכור הורתי יעית לקושט	6.1
ותבר אנון והווא רדף להון	22.9	והרת מני וילדת לי בנן	6.7
וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9		
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15	הריא	conception [noun]
דלא תהוה אמר	22.22	די מן עירין הריאתא	2.1
וכל שביא די הוואת עמה	22.25		
ואהוה לך/ סעד ותקף	22.30	הריון	conception [noun]
		ומנך הריונא דן	2.15
הוך		זאע	to tremble [verb]
מן די נהך לבית נש	0.11	ושפליא דאלין וזאעין	0.7
אל תדחל ואל תהך	8.34		
ונגדת למן[ה] תמן	19.9	זבן	to buy, aquire [verb]
ונגדת למנהך	19.11	וזבן לה בסודם בי	21.6
ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי אהך	22.33		
הוררט		זהר	to warn, admonish [verb]
חד מן טורי הוררט ונור עלמא	10.12	ולאזהרותני מן נתיב שקר	6.3
[בטור/י] הוררט	12.8		
בטורי הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8	זומזמי	Zumzamite [people name]
לראיש טור הוררט [בקרית דא	17.9	ולזומיא די בעמן	21.29
לאמנא דצמנד טור הררט	17.14		
היא		זית	olive tree [noun]
והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.17	ואתפנית למחזה זיתא וארי	13.13
אמר/ לי די אחתי היא	20.27	ואלי הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13
והיא הוואת אנתך	20.27	מתבונן הוית בזיתא דן	13.14
		והוית תמה על זיתא דן	13.15
		וחבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16

זכי	to be (made) pure, purify [verb]		חגר	Hagar [pers. name]	
זכי	○[יִזְכֶּה דָא זְכִי בְדִמָא עַל	7.12	קודמיהא ואף לחגר		20.32
	○[נִקְ זְכֶה וְזִי	12.19			
זכי	pure, clear [adj.]		חד	one [adj.]	
זכי	○[יִזְכֶּה דָא זְכִי בְדִמָא עַל	7.12	[חד מן] בני שמין		2.5
			ולא בכדבין חדא ברא מַנְדְּ		2.6
			כולהא פִּרְיָא חֲדָא יִשִּׁים		3.11
זכירן	remembrance [noun]		וְאַזְלֹתָ [לחד] מִנְהֵן וְאַמְרָ לֶךְ		6.21
זכירן	וכתב כֹּלְהוֹן בְּמַגִּילָא לְזִכְרֵן	5.1	[תבותא נחת חד מן טורי		10.12
			חֲדָ וְלִכְוֹל קְנָה בְדִילָה		11.14
זמן	to agree, unite [verb]		אַתְהָ רְגֵלָא קְדַמְיָא בְיוֹם חַד		12.14
זמן	כול אלן אַזְדַּמְנוֹ/ כחדא	21.25	ביום חד לשתא חמישיא־תא		12.15
			וְהָא פְּלִיגָא חֲדָה יִצְדִּדְ		14.11
זעקא	supplication, outcry [noun]		○[קָ חֲדָ לִימִין אֲרַעָא		14.17
זעקא	במעיל זַעְקָא וְ	6.4	וְחַד לְשִׁמְאֵל אֲרַעָה		14.17
			חד מן/ רֵאשִׁי נְהֵרָא		19.11
זר	stranger [noun]		וְחֻזִּית בַּחֲלָמִי וְהָא אַרְזוֹ חַד		19.14
זר	ולא מן כול זר ולא מן	2.16	ותמרא/ חדא כְּחֻדָא צִמְחָ[ו]		19.15
זר	זֶרְעָא מן זר]	5.14	צִמְחָ[ו] מן שֶׁר[ש חד]		19.15
זרע	seed, offspring [noun]		די פס חד תלתהון ממללין		20.8
זרע	ומן קדישין זֶרְעָא וְלִנְפִילָ[ין	2.1	ואתה חד מן רעה		22.1
זרע	די מנד זרעא דן ומנד	2.15	וְחַדְרָא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין		22.28
זרע	זֶרְעָא מן זר]	5.14	וְחַד מן בני ביתי ירתנני		22.33
זרע	ובזרעה יתקרה שִׁמְךָ	14.12			
זרע	וְזֶרְעֶךָ לְכוֹל עֵלְמִים	14.26	חדִי	to rejoice [verb]	
זרע	ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן	21.10	חֲדִי די מְנִי אֲנַפִּיק מֶרְ[ה]		5.27
זרע	ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא	21.12	וְחַדִּית לְמִלִּי מְרָה שְׁמִיא		7.7
זרע	ואף זרעך לא יתמנה	21.13	חדִי	breast [noun]	
זרע	ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה	21.14	כמא יאא לה חדיה		20.4
חבט	to strike [verb]		חדק	to force [verb]	
חבט	○○○○○ מערב וחבטתה ואתרת	13.17	○[ודי יחֲדִיק לָהּ לֹ		7.18
חבי	to seal [verb]		חדקל	Tigris (River) [place name]	
חבי	ויתחבון לְדִקְרִית ויִשְׁפִּי	15.13	ליד מי חֲדַקְל נְהֶרָא		17.7
			לאשור עד דבק לחדקלא		17.8
חבל	to damage, destroy [verb]		חוב	crown, upper portion [noun]	
חבל	וְחַבֵּלָא בְזִיתָא דִּן וּמַעֲנַפֵּן לָהּ	13.16	א[עָא חֻבְּ מַעַ[נ] מֶן		14.4
חבר	companion, friend [noun]		חודי	oneness, solitude [noun]	
חבר	מלי חרקגוש ומלי תרין חברוהי	20.8	ולמשבֶּךְ תמרא בלחודיהה		19.15
חבר	למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26			
חבר	דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.28	חודש	month [noun]	
חבר	די מלך עילם וחברוהי	22.17	לרגלא קדמיה דִּי בְּחֻדְשָא		12.14
חברון	Hebron [place name]		חוט	string, thread [noun]	
חברון	וְאַתִּיתָ עַד דִּי דְבַקָּתָ לְחִבְרוֹן	19.9	אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן		21.21
חברון	וְלִמְדִינָה דִּן ב[ג] יאת חברון	19.9			
חברון	באלוני ממרה די בחברון	21.19	חוי	to tell, narrate [verb]	
חברון	כלמדנח צפון חברון	21.20	כולא בקושטא תחוינני הן]		2.5
חברון	ואברם באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.3	[בקושטא] תחוינני ולא בכדבין		2.6
חברון	עד דבקו לחלבון	22.10	ואנה בקושט כולא א[חוינן]		2.10

מתושלח אבי וכולא לה [ח]י[ן]	2.19	חֲזִיִּיתָ וְאַחֲוֵאִי וְאוֹדַעַת בַּעֲבֹד	6.11
עֲדָבָה פְּלִיג וְלֵה מַחֲוִין כֹּלֵא	2.21	יִדְעַת וְחֲזִיִּיתָ כֹּל	6.16
וּלְךָ אֲנֵה מַחֲוֵה כֹּל דְּי	5.9	וְאַתְחַזִּין לִי ִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן שְׁמִיא	11.15
וּכְעַן לְךָ אֲנֵה מַחֲוֵה בְּרִי	5.20	[שְׁגִיִּאֲן וִּבְעַת אֲתַחֲזִיאַת לִי	12.3
לְלַמֵּד] בֶּרֶךְ אַחֲוִי בְּרִזָּא דְנָא	5.21	חֲזֵה הוּיִת לְדֵהבִיא וְלִכְסֵּיפִי]אַ	13.9
חֲזִיִּיתָ וְאַחֲוֵאִי וְאוֹדַעַת בַּעֲבֹד	6.11	חֲזֵה הוּיִת לְשִׁמְשָׁא וּלְשִׁהרָא	13.10
וּלְכֹל אֲנוּשׁ לֹא אַחֲוִיתָהּ	6.12	חֲזֵה הוּיִת עַד דִּי אֲסִיפֹהִי	13.11
אַחֲוִי וְחֲזִיִּיתָ וְחֲזִיִּיתָ עֲמִי מִלֵּל	6.14	וְאַתְּפִנִית לְמַחֲזֵה זִיתָא	13.13
וְאַחֲוִי] לִי וּלְמַגְלָא כֹּל	7.22	רְבִרְבַּ וְשִׁפִּיר וּמַתְחֲזֵה בֵּהן	13.14
[כֹּלֵא בְּקוּשְׁט אַחֲוִיתָךְ	15.20	[וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָהּ לְחַלְפַתָּא קְדַמִּיתָא	14.11
וּכֹלֵא אַחֲוִי] לְ[ה]	15.22	וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָא לְחַלְפַתָּא דְּבָקָא	14.14
[לְמַחֲוֵה דִּי אֲִיִּיִּיִּי לְךָ]	15.23	וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָהּ לְפִסְגָּתָא חַלְפַתָּא	14.15
וְחֲוִיָּה דִּי שְׁבִי לֹוט בֶּר אַחֲוִי	22.3	וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָ מִן קַצַּת נֹופֶהן	14.17
portion, allotment [noun]		קִצְיִי אֲרַעָא וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָא	15.9
[ו]שְׁם פִּלְגָּ [ח]לְקָה בִּין בְּנוֹהִי	17.7	לֵהוֹן רְשִׁיעִין וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָהּ	15.9
וְעֵבֶר חֹלְקָא דִּן לְמַעֲרַבָא	17.10	[רָא וְדִי חֲזִיִּיתָהּ עֲדָרִיִּיִּיִּי	15.13
דַּעַל רֵאִישׁ תְּלַתָּת חֹלְקִיא	17.11	וְחֲזִיִּיתָ בְּחַלְמִי וְהָא אֲרִזָּא חַד	19.14
חֹלְקָא דִּי פִלְגָּ לֵה וְיֵהֵב לֵה	17.15	דִּי לֹא יַחֲזֵנָה כֹּל בְּרִי אֲנֹשׁ	19.23
[יֵמָא דִּי דְּבַק לִיד חֹן] לְקָ בְּנִי חַס	17.19	וְחֲזֵהָא וְאַתְּמָה עַל כֹּל שְׁפִרְהָא	20.9
וּבְרָא מִן חֹלְקָא תְּלַתָּת גְּבִרִיא	22.23	וְאַחֲוִי יִדְךָ רִבְתָּא	20.14
אַנּוֹן שְׁלִיטִין בְּחֹלְקָהוֹן לְמַנְתָּן לְךָ	22.24	וְיַחֲהָ אֲרִי בְּחַלְמִי חֲזִיִּיִּיִּי	20.22
heat [noun]		וְאַתְּחַזִּי לִי אֱלֹהָא בַּחֲזִיָּא דִּי לִילִיא	21.8
בְּחֹם עֲנַתָּא וְנִשְׁמַתִּי לְגֹו נִדְנָהָא	2.10	וְשִׁקוּל עֵינִיד וְחֲזִי לְמַדְנַחָא	21.9
law, statute [noun]		וְחֲזִי כֹל/ אֲרַעָא דָא	21.9
יְהִבְתָּ כִּדְתָּ חֹק עֲלֵמָא	6.8	וְחֲזִיִּיתָ אֲרַעָא מִן/ רִמְתָּא דָא	21.10
Hurrian [people name]		קוּם הֶלֶךְ וְאַזְל/ וְחֲזִי	21.14
וּלְחֹרִיאָא דִּי בַטּוּרִי גְבֵל	21.29	לְמַסְחָר וּלְמַחֲזֵה אֲרַעָא	21.15
Hauran [place name]		בְּתַר פְּתַגְמִיא אֲלֵן אֲתַחֲזִיִּי]ו	22.27
וּשְׁנִיר וּמִן יֵמָא רְבָא עַד חֹרִין	21.11	וְחֲזִי כַּמֵּן כְּפִלִין שְׁגִי	22.29
וּכֹל מַדְבְּרָא/ רְבָא דִּי מַדְנַח חֹרִין	21.12	living creature, wild beast [noun]	
vision, appearance [noun]		וּלְבַעֲרִיא וּלְחִיּוֹתָא וְלַעֲוָפָא	6.26
מִן/ חֲזִיָּה דַּחַל לְמַךְ בֶּרֶךְ	5.7	עוֹ]ִיִּיִּיִּיִּי שְׁמִיא וְחִיּוֹת בְּרָא	13.8
וְאַתְּחַזִּי לִי אֱלֹהָא בַּחֲזִיָּא דִּי לִילִיא	21.8	to live [verb]	
אַתְּחַזִּי]ו אֱלֹהָא לְאַבְרָם בַּחֲזִיָּא	22.27	וְאַחֲוֵה בְּטִלְכִּי וְתַפְלֵט נַפְשִׁי בְּדִילְכִי	19.20
vision [noun]		וְיַחֲהָ אֲרִי בְּחַלְמִי חֲזִיִּיִּיִּי	20.22
וְחֲזִי אֲסַרְתָּ בַּחֲזִיָּן קוּשְׁטָא	6.4	וְיַצֵּלָה עֲלוּהִי וְיַחֲהָ	20.23
[וְאַתְּחַזִּי לִי מֵרָה] שְׁמִיא בַּחֲזִיָּן	6.11	וְחִי וְקַם וְיֵהֵב/ לִי מַלְכָא	20.29
אַחֲוִי] וְחֲזִיִּיתָ עֲמִי מִלֵּל	6.14	wise one [noun]	
to see [verb]		וּשְׁלַח/ קְרָא לְכֹל חֲכִימִי]י מַצְרִין	20.19
וְחֲזִי דִּי אַתְּחַזִּי	0.13	וְאַשְׁפִּיא וְכֹל חֲכִימִיא	20.20
וְכִדִּי חֲזִיָּה בְּתַאנּוּשׁ אֲנַתִּי	2.12	wisdom [noun]	
חֲזִיִּיתָ לְמַעַבְדִּי דִּין וּמִן] שְׁפַט] עֲלִי	4.11	בַּחֲזִיָּן קוּשְׁטָא וְחֲכַמְתָּא	6.4
[וְאַתְּחַזִּי לִי מֵרָה] שְׁמִיא בַּחֲזִיָּן	6.11	וְאַתְּקַפַּתָּ בְּחֲכַמְתָּא אֲ	6.6
		עַל מִלִּי וְעַל חֲכַמְתִּי	19.24
		וּשְׁ] אֲלֹו לֵהוֹן סְפִרָא וְחֲכַמְתָּא	19.25
		וְעַם כֹּל שְׁפִרָא דִּן חֲכַמָא	20.7

חלה	valley [noun]		חמישיא	fifth [adj.]	
ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון		22.4	ביום חד לשנת חמישיא־תא		12.15
חלם	to dream [verb]		חמס	violence [noun]	
ד[י] חלמת זכר־כ־קד[י]שא		7.20	עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די]		5.18
וחלמת אנה אברס חלם בלילה		19.14	ישלקון וכול שבילי חמס		5.19
חלם/ חלמת מן [ד]אנה דחל		19.18	[] ל[] כול שבילי חמס		6.5
חלם	dream [noun]		כול עבדי חמסא ורשעא ושקרא		11.14
די הוא קאם לקובלך בחלמך		14.9	חמר	wine [noun]	
אל תתמה על חלמא דן		15.19	ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמר		12.13
וחלמת אנה אברס חלם בלילה		19.14	שגיא וכול חמר־איתת		12.14
וזזית בחלמי וְהָא ארו חד		19.14	זן חמרא		19.27
ואמרת לשרי אנתני חלם		19.17	חמש	five [adj.]	
[ד]אנה דחל מ[ן] חלמא דן		19.18	לוד וארם ובגן נקבן חמש		12.11
ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמך		19.18	כול בר־אנוש[ן] חמ[ן]ש שנין		19.23
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן		19.18	ולסוף חמש שניא אלן		19.23
חלמא דן א־א־א־א־א־א־		19.19	חן	grace, compassion [noun]	
ויחה ארי בחלם חזני		20.22	אנה נוח חן רבו וקושטה		6.23
חלם	to be well, sound, firm [verb]		חנוד	Enoch [pers. name]	
וחלמא למאבד		19.8	לחנוד[ן] אבוהי וכולא מנה		2.19
ואתחלם אברס וקם		22.5	רט על חנוד אבוהי למנדע		2.22
חלף	to pass over [verb]		[ו]אמר לחנוד אבוהי יא אבי		2.24
וחלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא		19.12	דן הא כדי אנה חנוך		5.3
חלפה	shoot, offshoot [noun]		וקרית קודמיהון לספר מלי חנוך		19.25
[ור]אמת חלפתא די נפקא מנה		14.10	כ[ו]ל מלי חנוך		19.29
[ודי חזיתא לחלפתא קדמיתא		14.11	חנן	to seek favor [verb]	
ודי חזיתא לחלפתא דבקא		14.14	מתחננין ו־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־		0.24
לפטגת חלפתא אחרניתא		14.15	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת		20.12
[א דחילפתא דא הווה יתבין		14.18	חסף	clay [noun]	
חלץ	vehemence, earnestness [noun]		א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־		13.9
בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת		2.8	חען	to embrace, cling [verb]	
חלק	to divide, apportion [verb]		בצפונא די מחען לשנא דן		17.11
זנוח חלק בעדב ליפת		16.12	חץ	loin [noun; from חלץ or חרץ]	
[בני נוח [ח]ל[קו]ן עֶדְב[י]ה[ן]		17.22	וחצי אסרת בחזון קושטא		6.4
חם	Ham [pers. name]		חצצן תמר	Hazazon-Tamar [place name]	
ובני חם כוש ומצרי[ן] ופוט		12.11	די בחצצן תמר		21.30
ולחם[ן] נפ[ק]ן עדבא תלת[א]		16.26	חקר	to examine [verb]	
[ימא די דבק ליד חו[ו]ל[ק] בני חם		17.19	ב־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־א־		6.22
ועלנא לארע בני חם		19.13	חרן	Haran [place name]	
חמה	heat [noun]		מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן		22.28
ח חמת רגוד		0.6	ביום מפקד מן חרן		22.30
חמיד	stimulating, alluring [adj.]				
וחמיד כול מחזה ידיהא		20.5			

חרקנוש	Herqanosh [pers. name]		טינה	Tina (River) [place name]	
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8		ראיש מחק עד טינה [נ]הרא	16.9	
באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש	20.21		[נפך מי טינה נהרא דנא	16.15	
וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24		[ע]ד טינה נהרא די א	16.16	
			עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16	
חרש	act of divination [noun]		טמי	to be unclean, impure [verb]	
סמין כשפין וחרשין	1.9		[בקסמא א]טמה ואולת	6.21	
חשב	to think, consider, reckon [verb]		לטמיא אנתתי מני	20.15	
הא באדין חשבת בלבי	2.1		די לא ידעהא ו[לא ט]מיהא	20.30	
לחשוד עלמא ולחשב הן	6.3				
שלמו לי לחשבוני די חשבת	6.9		טמאה	uncleanness, impurity [noun]	
קודמי וחשבת כול לכת	6.16		עלמא יהבין כטמאתהון	5.17	
חשבון	calculation, reckoning [noun]		טמר	to hide away [verb]	
שלמו לי לחשבון די חשבת	6.9		[שממא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12	
חשוד	darkness [noun]		יאי	lovely, graceful [adj.]	
די אזלן לחשוד עלמא	6.3		כמא יאין להין לה עיניהא	20.3	
חשי	to be silent [verb]		כמא יאא לה חדיה	20.4	
ובכית וחשית בליליא דן	20.16		כמא יאין כפיהא	20.5	
			ודלידיהא/ יאא	20.7	
טב	good [noun]		יבישא	dry land [noun]	
ודי עבד עמי טב	21.3		יבישתא למקיים]	1.1	
טבה	goodness, goods [noun]		ו[בעי]ר אדמא ורחש יבישתא	13.8	
ושבתא די יחב לי	21.3		יא	oh [particle]	
וכול די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11		ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9	
טבו	favor, goodness [noun]		ואמרת יא אחי ויא מרי	2.9	
ברם דא כול טבותא	19.19		ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אחי]	2.13	
טור	mountain [noun]		ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אחי]	2.13	
וכל די עליהא בימא ובטוריא	7.1		לחנוד אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי	2.24	
חד מן טורי הוררט ונור עלמא	10.12		לחנוד אבוהי יא אבי ויא מרי	2.24	
לטוריא ודמדבריא לעזבריא	11.9		וכבד אמר	6.14	
בימיהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא	11.16		אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח	6.15	
[בטורי] / הוררט	12.7		ולי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח	11.15	
בטורי הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8		יבב	to cry out [verb]	
נחתת לשפולי טורא דן	12.8		כולהון יבבין וסורין	15.9	
בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע	12.13		יד	hand [noun]; beside, next to [prep.]	
בחלמך על ראיש טורים	14.9		וכען קריבה ידך לממחה	0.12	
יקין טור שגא ומנה ינדב	15.17		בעדב באמניא יד עילם	14.21	
לראיש טור הוררט] בקרית דא	17.9		מגלא בידה ונורא עמה	15.10	
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר	17.10		ליד מי חדקל נהרא	17.7	
לאמנא דצמיד טור הוררט	17.14		עד דבק למגוג כול ליד]	17.10	
עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9		כול נגאותא די ליד לוד	17.17	
ואנה הוית יתב בטורא די בית אל	21.7		ובין לשנא ד[י] לין]	17.17	
די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.16		ליד לה בגו	17.18	
ואזלת ליד טור תורא	21.16		[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לק בני חס	17.19	
ולחוריא די בטורי גבל	21.29		ידיהא כמא/ כלילן	20.4	

וּחְמִיד כּוּל מַחְזָה יִדְיָהָא	20.5	יְהִבִּין מַדְתַּהוּן לַמֶּלֶךְ עֵילָם	21.27
וּקְסִינָן כּוּל אַצְבַּעַת יִדְיָהָא	20.5	עֵנָה דִּי יִהֵב אַבְרָם לְלוּט	22.2
וּדְלִידְיָהָא/ יֵאָא	20.7	וִיְהֵב לָהּ מַעֲשֵׁר מִן כּוּל כְּסִיָּא	22.17
וּאֲחֻזִּי יִדְךָ רַבְתָּא	20.14	הֵב לִי נַפְשָׁא דִּי אֲתִי לִי	22.19
וּאֲסַמּוּךְ יִדִּי עֵלוּהִי	20.22	וּכּוּל/ שְׁבִיתָא וִיְהֵב לַמֶּלֶךְ סוּדָם	22.25
וּסְמַכְתָּ יִדִּי עַל [ר] אִישָׁה	20.29		
וּאֲתִיתָ לִיד יֵמָא עַד	21.15	יּוֹאֵן Javan [pers. name]	
וּסְחַרְתָּ מִן לִי [ד] יֵמָא רַבָּא דִּן	21.16	וִיּוֹאֵן וְתוֹבֵל וּמְשׁוּךְ	12.12
וּאֲזֹלְתָּ לִיד טוֹר תּוֹרָא	21.16	וְזִבְתָּרָה לִיּוֹאֵן כּוּל נִגְאוּתָא	17.17
וּסְחַרְתָּ לִיד פּוֹרְתָא	21.17		
וְהוּיִתָּ אֲתָה לִי לִיד/ יֵמָא שְׁמוּקָא	21.17	יּוֹבֵל jubilee [noun]	
דִּי סִגְר שְׁנֵאֲיִךְ בִּידְךָ	22.17	[שָׂא יּוֹבֵלִין עֲשֵׂרָה	6.10
מְרִים אֲנָה/ יִדִּי יּוֹמָא דִּן	22.21	וְכָכּוּל שְׁנָא דְנָה וִיּוֹבֵלָא	7.3
יִדְהָ to give thanks [verb]		יּוֹם day [noun]	
וּאֲוֹרִיתָ תַּמָּן קוּדְסָא אֱלֹהָא	21.3	יּוֹם דְּי	1.7
		[אֲרִי בִיּוֹמִי יִרְדָּא אֲבִי	3.3
יִדְעָ to know [verb]		[וִיּוֹמִי יִתְעַבֵּד וְהָא יּוֹם	3.6
[א] נְחִנָּן [לֹא מְרַעִין	1.4	בִּיּוֹמִי יִתְעַבֵּד וְהָא יּוֹם	5.22
וּכּוּלָּא מִנָּה בִּיצְבָּא יִנְדַּע בְּדִי	2.20	וּקוּשְׁטָא כּוּל יּוֹמִי דְּבִרְתָּא	6.2
חֲנוּךְ אֲבוּהִי לְמִנְדַּע מִנָּה כּוּלָּא	2.22	וּבִיּוֹמִי כְּדִי שְׁלָמוֹ לִי	6.9
חֲזִיִּתָּ וְאַחֲזִיִּתָּ וְאֲוֹרֵתָא בְּעוּבְדָּא	6.11	אַתָּה רְגִלָּא קְדָמִיָּא בִּיּוֹם חַד	12.14
יִדְעָתָּ וְחֲזִיִּתָּ כּוּל	6.16	בִּיּוֹם חַד לְשִׁתָּא חֲמִישִׁיָּאֲתָא	12.15
[א] נְחִנָּן יִדְעִין הֲלוֹ	14.7	נִצְבָּה דִּי [כְּרִמָּא בִּיּוֹמָא דִּן	12.16
אַשְׁתַּעֲי לִי חֲלִמָךְ וְאַנְדַּע	19.18	כּוּל יּוֹמוֹהִי לֹא יִפְרֵשׁ מִנְךְ	14.12
וִיִּדְעוּךְ מִרִּי דִּי אֲנִתָּה מִרָה	20.15	יּוֹמָא וְפִלָּא [וִיּוֹמָא	14.13
וְאַף לֹא יִדְעָהָא	20.17	בִּיּוֹמָא דְנָא מִנְתַּנְךְ [שְׁגִיָּאֵן	20.30
דִּי לֹא יִדְעָהָא [לֹא ט] מְזִיָּהָא	20.30	בְּתֵר יּוֹמָא דִּן פִּרְשָׁא לּוּט	21.5
		קְדָמָתָא יּוֹמִיָּא אֵלָן	21.23
יִהֵב to give [verb]		מְרִים אֲנָה/ יִדִּי יּוֹמָא דִּן	22.21
[אֲרִי/ יִהֵבְתָּ כּוּלָּן]	1.13	מִן יּוֹם דִּי נִפְקַתָּה מִן חֶרֶן	22.28
יִהֵב לְמַתּוּשָׁן [לֹא בְרָה	3.26	בִּיּוֹם מִפְקַךְ מִן חֶרֶן	22.30
וִיְהֵב לְמַתּוּשָׁן [שְׁלַח בְּרָה שְׁכַל	3.27		
וִיּוֹם יִהֵב לִי	3.32	יִכָּל to be able [verb]	
וּכּוּל עוּבְדָּא שׁוֹפֵט אֲהֵב לֹא	5.11	וּלְכּוּל אֲנֵשׁ בֵּיתָהּ וְלֹא יִכָּל	20.17
עֲלֵמָא יִהֵבִין כְּטַמְּאֲתָהוּן	5.17	הֵן יִכּוּלִין לְאַסִּיּוּתָהּ	20.19
וּבִנְתִי לְבִנִי אֲחִי יִהֵבְתָּ כְּדָת	6.8	וְלֹא יִכָּלוּ כּוּל אֲסִיָּא	20.20
[דִּי יִהֵב מ] רָה עֲלֵמָא	6.9	וְאִמֵּר לָהּ לּוּט לֹא יִכּוּל	20.22
[וִי] יִהֵב אֲנָה שְׁלֹטְנָא דְנָה לְךָ [	9.3		
וִיְהֵבְתָּ טוֹלָתָא נְשִׁיפָא פִּילָא	10.16	יִלְדָּ to give birth [verb]	
מְלַחָא הוּיִתָּ יִהֵב וְרַח	10.17	וְהָרְתָּ מִנִּי וִילְדִּיתָ לִי בְּנִין	6.7
[י] יִהֵב לְךָ וְלְבִנְךָ כּוּלָּא לְמַאֲכָל	11.17	וִילְדִּיתָ לְ[בְנִי בְנִי] [וְבִנְךָ	12.9
הָא קִשְׁתִּי [בְּעֵנִי] יִהֵבְתָּ	12.1	לְ[שֵׁם] בְּרִי רַבָּא יִלְדִּיתָ לָהּ בֵּר	12.10
וִיְהֵב לָהּ נּוּחַ אֲבוּהִי	17.15		
לְגַמֵּר יִהֵב לְקַדְמִין בְּצַפּוֹנָא	17.16	יָם sea [noun]	
[אֲ דִי יִהֵב]	17.21	[וִיּוֹם בְּאַרְעֵי לִימָא דִּן	3.10
וְהוּוּא יִהֵבִין/ לִי מַתְנִין שְׁגִיָּאֵן	19.24	[לֹא דִי] [בְּכָל יָם]	3.28
וְחִי וְקָם וִיְהֵב/ לִי מַלְכָּא	20.29	וּכּוּל דִּי עֲלִיָּהָא בִּימִיָּא וּבִטּוֹרִיָּא	7.1
וִיְהֵב לָהּ מַלְכָּא כֹּף [וְד] יִהֵב [ש] גִּיָּא	20.31	בִּימִיָּהָא וּבִמְדַבְּרִיָּהָא וּבִטּוֹרִיָּהָא	11.16
וּסְבַתָּא דִּי יִהֵב לִי	21.3	וְכָל אִיָּא וְהָלָל לִיָּם רַבָּא	14.18
דִּי אֲנָה יִהֵב לְךָ	21.10	[י] מָא [ר] בָּהּ מִן	14.21

דִּימָא די מן ביניהון	16.9	ירד	Jared [pers. name]	
[ו]עבִר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11			3.3
בִּיִם מִאִיּוּתָא דִּי דִבְכָּ ־לֶשֶׁן	16.16			
יִם מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן	16.17	ירדן	Jordan [place name]	
עֲדָ לֶשֶׁן יִמָּא די פנה למצִרָ[י]ן	16.18		ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5
חֲדָקֶל נְהָרָא עד דדבק לימָא	17.7			
יִמָּא ־לֶל[ג] דִּי בִיִם מדנחא	17.10	ירושלם	Jerusalem [place name]	
[ימא די דבק ליד חו]לֶק בני חס	17.19		אתה לשלם היא ירושלם	22.13
ב[תרע]לֶל[ג] אִימָא רִבָּה	19.13	ירושת	inheritance [noun]	
ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11		למִירְתָּ יְרוּשָׁתָּ עֲלֵמִים	16.12
ואתית ליד ימא עד	21.15		ולבנוהי לִירוּשָׁתָּ ע[ל]מים	16.14
וסחרת מן לִיד[ד] יִמָּא רבא דן	21.16			
עד די דבקת לימא שמוקא	21.17	ירק	vegetation, greenery [noun]	
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.18		כֹּלֵא לְמֵאכֹל בִּירְקָא ועשבא	11.17
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף	21.18			
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	21.18	ירת	to inherit [verb]	
			למִירְתָּ יְרוּשָׁתָּ עֲלֵמִים	16.12
ימי to swear [verb]			למִירְתָּ לה ולבנוהי	16.14
עדינתי יאמיא אנה לך	2.14		למִירְתָּ לֵה[ו] ל[בנוהי]	16.26
וימא לי מלכא במומה	20.30		וירתונה לכול עלמים	21.12
			וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33
ימין right, south [adj.]			הוּא ־לְמִתְרַתְּנִי	22.34
[־לְמִתְרַתְּנִי אֲרַעָא	14.17		ואמר לה לא ירתנך דן	22.34
לגברא רבא אתה מן ימין ארעא	15.10			
הוא די יתה מן ימין ארעא	15.11	ישב	to reside, dwell, sit [verb]	
[ימין]	15.13		נִבְעָ און וישבִין ב[אר]עֲדָ]	15.8
יסוד see		יתב	to reside, dwell, sit [verb]	
יסף to add [verb]			יִתְבִּין בני [שמין]	3.4
ואף אנה אוספת לה	21.6		הוּא יִתְבִּין בארְעָה	14.18
			[י]תְבִין בְּגָא [א]יָא	14.18
יעא to emerge [verb]			ויתבת [תמ]ן [תרת]ן שִׁנִּין	19.9
ובכור הורתי יעית לקושט	6.1		ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5
			ויתב בה ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7
יעי to expound [verb]			ואנה הוית יתב בטורא	21.7
עד די אעה צח להון	19.26		אתר די אנתה יתב	21.9
			ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה	21.19
יען because of, due to [adv.]			די אברס די הוא יתב	22.1
[מ]תְּנִדָּא בְּעֵין הִלִּיכָהּ ושגְּהֵן	15.16		ואברס באדין הוא/ יתב בחברון	22.3
יער forest [noun]		יתיר	excessively, very [adv.]	
יִעֲרִין ־לְיִעֲרִין	3.29		[ו]דְחִלָּת [י]תִירָא בנפשָה	19.23
יפת Japheth [pers. name]		כבד	weighty, loud (?) [adj./adv.]	
ובני יפת גומר ומגוז ומדי	12.12		ולקובלי קם וכבִרְ אֲמֹר ־	6.14
וְנֹחַ חֵלֶק בְּעֵדֵב לִיפְתָּ ולבנוהי	16.12			
[ו]יִפְתָּ פלג בין בנוהי	17.16	כבר	already [adv.]	
			ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23
יצב certainty [noun]		כדב	lie [noun]	
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע	2.20		[בקושטא] תְּחֻזִּנִי ולא בכדבִין	2.6
יקר honor, worth [noun]			בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבִין]	2.7
[־לְיִקָּר וְאֲגִיזִי אנה משלם לך	7.5		בקשוט די לא בכדבִין	3.13

כדי	when [adv.]		און כולִּהֶא פִּרְיֵא חֲדָא יִשִּׁים	3.11
וכדי חזת בתאנוש אנתתי		2.12	למִּם כֹּלֵא	3.16
וכדי שמע מתושל[ח] אבי		2.21	[הוֹא דִּי יִפְלַג כֹּל אַרְעָא	3.17
דן הא כדי אנה חֲנוּךְ		5.3	[לֵה דִּי] בְּכָל יִם	3.28
וכדי שמע מתושלח מִן לִי		5.24	[עֵד לְכֹל עֲלָמִים	4.3
וכדי אנה למך שִׁמְעַת		5.26	וּכְתַב כֹּלְהוֹן בְּמַגִּילָא לְזִכְרֵן כֹּל	5.1
וכדי נפקת מן מעי אמי		6.1	וּכְתַב כֹּלְהוֹן בְּמַגִּילָא לְזִכְרֵן כֹּל	5.1
וביומי כדי שלמו לי		6.9	וּלְךָ אֲנֵה מַחֲוֵה כֹל דִּי	5.9
וכדי אֲתָה רְגֵלָא קְדָמִיא		12.14	וּכֹל עֹבֵד שׁוּפֵט אֲהֵב לֵה	5.11
כדי ע[ל] לִנְא לְמִדִּי[נ]ת מִן צִרִין		19.22	יִשְׁלַקוֹן וּכֹל שְׂבִילֵי חֲמָס	5.19
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש		20.8	אֲחֹוִי בְּרָזָא דִּנְא כֹל	5.21
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא		20.10	מִבְּרַךְ לְמַרְה כֹּלֵא הֵן	5.23
כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס		20.11	וּקוּשְׁטָא כֹל יוֹמֵי דְבֵרְתָא	6.2
וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט		20.24	[] ל [] כֹּל שְׂבִילֵי חֲמָס	6.5
ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי אהך		22.33	בְּעֹבֵד בְּנֵי שְׁמִין וּמָא כֹל	6.11
			וּלְכֹל אֲנוּשׁ לֹא אֲחֻיְתָה	6.12
Chedarlaomer [pers. name] כדרלעומר			וּחֻשְׁבַּת כֹּל לֶכֶת בְּנֵי אֲרַעָא	6.16
אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם		21.23	בְּנֵי אֲרַעָא יִדְעַת וּחֻיְתָא כֹל	6.16
לקובלי כדרלע[ומר] ומלכיא		21.32	דְּמַל[ד] כִּן[ל] עֲלָמִיא	6.25
			כֹּל עֲבֵדָא וְ[כֹל]	6.27
כהן	priest [noun]		כֹּל עֲבֵדָא וְ[כֹל]	6.27
והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון		22.15	אַרְעָא וּכֹל דִּי עֲלִיהָא	7.1
			לְדָא כֹל מְזֻלַּת שְׁמִיא שְׁמַשָּׁא	7.2
כואת	like [adv.]		וּבְכֹל שְׁנָא דִּנְה וְיִזְבֵּלָא	7.3
די להון כואתך לעלמים		11.15	לְךָ וְלִבְנֵי כֹלְהוֹן	7.4
			וְלִבְנֵי וּכֹלֵא וְעַם שְׂאֵלֵם	7.8
כוכב	star [noun]		[] לְכֹל אֲנִשָּׁא בְּדִי	7.14
שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא		7.2	וּמִצִּית כֹּל עֹבֵד	7.21
ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה		13.11	וְאַח[וה] לִי וּלְמַגִּלָּא כֹל	7.22
			[] שֵׁשֶׁת עֶשְׂרֵה וְהוּא כֹל	8.1
כל/כול	all, each, every(thing) [adj./noun]		וּבְכֹל מְבֹלָא	8.9
[] לִנְא מִן		0.1	[] דִּן וְכֹל	8.12
[די בכול נקבל גִּזְרֵךְ		0.2	[] לְכֹל	8.30
כֹּל דִּי תִמְלֵם		0.4	[] לְבַנְיָךְ מִן בְּתֵרְךָ לְכֹל	8.33
[] לְאֲעֵדִיא כֹל		0.12	בְּאֵ כֹל לֹא יִפְצָא וְאַם כֹּל	9.2
כול בְּנִיכּוֹן וְ[]		1.8	בְּאֵ כֹל לֹא יִפְצָא וְאַם כֹּל	9.2
[] אֲרִי/ יִהְבֵּת כֹּל []		1.13	בְּאֲדִין בְּרַכְ[ת] לְמַרְה כֹּלֵא	10.1
ולקלל לכול בשרא		1.24	לְנוּחַ וְאַם לְמִלֵּן כֹּלְהוֹן	10.2
ואף לכול בשרא		1.28	[] כֹּלְכֹן לְמַרְכּוֹן וְאַם	10.9
במרה רבותא במלך כול ע[למים]		2.4	לְמַלְךְ כֹּל עֲלָמִיא לְעֵלָם	10.10
עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני		2.5	לְעֵלָם וְלַעֲדָא עַד כֹּל עֲלָמִים	10.10
במלך כול עלמים עד בקושט		2.7	[] וְעַל כֹּל אַרְעָא כֹלְהָא כְּפֻרְתָא	10.13
ואנה בקושט כולא א[חוינ]		2.10	[] וְעַל כֹּל אַרְעָא כֹלְהָא כְּפֻרְתָא	10.13
[דא בכולא ושגי לבי עלי		2.11	[בא] דִּין לֵה כֹלְהָא דְמַהוֹן	10.15
ולא מן כול זר		2.16	דְּמַהוֹן וּכֹלְהוֹן עֲלוֹהֵי	10.16
ולא מן כול עירין		2.16	בְּרַכְתָּ וְעַם כֹּלְהוֹן מְלַחָא	10.17
ולא מן כול בני שמ[ין]		2.16	[] וְ[] וְ[] וְ[] כֹּל	11.8
מתושלח אבי וכולא לה[ח] י[ת]		2.19	[] וְ[] וְ[] וְ[] כֹּל	11.8
וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע		2.20	לְעֹבְרִיא וְדָא [יא] כִּן[ל] וְ[]	11.9
עדבה פליג ולה מחוין כולא		2.21	וְאַרְעָא כֹלְהָא מְלִיא דְתָא	11.12
למנדע מנה כולא בקושטא		2.22	כֹּל עֲבֵדֵי חֲמָסָא וְרִשְׁעָא וְשִׁקְרָא	11.14
[] כֹּל צִיָּין וְלֹא לְאוּרְכָא		3.2	חֲדָא וְלְכֹל קְנָה בְּדִילָה	11.14
להוה על ארעא כולִּהֶא		3.9		

ומלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון	11.16	וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6
ובכול די בהון והא אנה	11.16	ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרת	20.6
[י]הב לך ולבניך כולא למאכל	11.17	ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7
ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17	ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7
ו[הו]א כול בני שם כולהון	12.10	וחזוהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9
ו[הו]א כול בני שם כולהון	12.10	אנתה אל עליון מרי לכול	20.12
[ו]שרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.13	אנתה מרה ושלט על כולא	20.13
שגיא וכול חמרא איתת	12.14	ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט	20.13
לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא	12.16	למעבד בכולהון דין	20.13
לכול	12.18	בה ובכול ביתה	20.15
לכול שנה בל	12.27	אנתה מרה לכול מלכי/ ארעא	20.15
[כה לכול	13.7	ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא	20.16
כולהון קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.10	ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17
[כולא ושדיאן קשרן בה	13.15	ועל כול אנש ביתה	20.18
כול נופי[א] וכול א[נב]י עליה	14.6	ושלח/ קרא לכול חכמי[י] מצרין	20.19
כול נופי[א] וכול א[נב]י עליה	14.6	ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי	20.19
כול יומוהי לא יפרש מנד	14.12	ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי	20.19
מן פלגה כול בנך	14.12	ולא יכלו כול אסיא	20.20
יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול	14.13	ואשפיא וכול חכמיא	20.20
וכל איהל לים רבא	14.18	ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20
לה כל אלם די לין	14.20	אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24
[ברשע לכול מ	15.5	ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.28
ואנון לכול ה	15.8	כל אתר משריאתי	21.1
כולהון יבין וסורין	15.9	על כול נכסיא	21.3
ונורא עמה ארציך כול	15.10	וכול נכסוהי/ עמה	21.5
ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא	15.12	וחזי כול/ ארעא דא	21.9
שור מן כול עממי ארעא	15.15	ולזרעך לכול עלמים	21.10
[בין כול עממיא וכולהון להון	15.18	וכול ארע גבל עד קדש	21.11
כול עממיא וכולהון להון פלחין	15.18	וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנת חורן	21.11
ומשתבשין	15.18	אנתן כול ארעא דא	21.12
[כולא בקושט אחויתך	15.20	וירתונה לכול עלמים	21.12
וכלא אחו[ת] ל[ה]	15.22	די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש	21.13
כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10	אחריד עד כול עלמיא	21.14
כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10	ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם	21.19
בני[הון] כול בני נוח	16.21	אנה וכול אנש ביתי	21.21
עד דבק למגוז כול ליד[לשנא	17.10	כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא	21.25
די פנה לדרומא כול ארעא	17.12	למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26
די משקה פורת וכול	17.12	דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27
כול בקעאתא ומישריא	17.13	ושגיאין מן [כול] ל[ל]	21.33
ואיא די בגו לשנא דן כול	17.13	[זב] מלך עילם כול נכסיא	21.33
ובתרה ליואן כול נגאותא	17.17	[ע]ומרם [וכל] ר[כ] ושיא	21.34
[כול	17.21	וכל ד[י] אשכ[ח] ו[תמן]	21.34
והוא כפנא בארעא דא כולא	19.10	עמהון וכול נכסוהי	22.1
ברם דא כול טבותא	19.19	וכל נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3
ד[י]ת[עבדין] עמי בכול ערות	19.20	וכלהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
די לא יחזנה כול בר אנש	19.23	ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
כול מלי חנוך	19.29	וכל די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11
וכל נץ/ אנפיהא משפיר	20.3	וכל די בזו וכול טבתהון	22.11
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4	וכל נכסוהי וכול/ שביתא	22.11
וחמיר כול מחזה ידיהא	20.5	וכל נכסוהי וכול/ שביתא	22.11
ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת	20.5	די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12

כול שביתא/ וכול בוזתא	22.13	כמן	how, how much [particle]	
ולכול אנשא די עמה	22.15	כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה	21.14	
ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיה	22.17	כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיה	21.14	
ונכסיה/ כולהון שביקין לך	22.20	וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו	22.29	
אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22			
דמן נכסי כול עתרה די	22.22	כן	thus, so, this [adv.]	
ואתיב אברם כול נכסיה	22.24	ומן בתר כן נחתת לשפול	12.8	
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם	22.24	אחויחד וכן כתיב עליך]	15.20	
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25	וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור	21.10	
ושלח כולהון	22.26			
ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29	כנען	Canaan [pers. name]	
מן/ כול די נפקו עמך	22.30	ומצרי]ן ופוט וכנען ובנן	12.11	
ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן	22.33			
כומר		כנש	to gather together, congregate [verb]	
vessel, jar [noun]		יהון ובניהון וכנישת	7.23	
ובגו כרמי כומר דן פתחת	12.15	ולבנתהון ואחכנשנא כחדא	12.16	
כור		כסף	silver [noun]	
womb, oven [noun]		חזה הוית לדהביא ולכסן פי	13.9	
ובכור הורתי יעית לקושט	6.1	ויהב לה מלכא כןסף וד[הב [ש]גיא	20.31	
		ואף בכסף ודהב	20.33	
כוש		כעין/כעין	as a spring, by sight (?) [adv.]	
Cush [pers. name]		ודבק דא ון כעין	3.15	
וב[ני חס כוש ומצרי]ן	12.11	[כעין ב]	16.8	
כחדא		ועבר כעין אורכנא	16.9	
together [adv.]		[כעין]	16.15	
ולבנתהון ואחכנשנא כחדא	12.16	ואזל תחומא דן כעין	16.17	
ותמרא חדא כחדא צמח[ו]	19.15			
ואכלו כחדא/ עמי	21.21			
כול אלן אזדמנו/ כחדא	21.25			
בסודם כחדא עמהון	22.1			
כלה		כען	now [adv./conj.]	
bride [noun]		[וכען הא אנחנא אסירין	0.8	
וכל בתולן וכלאן די יעלן	20.6	וכען קריבא ידך לממחה	0.12	
		עובדא די עד כןען	1.11	
כלי		קרי עמה ובען אזל	3.12	
to destroy, bring to an end [verb]		וכען ונה	4.1	
הא באדין ישתבשון ויתכלון]	5.16	וכען לכ[א] אנה אמר ברי	5.9	
		וכען לך אנה מחזה ברי	5.20	
כלי		[כען] אנה נוח הוית בתרע	11.1	
to cry out [verb]		[וכען] אצת ושמע אנתה הוא	14.9	
ואכליא תמרתא ואמרת	19.16	עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9	
כליל		עד [כען אנחנא בגו ארענא	19.12	
perfect [adj.]		[ובתרה אמרת] הא כען	19.13	
וידיהא כמא/ כלילן	20.5	וכען/ קבלתך מרי	20.13	
כמה/כמה		וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23	
כמה ניצח ושפיר לה	20.2	וכען עלי עלי ועל ביתי	20.28	
וכמא/ נעים מיצ[חה]א	20.2	מן מצרין וכען בקר	22.29	
כמא יאין לה עיניהא	20.3	וכען אל תדחל אנה עמד	22.30	
כמא יאא לה חדיה	20.4			
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4			
וידיהא כמא/ כלילן	20.4	כף	palm, sole [noun]	
כמא יאין כפיהא	20.5	כמא יאין כפיהא	20.5	
רגליהא/ כמא שפירן	20.6			
וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא	20.6	כפל	to double [verb]	
		וחזי כמן כפלין שגיו	22.29	

כפן	hunger, famine [noun]		ינתן [ל]הן מרה לשם קי[י]ם	3.29
והוא כפנא בארעא דא כולא		19.10	[] להון מן אנפי ארעא	4.12
כפר	to atone, make propitiation [verb]		ולך מתושלח ב[רי]	5.2
[] ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת		10.13	וכען לכ[א] אנה אמר ברי	5.9
כפתוך	Cappadocia [place name]		ולך אנה מחוזה כול ד[י]	5.9
אריוך מלך כפתוך		21.23	אזל אמר ללמד ברך[די] מן לך[]	5.10
כרם	vineyard [noun]		וכול עובד שופט אהב לה	5.11
למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב		12.13	וכען לך אנה מחוזה ברי	5.20
[] בכרמי ובגו כרמי כומרא דן		12.15	ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת	6.7
[] בכרמי ובגו כרמי כומרא דן		12.15	והרת מני וילדת לי בנן	6.7
[בתר נצבה די] כרמא ביומא		12.16	כדי שלמו לי לחשבון	6.9
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא		22.14	למסב להון נשין לאנתו	6.10
כרמון	Karmon [place name]		[ואתחזי לי מרה] שמיא בחזיון	6.11
[] דבק[ת] לכרמונא נהרא		19.11	וכבד אמר [] לך יא נון[ח]	6.14
כשף	act of sorcery [noun]		ובמ[שלחת קדישא רבא לי]	6.15
סמין כשפין וחר[שין]		1.9	לך אמרין יא נון []	6.15
כתב	to write [verb]		[לחד] מנהן ואמר לך []	6.21
וכתב כולהון במגלא לזכירן		5.1	לך ול[] מן כולהון	7.4
אחוינדן וכן כתיב עליך[]		15.20	[] יקר ואגרי אנה משלם לך	7.5
כתב	written document, book [noun]		[] דשנני ועדה לי	7.9
[פר] ש[ג] כתב מלי נון []		5.29	ע[מה] להוזה [] לה	7.13
כתיבה	writing [noun]		[] ת[] לך []	7.16
וכשבועה וכתיבה ד[י]		8.18	[] ודי יחדך לה ל[]	7.18
כתש	to strike, inflict [verb]		ואח[וה] לי ולמגלא כול	7.22
רוח מכדש למכתשה		20.16	צוקמ[] קח לך ול[]	8.32
והואת כתשא לה		20.17	לך [וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנה	9.3
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון		20.20	[וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנה ל[]	9.3
אלן די מתכתש		20.25	וא[תחזי] לי [] מן שמיא	11.15
ל+pron. to/for me, us, you, her, him, them, it			מלל עמי ולי אמר אל תדחל	11.15
[לה] ונתמחין מן אחרהון		0.15	[י]הב לך ולבניך כולא למאכל	11.17
ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא		1.25	אנה לך [] בשנין בניך	11.19
[לה] עבד ואף לכול בשרא		1.28	והואת לי לאת בעננא	12.1
בתאנוש אנתתי וא[מרת] לה		2.3	[שגיא] ובע אתחזיאת לי	12.3
דכר לך על עדינתי א[]		2.9	ל[שם] ברי רבא יליד לה בר	12.10
ולי תאמר יא מרי ויא אח[]		2.13	ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמר	12.13
יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא		2.14	[] א[ולך] []	13.3
מתושלח אבי וכולא לה[ח] וי[ת]		2.19	קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.9
עדבה פליג ולה מחוין כולא		2.21	כולהון קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.10
ויא מרי די אנה לך א[ת]ית		2.24	ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.11
[] לך ואמר לך דאל תרגו		2.25	וחבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16
[] לך ואמר לך דאל תרגו		2.25	ויתברן לה לקדמין עברת[רוח]	13.16
לך [] ולך להון		3.7	[להשתכל לרזא הווא לך סף	14.19
לך [] בל ים		3.28	לה כל אלם די []	14.20
			[ל] [אה] להון שור מן כול עממי	15.15
			איכנה יצמד לה עמא דך	15.17
			ואל[פ] מ[פ] מעמד לך	15.21
			לך [ואתעירת א] נא נון	15.21
			[וכולא אחו[ת] ל[ח]	15.22
			[אלה] לך לק[] לך	15.23
			[אלה] לך לק[] לך	15.23
			[למחוזה די א[] לך]	15.23

לִּי	15.24	ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור	21.8
[לִּי אֵל עַל־יִזְרְעֵל]	15.24	ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור	21.8
למירת לה ולבנוהי	16.14	די אנה יהב לך	21.10
למִיִּרְתָּ לֵהּ [ו]ל[בנוהי]	16.26	ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן	21.12
חולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה	17.15	ארי לך ולזרעך אנתננה	21.14
ויהב לה נוח אבוהי	17.15	והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.17
לִידִּי לה בגו	17.18	ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם	21.19
ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמך	19.18	ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון	22.9
ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמך	19.18	ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיא	22.17
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן	19.18	הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
וְאִמְרַתְּ לָהּ [מְ] [א]	19.19	הב לי נפשא די אתי לי	22.19
למקטלני ולכי למשבק	19.19	ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לך	22.20
בכול עֲרֹזֹתִי די [נתה] [לִּי]	19.20	אן אסב מן כול די אתי לך	21.22
○ ○ ○ ○ ○	19.24	אנן שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך	22.24
והווא יהבין/ לִי מתנין שגיאן	19.25	ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
וש[אלו] להון ספרא וחכמתא	19.25	ומני כול די אתי לך	22.29
עד די אעה צח להון	19.26	ואהוה לך/ סעד ותקף	22.30
[○ ○ לִי אֲנִי ○ ○ ○ ○]	19.28	ואספרך לך לתקיף ברא מנד	22.31
כמה נִיִּצָּחַם ושפיר לה	20.2	שגי לי עתר ונכסין	22.32
[ו]רקיק לה שער ראישה	20.3	ולמא לי/ כול [א] לן	22.32
כמא יאין להין לה עיניהא	20.3	ואמר לה לא ירתנד דן	22.34
כמא יאין להין לה עיניהא	20.3		
ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא	20.3		
כמא יאא לה חדיה	20.4		
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4		
וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא	20.6		
וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא	20.6		
ונסבהא לה לאנתא	20.9		
שלח לה אל עליון	20.16		
והואת כתשא לה	20.17		
ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22		
וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א לי ואמר לי	20.26		
וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א לי ואמר לי	20.26		
ואמר לי מא עבדתה לי בדיל	20.26		
[מא] הוית אמר/ לי	20.27		
ונסבתהא לי לאנתה	20.27		
ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.27		
וחי וקס ויהב/ לי מלכא	20.30		
וימא לי מלכא במומה	20.30		
ואתִיב לי/ לשרי	20.30		
ויהב לה מלכא כ[ספ] וד[הב] [ש]גיא	20.31		
ואשלמהא לי ומני עמי אנוש	20.32		
○ ○ ○ לַעֲמֹךְ לִי []	20.32		
לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין	20.34		
ונסב לה אנתה מן בנת מִצְרָיִם [י]	20.34		
ובניתה תניאני/ לִי	21.2		
וטבתא די יהב לי	21.3		
ואזל ויתב לה בבקעת ירדנא	21.5		
ואף אנה אוספת לה	21.6		
וזבן לה בסודם בי	21.6		
ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא	21.8		
		no, not [particle]	
		מן אחרהון ולא עוד	0.15
		[א] נִהְיָ [א] לא מדעין	1.4
		[○ לא]	1.5
		[בקושטא] תחויני ולא בכדבין	2.6
		עמי תמללין ולא בכדבין	2.7
		ולא מן כול זר	2.16
		ולא מן כול עירין	2.16
		ולא מן כול בני שמין	2.16
		[לא]	3.1
		[כול צ' ו] ולא לאורכא	3.2
		בקשוט די לא בכדבין	3.13
		לא ל	4.13
		[ל]א מן בני/ שמין	5.3
		ובדמא לא הווא ○	5.5
		ולא ○ ○ ○ ○	5.6
		[ו] [ל]א מן בני/ שמין	5.10
		ולכול אנוש לא אחזיתה	6.12
		בא ○ כול לא יפצא ווא ○ כול	9.2
		ברם כול דם לא תאכלון	11.17
		הדב ○ לא	13.19
		כול יזמוהי לא יפרש מנד	14.12
		○ ה ○ ל לים רבא ולא	14.18
		עממי ארעא די לא ישלטין	15.15
		עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא	19.9
		ולא קצצוני	19.17
		די לא יחזנה כול בר אנוש	19.23
		ולא הווא אתין למקם	19.26
		לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא	20.6

בדילהא ולא קטילת	20.10	לואת	near, beside [prep.]	
ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל	20.17	מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא		21.5
ואף לא ידעהא	20.17	בר אחי מן לואתי		21.7
ולא יכלו כול אסיא	20.20			
ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22	לחדא	very much, greatly [adv.]	
די לא ידעהא ו[לא ט] מיהא	20.30	[ו]יִאֵּחַ לְחַד שְׁפִירָא		7.18
די לא ידעהא ו[לא ט] מיהא	20.30	[שמיא לְחַדָּא וְקִצִּי]		7.19
די לא ישכח כול בר אנש	21.13	זיתא דן ועלוהי שגי לחדא		13.15
ואף זרעך לא יתמנה	21.13	בנכסין שגיין לחדא		20.33
וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3	עתרך ונכסך/ ישגון לחדא		22.32
אהך די לא בנין	22.33			
ואמר לה לא ירתנד דן	22.34	לילה	night [noun]	
		בְּלִילִיָּא לֵילָא		10.3
לבב/לב		[ו]מִלֵּל עֲמִי בְּלִילִיָּא		19.8
הא באדין חשבת בלבי	2.1	וחלמת אנה אברס חלס בלילה		19.14
ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתי	2.11	ואתעירת בליליא מן שנתי		19.17
[שְׁמִיא וטמרת רזא דן בלבבי	6.12	ובכת שרי על מלי בליליא דן		19.21
		אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בליליא		20.11
לבונא		בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת		20.12
במשח עם לבונא למנחתהון	10.16	ואל ישלט בליליא דן		20.15
		ובכית וחשית בליליא דן		20.16
לבן		ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא די ליליא		21.8
white, whiteness [adj./noun]		ורמה עליהון בליליא		22.8
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4	והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא		22.8
לבנ		לכת	conduct [noun]	
Lebanon [place name]		וחשבת כול לכת בני ארעא		6.16
מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	21.11			
		למא	why? [adv.]	
להן		למא צלם] אנפיד כדנא עליך		2.16
but, rather, except [conj.]		[ה וְלִמָּא מִּמֶּנָּה]		4.2
שמין להן מן למך ברך]	5.4	ולמא לי/ כול [א]לן		22.32
להן די יפוק	22.34			
		למד	Lamech [pers. name]	
לובר		באדין אנה למך אתבהלת		2.1
Lubar [place name]		אנה למך רשִׁתָּה על מתושלח		2.19
בלובר טורא ולשגין ארבע	12.13	שמין להן מן למך ברך]		5.4
		[מן]/ חזוה דחל למך ברך		5.7
לוד		אזל אמר ללמך ברך] די [מִן לִךְ]		5.10
Lud [pers. name]		ללמך]/ ברך אחוי ברזא דנא		5.20
לוד וארס ובנן נקבן חמש	12.11	ועם למך ברה ברז מלל]		5.25
וזבתרה ללוד ו	17.9	וכדי אנה למך ש[מעט		5.26
כול נגאותא די ליד לוד	17.17			
ובין לשנא ד[י] ל[י] ד לוד	17.17	לפד	torch (?) [noun]	
		[לְפִדְיָא וְרִשְׁעָא ורמי על נורא		15.12
לוט		לפף	to cling to, join [verb]	
Lot [pers. name]		ואל[פ]ף מעמך לך		15.21
אנה ולוט בר אחי עמי בליליא	20.11			
ואמר לה לוט לא יכול	20.22	לקח	to take [verb]	
וכדי שמע חרקגוש מלי לוט	20.24	צֹמֶמְ קַח לִךְ וְלִי		8.32
וסלקת מן מצר[י]ן [ואז]ל לוט]	20.33	[ו] בִּךְ קַח מִי		14.8
לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיין	20.34	[לְקַח לִךְ אֵל עַל יוֹן]		15.24
בתר יומא דן פרש לוט	21.5			
ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7			
ושבי לוט בר אחוי	21.34			
ענה די יהב אברס ללוט	22.2			
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי	22.3			
ובכא אברס על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5			
ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11			

לקש	to recede [verb]		מגן	shield [noun]	
בתרע ת'בוּתָא בְּאַרְיָא לְקַשְׁ		11.1	ואנה מגן עליך		22.31
לשן	gulf, tongue [noun]		מדבח	altar [noun]	
בְּיָם מְאַיִוְתָא דִּי דְבָק ֹלְשָן		16.16	כֹּלָה דמהון לאיסוד מדבּחא		10.15
כעין מי לשנא דִן דִי		16.17	בשרהון על מדבּחא אקטרת		10.15
עֵד לִשְׁן ימא די פנה למצרִי		16.18	עֵמ[מ]הון על מדבּחא קרבת		10.16
עד דבק למגוג כול ליד		17.10	מדבּחא וְהוֹיִת מברך למרה		12.17
בְּצַפּוֹנָא די מחען לשנא דן		17.11	לאतरא די בנית תמן מדבּחא		21.1
ואיא די בגו לשנא דִן כִּן		17.13	ובנית תמן מדבּח		21.20
ובין לשנא דִי לִי דִי לוד		17.17			
ללשנא תִּנְיָאנָא		17.17	מדבר	wilderness, desert [noun]	
לִשְׁנָא תִּנְיָאנָא למשך		17.18	לטוריא ודמדבריא לעזבריא		11.9
עד די דבקת ללשן ים סוף		21.18	בִּימִיָּהא ובמדבריהא ובטוריהא		11.16
מא	what, how [adv.]		וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן		21.11
סין מא למעבד אנשא		1.27	וסלקו ארחא די מדברא		21.28
בעובד בני שמין ומא כול		6.11	לאיל/ פרן די במדברא		21.30
ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא		20.3	מדה	tax, tribute [noun]	
דרעיהא מא שפירן		20.4	ושויו עליהון מדא		21.26
ומא אריכן וקטינן כול אצבעת		20.5	יהבין מדרתהון למלך עילם		21.27
ואמר לי מא עבדתה לי בדיל		20.26	מדי	Madai [pers. name]	
מא] הוֹיִת אמר/ לי		20.26	ובני יפת גומר ומגוג ומדי		12.12
			למדי זבתרה ליואן		17.17
מאא	hundred [adj.]		מדינא	region, city [noun]	
גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא		22.6	מדִינָא		12.9
מאיותא	Macota (Sea) [place name]		ולמדִינָה דִן ב[ג]יאַת חברון		19.9
בְּיָם מְאַיִוְתָא דִּי דְבָק ֹלְשָן		16.16	כְּדִי ע[ל]לָנָא לְמִדִּינָתָּ מ[צ]רין		19.22
מאכל	food [noun]		ועדי לך מן/ כול מדינת מצרין		20.28
במאכל שגי ובמשתה שגי		19.27	ארחא חלתא רבתא למדינתון		22.4
מאכל ומשתה לאברם		22.15	ואזלין/ למדינת דרמשק		22.5
מאפל	darkness (?) [noun]		מדנח	east, rising [noun]	
מאפלא ומן קצת נופהין		14.16	למדנחא		16.20
מבול	flood [noun]		יִיִּיִּיִּי דִי בְּיָם מדרנחא		17.10
ובכול מבולא		8.9	ושקול עיניך וחזי למדרנחא		21.9
בני] וב[נן מן בתר מבולא		12.9	וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן		21.12
תרתינ שנין בתר מבולא		12.10	טור תורא למדרנחא		21.16
מגוג	Magog [pers. name]		לימא שמוקא למדרנחא		21.17
ובני יפת גומר ומגוג ומדי		12.12	כלמדנח צפון חברון		21.20
עד דבק למגוג כול ליד		17.10	מומה	oath, curse [noun]	
ובתרה למגוג ובתרה		17.16	וימא לי מלכא במומה		20.30
מגילא	scroll [noun]		מורה	Moreh [place name]	
וכתב כולהון במגילא לזכירן		5.1	והוֹיִת אזל לדרומא מורה		19.9
מגל	sickle [noun]		מות	to die [verb]	
מגלא בידה ונורא עמה		15.10	ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי אהך		22.33

מזלה	planet, heavenly body [noun]		מלה	word, utterance [noun]	
לדא כול מזלת שמיא שמשא	7.2		בעד מלוהי סאף	0.13	
			וכדי שמע מתושלח מן לי	5.24	
מחזה	view, appearance [noun]		[פר]ש[ג]ן כתב מלי נוה]	5.29	
וחמ'ד כול מחזה ידיהא	20.5		וחדית למלי מרה שמיא	7.7	
מחי	to strike, erase, wipe out [verb]		לנוח סא ל מלי'ן כולהו	10.2	
ובען קריבה ידך לממחה	0.12		ובכת שרי על מלי בלייא דן	19.21	
[לה]ון ומתמחין מן אחרהון	0.15		בפרע[ן] צען על מלי	19.24	
והווא מחין ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28		וקרית קודמיהון לספר מלי חנוך	19.25	
ומחו לרפאיה די בעשתרא	21.28		ל מלי סא	19.26	
ותבו ומחו לעין ד'ינא	21.30		כ[ן] מלי חנוך	19.29	
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4		וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8	
			וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24	
מחק	Mahaq (Sea) [place name]		מלח	salt [noun]	
ראיש מחק עד טינה [נ]הרא	16.9		ברכת ועם כולהון מלחא הוית	10.17	
מחרת	next day [noun]		ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן	16.17	
וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור	21.10		ימא רבה [ד]י מלחא	19.13	
			ימא רבא דן די מלחא	21.16	
מין	water [noun]		מלך	king [noun]	
משכח ארי במ'ן א סא	10.12		במרה רבואת במלך כול ע'למים	2.4	
שרץ ארעא ושרץ מ'א וסף	13.11		במלך כול עלמים עד בקושט	2.7	
מ'א וסף	13.12		בקדישא רבא במלך ש'מ'א	2.14	
מ'א מ'ן סא ארעא	14.10		דמלך [כ]ן [ו]ל עלמ'א	6.25	
[ו]עבר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11		ד' סא נ' במלך ש'מ'א	8.10	
[נ]פק מי טינה נהרא ד'נא	16.15		למלך כול עלמ'א לעלם	10.10	
כעין מי לשנא ד'ן ד'י	16.17		[מלכא ושר'ס]	13.3	
ליד מי חדקל נהרא	17.7		ומלך עלמ'ן	19.8	
מישר	plain, level place [noun]		וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8	
בקעאטא ומישריא די ביניהון	17.13		ואמרת שרי/ למלכא דאחי	20.10	
מכדש	plague, pestilence [noun]		ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט	20.13	
רוח מכדש למכתשה	20.16		על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14	
מכי	humble, timid [adj.]		אנתה מרה לכול מלכי/ ארעא	20.15	
[פ]ת'א ומכ'א ושפליא	0.7		ואצלה על/ מלכא	20.22	
מכתש	plague, pestilence [noun]		אברם דדי לצליא על/ מלכא	20.23	
וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.18		וכען אזל אמר למלכא	20.23	
לאסיוותה מן מכתשא דן	20.19		אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24	
אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא	20.24		ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25	
ויתוד מנכה מכתשא דן	20.26		ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א	20.26	
ואתפלי מנה מכתשא	20.29		וח' וקס ו'הב/ לי מלכא	20.30	
מלא	to fill, be full [verb]		וימא לי מלכא במומה	20.30	
וארעא כולהא מליא דתא	11.12		ויהב לה מלכא כ[ס]ף [וד]הב [ש]ג'א	20.31	
[פ]ר'י ושג'י ומלי ארעא	11.16		אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם	21.23	
מלאך	angel [noun]		אמרפל מלך בבל	21.23	
ארבעא מלאכין רברבין	15.14		אריוך מלך כפתוד	21.23	
			תרעל מלך גוים	21.23	
			ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24	
			ועם ברשע מלך עומרם	21.24	
			ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24	
			ועם שמיאבד מלך צבון	21.25	

ועם מלך בלע כול אלן אודמנו	21.25	וִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן מַרְהָ עֵלְמָא	0.17
ותקף מלך/ עיל	21.25	[מִן קצת/ עובדא	1.10
ומלכיא די עמה	21.26	וּבְשֹׁאֵן וְמִן	1.23
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי	21.26	די מן עירין הריאתא	2.1
יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם	21.27	הריאתא וּמִן קדישין זרעא	2.1
דבר מלך עילם לכול/ חברוהי	21.27	[חד מן] בני שמין	2.5
ונפק מלך סודם לעורעהון	21.31	די מנך זרעא דן ומנך	2.15
ומלך [עומרם ומ]לך אדמא	21.31	ומנך הריונא דן ומנך	2.15
ומלך [עומרם ומ]לך אדמא	21.31	ומנך נצבת פריא דן	2.15
ומלך צבואין ומלך בלע	21.31	ולא מן כול זר	2.16
ומלך צבואין ומלך בלע	21.31	ולא מן כול עירין	2.16
לקובלי כדרלע[ומר ומלכיא]	21.32	ולא מן כול בני שמין	2.16
ואתבר מלך סודם וערק	21.32	וכולא מנה ביצבא ינדע	2.20
ומלך עומרם/ נפל	21.32	למנדע מנה כולא בקושטא	2.22
[וּבִּי מִלְךְ עֵילִם כּוּל נכסיא	21.33	וִּיִּיִּיִּי [מִן] מַעָא	3.31
ודי/ נגדו מלכיא	22.4	[וִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן אַנְפִּי אַרְעָא	4.12
ושמע מלך סודם	22.12	[לֵא] [א] מן בני/ שמין	5.3
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14	שמין להן מן למך ברך	5.4
ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק	22.14	מן] / חוזה דחל למך	5.6
די מלך עילם וחברוהי	22.17	דחל למך ברך ואף מן	5.7
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18	אזל אמר ללמך ברך די [מִן לְךְ]	5.10
די אצלתה מן מלך עילם	22.19	[וִּיִּיִּיִּי [א] מִן בְּנֵי [שְׁמִין	5.10
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם	22.20	זרעא מן זר	5.14
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם	22.25	וכול שבילי חמס וִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן	5.19
		חדי די מני אנפיק מר]ה	5.27
Melchizedek [pers. name] מלכיצדק		מן עול ובכור הורתי יעית	6.1
ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק	22.14	וכדי נפקת מן מעי אמי	6.1
מלל to speak [verb]		ולאזהרותני מן נתיב שקר	6.3
בקושט עמי תמללין ולא בכדבין	2.7	זהרת מני וילדת לי בנן	6.7
בחלץ תקיף עמי מללית ובכת	2.8	נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי	6.8
באדין אנסת רוחהא ועמי תמלל	2.13	ואזלת [לחד] מנהן ואמר לך	6.21
אנה] בקושט ממללא עמד	2.18	לך ולבניך מן כולהון	7.4
ועם למך ברה ברו מלל	5.25	[וִּיִּיִּיִּי לְבָנֶיךָ מִן בְּתָרְךָ לְכוּל	8.33
ובחזיון עמי מלל ולקובלי קם	6.14	מן איא תחומא וא	9.10
עד מלל כִּיִּיִּיִּי דמא	7.10	למרה כולא די מני מִיִּיִּיִּי	10.1
מןלל עמי ואח[וה] לי	7.22	וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי וְנִסְבִּי מִן	10.11
וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן שְׁמִיא מִלְל עמי	11.15	חד מן טורי הוררט וגור עלמא	10.12
[וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי מִלְל עמי בלייא	19.8	ודי אעדי ואבד מנהא	11.13
די פם חד תלתהון ממללין	20.8	וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי מִן שְׁמִיא מִלְל עמי	11.15
Mamre [pers./place name] ממרה		בטורי הוררט ומן בתר כן	12.8
ואזלת ויתבת באלוני ממרה	21.19	בני[ן] וב[ן] מן בתר מבולא	12.9
ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנס	21.21	די פלטנא מן אבדנא	12.17
ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.7	[וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי מִנְךָ דִּי חֵן עֵלִי	12.21
מן from, against [prep.]		קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.9
[וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי וְכִיִּיִּיִּי לְנָא מִן	0.1	כולהון קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.10
תתקף ותתקיאם ומן הוא	0.5	ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.11
[ל]עדה מן רגיד	0.10	לקדמין עברת [רוח] מן	13.16
מן די נהך לבית נש	0.11	ואתרת מן עלוהי ומן אנבה	13.17
ומתמחין מן אחרהון	0.15	ואתרת מן עלוהי ומן אנבה	13.17
		ורוח צפון מן	13.18
		[וִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי וּמִן אַנְבָּה אִיִּיִּיִּי]	13.18

[ור] אַמַּת חֲלֻפְתָּא די נפקא מנה	14.10	ואתה חד מן רעה	22.1
מִיָּא מִן ִּׁׁׁ אַרְעָא	14.10	די פלט מן שביא על אברס	22.2
יַעֲדֹד וְאָעָא מִנְהָ ִׁׁׁ	14.11	ובחר מן עבדוהי גברין בחירין	22.6
כּוֹל יוֹמוֹהִי לֹא יִפְרֹשׁ מִנְךָ	14.12	וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
מִן פִּלְגָּה כְּ[ו]ל בְּנִידִי	14.12	ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10
אַחֲרֵיכֻּם דִּי ִּׁׁׁ מִנְהָ ִׁׁׁ	14.15	ויהב לה מעשר מן כול כסיה	22.17
מֵאַפְלָא וּמִן קֶצֶת נֹפֶהֶן	14.16	די אצלתה מן מלך עילס	22.19
וְדִי חֲזִית מִן קֶצֶת נֹפֶהֶן	14.17	אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
[מִנְהֻן נִבְעֹ אֹן וִישְׁבִּין	15.8	אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך	21.22
לְגִבְרָא רַבָּא אֲתָה מִן יִמִּין אַרְעָא	15.10	דמן נכסי כול עתרה די	22.22
הוּא דִּי יִתָּה מִן יִמִּין אַרְעָא	15.11	ברא מן די אכלו כבר	22.23
שׁוּר מִן כּוֹל עֲמָמִי אַרְעָא	15.15	וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23
וּמִנְהָ יִנְדֹּב וְיִהְבֹּדֵל בִּין	15.17	מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25
וְאַתְעִירַת אֲ[נָא] נֹחַ מִן שְׁנֵי	15.21	מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
דִּימָא דִּי מִן בִּינִיָּהֻן	16.9	מן יום די נפקתה מן חרן	22.28
חַד מִן/רֹאשִׁי נִהְרָא	19.11	וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29
צִמְחָ[ו]ן מִן שִׁר[ש] חַד	19.15	וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29
אַרִי תִרְיָנָא מִן שִׁרשׁ חַד	19.16	מן/ כול די נפקו עמד	22.29
וְאַתְעִירַת בִּלְיָא מִן שְׁנֵי	19.17	ביום מפקד מן חרן	22.30
חֲלֻמַּת מִן [ד] אֲנָה דחל	19.18	ואספרך לך לתקיף ברא מנך	22.31
[ד] אֲנָה דחל מִן [ד] חֲלֻמָּא דִן	19.18	וחד מן בני ביתי ירתנני	22.33
יב[עוֹן] לֹאֲעֲדִיּוֹתִי מִנִּי	19.21		
וְתִלְתָּא גִבְרִין מִן רַבְרְבִי מִצְרִין	19.24	מנה to number, count, assess [verb]	
לִגְנוֹן לֹא יִשְׁפֹּר מִנְהָא	20.6	ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה	21.13
וְעֵלִיא שְׁפִרְהָא לְעֵלָא מִן כּוֹלָהֻן	20.7	ואף זרעד לא יתמנה	21.13
כְּדִי דְבִירַת מִנִּי שְׁרִי בְּאוּנָס	20.11	ומני כול די איתי לך	22.29
דִּי דְבִרַת אֲנַתִּי מִנִּי בְּתוֹקָף	20.14		
עֲבַד לִי דִין מִנְהָ	20.14	מנחה meal offering [noun]	
לְטִמְיָא אֲנַתִּי מִנִּי	20.15	במשח עם לבונא למנחתהון	10.16
לְאַסְיֻתָּה מִן מִכְתָּשָׁא דִן	20.19	וקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחה	21.2
וּבִעָא מִנִּי דִּי אֲתָה	20.21	ואסקת עלוהי עלא ומנחא	21.20
וְיִשְׁלַח אֲנַתְתָּה מִנְהָ לְבַעֲלָהָ	20.23		
וְיִתּוּךְ מִנְכָּה מִכְתָּשָׁא דִן	20.26	מני to appoint [verb]	
וְעַדִּי לֶךְ מִן/ כּוֹל מְדִינַת מִצְרִין	20.27	ואשלמהא לי ומני עמי אנוש	20.32
וְתִתְּגַעַר מִנְנָה רוּחָא דָא בְּאַיִשְׁתָּא	20.28		
וְאַתְפִּילִי מִנְהָ מִכְתָּשָׁא	20.29	מנתן gift [noun]	
וְאַתְגַּעַרַת [מִנְהָ רוּחָא] בְּאַיִשְׁתָּא	20.29	והווא יהבין/ לי מנתנן שגיאן	19.25
דִּי יִנְפִקִי מִן מִצְרִי[ן] לִי ִּׁׁׁ	20.32	בי[ומא דנ]א מנתנן שגיאן	20.30
וּסְלִקַת מִן מִצְרִי[ן] וְאַזְ[ל] לֹוט	20.33	מסלה way, track [noun]	
וְנִסְבַּ לָּהּ אֲנַתָּה מִן בְּנֵת מִצְרִי[ן]	20.34	במסלי ארחת קושט ולאזהרותני	6.3
מִן לֹואֲתִי מִן עוֹבַד רַעוּתָנָא	21.5		
מִן לֹואֲתִי מִן עוֹבַד רַעוּתָנָא	21.5	מסאן sandal [noun]	
בֵּר אַחִי מִן לֹואֲתִי	21.7	אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21
וְחֲזִית אַרְעָא מִן/ רַמְתָּא דָא	21.10		
מִן נִהַר מִצְרִין עַד לְבָנֻן	21.11	מעה womb, belly [noun]	
וְשִׁנִּיר וּמִן יִמָּא רַבָּא עַד חוֹרֻן	21.11	ִּׁׁׁ [מ] מַעָּא	3.31
וְשִׁרִית לְמַסְחַר מִן גִּחוֹן נִהְרָא	21.15	נפקת מן מעי אמי לקושט	6.1
וּסְחָרַת מִן לִי[ד] יִמָּא רַבָּא דִן	21.16		
דִּי נִפְקַּ מִן יִמָּא שְׁמוּקָא	21.18	מעיל robe [noun]	
וּבִזִּין מִן פּוֹרַת נִהְרָא	21.28	קושטא וחכמתא במעיל זעקא	6.4
וְשִׁגְיָאֻן מִן [כו]ל [ל]	21.33		

מערב	west [noun]		[די יהב מ]רה עלמא	6.9
מערה	tenth, tithe [noun]		[ואתחזי לי מרה] שמיא בחזיון	6.11
מערה	forehead [noun]		חן רבו וקושטה בעיני [מ]רה	6.23
מערה	Egypt (Mitzrain) [pers./place name]		וחדית למלי מרה שמיא	7.7
מערה	בני חם לארע מצרין	12.11	באדין ברב[ת] למרה כולא	10.1
מערה	בלילה מעלי לארע מצרין	12.17	[כולכון למרכון ור]רה	10.9
מערה	כדי ע[ל]לנא למדי[נ]ת מ[צרין]	12.4	אדין ברכת למרה / [שמיא	10.12
מערה	ותלתא גברין מן רברבי מצרין	12.17	[רה למרה]רה	12.4
מערה	על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	12.17	והוית מבדך למרה שמיא	12.17
מערה	קרא לכול חכמי[י] מצרין	15.11	ומרה רבותא הוא די יתה	15.11
מערה	עם כול אסי מצרין	20.12	ברך אנתה אל עליון מרי	20.12
מערה	מן/ כול מדינת מצרין	20.13	די אנתה מרה ושליט	20.13
מערה	די ינפקין מן מצרין ל[רה]	20.14	וכען/ קבלתך מרי	20.14
מערה	וסלקת מן מצרין [ואז]ל[וט]	20.15	וידעוך מרי די אנתה מרה	20.15
מערה	ונסב לה אנתה מן בנת מצרין	20.15	וידעוך מרי די אנתה מרה	20.15
מערה	מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	20.25	ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25
מערה	תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	21.2	וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא	21.2
מערה	וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	21.6	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	21.6
מערה		21.8	ואמר לאברם מרי אברם	21.8
מערה		21.21	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	21.21
מערה		21.32	ואמר אברם מרי אלהא	21.32
מערה			משגי abundance, bounty [noun]	
מערה		13.14	וארי ^{הא} משגית עלוהי	13.14
מערה		15.9	משגיתיהון להון רשיעין	15.9
מערה			משח oil [noun]	
מערה		10.16	סולת נשיפא פילא במשח	10.16
מערה			Meshech [pers. name] משוך/משך	
מערה		12.12	ויואן ותובל ומשוך	12.12
מערה		17.1	[למשך ובני]	17.1
מערה		17.18	[לשנא] תניאנא למשך	17.18
מערה			משכב bed [noun]	
מערה		12.19	ושכבת על משכבי ודמכת	12.19
מערה			משלח messenger [noun]	
מערה		1.25	ובמשלחן לכון שלח הוא	1.25
מערה			משלחה embassy, errand [noun]	
מערה		6.13	ובמשלחת קדישא רבא עלי	6.13
מערה		6.15	ובמ[שלחת] קדישא רבא לי	6.15
מערה			משפט justice [noun]	
מערה		4.11	חזית למעבד דין ומן[שפט] עלי	4.11
מערה			משרי encampment [noun]	
מערה		21.1	כל אתר משריאתי	21.1
מערה			משתה drink [noun]	
מערה		19.27	במאכל שגי ובמשתה שגי	19.27
מערה		22.15	מאכל ומשתה לאברם	22.15

מת	land [noun]		חד מן/ ראשי נהרא	19.12
	ואזל לארץ מת לפרוין	2.23	וחלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא	19.12
מתושלח	Methuselah [pers. name]		מן נהר מצרין עד לבנן	21.11
	למך רטח על מתושלח אבי	2.19	ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא	21.15
	וכדי שמע מתושלח אבי	2.21	עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17
	יהב למתושלח לח ברה	3.26	דבקת גחון/ נהרא	21.19
	ויהב למתושלח שלח ברה שכל	3.27	די/ היא בין נהרין	21.24
	ולך מתושלח ב[רי	5.2	ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28
	וכדי שמע מתושלח מ[לי	5.24		
נבע	profusion, bursting forth [noun]		נוח	
	נבע און וישבין ב[אר]עך]	15.8	Noah [pers. name]	
נגאווה	island [noun]		[פר]ש[ג] כתב מלי נוח]	5.29
	כול נגאווה די ליד לוד	17.17	ב[א]די[ן] הוית אנה נוח גבר	6.6
	ארבעא [נגאווה] ועד	17.18	וכבד אמר °° לך יא נוח	6.14
נגד	to set out [verb]		אשמע לך אמרין יא נוח °°	6.15
	ונגדרת למ[ה]ך תמן	19.8	[וא]ש[כחת אנה נוח חן רבו	6.23
	ונגדרת למעהך °°]לארעה	19.10	אדין[אנ]ה[ן] נוח	8.3
	ודי/ נגדו מלביא	22.4	לנוח °°א °°ל מלין כולהו[ן]	10.2
	ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.7	[כ]ע[ן] אנה נוח הוית בתרע	11.1
נגד	to afflict, wound [verb]		[אדין] אנה נוח נפקת והלכת	11.11
	ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25	ולי אמר אל תדחל יא נוח	11.15
נגד	affliction, blow [noun]		[דאנ[ה] נוח °°]	12.23
	וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.18	אנת נוח אל תתמה על חלמא	15.19
	למלכא כול מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.24	ואתעירת א[נא] נוח מן שנת	15.21
נדב	to consecrate, volunteer [verb]		ושמשא רמה ואנה [נוח	15.21
	ומנה ינרב ויהבדל בין	15.17	ונוח חלק בעדב ליפת	16.12
נדד	to agitate [verb]		בני[הון [כ]ול בני נוח	16.21
	מן תנדרא בעין הליכהן ושגהן	15.16	[לנ]וח שא °°	16.22
נדן	sheath, shell [noun]		ויהב לה נוח אבוהי	17.15
	ונשמתי לגו נדנהא ואנה בקושט	2.10	[בני נוח [ח]ל[קו] עדב[י]ה[ון]	17.22
נה	please, now [particle]			
	אנתת אברס יתיבו נה לשרי	20.25	נוף	
נהר	river [noun]		bough [noun]	
	ראיש מחק עד טינה [נ]הרא	16.9	כו[ל] ל נופיאן וכול א[נב]י עליה	14.6
	טינה נהרא דנא עד ב[א]	16.15	מאפלא ומן קצת נופהן	14.16
	[ע]ד טינה נהרא די א[א] °° °°	16.16	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.16
	ע[ד] ג[יחו]ן [נהרא	16.27	ודי חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
	ליד מי חדקל נהרא	17.7	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.17
	לארס ארעא די בין תרין נהריא	17.9		
	עד די דבק לטינה נהרא	17.16	נוף	
	[דבק]ת לכרמונא נהרא	19.11	uncertainty, wavering [noun]	
			ונופהן בפיגדף שגי ואנבהן	15.16
			נוח	
			light, fire [noun]	
			[°° נור די אתחזי	0.13
			עולימא דן נור והוא °° °° °° °°	5.13
			חד מן טורי הוררט ונור עלמא	10.12
			ותרבה על נורא אקטרת	10.14
			מגלא בידה ונורא עמה	15.10
			ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא	15.12
			נחת	
			to descend, go down [verb]	
			הו[ו]א נחת[י]ן ועס נקבתא	1.1
			[לארעא ולמחת להאימנה עמא	1.26

[תבואת נחת חד מן טורי בתר כן נחתת לשפולִי טֹרָא ודמעִי נחתן בריךִי אנתה	10.12 12.8 20.12	וכדיִי נִפְקַת מן מעיִי אִמִּי 6.1 נִפְקַת והלכת בארעא 11.11 [ור] אִמַּת חִלְפָתָא די נִפְקָא מנה 14.10 יִפּוֹק לנצבת קושט לכול 14.13 לשם נִפְקַת עדבא תניאנא 16.14 [נִפְקַת מי טינה נהרא דְנָא 16.15 וְלַחֲסָא] נִפְקַת [עדבא תלת] יִא 16.26 די יִנְפִקִי [מן מצרי] לִי 20.32 די נִפְקַת מן ימא שמוקא 21.18 וְנִפְקַת מלך סֹדֶם לעורעהון 21.31 ומלכיצדק מלכא דשִׁלֵּם אִנְפִּק 22.14 מן יום די נִפְקַתה מן חרן 22.28 מן/ כול די נִפְקַת עמד 22.30 ביום מִנְפִּקִי מן חרן 22.30 להן די יִפּוֹק 22.34
ניצח irresistible [adj.] כְּמָה נִיִּצַּח ושפירִי לה	20.2	
נכס flocks, property [noun] וגבלת אנה אברם בנכסין 20.33 לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין 20.34 על כול נכסיא 21.3 וכול נכסוהי/ עמה 21.5 והוא רעה נכסוהי 21.6 [וְבִזְזִי מִלֵּךְ עֵילֵם כול נכסיא 21.33 עמהון וכול נכסוהי 22.1 וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל 22.3 וכול נכסוהי וְכֹל/ שבייתא 22.11 ויהב לה מעשר מן כול יכסיא 22.17 ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לך 22.19 דמן נכסי כול עתרה די 22.22 ואתיב אברם כול נכסיא 22.24 עתרךִי ונכסךִי/ ישגון לחדא 22.31 שגי לי עתר ונכסין 22.32		life, self [noun] נפש ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי 19.20 [ו] דְחֵלֵת [י] תִירָא בנפשִי 19.23 הב לי נפשא די אתי לי 22.19 feature, bloom [noun] נץ וְכֹל נִץ/ אַנְפִּיהָא מְשִׁפִּיר 20.3
נסב to take, lift [verb] לאנפוהי נסבא בי ודנחא 5.12 ברתה לי לאנתה נסבת 6.7 נשין נסבת מן בנת אחי 6.8 לְמַסֵּב להון נשין לאַנְתֹּו 6.10 וְנִסְבִּי מן 10.11 קצין ונסבין להון מנה 13.9 כולהון קצין ונסבין להון מְנָה 13.10 ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה 13.11 ונסבהא לה לאנתא 20.9 ונסבתהא לי לאנתה 20.27 ונסב לה אנתה מן בנת מְצִרִי [י] 20.34 אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך 21.22		to plant [verb] נצב מן מעיִי אִמִּי לקושט נצִיבִת 6.1 למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב 12.13 planting [noun] נצבה ומנד נצבת פריאִן דן 2.15 [בתר נצבה די] כְּרִמָּא בְּיוֹמָא 12.16 יִפּוֹק לנצבת קושט לכול 14.13 to take away, rescue, save [verb] נצל ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא 22.10 די אצליתה מן מלך עילם 22.19
נעים beautiful, pleasant [adj.] וכמא/ נְעִים מִיִּצְחָה [א] 20.3		
נפיל Nephil, fallen (one), giant [noun] ומן קדישין זִרְעָא ולנפילִין 2.1 מעידִי דמא די אשדו נפיליא 6.19		woman, female [noun] נקבה הוּוֹ א נחת [י] וְעַם נִקְבָתָא 1.1 [ובנן נקבן] בְּאִדִּין לבני נשין 6.8 לֹוד וְאִרִם ובנן נִקְבִין חמש 12.11 נִקְבִין שבע 12.12 ותירס ובנן נִקְבִין ארבע 12.12
נפל to fall [verb] ונפל לקדמין לע [י] לֵם בְּצִפּוֹנָא 17.7 נפלִי טור תורא דן ועבר 17.10 ומלך עומרם/ נפל 21.33		woman [noun] נשא בְּאִדִּין לבני נשין נסבת 6.8 לְמַסֵּב להון נשין לאַנְתֹּו 6.10 לבני ולבני בני ולנשי כולנא 12.16 ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרת 20.7
נפק to go out, bring forth, emerge [verb] חדי די מניִי אִנְפִּיק מִרְה 5.27		to blow [verb] נשב [ארבע] רֹוחִי שמיא נשבִין בתקוף 13.16

נשיף	wheaten [adj.]		סור	to turn, turn back [verb]	
ויהבת סולת נשיפא פילא		10.16	כולהון יבבין וסורין		15.9
נשמה	breath [noun]		סחר	to travel, embark [verb]	
בחום ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא		2.10	ואזלת אנה אברם למסחר		21.15
נתיב	highway, road [noun]		ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא		21.15
ולאזהרותני מן נתיב שקר		6.3	וסחרת מן לין ד]מא רבא דן		21.16
נתן	to give [verb]		וסחרת ליד פורת		21.17
ינתן ל]ה] מררה לשם קינים		3.29	וסחרת לדרומא עד די דבכת		21.18
ואמר לי לזרעך אנתן		21.12	סלק	to go up [verb]	
ארי לך ולזרעך אנתנה		21.14	ורח מקטורתי ל]ש]מא סלק		10.17
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך		22.24	וסלקת מן מצרין]ן] ואזן]ל] לוט]		20.33
נתר	to strip [verb]		ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור		21.8
ואתרת מן עלוהי ומן אנבה		13.17	וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור		21.10
סגר	to shut, deliver [verb]		ואסקת עלוהי עלא ומנחא		21.20
די סגר שנאיך בידך		22.17	וסלקן ארחא די מדברא		21.28
סדיא	Siddim [people name]		וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם		22.13
לקרב לעמקא די סדיא		21.25	סם	medicine [noun]	
בעמקא ד]י סדיא]		21.32	סמין כשפין וחור]שין		1.9
סודם	Sodom [place name]		סמך	to support, lay hands on [verb]	
ודבק עד סודם		21.6	ואסמוך ידי עלוהי		20.22
וחבן לה בסודם בי		21.6	וסמכת ידי על]ר]אשה		20.29
ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם		21.24	סעד	to assist [verb]	
למלך סודם ולכול חברוהי		21.26	לם לסעדוהי ולמבנה		7.19
ונפק מלך סודם לעורעהון		21.31	סעד	support, assistance [noun]	
ואתבר מלך סודום וערק		21.32	ואהוה לך/ סעד ותקף		22.31
כול נכסיא די סודם		21.33	ספר	book, written account [noun]	
בסודם כחדא עמהון		22.1	וקרית קודמיהון לספר מלי חנוך		19.25
ושמע מלך סודם		22.12	ספרא	erudition, scribal knowledge [noun]	
באדין קרב מלכא די סודם		22.18	וש]אלו להון ספרא וחכמתא		19.25
אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם		22.20	סתם	to seal [verb]	
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם		22.25	ובאדין מסתם יבבין]		6.18
סולת	flour [noun]		עבד	to do, make [verb]	
ויהבת סולת נשיפא פילא		10.16	סין מא למעבד אנשא		1.27
סאף/סוף	to end, cease [verb]		להון עבד ואף לכול בשרא		1.28
בעד מלוהי סאף ב]עדנ]א		0.13	חזית למעבד דין ומ]שפט] על		4.11
חזה הוית עד די אסיפוהי שרץ		13.11	עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די]		5.18
שרץ ארעא ושרץ מיא וסרף		13.11	עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די]		5.18
מא וסרף		13.12	ביומוהי יתעבד והא]		5.22
סוף/סוף	end, cessation [noun]		כול עבדי חמסא ורשעא ושקרא		11.14
להשתכל לרזא הווא לך סוף		14.19	ולשנין ארבע עבד לי חמר		12.13
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו		20.18	ד]ת]עבדין עמי בכול ערות		19.20
סוף	Reed (Sea) [place name]		למעבד בכולהון דין		20.13
עד די דבכת ללשן ים סוף		21.18	עבד לי דין מנה		20.14
			ואמר לי מא עבדתה לי בדיל		20.26

וּדִי עֲבַד עֲמִי טַב	21.3	[צֻם דְּבַק עֲדִי] [דרו]ם	16.27
וּעֲבַדְרִי קֶרֶב עִם בִּרְעָא מֶלֶךְ סוּדִם	21.24	חֻדְקֵל נְהָרָא עַד דְּדִבַּק לִימָא	17.7
תִּרְתִּין עֲבַדְתָּה תְּנָה וּשְׁבַע בְּמִצְרִין	22.28	לְאִשּׁוּר עַד דְּבַק לְחֻדְקֵלָא	17.8
עֲבַד servant, slave [noun]		עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְרֵאִישׁ טוֹר	17.9
וּבַחַר מִן עֲבַדְרֵהִי גְבָרִין בַּחֲרִין	22.6	עַד דְּבַק לְמִגְזָא כּוֹל לִידִי [לְשִׁנָּא]	17.10
עֲבוֹר grain [noun]		לִידִי [דְּבַק] [עֲדִי] [דְּבַק]	17.11
וּמִלֵּיא דְתָא וְעֵשֶׁב וְעֲבוֹר	11.12	וְאִמְנָא עֲדִי דְּבַק לְפִנְיָרְתָּ	17.13
וּשְׁמַעְתָּ דִּי עֲבָרָא [וֹרָא הוּא] בְּמִצְרִין	19.10	[אִם] עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְ	17.14
עֲבַר to cross over, swell up [verb]		עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְטִינָה נְהָרָא	17.16
לְקַדְמִין עֲבָרְתָּ [רוּחַ] מִן	13.16	אֲרַבְעָא [נְגָאוֹ] תְּ וְעַד	17.18
וּבִתְרָה [עֲבַרְתָּ רוּחַ] לִי	13.17	עַד כְּעֵן לֹא דְּבַקְתָּה לְטוֹרָא	19.9
וְעֲבָרְ כְּעֵין אֲוֹרְכְנָא	16.9	וְאִתִּיתָ עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ לְחֻבְרוֹן	19.9
[ו] עֲבָרְ תַּחְמוּמָא דִּין מִי יִמָּא רַבָּא	16.11	עַד [כְּעֵן] אֲנַחְנָא בְּגֹז אֲרַעְנָא	19.12
דִּי פְנָה לְמִצְרָא [י] וְעֲבַר לִי	16.18	עַד דִּי אֲעָה צַח לְהוֹן	19.26
נִפְל טוֹר תּוֹרָא דִּין וְעֲבַר חוֹלְקָא	17.10	עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ לְבֵית אֱלִי	21.1
עֲבַר other side [noun]		וּדְבַק עַד סוּדִם	21.6
לְתוֹבֵל דְּבַעֲבַר	17.17	מִן נְהַר מִצְרִין עַד לְבָנִין	21.11
עַד until, up to [prep.]		וּשְׁנִיר וּמִן יִמָּא רַבָּא עַד חוֹרֹן	21.11
[אִם] רָא עַד	1.6	וּכּוֹל אֲרַע גְּבֵל עַד קְדִשׁ	21.11
עוּבְדָא דִּי עַד כִּי עֵן	1.11	וּשְׁנִיר עַד פּוֹרְתָּ	21.12
עַד כּוֹלָא בְּקוּשְׁטָא תַּחְוִינִי	2.5	אַחֲרִיד עַד כּוֹל עֲלָמִיא	21.14
בְּמֶלֶךְ כּוֹל עֲלָמִים עַד בְּקוּשְׁטָא	2.7	וְאִתִּיתָ לִידִי יִמָּא עַד	21.15
[אִם] עַד יוֹם	3.6	עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ לְפּוֹרְתָּ נְהָרָא	21.17
[אִם] וְעַד דִּי	3.30	עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ לִימָא שְׁמוּקָא	21.17
[אִם] עַד אִם וְעַל	3.32	עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ לְלִשְׁנֵי יָם סוֹף	21.18
[אִם] לְכוֹל עֲלָמִים	4.3	וּסְחָרְתָּ לְדִירוּמָא עַד דִּי דְּבַקְתָּ	21.18
עֲבַדִּין חֲמִס שְׁנֵי יַעֲבֹדוּן עַד דִּי	5.18	אֵן מִן חוּט עַד עֲרָקָא דְּמִסְאֵן	21.21
שְׁפִית וּקוּיָתָא עַד דִּי קֵן	6.19	עַד דְּבַקוֹ לְאִיל / פֶּרֶן	21.29
עַד תִּרְעִי שְׁמִיא דְּמֶלֶךְ [ד]	6.25	עַד דְּבַק לְדִין וְאִשְׁכַּח אֲנֹן	22.7
עַד מִלְּלֹא כִּי עַד דְּמָא	7.10	עַד דְּבַקוֹ לְחֻלְבוֹן	22.10
[ע] דִּי כּוֹל אִם	10.9	עֲדַב portion, allotment, lot [noun]	
לְעֵלִם וְלַעֲדָא עַד כּוֹל עֲלָמִים	10.10	וְעַם קְדִישָׁא [עַד] בְּהַ פְּלִיג	2.21
לְעֵלִם וְלַעֲדָא עַד כּוֹל עֲלָמִים	10.10	בְּעַדְבָא בְּאִמְנָא יָד עֵילִם	14.21
אַחְדוּ וְאִשְׁכַּח עַד	12.18	שְׁלַחְפָּא עַד בְּהַ לְעַדְבָא	14.22
תַּמְהַת עַד דִּי	13.15	שְׁלַחְפָּא עַד בְּהַ לְעַדְבָא	14.22
[אִם] עַד	13.24	וְנֹחַ חֵלֶק בְּעַדְבָא לִיפְתָּ	16.12
וְרִאמָא עַד רִמָּה תִּלְתָּת בְּנִין	14.10	לְשֵׁם נִפְקַע עַד בְּאִ תְּנִיאנָא	16.14
[ע] דִּי הוּא אִם שְׁחָ	15.6	עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְעַדְבָא	16.19
עַד דִּי דְּבַק [ל]	16.8	וְלַחְסָא [נִפְ] קֵן [עַד בְּאִ תִּלְתָּ] יִא	16.26
רֵאִישׁ מַחֲקָא עַד טִינָה [נ] הָרָא	16.9	[בְּנֵי נֹחַ] [ח] [ל] [קו] עַד בְּאִ [י] הָרָא	17.22
עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְרֵאִישׁ	16.10	עַדִּי to withdraw, relent [verb]	
[אִם] עַד אֲרָעָא	16.10	[אִם] מִרְעָא [ל] עַדִּי מִן רְגִזְדָּן	0.10
עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְגִיד [ד] רָא	16.11	[אִם] לְאִעֲדִיא כּוֹל	0.12
טִינָה נְהָרָא דְנָא עַד בְּאִ	16.15	וּדִי אַעֲדִי וְאַבְדִּי מְנַהָא	11.13
[ע] דִּי טִינָה נְהָרָא דִּי אִם	16.16	יב [עוֹן] לְאִעֲדִי וְיֹתְכִי מְנִי	19.21
עַד לִשְׁנֵי יִמָּא דִּי פְנָה לְמִצְרָא [י] וְ	16.18	הָא אֲנַתְתָּךְ דְּבָרָה אִזֵּל וְעַדִּי	20.27
עַד דִּי דְּבַק לְעַדְבָא	16.19	עַדִּינָה pleasure [noun]	
[ע] דִּי גִיד [יח] וְנְהָרָא	16.27	דְּכִי לֶךְ עַל עַדִּינָתִי אִם	2.9
		עַדִּינָתִי יִאמִיא אֲנָה לֶךְ	2.14

עדן	time [noun]	
בן עדן די אסרנא		0.13
עדן	rejuvenation, luxuriance [noun]	
עליהא עדן בעליהון ובאנבהון		11.12
עדר	to pluck up, snatch [verb]	
רא ודי חזיתה עדרו		15.13
עובד	deed, act [noun]	
עובדא די עד כן		1.11
וכל עובד שופט אהב לה		5.11
ואודעת בעובד בני שמי		6.11
כול עבדא וכו		6.27
ויובלא ושני עובד הון		7.3
ומציית כול עובד		7.21
מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא		21.5
עובע	hurry, haste [noun]	
ושלח לעובע דברהא		20.9
עובר	hinterland, intermediate region [noun]	
לעובריא ודא יא כול		11.9
עוד	more, still, yet [adv.]	
מן אחרהון ולא עוד		0.15
עוד	to testify, witness [verb]	
אנא יעד בעליא במרה		2.4
מעיד דמא די אשדו נפליא		6.19
דשני ועדה לי		7.9
עול	infancy [noun]	
מן עול ובכור הורתי יעית		6.1
עולים	youth, young child [noun]	
משתני על עולימא דנא		2.2
ל די עולימא		5.2
מן לך עולימא בק ושוט		5.10
עולימא דן נור והוא ל		5.13
עולימי די עמי		22.23
עומרם	Gomorrhah [place name]	
ועם ברשע מלך עומרם		21.24
ומלך עומרם ומלך אדמא		21.31
ומלך עומרם נפל		21.32
עומרם וכול ר ושיא		21.34
עוף	bird, winged creature [noun]	
ולבעירא ולחיותא ולעופא ול		6.26
עוף שמיא וחיות ברא		13.8
עור	to awake [verb]	
לך ואתעירתא נא נח		15.21

19.17	ואתעירת בליא מן שנת	
	עורע	toward, up to [prep.]; lit. meeting [noun]
21.31	ונפק מלך סודם לעורעהון	
22.13	וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם	
	עילם	Elam [pers./place name]
12.11	עילם ואשור ארפכשד	
14.21	בעדב באמניא יד עילם	
17.7	ונפל לקדמין לעילם בצפונא	
21.23	אתה כדרלעומר מלך עילם	
21.26	ותקף מלך עילם	
21.27	יהבין מדתהון למלך עילם	
21.27	דבר מלך עילם לכול חברוהי	
21.33	ובז מלך עילם כול נכסיה	
22.17	די מלך עילם וחברוהי	
22.19	די אצלחה מן מלך עילם	
	עין	eye [noun]
5.12	ודנחא עינוהי כשמא	
6.23	חן רבז וקושטה בעינן מרה	
20.3	כמא יאין להין לה עיניהא	
21.9	ושקול עיניך וחזי למדנחא	
	עין דינא	Ein Dina [place name]
21.30	ותבו ומחז לעין דינא	
	עיר	watcher [noun]
2.1	חשבת בלבי די מן עירין הריאתא	
2.16	ולא מן כול עירין	
6.13	א עלי ועירא רבא עלי	
7.2	שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא	
	עיר	town, city (?) [noun]
19.20	די ת עבדין עמי בכול ערות	
	על	upon, about [prep.]
1.11	די על	
2.2	ולבי עלי משתני	
2.2	על עולימא דנא	
2.3	ועלת על בתאנוש אנתתי	
2.9	דכר לך על עדינתי א	
2.11	ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני	
2.12	די אשתני אנפי עלי בגגזי	
2.17	למא צלם אנפיד כדנא עליך	
2.17	ורוחך כדן עליכא	
2.19	למך רט על מתושלח אבי	
2.22	רט על חנוך אבוהי למנדע	
2.25	ואמר לך דאל תרגז עלי	
2.26	דחיל לעליך	
3.8	בתי אנש א	
3.9	להוה על ארעא כולהא	
3.32	עד א ועל	

לעל ִּל	4.3	די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.8
חזית למעבד דין זמן [שפט] על	4.11	ואסקת עלוהי עלא ומנחא	21.20
[עליהון	4.14	ושויו עליהון מדא	21.26
[א עליו ועירא רבא עלי	6.13	פלט מן שביא על אברם	22.2
ועירא רבא עלי בציר	6.13	ובכא אברם על לוט בר אחוהי	22.5
ובמשלחת קדישא רבא עליו	6.13	ורמה עליהון בליליא	22.8
[תש]ל[ט] עליהון ארעא וכול	7.1	די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10
וכל די עליהא בימיא	7.1	ואנה מגן עליך	22.31
טִּל על דנה	7.8		
[יִזְכָּה דא זכִּי בדמא על	7.12	עלא high above, supreme [adj.]	
באדין הווא על ארעא	10.11	ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7
טהִּל על נה	10.12		
[ועל כול ארעא כולהא כפרת	10.13	עלא burnt offering [noun]	
ובתרה אתה על סִּל	10.14	וקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחא	21.2
ותרבה על נורא אקטרת	10.14	ואסקת עלוהי עלא ומנחא	21.20
[כול בשרהון על מדבחא	10.15		
ע[מ]הון על מדבחא קרבת	10.16	עלה leaf, foliage [noun]	
דמהון וכלהון עלוהי	10.16	[עליהא עדן בעליהון ובאנבהון	11.12
[עליהא עדן בעליהון ובאנבהון	11.12	וארי ^{הא} משגית עלוהי	13.14
וברכת די רחם על ארעא	11.13	זיתא דן ועלוהי שגי לחדא	13.15
ושכבת על משכבי דמכת	12.19	ואתרת מן עלוהי ומן אנבה	13.17
והוית תמה על זיתא דן	13.15	כו[ל] נופי[א] וכול א[נב]י עלה	14.6
בחלמך על ראיש טורים	14.9		
ורמי על נורא כול פש[עיא]	15.12	עלי high [adj.]	
אל תתמה על חלמא דן	15.19	ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7
ואל יהירבה עלוהי	15.19		
אחיותך וכן כתיב עליך	15.20	עליא Most High [divine name]	
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11	אנא יעד בעליא במרה רבותא	2.4
אמ[ר]י עלי די אחי הוא	19.20	ודם ק[י]נ[א] עליא די קִּל	6.24
ובכת שרי על מלי בליליא דן	19.21	באדין עליא ב[רד]	10.18
בפרע[ו] צען על מלי	19.24		
על מלי ועל חכמתי	19.24	עליון Most High [divine name]	
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרת	20.6	לאל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
וחוזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9	די חִּל עליו אל עליון	12.21
כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10	[לקח לך אל עליון	15.24
אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא	20.13	בריד אנתה אל עליון מרי	20.12
על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14	שלח לה אל עליון	20.16
וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא	20.18	ומנחה לאל עליון	21.2
ועל כול אנש ביתה	20.18	עלא ומנחא לאל עליון	21.20
באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש	20.21	והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	22.15
ואצלה על/ מלכא	20.21	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16
ואסמוך ידי עלוהי	20.22	ובריד אל עליון	22.16
אברם דדי לצליא על/ מלכא	20.22	לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21
ויצלה עלוהי ויחה	20.23		
וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי	20.28	עלל to enter, go in [verb]	
וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי	20.28	ועלת על בתאנוש אנתתי	2.3
ועלית על[והי] די ארפא/ הו	20.28	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.16
וסמכת ידי על [ר]אישא	20.29	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.17
וקרבת עלוהי עלואן ומנחא	21.2	[יאִּל עלל בה וקדמיתא] א	14.20
על כול נכסיא	21.3	אמ[רת] עלא []	19.12
אוספת לה על דילה שגי	21.6	ב[תר]ע[לל] בג[א] ימא רבה	19.13
ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7	ועלנא לארע בני חם	19.13
		בלילה מעלי לארע מצרין	19.14

כְּדִי עַל לָנָא לְמַדְיָנָא תִּמְצְרִין	19.22	לִבְּנִי וְכֹלָא וְעַם שְׂאָלָא	7.8
הוּוּ אַ עֲלֵלָא	19.29	עַמְּהָ לְהוּוּ אַ עֲלֵלָא	7.13
וּכְל בְּתוּלָן וּכְלָאן דִּי יַעֲלִין	20.6	מַלְלָא עַמְּיָא וְאַחַּהּ [וְהָ] לִי	7.22
עֲלָם		בְּדִי עַמְּיָא	8.11
eternity, age [noun]		עַמְּיָא הֶוֶן עַל מַדְבַּחָא קְרִבְתָּ	10.16
אִי עֲלָמָא מִן מְרָה עֲלָמָא	0.17	בְּמַשַּׁח עַם לְבֹנָא לְמַנְחָתָהוֹן	10.16
קוּדְסָא מְרָה עֲלָמָא	0.18	בְּרַכְתָּ וְעַם כְּוֹלְהוֹן מְלַחָא	10.17
בְּמַרְהָ רַבּוּתָא בְּמַלְךְ כּוֹל עַלְמִים	2.4	אִי עַמְּיָא מִן שְׂמִיָּא מְלָל עַמְּיָא	11.15
בְּמַלְךְ כּוֹל עַלְמִים עַד בְּקוּשְׁטָא	2.7	עַמְּיָא אַנְהָ וְעַם בְּנִיךְ דִּי לְהוֹן	11.15
עַד לְכֹל עַלְמִים	4.3	עַמְּיָא אַנְהָ וְעַם בְּנִיךְ דִּי לְהוֹן	11.15
עֲלָמָא יְהֻבִּין כְּטַמְּאָתָהוֹן	5.17	מַגְלָא בִידָהּ וְנוֹרָא עַמְּהָ	15.10
מַהֲלֵךְ בְּשִׁבְלֵי אִמְתָּא עֲלָמָא	6.2	[וְ] מְלָל עַמְּיָא בְּלִילֵיָא	19.8
לְחַשּׁוֹךְ עֲלָמָא וְלִ[ח] שְׁבָּ הֶוֶן	6.3	דְּ[י] תִּי עֲבָדִין עַמְּיָא בְּכֹל עֲרֹתָא	19.20
יְהֻבְתָּ כְּדַת חוֹק עֲלָמָא	6.8	וְעַם כּוֹל שְׁפָרָא דִּן חֲכֻמָּא	20.7
מִ[ח] רָה עֲלָמָא לְבִנֵּי אִנְשָׁא	6.9	חֲכֻמָּא שְׂגִיָּא עַמְּהָא	20.7
עַמְּא עֲלָמָא וְדָם קִי[נ] אִי	6.24	אַנְהָ וְלוּט בְּרַ אַחֵי עַמְּיָא בְּלִילֵיָא	20.11
דְּמַלְ[ד] כְּ[ו] עֲלָמִיָּא	6.25	וְהִיא עַמְּהָ/ תַרְתִּין שְׁנִין	20.17
עֲלָמָא	8.4	וְלִכּוֹל אֲשַׁפִּיָּא עַם כּוֹל אִסִּי	20.19
לְמַלְךְ כּוֹל עַלְמִיָּא לְעֵלְמָא	10.10	וְשָׂרִי אֲנַתְתָּהּ עַמְּהָ	20.23
לְמַלְךְ כּוֹל עַלְמִיָּא לְעֵלְמָא	10.10	וְאַשְׁלַמְהָא לִי וּמִנִּי עַמְּיָא אִנּוּשָׁא	20.32
לְעֵלְמָא וְלַעֲדָא עַד כּוֹל עַלְמִים	10.10	[לוּט]/ בְּרַ אַחֵי עַמְּיָא	20.34
חַד מִן טוֹרִי הוֹרְרָא וְנוֹרָא עֲלָמָא	10.12	[וְהוֹיָתָ שְׂרָה] עַמְּהָ	20.34
שְׁבָּחָא עַמְּיָא לְעֵלְמָא הוּוּ וְלֵה	10.13	וְדִי עַבְדָּא עַמְּיָא טַב	21.3
דִּי לְהוֹן כּוֹאֲתֵךְ לְעֵלְמִים	11.15	וְכֹל נִכְסוּהִי/ עַמְּהָ	21.6
לְעֵלְמִים אִמְרָא לִי	11.18	וְאַכְלוּ כַחְדָּא/ עַמְּיָא	21.22
לְעֵלְמִים קִיָּא לְעֵלְמִים	14.14	וְאַשְׁתִּין עַמְּיָא	21.22
לְמַבְרָךְ אֵל עֲלָמָא	15.22	וְעַבְדוּ קִרְבָּא עַם בְּרַע מַלְךְ סוּדָם	21.24
לְמִזְרָתָא יְרוּתָתָא עֲלָמִים	16.12	וְעַם בְּרַשַׁע מַלְךְ עוֹמְרָם	21.24
וְלִבְנוּהִי לְ[יְרוּתָתָא] עֲלָמִים	16.14	וְעַם שְׁנָאב מַלְךְ אֲדָמָא	21.24
וְלִ[בְנוּהִי] עֲלָמִים	16.26	וְעַם שְׂמִיָּאבְדָּא מַלְךְ צְבוּין	21.25
עֲלָמִיָּא	17.19	וְעַם מַלְךְ בְּלַע כּוֹל אֵלְן אֲזוּדְמָנָא	21.25
וְמַלְךְ עֲלָמִים	19.8	וְמַלְכִּיָּא דִּי עַמְּהָ	21.26
עֲלִין מְרִי לְכֹל/ עַלְמִים	20.13	וְמַלְכִּיָּא [דִּי עַמְּהָ]	21.32
וְקִרִית תַּמְנָא בְּשֵׁם מְרָה עֲלָמִיָּא	21.2	בְּסוּדָם כַּחְדָּא עַמְּהוֹן	22.1
וְלִזְרַעְךָ לְכֹל עַלְמִים	21.10	וְאַשְׁכּוֹל וּמְמַרְהָ נִגְדוּ עַמְּהָ	22.7
וְיִרְתוּנָהּ לְכֹל עַלְמִים	21.12	וְלִכּוֹל אִנְשָׁא דִּי עַמְּהָ	22.15
אַחֲרִיק עַד כּוֹל עֲלָמִיָּא	21.14	דִּי שְׂבִיָּא עַמְּיָא	22.19
עַם		עוֹלִימִי דִּי עַמְּיָא	22.23
with [prep.]		תַּלְתָּת גְּבִרָא דִּי/ אֲזִלוּ עַמְּיָא	22.24
הוּוּ אַ נַחְתָּ [י] וְעַם נִקְבַּתָּא	1.1	וְכֹל שְׂבִיָּא דִּי הוּוּאָתָא עַמְּהָ	22.25
בְּקוּשְׁטָא עַמְּיָא תַּמְלִילִין וְלֵא בְּכַדְבִּין	2.7	מִן/ כּוֹל דִּי נִפְקוּ עַמְּיָא	22.30
בַּחֲלָקָא תַּקִּיָּא עַמְּיָא מַלְלָתָא וְבִכְתָּא	2.8	וְכַעֲן אֵל תַּדְחַל אַנְהָ עַמְּיָא	22.30
בְּאֲדִין אִנְסָתָא רּוּחָהּא וְעַמְּיָא תַּמְלָלָא	2.13	עַמְּיָא/ עַם	
אַנְהָ [בְּקוּשְׁטָא מַמְלָלָא עַמְּיָא]	2.18	לְאַרְעָא וְלַמַּחְתָּ לְהַאֲמִנָּה עַמְּהָ	1.26
וְעַם קְדִישָׁא [עֲדָבָה פְּלִיגָא]	2.20	עַמְּהָ עֲלָמָא וְדָם קִי[נ] אִי	6.24
אִי עֲלָמָא אֲרַעָא אִי קְרִי עַמְּהָ	3.12	שׁוֹר מִן כּוֹל עַמְּיָא אֲרַעָא	15.15
כּוֹלָא אִי עַם	3.16	אַיְכְּנָה יְצִמְדָּא לָהּ עַמְּהָ דִּי	15.17
כּוֹל אֲרַעָא וְעַם	3.17	כּוֹל עַמְּיָא וְכֹלְהוֹן לְהוֹן פְּלַחִין	15.18
וְעַם לְמַךְ בְּרָה בְּרִי מְלָלָא	5.25	וְאַל[פ] הֶוֶן מְעַמְּיָא לִי	15.21
אַ[ח] וְהֶוֶן וְבַחְזוּיָן עַמְּיָא מְלָלָא	6.14	אִי עַמְּיָא לִי []	20.32
דִּי עַם בְּנַת אִנּוּשָׁא [א]	6.20		

עמד	to stand, endure [verb]		ערקא	strap [noun]	
שׁבַח עֲמֹד לַעֲלָם הוּא	10.13		אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן	21.21	
עמן	Amman [place name]		עשב	herb(s) [noun]	
ולוזמיא די בעמן	21.29		ומליא דתא ועשב ועבור	11.12	
עמק	valley [noun]		בירקא ועשבא די ארעא	11.17	
לקרב לעמקא די סדיא	21.25		עשר	ten [adj.]	
בעמקא ד[י סדיא]	21.32		[שא יובלין עשרה	6.10	
אברם שרא בעמק/ שוא	22.13		שׁ שׁ שׁ עשרה והוא כול	8.1	
הוא עמק מלכא בקעת בית כרמא	22.14		תרתי עשרה שנין הווא	21.26	
ען	flock [noun]		ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה	21.27	
ענה די יהב אברם ללוט	22.2		ובשנת ארבע עשרה	21.27	
ענן	cloud [noun]		תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר	22.6	
הא קשת׳י [בענן י] ה׳ב׳	12.1		ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27	
והוא׳ת לי לאת בעננא	12.1		עשתרא	Ashtera [place name]	
ענף	branch [noun]		ומחו לרפאיה די בעשתרא	21.28	
בבעי ענפיאן שגיאן	13.13		עת	time [noun]	
ענף	to debranch [verb]		[עתין ורזא די	1.3	
וחבלא בזיתא דן ומענפן לה	13.16		עתר	wealth [noun]	
א[עא חוב מענ]ן מן	14.4		דמן נכסי כול עתרה די	22.22	
ענת	time, occurrence [noun]		עתרך ונכסיד/ ישגון לחדא	22.31	
בחום ענתא ונשמתי לגו נדנהא	2.10		שגי לי עתר ונכסין	22.32	
עפר	dust [noun]		פגש	to strike against, meet [verb]	
ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא	21.13		[לפנשין	1.18	
עצב	to grieve, be sad [verb]		פול	to mix [verb]	
ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא	20.12		סולת נשיפא פילא במשח	10.16	
עקר	to uproot [verb]		פוט	Put [pers. name]	
ובעין למקץ ולמעקר ל[א] רזא	19.15		ומצרי]ן ופוט וכנען ובנן	12.11	
ערטלי	naked, bereft [adj.]		פורת	Euphrates (River) [place name]	
ואנה כדי אמות ערטלי אהך	22.33		כול ארעא די משקה פורת	17.12	
ערם	to instruct (?) [verb]		ואמנא עד דבך לפוןרת	17.14	
וערמי קדיש[א] לה	6.2		ושניר עד פורת	21.12	
ערנס	Arnem [pers. name]		עד די דבקת לפורת נהרא	21.17	
ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנס	21.21		וסחרת ליד פורת	21.17	
וערנס/ ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה	22.6		ובזין מן פורת נהרא	21.28	
ערק	to flee [verb]		פותי	breadth, width [noun]	
כתש לכולהון/ וערקן	20.21		בארעא לאורכהא ולפוחיהא]	11.11	
ואתבר מלך סודום וערק	21.32		כמן ארכהא וכמן פתיהא	21.14	
וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9		למדנחא לפותי ארעא	21.16	
			פלא	miracle, wonderful deed [noun]	
			בפלא]	14.25	

פלג	to divide, apportion [verb]		פרי	fruit, produce [noun]	
ועם קדשיא] עדבה פליג	2.21		ומנד נצבת פריא] דן	2.15	
[הוא די יפלג כול ארעא	3.17		כולהא פריא חדא ישים	3.11	
[ו]שם פלג [ח]לקה בין בנוהי	17.7				
חולקא די פלג לה ויהב לה	17.15		פרעו	Pharaoh [pers. title]	
[ו]יפת פלג בין בנוהי	17.16		ופרעו צען	19.22	
			בפרען] צען על מלי	19.24	
פלה	to search [verb]		על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14	
תפלה און תחון	14.19				
פלח	to work, serve [verb]		פרש	to separate, divide [verb]	
למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב	12.13		כול יומוהי לא יפרש מנד	14.12	
פלה לקדמין שלחפא עדבה	14.22		בתר יומא דן פרש לוט	21.5	
וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין	15.18		ובאש עלי די פרש לוט	21.7	
פלט	to save, rescue [verb]		פרשגן	copy, repetition [noun]	
ופלט לגבר צדיקא לון	11.14		[פרשגן] כתב מלי נוח]	5.29	
די פלטנא מן אבדנא	12.17		פשע	evil(doer) [noun]	
ותפלט נפשי בדיליכי	19.20		ורמי על נורא כול פשעיא	15.12	
די פלט מן שביא על אברם	22.2				
פלי	to remove [verb]		פתגם	word [noun]	
ואתפלי מנה מכתשא	20.29		בתר פתגמא אלן אתחזין	22.27	
פלג/פליג	division, offshoot [noun]		פתח	to open, engage [verb]	
והא פליגא חדה יצדד	14.11		ובגו כרמי כומרא דן פתחת	12.15	
מן פלגה כן]ל בניד	14.12		ופתחו קרבא/ בעמקא ד]י סדיא	21.31	
פם	mouth [noun]		פתי	simple, childlike [adj.]	
די פם חד תלתהון ממלחין	20.8		פתיא ומכיא ושפליא	0.7	
פני	to turn [verb]		צבוין	Zeboiim [people name]	
ואתפנית למחזה זיתא	13.13		ועם שמיאבד מלך צבוין	21.25	
עד לשון ימא די פנה למצר[י]	16.18		ומלך צבוין ומלך בלע	21.31	
די פנה לדומא כול ארעא	17.12				
שרי למפנה לצען	19.22		צדד	to branch off [verb]	
			והא פליגא חדה יצדד	14.11	
פסגה	branch [noun]		צדו	devastation, destruction [noun]	
ודי חזיתה לפסגת חלפתא	14.15		[ארי צדותא הוואת שגיא בארעא	12.9	
אנן פיסגין	14.16				
פצא	to save, rescue [verb]		צדיק	righteous, blameless [adj.]	
בא כול לא יפצא ואון כול	9.2		ופלט לגבר צדיקא לון	11.14	
ואף ללוט בר אחוהי פצא	22.11		צדיקא] למחזה די	15.23	
פרוין	Parvaim [place name]		צוח	to cry out [verb]	
ואזל לארך מת לפרוין ותמן	2.23		למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת	7.7	
פרזל	iron [noun]		צות	to listen [verb]	
לון לפרזלא ולאיילניא	13.10		[וכען] אצת ושמע אנתה הוא	14.9	
פרי	to be fruitful [verb]		צח	clearly, plainly [adv.]	
פרי ושגי ומלי ארעא	11.16		עד די אעה צח להון	19.26	

ציר	errand, mission [noun]		יאמיא אנה לך בקדישא רבא	2.14
	ועירא רבא עלי בציר ובמשלחת	6.13	ועם קדישא] עדבה פליג	2.20
צלח	to succeed [verb]		די קן[ד]ישא רבא וקץ]	4.12
	יצלחון וזחרו באנון]	6.17	וערמו קדישא] לה	6.2
צלי	to incline, turn, pray [verb]		ובמשלחת קדישא רבא עלי	6.13
	בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת	20.12	ובמ[שלחת קדישא רבא לי	6.15
	ואצלה על/מלכא	20.21	ההם קדישין די עם בנת	6.20
	אברס דדי לצליא על	20.22	לקדישא רבא וחדית למלי	7.7
	ויצלה עלוהי ויחה	20.23	חלמת וברכת קר[י]שא רבא	7.20
	וכען צלי עלי ועל ביתי	20.28	לא עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
	וצלית על[וה]י די ארפא/הו	20.28	עד כען לא דבקתה לטורא קדישא	19.9
צלם	image [noun]		קדמי	
	למא צלם] אנפיד כדנא עליך	2.16	first [adj.]	
	ושפיר לה צלם אנפיהא	20.2	[שעיר]ה לקדמין וזבתרה	10.14
צמד	to join, place together, abut [verb]		לקדמין ארפכשד תרתין שנין	12.10
	איכנה יצמד לה עמא דך	15.17	אתה רגלא קדמא ביום חד	12.14
	לאמנא דצמד טור הרט	17.14	לרגלא קדמא די בחודשא	12.14
צמח	to grow, sprout [verb]		[קדמא]	12.15
	ותמרא/חדא כחדא צמח[ן]	19.15	ויתברן לה לקדמין עברת [רוח]	13.16
	תרינא מן שרש ח[ד] צ[מח]נא	19.16	[ודי חזית לה לחלפתא קדמיתא	14.11
צען	Zoan [pers./place name]		[ה]א בר קדמא כול יומוהי	14.12
	ופרעו צען]	19.22	בר [קדמא יפוק	14.13
	שרי למפנה לצען	19.22	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.16
	בפרע[ן] צען על מלי	19.24	עלל בגו נוף קדמיתא	14.17
	ות אנה לצען בא	19.29	[א:א: עלל בה וקדמיתא]	14.20
	על פרעו צען מלך מצרין	20.14	פלח לקדמין שלהפא עדבה	14.22
צפון	north [noun]		ונפל לקדמין לע[י]לם בצפונא	17.7
	ורוח צפון מן]	13.18	לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16
	כול ארע צפונא כולהא	16.10	קדמת	
	ונפל לקדמין לע[י]לם בצפונא	17.7	before (temporal) [adv.]	
	שמוקא לראישה די בצפונא	17.8	קדמת יומיא אלן	21.23
	בצפונא די מחען לשנא דן	17.11	קדש	
	לגמר יהב לקדמין בצפונא	17.16	Kadesh [place name]	
	למדנחא ולמערבא ולדרומא ולצפונא	21.9	וכול ארע גבל עד קדש	21.11
	כלמדנח צפון חברון	21.20	קובל	
קבל	to receive, take [verb]		before, opposite, alongside [prep.]	
	[די בכול נקבל גיור	0.2	ולקובלי קם וזבד אמר	6.14
קבל	to complain, protest [verb]		די הוא קאם לקובלך בחלמך	14.9
	וכען/קבלתך מרי	20.14	לקובלי כדרלע[ומר ומלכיא]	21.32
קדיש	holy (one) [divine name/adj.]		קודם	
	קן[דישא רבא	0.11	before, in the presence of [prep.]	
	ימן קדישין זרעא ולנפילין	2.1	קוד[ם] מרה] שמיא	0.14
			קודם מרה עלמא	0.18
			קודמי וחשבת כול לכת	6.16
			וקרית קודמיהון לספר מלי חנוך	10.25
			קודמיהא ואף לחגר	20.32
			ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3
			וכולהון הווא ערקין מן קודמוהי	22.9
קוי	to wait, be patient [verb]		קוי	
	שפית וקוית עד די ק	6.19		

קאם/קום to rise, stand [verb]		קיים everlasting [adj.]	
ם רגוד תתקף ותתקיאם	0.5	ינתן [ל]ה מרה לשם קי'ם	3.29
יבישתא למקיים	1.12		
ולקובלי קם וכבד אמר	6.14	קינא jealousy [noun]	
די הוא קאם לקובלך בחלמד	14.9	עמא עלמא ודם קי'נא עליא	6.24
ם קום קיאם לעלמים	14.14		
ם קום קיאם לעלמים	14.14	קל voice [noun]	
ולא הווא אתין למקם	19.26	לי קל אשמע לך אמרין	6.15
וכל חכימא למקם לאסיותה	20.20		
וחי וקם ויהב לי מלכא	20.29	קלל curse [noun]	
קום הלך ואזל/ וחזי	21.13	ולקלל לכול בשרא	1.24
ואתחלם אברם וקם	22.5		
קושט righteous(ness), truth [adj./noun]		קנה to obtain, buy [verb]	
עד כולא בקושטא תחוינני	2.5	חד ולכול קנה בדילה	11.14
[בקושטא] תחוינני ולא בכדבין	2.6	לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין	20.34
עד בקושט עמי תמלין	2.7		
ואנה בקושט כולא א[חוינ]ך	2.10	קסם divination, magic [noun]	
אנה בקושט ממללא עמד	2.18	[בקסמא א[ט]מה ואזלת	6.21
למנדע מנה כולא בקושטא	2.22		
בקשוט די לא בכדבין	3.13	קץ end [noun]	
[ובקושט] ם	5.7	ותמן אשכחה לקין א[רעא	2.23
בקושט מהימן די ם	5.8	די ק[ד]ישא רבא וקין]	4.12
בקושט א[ד]י	5.9	[שמא לחדא וקצי ם	7.19
[מזן לך] עו[ל]ימא בק[ו]ש[ט]	5.10	קצי ארעא ודי חזיתא	15.9
ובכור הורתי יעית לקושט	6.1		
מן מעי אמי לקושט נציבת	6.1	קצץ to cut, chop down [verb]	
וקושטא כול יומי דברת	6.2	א אבניא וחספא הווה קצין	13.9
במסלי ארחת קושט ולאזהרותני	6.3	כולהון קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.10
בחזון קושטא וחכמתא	6.4	ולכוכביא קצין ונסבין להון מנה	13.11
ואחזת בקושטא ואתקפת	6.6	יקין טור שגא ומנה ינדב	15.17
אנה נוח חן רבו וקושטה	6.23	וב[נ]י אנזש אתו ובעין למקין	19.15
בקשטי ושכבת על משכבי	12.19	ואמרת אל תקוצו לארזא	19.16
יפוק לנצבת קושט לכול	14.13	ולא קצצוני	19.17
[כולא בקושט אחויתך	15.20		
ספרא וחכמתא וקושטא	19.25	קצת a little, some of [adj.]	
קטין small [adj.]		[מן קצת/ עובדא	1.10
ומא אריכון וקטינן כול אצבעת	20.5	מאפלא ומן קצת נופהן	14.16
		ודי חזית מן קצת נופהן	14.17
קטל to kill [verb]		קרב to sacrifice, draw near [verb]	
די יבעון למקטלני	19.19	על מדבחא קרבנת דמהון	10.16
לאעדיותכי מני ולמקטלני	19.21	ולא יכל למקרב בהא	20.17
ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9	וקרבת עלוהי עלואן	21.2
בדילהא ולא קטילת	20.10	באדין קרב מלכא די סודם	22.18
וכל נכסוהי ולא קטיל	22.3		
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4	קרב war, battle [noun]	
והווא קטל/ בהון בליליא	22.8	ועבדו קרב עם ברע מלך סודם	21.24
		לקרב לעמקא די סדיא	21.25
		ופתחו קרבא/ בעמקא ד[י] סדיא	21.31
		גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא	22.6
קטר to burn [verb]		קרי to call out, summon [verb]	
ותרבה על נורא אקטרת	10.14	ם קרי עמה	3.12
בשרהון על מדבחא אקטרת	10.15		

קריית לבני ולבני בני ולנשי	12.16	למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרס רב	12.13
ובזרעה יתקרה שְׁמֻךְ	14.12	לאַל עליון לקדישא רבא	12.17
וקריית תמן בשׁ[ם א]ל[הא]	19.7	אנׁ[בא] רַבְרַב ושפיר ומתחזה	13.14
וקריית קודמיהון לספֿר מלי חנוך	19.25	אנתה הוא ארזא רבא	14.9
ושלח/ קרא לכול חכִּימ[י] מצרין	20.19	וְכָל אִיא ִּהִּל לִים רַבא	14.18
ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א	20.26	[י]מא [ר]בֿה מִן	14.21
וקריית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא	21.2	לגברא רבא אתה מן ימין	15.10
ושלחת קריית לממרה ולערנס	21.21	ארבעא מלאכין רבֿרביִן	15.14
קריב near [adj.]		[ו]עֵבֶר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11
וכען קריִבֿה יִדְךָ לממחה	0.12	ים מלחא רבא ואזל תחומא דן	16.17
קריה region, area, city [noun]		ב[תר ע]ל[ל] בג[א] ימא רבֿה	19.13
לראיש טוֹר הוֹר[רט] בקריית דא	17.9	ותלתא גִּבְרִין מן רבֿרבי מצרין	19.24
קרנין Karnaim [place name]		ואחזי ידך רבתא	20.14
לרפאיא די בעשתרא/ דקרנין	21.29	ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
קשר to tie [verb]		וכול מדברא/ רבא די מדנח חורן	21.12
[כֹּלֵא וְשִׂיאָן קשרן בה]	13.15	וסחרת מן לִי[ד] ימא רבא דן	21.16
קשת bow [noun]		ארחא חלתא רבתא למדיתון	22.4
הא קשְׁתִּי [בענן י]הִבֵּת	12.1	רבה to be(come) great, abundant [verb]	
ראי to see (?) [verb]		ואל יִהִירבה עלוהִי	15.19
וְהִרָא ִּי	8.13	[בִּבְטנא די אֶתרבה]	19.26
ראש/ראש head, top, peak, first, source [noun]		רבו greatness, majesty [noun]	
כפרת וראיש רִמָּה עֵל	10.13	במרה רבותא במלך כול ע[ל]מים	2.4
בחלמך על ראיש טוֹרִים	14.9	אֲנָה נוח חן רִבּוֹ וְקוֹשְׁטָה	6.23
ראיש מחֵךְ עד טִינָה [נ]הִרָא	16.9	וְמִרָה רִבּוּתא הוא די יתה	15.11
עד די דבק לראיש	16.10		
שְׁמוֹקא לראישה די בצפונא	17.8	רגז anger [noun]	
לראיש טוֹר הוֹר[רט] בקריית דא	17.9	[ם רגִיז תתקף ותתקיאם]	0.5
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11	[ם חמת רגִיז]	0.6
חד מן/ ראשִי נהרא	19.12	ו[ל]עדה מן רגִיז]	0.10
וחלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא	19.12	[בִּרגִיז ִּי מן די נִהֵךְ]	0.11
[ו]רקיק לה שער ראישה	20.3	די אשתני אנפי עלי בִּרגִיזִי	2.12
וסמכת ידי על [ר]אִישה	20.29	רגז to be(come) angry [verb]	
רב/רב great, large [adj.]		וּאִמֵּךְ לך דֵּאל תִּרְגִּז עלי	2.25
ק[דישא רבא]	0.11	רגיג precious, desirable [adj.]	
[ִּי רַבְרַבִּין]	1.8	ומא רגג הוא לה אנפהא	20.3
בקדישא רבא במלך ש[מיא]	2.14	רגל (pilgrimage) festival [noun]	
דִּי ק[דישא רבא וקן]	4.12	אֶתְהָ רגלא קדמיא בִּיּוֹם חד	12.14
[אֵל עֵלִי ועידא רבא עֵלִי בציר]	6.13	בִּיּוֹם חד לרגלא קדמיא	12.14
ובמשלחת קדישא רבא עֵלִי	6.13	רגל leg, foot [noun]	
ובמ[שלחת קדישא רבא לי]	6.15	רגליהא/ כמא שפירן	20.5
לְקָדִישָׁא רבא וחדית למלי	7.7	רגש to stir up, cause trouble [verb]	
חלמת וברכת קד[י]שא רבא	7.20	[ִּי ִּי ִּי ִּי ִּי שְׁגִי יִהִרגשון]	4.1
רבא	10.1	רדף to pursue [verb]	
ל[שם] בְּרִי רבא יליד לה בר	12.10	והוא רדף בתרהון	22.7
		ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון	22.9

רוח	spirit, wind, emotion [noun]		רחמן	merciful [adj.]	
באדן אנסת רוחהא ועמי תמלל	2.13		רחמנא לרחם		15.7
[ארבע] רוחי שמיא נשבן	13.16				
לקדמין עברת רוח מן	13.16		רחש	creeping thing [noun]	
ובדרתה לרוחיא ובתרה	13.17		ובע[ר] אדמא ורחש יבישתא		13.8
ובתרה [עברת רוח] לו	13.17				
ורוח צפון מן	13.18		רכוש	property [noun]	
רוח מכדש למכתשה	20.16		[ע] ומרם [וכל] ר[כ] ושיא		21.34
ולכול אנש ביתה רוח/ באישא	20.16				
ארי הוא רוחא כתש לכולהון	20.20		רם	high, mighty, great [adj.]	
ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א	20.26		כפרת וראיש רמה ע		10.13
ותתגער מננה רוחא דא באישתא	20.28				
ואתגערת [מנה רוחא] באישתא	20.29		רמה	height [noun]	
מן ארבע רוחיהון	22.8		ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור		21.8
			וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור		21.10
			וחזית ארעא מן/ רמתא דא		21.11
רוט	to run [verb]				
אנה למך רשע על מתושלח	2.19		רמי	to raise, throw (oneself) [verb]	
רט על חנוך אבוהי למנדע	2.22		ורמי על נורא כול פש[ע]יא		15.12
			ושמשא רמה ואנה [נוח]		15.21
			ורמה עליהון בליליא		22.8
רום/רום	height [noun]				
ורמוהי בארעא וכול עובד	5.11		רמת חצור	Ramat Hazor [place name]	
וארי הא זיתא גבר ברומה	13.13		ואמר לי סלק לך לרמת חצור		21.8
וראמא עד רמה תלת בנין	14.10		וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור		21.10
ראם/רום	to rise, grow upward, be high [verb]				
[ור] אמת חלפתא די נפקא מנה	14.10		רעה	shepherd [noun]	
וראמא עד רמה תלת בנין	14.10		מן לואתי מן עובד רעותנא		21.5
מרים אנה/ ידי יומא דן	22.20		ואתה חד מן רעה		22.1
רו	mystery [noun]				
ואף רו רשעא די	1.2		רעה	to shepherd [verb]	
[עתין ורוא די	1.3		והוא רעה נכסוהי		21.6
[רוא אן אנון	1.7				
אחוי ברוא דנא כול]	5.21		רעו	approval, acceptance [noun]	
ועם למך ברה ברז מלל]	5.25		רעותה ואזל לארך מת		2.23
[שמיא וטמרת רוא דן בלבבי	6.12				
[להשתכל לרוא הווא לך סף	14.19		רפא	to heal [verb]	
[ורוא מו	14.20		וצלית על[וה]י די ארפא/ הו		20.28
רח	smell, odor [noun]		רפאי	Rephaite [people name]	
ורח מקטורת ל[ש]מיא סלק	10.17		ומחו לרפאיא די בעשתרא		21.28
רחים	beloved [adj.]		רצן	to crush [verb]	
בדי הוא רחים ו	2.20		ונורא עמה ארצין כול		15.10
רחם	to have compassion, to love, desire [verb]		רקיק	soft [adj.]	
ותבת וברכת די רחם על ארעא	11.13		[ו]רקיק לה שער ראישא		20.3
תלתהון ממללן שגי רחמה	20.8				
			רשע	wicked, evil [adj.]	
			ואף רו רשעא די		1.2
רחם	friend [noun]		כול עבדי חמסא ורשעא ושקרא		11.14
תלת אחיא אמוראא רחמי	21.21		[ברשע לכול מ		15.5

משגיתיהון להון רשיעין	15.9	שבש	to entangle, confound [verb]	
[לפדיא ורשעא ורמי על נורא	15.12	הא באדין ישתבשון ויתכלון]		5.16
שאל		וכולהון להון פלחין ומשתבשין		15.18
to ask [verb]				
ושאלו להון ספרא וחכמתא	19.25	שגי	to be(come) many, increase [verb]	
שבועה		פ[רי ושני ומלי ארעא		11.16
week [noun]		ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא		21.13
[שבועין תרין ובאדין	6.18	וחזי כמן כפלין שניו		22.29
בשבועתכם אל]	8.16	עתרך ונכסיד/ ישגון לחדא		22.32
וכשבועה וכתובה ד]	8.18			
שבועה וסג	8.19	שגיא/שגי	much, many [adj.]	
וכתלת שבועין]	8.20	דא בכולא ושני לבי עלי		2.11
שבח		[סג ושני יהרגשון		4.1
to glorify [verb]		אסג ושני זבאשגא		4.3
ואלוו סג והללו ושבחו	10.8	עבדין חמס שגי יעבדון עד די]		5.18
שבח		[סג ושני		7.16
praise, glory [noun]		[שגיאן וסג בע אתחזיאית לי		12.3
שבח עמד לעלם הוא	10.13	צדוואת הואת שגיא בארעא		12.9
שבי		שגיא וכול חמרא איתת		12.14
to take captive [verb]		ושען שגיאן בבעי ענפיאן		13.13
ושבי לוט בר אחוי	21.34	בבעי ענפיאן שגיאן		13.13
וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחויה	22.3	זיתא דן ועלוהי שגי לחדא		13.15
ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין	22.4	ונופהן בגדי שגי ואנבהן		15.16
ואצל מנהון כול די שבוא	22.10	יקין טור שגיא ומנה ינדב		15.17
די שבאו אתיב	22.12	והווא יהבין/ לי מתנין שגיאן		19.25
די שביא עמד	22.19	במאכל שגי ובמשתה שגי		19.27
שבי		במאכל שגי ובמשתה שגי		19.27
captivity [noun]		כול שפרא דן חכמא שגיא		20.7
די פלט מן שביא על אברם	22.2	תלתיהון ממלחין שגי רחמה ושלח		20.8
וכול נכסוהי וכול/ שביתא	22.12	בי[ומא דנ]א מנתג[ן] שגיאן		20.30
די אתיב אברם כול שביתא	22.12	ויהב לה מלכא כ[ספ וד]הב [שגיא		20.31
וכול/ שביתא ויהב למלך סודם	22.25	ולבוש שגי די בזק		20.31
וכול שביא די הואת עמה	22.25	בנכסין שגיאין לחדא		20.33
שביל		לוט קנה לה נכסין שגיאין		20.34
path [noun]		אוספת לה על דילה שגי		21.6
ישלקון וכול שבילי חמס	5.19	ושגיאין מן [כו]ל [ל]		21.33
מהלך בשבילי אמת עלמא	6.2	שגי לי עתר ונכסין		22.32
[ל [ל] כול שבילי חמס	6.5			
שבע		שגג	inadvertent error [noun]	
seven [adj.]		מ[תגדא ביען הליכהן ושגגהן]		15.16
נקבן שבע	12.12	שד	rope, band, cord (?) [noun]	
וחלפת שבעת ראשי נהרא	19.12	[כולא ושדיאן קשרן בה		13.15
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28	שהר	moon [noun]	
שבק		שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא		7.2
to leave behind, spare [verb]		חזה הוית לשמשא ולשהרא		13.10
ולמשבק תמרא בלחודיה	19.15	שוא	Shaveh [place name]	
ושביק ארזא בטלל תמרתא	19.16	אברם שרא בעמק/ שוא		22.14
למקטלני ולכי למשבק	19.19			
ושביקת אנה אברם בדילהא	20.10			
ונכסיא/ כולהון שביקין לד	22.20			
מן ארעא דא שבק	22.25			

שוה הקריות	Shaveh Hakerioth [place name]	
ולאימא [די ב] שוה הקריות		21.29
שוי	to put, impose [verb]	
ושויו עליהון מדא		21.26
שופט	judge [noun]	
וכול עובד שופט אהב לה		5.11
שור	chain, band [noun]	
בהון שור ארבעא מלאכין		15.14
[ל] אה להון שור מן כול עממי		15.15
שחלן	foulness [noun]	
ורוח שחלניא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א		20.26
שחלף	to exchange, change [verb]	
לקדמין שלחפא עדבה לעדב		14.22
שחת	to be ruined, distorted [verb]	
כדנא עליך שנא ושחת		2.17
שים	to place, put [verb]	
פריא חדא ישים ארעא		3.11
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק		22.10
שכב	to lie down [verb]	
ושכבת על משכבי ודמכת		12.19
שכח	to find, be able [verb]	
לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקץ ארעא		2.23
[וא] שכתת אנה נוח חן רבו		6.23
משכח ארי במי א		10.12
די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש		21.13
ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם		21.19
וכול ד אי אשכח		21.34
עד דבק לזן ואשכח אנון		22.7
שכל	insight, understanding [noun]	
למתו שלח ברה שכל ו		3.27
קד י ש א רבא שכלותא		7.20
שכל	to comprehend, understand [verb]	
להשתכל לרזא הווא לך סף		14.19
שלח	to send [verb]	
ובמשלחן לכוון שלח הוא		1.25
ושלח לעובע דברהא		20.8
שלח לה אל עליון		20.16
ושלח קרא לכול חבימי		20.18
וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא		20.23
ושלחת קרית לממרה ולערנס		21.21
ושלח כולהון		22.26

שלט	to rule, have mastery over [verb]	
[תש]ל[ט] עליהון ארעא וכול		7.1
ומלי ארעא ושלט בכולהון		11.16
עממי ארעא די לא ישלטו		15.15
ואל ישלט בליליא דן		20.15
שלטן	authority, rule [noun]	
[וי]הב אנה שלטנא דנה לך		9.3
שליט	ruler, master [noun]	
די אנתה מרה ושליט		20.13
ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט		20.13
אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך		22.24
שלם	to complete, be whole, pay [verb]	
כדי שלמו לי לחשבון		6.9
באדן שלם לבני למסב להון		6.10
[וי]קר ואגרי אנה משלם לך		7.5
די מני מסב ושלם		10.1
ואשלמהא לי		20.32
ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/שלמא		22.28
שלם	peace, wholeness [noun]	
ודי אתיבני/לארעא דא בשלם		21.4
ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם		21.19
ואשכחת כול אנשי שלם		21.19
שלם	Salem [place name]	
וסלק לעורעה ואתה לשלם		22.13
ומלכיצדק מלכא דשלם אנפק		22.14
שלק	to boil, be consumed by heat [verb]	
ישלקון וכול שבילי חמס		5.19
שם	name [noun]	
ינתן [ל]ה מרה לשם קי		3.29
שם/די קד ישא		4.11
ובזרעה יתקרה שמך		14.12
וקרית תמן בשם א		19.7
וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא		21.2
והללת לשם אלהא וברכת/לאלהא		21.2
שם	Shem [pers. name]	
לשם ברי רבא יליד לה בר		12.10
והווא א כול בני שם כולהון		12.10
ואז לית אנה לשם ברי		15.22
לשם נפק עדבא תניאנא		16.14
לדא		16.28
[ו]שם פלג חלקה בין בנוהי		17.7
שמאל	left, north [noun/adj.]	
וחד לשמאל ארעה		14.17

די על שמאל/ בית אל	21.8	חִזָּה הוּיַת לִשְׁמִשָּׂא וּלְשִׁהֲרָא	13.10
די שימא על שמאל דרמשק	22.10	וּשְׁמִשָּׂא רִמָּה וְאַנְהָ [נוח]	15.21
שמוקא Erythrean (Sea) [place name]		שנא enemy, hated one [noun]	
לימא/ שְׁמוּקָא לראישה	17.8	די סגר שְׁנַאֲיָךְ בידך	22.17
עד די דבקות לימא שמוקא	21.17		
והוית אתה לי ליד/ ימא שמוקא	21.18	שנאב Shinab [pers. name]	
די נפק מן ימא שמוקא	21.18	ועם שנאב מלך אדמא	21.24
שמי heaven(s), sky [noun]		שנה year [noun]	
קוד[ם מרה] שמיא	0.14	וּבְכֹל שְׁנָא דְנָה וְיִזְבֵּלָא	7.3
[חד מן] בני שמיין עד כולא	2.5	וְיִזְבֵּלָא וּשְׁנִין עֹבֵב[ד] הֶזֶן	7.3
בקדישא רבא במלך שמיא	2.14	[שְׁנִין] שְׁנִין	11.18
ולא מן כול בני שמיין	2.16	אנה לך שְׁנִין בְּנִיךְ	11.19
[שְׁנִין] שְׁנִין	3.5	תרתין שנין בתר מבולא	12.10
[א] מן בני/ שמיין להן	5.4	בלובר טורא ולשנין ארבע	12.13
[א] מן בני/ שמיין	5.10	לִשְׁנִין כֹּל שְׁנָה בְּלֹ	12.27
[ואתחזי לי מרה] שמיא בחזיון	6.11	ויתבת [תמ] [תרתין] שְׁנִין	19.10
בעובד בני שמיין ומא כול	6.11	כול בְּרִי אֲנֹשׁ [חמ] שְׁנִין	19.23
[שמיא וטמרת רוא דן בלבבי	6.12	ולסוף חמש שניא אלן	19.23
עד תרעי שמיא דמלך [א] כול	6.25	והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.18
כול מזלת שמיא שמשא	7.2	ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו	20.18
למלי מרה שמיא ואציחת	7.7	תרתין עשרה שנין הווא	21.26
[שמיא לחדא וקצי] שמיא	7.19	ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה	21.27
די שְׁנִין בְּמִלְךְ שְׁמִיָּא	8.10	ובשנת ארבע עשרה	21.27
ורח מקטורתין ל[שמיא] סלק	10.17	ואמר לה הא עשר שנין/ שלמא	22.27
למרה/ [שמיא] דְּשִׁבְחָ עֲמָד	10.13		
מִן שְׁמִיָּא מִלֵּל עֲמִי	11.15	שנה sleep [noun]	
והוית מברך למרה שמיא	12.17	ואתעירת א[נא] נוח מן שנתי	15.21
עו[ף] שמיא וחיות ברא	13.8	ואתעירת בליליא מן שנתי	19.17
[ארבע] רוחי שמיא נשבן	13.16		
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.16	שני to change [verb]	
לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	22.21	ולבי עלי משחני על עולימא	2.2
		ושגי לבי עלי אדין אשתני	2.11
		אנתתי די אשתני אנפי עלי	2.12
		כדנא עליך שנא ושחת	2.17
שמיאבד Shemiabad [pers. name]		שניר Senir [place name]	
ועם שמיאבד מלך צבון	21.25	ושניר ומן ימא רבא עד חורן	21.11
		ושניר עד פורת	21.12
שמע to hear, obey [verb]		שעי to tell, relate [verb]	
וכדי שמע מתושלח אבי	2.21	ואמרת לי אשתעי לי חלמך	19.18
וכדי שמע מתושלח מן לי	5.24	ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן	19.18
וכדי אנה למך שמיא	5.26		
לי קל אשמע לך אמרין	6.15	שעיר he-goat, hairy goat [noun]	
[שמיא] שמיא	10.9	[שעיר] הֵא לְקַדְמִין וּבְתִרָה	10.14
[ובען] אצת ושמע אנתה הוא	14.9		
ושמעת די ע[ב]רא הו[א] במצרין	19.10	שעה hour [noun]	
וכדי שמע מלכא מלי חרקנוש	20.8	ושען שגיאן בבְּעִי עֲנִפִּיאן	13.13
וכדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט	20.24		
ושמע מלך סודס	22.12	שער hair [noun]	
שמש sun [noun]		[ו]רקיק לה שער ראישה	20.3
ודנחא עינוהי כשמן שא	5.12		
שמשא שהרא וכוכביא ועיריא	7.2		

שפול	lower part, skirt [noun]		שרי	to encamp [verb]	
נחתת לשפול' טורא דן	12.8		והוית שרה' [עמה]	20.34	
שפי	to be silent [verb]		אנון/ שרין בבקעת דן	22.8	
שפית וקוית עד די ק]	6.19		אברם שרא בעמק	22.13	
שפיר	beautiful [adj.]		שרי	Sarai [pers. name]	
אח' לחד שפירא	7.18		ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם	19.17	
שפיר' 500	12.19		ובכת שרי על מלי בלייא דן	19.21	
אנ[בא]רברב ושפיר ומתחזה	13.14		שרי למפנה לצען	19.22	
כמה ניצח ושפיר לה	20.2		ובעא למקטלני ואמרת שרי	20.9	
וכמא שפיר לה כול לבנהא	20.4		כדי דבירת מני שרי באונס	20.11	
דרעיהא מא שפירן	20.4		ושרי אנתתה עמה	20.23	
רגליהא/ כמא שפירן	20.6		ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי	20.25	
			אנתת אברם יתיבו נה לשרי	20.25	
			ואתיב לי/ לשרי	20.31	
שפל	lowly [adj.]		שרן	swarming creature(s) [noun]	
פ[תיא ומכיא ושפליא	0.7		חזה הוית עד די אסיפוהי שרן	13.11	
שפנין	turtledove [noun]		שרן ארעא ושרן מיא וסף	13.11	
ותליתי לבני שפנינא	10.15				
שופר/שפר	beauty [noun]		שרש	root [noun]	
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרת	20.7		צמח[ו] מן שר[ש חד]	19.15	
ועליא שפרהא לעלא מן כולהן	20.7		ארי תרינא מן שרש ח[ד]	19.16	
ועם כול שפרא דן חכמא	20.7				
וחזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9		שת	six [adj.]	
			ש' ש' עשרה והוא כול	8.1	
שפר	to be beautiful, fair [verb]		שתי	to drink [verb]	
אכול נק/ אנפיהא משפיר	20.4		ושרית למשתה ביום חד	12.15	
לגנון לא ישפרן מנהא	20.6		ביום חד לשתא חמישיאתא	12.15	
ועל כול/ נשין שופר שפרת	20.7		ואכלת ואשתית תמן	21.20	
			ואכלו כחדא/ עמי ואשתיו עמי	21.22	
שק	leg, thigh [noun]		תיבו/תבו	ark [noun]	
וכמא שלמא להן לה שקיהא	20.6		תבותא נחת חד מן טורי	10.12	
שקה	to water, irrigate [verb]		אנה נוח הוית בתרע תבותא	11.1	
כול ארעא די משקה פורת	17.12				
שקל	to lift [verb]		תבר	to break, shatter [verb]	
ושקול עניך וחזי למדנחא	21.9		ויתברן לה לקדמין עברת	13.16	
			ואתבר מלך סודום וערק	21.32	
שקר	deceit, lie [noun]		ותבר אנון והוא רדף להון	22.9	
מן נתיב שקר די אזלן לחשוד	6.3				
כול עבדי חמסא ורשעא ושקרא	11.14		תגר	to profit, make gains [verb]	
			כדי הוית מתגר על דילהא	20.10	
שרי	to begin, release [verb]		תוב	to return, repeat, repent [verb]	
[ו] שרית אנה ובני כולהון	12.13		ותבת וברכת די רחם על ארעא	11.13	
ושרית למשתה ביום חד	12.15		אנתת אברם יתיבו נה לשרי	20.25	
[מלכא ושרי]	13.3		ואתיב לי/ לשרי	20.30	
ושרית לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן	19.18		ודי אתיבני/ לארעא דא בשלם	21.3	
ושרית למסחר מן גיחון נהרא	21.15		ותבת ואתית לי לביתי בשלם	21.19	
			ותבו ומחו לעין ד[ינא]	21.30	

די שבאו אתיב	22.12	וקרית תמן בש[א]ל[הא]	19.7
די אתיב אברס כול שביתא	22.12	ונגדת למ[ה]ך[תמן]	19.9
ואתיב אברס כול נכסיה	22.24	ויתבת [תמן] [תרת] שנין	19.10
וחדא/ מן די תבת מן מצרין	22.29	לא תרא די בנית תמן מדבחה	21.1
		וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיה	21.2
תובל Tubal [pers. name]		ואודית תמן קודם אלהא	21.3
ויואן ותובל ומשוך	12.12	ובנית תמן מדבחה	21.20
לתובל דבעבר	17.17	ואכלת ואשתית תמן	21.20
		[וכול ד]י אשכ[ח]ו [תמן]	21.34
תוך to depart, come to an end [verb]			
ויתוך מנכה מכתשא דן	20.26	תמני eight [adj.]	
		תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר	22.6
תוקף force [noun]			
די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף	20.14	תמרה date palm [noun]	
		ותמרא/ חדא כחדא צמח[ו]	19.14
תור (Mount) Taurus, bull [place name]		ולמשבק תמרא בלחודיה	19.15
נפל טור תורא דן ועבר	17.10	ואכליאת תמרתא ואמרת	19.16
די/ דבקת לטור תורא	21.16	ושביק ארזא בטלל תמרתא	19.16
ואזלת ליד טור תורא	21.16		
		תנה/תנא here [adv.]	
תחום border, boundary [noun]		די לתנא אתית לב[עי]ך	2.25
מן איא תחומא וא	9.10	תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28
[ו]עבר תחומא דן מי ימא רבא	16.11		
ואזל תחומא דן כעין	16.17	תניא second [adj.]	
		על נורא אקטרת ותניאנא	10.14
תירס Tiras [pers. name]		לשם נפק עדבא תניאנא	16.14
ותירס ובגן נקבן ארבע	12.12	ל[י]ך לוד ללש[נא]ת[ניאנא]	17.17
ל[תירס]	17.18	ל[שנא] [תניאנא] למשך	17.18
		ובניתה תניאני/ ל	21.1
תלית third [adj.]			
אקטרת ותליתי לבני שפנינא	10.15	תקיף strong [adj.]	
ולחם [נפ]ק[ע]דבא תלת[יא]	16.26	נון אסיר תקיף	1.21
		בחלץ תקיף עמי מללת	2.8
תלת three [adj.]		בכית אנה/ אברס בכי תקיף	20.11
וילדת לי בנין תל[ת]	6.7	ואספרך לך לתקיף ברא מנד	22.31
וכתלת שבועין	8.20		
וראמא עד רמה תלתת בנין	14.10	תקף to be(come) strong [verb]	
דעל ראיש תלתת חולקיא	17.11	[א] רגוז תתקף ותתקיאם	0.5
ותלתא גברין מן רברבי מצרין	19.24	ואתקפת בחכמתא א	6.6
די פס חד תלתהון ממללין	20.8	ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו	20.18
תלתת אחיא אמוראא רחמי	21.21	ותקף מלך/ עיל	21.25
ובשנת תלת עשרה מרדו בה	21.27	ואהוה לך/ סעד ותקף	22.31
גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא	22.6		
וברא מן חולק תלתת גבריא	22.23	תקוף strength [noun]	
		[ארבע] רוחי שמיא נשבן בתקוף	13.16
תמה to be amazed, astounded [verb]			
והוית תמה על זיתא דן	13.15	תרב fat [noun]	
תמהת עד דין	13.15	[א] ותרבה על נורא אקטרת	10.14
אל תתמה על חלמא דן	15.19		
וחוזהא ואתמה על כול שפרהא	20.9	תרין two [adj.]	
		[א] שבועין תרין ובאדין	6.18
תמן there [adv.]		תרתין שנין בתר מבולא	12.10
לפרוין ותמן אשכחה לקן א[רעא]	2.23	תרין בנין	14.16

לארם ארעא די בין תרין נהריא	17.9	תרע	door, gate [noun]	
ויתבת [תמ]ן [תרתין]ן שנין	19.10	עד תרעי שמיא דמלך [ד] כן [ו]ל		6.25
ארי תרינא מן שרש	19.16	אנה נוח הוית בתרע תבותא		11.1
מלי חרקנוש ומלי תרין חברוהי	20.8			
והיא עמה/ תרתין שנין	20.17	תרעל	Tiral [pers. name]	
ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו	20.18	תרעל מלך גוים		21.23
תרתין עשרה שנין הווא	21.26			
תרתין עבדתה תנה ושבע במצרין	22.28	תשבחה	glory, praise [noun]	
		לעלם הוא ולה תשבחתא		10.13

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